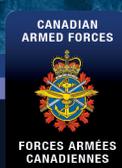


Royal Canadian Air Force in History and Memory: A Survey of the Historiography, 1909–2025

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Johnston



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RCAF
HISTORY AND HERITAGE
HISTOIRE ET PATRIMOINE
DE L'ARC

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
1. General Histories/Overviews.....	2
2. Prehistory and the Silver Dart.....	2
3. First World War: General.....	3
4. First World War: Canadian Airmen in the British Air Services.....	4
5. First World War: RFC Training in Canada.....	7
6. Inter-War: Founding the RCAF.....	7
7. Inter-War: Bush Pilots.....	7
8. Inter-War: Canadians in the RAF.....	8
9. Second World War: General.....	9
10. Second World War: Canada and the Battle of Britain.....	9
11. Second World War: BCATP.....	10
12. Second World War: Bombers.....	11
13. Second World War: Fighters.....	13
14. Second World War: Maritime Air.....	14
15. Second World War: Air Transport.....	14
16. Second World War: Canadianization.....	15
17. Second World War: Personnel Issues.....	15
18. Korea.....	16
19. 1950–1960: The Golden Era.....	17
20. Air Division in Europe.....	17
21. NORAD / Defence of North America.....	20
22. The Avro Arrow.....	22
23. Nuclear Weapons.....	24
24. RCAF in the Arctic.....	25
25. Maritime Air: Post-War Era.....	26
26. Tactical Helicopters.....	27
27. Air Transport: Post-War Era.....	27
28. Search and Rescue.....	28
29. RCAF Reserves/Auxiliary.....	28
30. RCAF and Unification.....	28
31. Women, Indigenous Peoples and Other Minority Groups.....	29
32. Quebec, Francophones and the RCAF.....	30
33. Procurement.....	30
34. Aircraft and Canadian Aircraft Manufacturers.....	30
35. Modern Operations.....	31
36. Peacekeeping Operations.....	31
37. Space.....	31
38. Squadron Histories.....	32
39. RCAF Historical Section.....	32
40. Notable Gaps.....	34

Conclusion.....	37
Abbreviations	38
Notes	40
Annotated Bibliography	69
Biography.....	136

FOREWORD

Historiographies are essential tools for practitioners in the field of history. Although they provide wonderful overviews of what has been written to date—which is useful to anyone interested in reading history—they do so much more for the academics who research and write those histories. In this context, historiographies not only represent a chance to review past literature but also challenge prevailing interpretations and, perhaps even more importantly, identify gaps where little to no research and analysis has been done on key subjects and time periods.

As a leading air power history expert from RCAF History and Heritage (RCAF H&H), Lieutenant-Colonel (LCol) Paul Johnston has done exactly that, and it is long overdue. As will be identified through the pages of this publication, many excellent books, articles and dissertations have been produced in recent years and even decades. Yet there is another reason that these efforts here are so important. RCAF H&H, in partnership with the Directorate of History and Heritage, has the full support of the Royal Canadian Air Force to continue an official history of the RCAF that will take up the torch from Volume III and tell the RCAF's story in a fourth volume covering the period from 1945 to 1968.

Official histories take time to research and write and use considerable resources. They also rely on the works of others. In so many ways, creating official histories takes a true team effort by the entire Canadian air history community, not just government organizations and academics. That is why this book is so critical and well timed. It identifies so many sources that will assist with the effort required to assemble Volume IV.

With the publication of this historiography, LCol Johnston has painted a path—particularly with regards to the post-Second World War era—that scholars and graduate students can follow to support their own interests as well as contribute to the official history and the field as a whole.

Enjoy this impressive effort. I hope it generates a discussion among the historical community that it deserves.

Dr. Richard Mayne, CD
Director and Chief Historian
RCAF History and Heritage

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Any book is the work of many, and this one is no exception. Firstly, thanks go out to others in the RCAF History and Heritage (RCAF H&H) office, in particular the Director, Dr. Richard Mayne, who immediately strongly supported this project when I first suggested that such an undertaking would be valuable.

Special credit must also be given to Dr. Mike Bechthold, who kindly read many drafts and provided feedback. A large number of others generously offered their expertise, often in response to an email out of the blue. I list in alphabetical order the following: David Bercuson, Carl Christie, Allan English, Richard Goette, Rachel Lea Heide, Russell Isinger, Stephen James, Iain Johnston, Matt Joost, William March, Larry Milberry, Cathy Murphy, Peter Rayls, Craig Stone, Ray Stouffer, Matthew Trudgen and Randall Wakelam.

Dr. Andrew Godefroy merits special mention for bringing over an excellent Chianti to drink on my back deck as we sat and discussed the history of the RCAF and space. The good folks in the RCAF Aerospace Warfare Centre Production Section did their usual excellent work on the editing and layout.

Paul Johnston, CD, PhD
Lieutenant-Colonel
Official Historian, RCAF H&H

INTRODUCTION

What can be said about the historiography of air power in Canada? The field is rich but also under-serviced. Of course, all Canadian military historians are prone to complaining about this; however, it is the contention of this work that such under-servicing is especially true of Canadian air power, even by the rather spare standards of Canadian military history, particularly in comparison to the historiography of Canadian land power. For instance, by various measures of publication, military history in Canada is 65–86 per cent Army focused, 13–19 per cent Air Force focused and 0–16 per cent Navy focused.¹

The aim of this work is to survey the state of Canadian air power historiography. The intent is not merely to catalogue major works, but to identify the major debates, schools of thought and, perhaps most importantly, the major gaps in the existing literature, for as the Canadian military historian Scot Robertson once wrote, the Royal Canadian Air Force's (RCAF's) story "remains largely untold, except in the most fragmented manner."²

We also want to stress that just as historiography is a living thing, constantly changing as new work is produced, so too will this be a living document, with periodic updates published. Towards that end, all readers are heartily encouraged to email any observations, suggestions or recommended updates to rcafhhistory&heritage@forces.gc.ca.

1. GENERAL HISTORIES/OVERVIEWS

General survey histories, covering the whole or at least most of the history of the RCAF, are definitely the second-best-served category of works—the best served being accounts of personal experience, either memoirs or popular histories. Of course, general histories by their nature lack depth but can provide some incisive analysis. Particular note in this regard should be given to the official histories, of which we now have three: one for the First World War, one for the inter-war years and one for the Second World War.³ Like all official histories, they aim to document events for the record rather than to offer interpretations, but they have tackled some significant topics—in particular Canadianization. Volume III of the official histories is the only significant work to examine—more contentiously—the efficacy of strategic bombing. Lesser known but also worthy of note are the survey histories published by the RCAF immediately after the Second World War, which, while lacking the depth and rigour of official histories, do provide a wealth of detail on events.⁴ The official histories and the post-war narratives are all available online in PDF format from the Director History and Heritage (DHH).⁵

There are also a fair number of creditable overviews, two new ones coming out in the RCAF's centennial year of 2024: *Canada's Air Force: The Royal Canadian Air Force at 100* by the noted academic military historian David Bercuson, and *The Royal Canadian Air Force: 100 Years of Service* by the prolific popular aviation writer, Larry Milberry, in conjunction with another noted academic military historian, Hugh Halliday.⁶ Other survey works of note are: *Pathway to the Stars: 100 Years of the Royal Canadian Air Force* by Michael Hood, a recent former commander of the RCAF, and Tom Jenkins; *Canada's Air Forces, 1914–1999*, by Hugh Halliday and Brereton Greenhous, both former official historians, and Larry Milberry's many works, in particular *Canada's Air Force at War and Peace*, and *Sixty Years—The RCAF and CF Air Command, 1924–1984*.

The first survey work of the RCAF's history, now over 60 years old, was *There Shall Be Wings: A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force* by the journalist Leslie Roberts.⁷ All of these works are perhaps reflective of what has been called “the air force view of history,” which is to say, they take certain propositions about the value of independent air power as given and tend to focus upon either technology or aircrew exploits rather than deeper analysis.⁸

2. PREHISTORY AND THE SILVER DART

The first flight in Canada was made, appropriately many would say, from a frozen lake in 1909, when the Silver Dart was flown by Douglas McCurdy only five years after the Wright brothers' more famous first flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Writing on this early period is sparse, despite the ubiquity of potted references to the Silver Dart in more general works, including the first volume of the official history, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*.⁹

The only recent work of note is *Firsts in Flight: Alexander Graham Bell and His Innovative Airplanes*.¹⁰ Before that, we have to go back to the 1950s for *The Silver Dart: The Authentic Story*

of the Hon. J. A. D. McCurdy, *Canada's First Pilot*, although Milberry's more recent *Aviation in Canada: The Pioneer Decades* includes a section on the Silver Dart.¹¹ However, while it was famously the first powered flight not only in Canada but in all of the then British Empire, the Silver Dart was in fact a combined Canada-United States (US) effort involving not only Alexander Graham Bell but also several US pioneers of flight. As a result, there are some works on the Americans involved in the project, most notably *Glenn Curtiss: Pioneer of Flight*.¹²

3. FIRST WORLD WAR: GENERAL

The first volume of the official history covers the First World War in some 700 pages of detail that certainly give the broad outlines of the history. Sadly, this work remains the only scholarly, book-length examination of Canadian participation in the First World War in the air, demonstrating our point about the meagre depth of work on Canadian air force history. Perhaps this is because, unlike the Canadian Army and newly founded Royal Canadian Navy (RCN), there was no Canadian air force, or even a Canadian arm of the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) and Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS). There had been—very briefly—a Canadian Aviation Corps formed by Sam Hughes in 1914, but it only ever numbered three personnel and one primitive machine and was quickly dropped.

During the war, Canadians simply entered either the RFC or RNAS as individuals, generally by applying for a transfer or, less often, volunteering to join directly.¹³ By the end of the war, there was a strong sentiment, certainly among Canadian airmen but also in the Canadian Army and more broadly in the Canadian public that Canada should form its own air service. Eventually, two squadrons were established in the United Kingdom (UK), one fighter and one bomber, as an independent service, but this was not achieved until the final months of the war and was disbanded upon the armistice, never having been deployed operationally. Essentially, the only account of this is in the final chapters of the official history's first volume, which provides a good 40-page overview of an issue that presaged the Canadianization debates of the Second World War.¹⁴

Whatever the reasons, we lack even popular survey histories of Canadian participation in the war in the air for the First World War of the sort available on the Second World War.¹⁵ What we do have are a fair number of works focused upon the derring-do of individual Canadian pilots in that conflict—something authors Stephen Harris and Greenhous have referred to as “Red Baron Syndrome,” arguably the Air Force equivalent to Army “drum and bugle” histories.¹⁶ We also lack good analytical histories of what Canadian policy was towards air power in the First World War, what (if anything) the government thought about allocating Canada's resources to air forces as opposed to ground or naval contingents and also what Canadians may have contributed to nascent doctrinal thought about air power.¹⁷

4. FIRST WORLD WAR: CANADIAN AIRMEN IN THE BRITISH AIR SERVICES

More than 20,000 Canadians served in the RFC and almost another 1,000 in the smaller RNAS, astonishing numbers for a country with a population at the time of only six million. An even more astonishing proportion of those Canadians became “aces,” that is, pilots who were credited with five or more victories over enemy aircraft. As previously noted, their exploits have attracted the lion’s share of attention and there are many works in that area, ranging from memoirs to popular histories to some good scholarly studies.¹⁸ Unquestionably, the most famous of those aces was William Avery “Billy” Bishop, credited with 72 victories, earning him the Victoria Cross (VC), who, arguably, remains a contentious figure. Indeed, Bishop constitutes the first “great debate” of Canadian air power historiography.

Certainly, Bishop had a colourful life. From a small town in Ontario but an upper-middle-class family, he went to the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC), withdrawing in September 1914 to join the war as a cavalry officer. A year later he transferred to the RFC, initially as an observer, but by autumn 1916 he had trained as a pilot and on March 18, 1917, claimed his first victory. He then quickly accumulated more, often flying alone in search of prey. By the summer of 1917 he had become a public figure, winning the VC in August, after which he returned to Canada for some leave and publicity tours. In April 1918, promoted to major, he returned to Europe and was appointed as a squadron commander, winning further victories. By June he was posted away from flying, and come the armistice in November he was a lieutenant-colonel, already en route back to Canada where he was to take up a position organizing an “Air Force section” of the Canadian general staff.

Bishop was released from active service on December 31, published a book, toured Canada and the US and began to dabble in civilian commercial aviation. Throughout much of the 1920s he lived in Britain, but after the 1929 stock market crash he returned to Canada, where he took a position with an oil company. In 1936, he was made an air vice-marshal (A/V/M) in the RCAF, the first flag officer appointment in the new service, but not as a regular officer. When war broke out in 1939, he was promoted to air marshal and put on active service, employed primarily in recruiting, war-bond sales and other promotional activities. By 1944, with his health failing, he retired from active service, passing away in 1956. Such are the bare facts of his life.¹⁹

The controversies surrounding Bishop go all the way back to his time at RMC. He clearly struggled there and probably seized upon the outbreak of war in 1914 as a way to depart honourably.²⁰ His war-time exploits are more seriously debated. Incontrovertibly, he was a brave and determined flyer who scored many victories. Precisely how many victories is highly contested. As already noted, he was officially credited with 72, but many of those are unverifiable, and it has been argued that the count was inflated.

This argument was best made by the great Canadian air power historian Greenhouse in his book *The Making of Billy Bishop* and more provocatively in the *Canadian Military Journal* article “Billy Bishop – Brave Flyer, Bold Liar,” in which he argues that Bishop lied about many of his kills, in particular outright inventing the incident that got him the VC: his famous dawn raid of

June 2, 1917.²¹ In that incident, Bishop was flying alone, as was his wont, searching for prey. He claimed to have appeared over a German airfield, strafed it and then shot down several fighters that scrambled in defence, getting three kills. He returned to his own airfield with his craft full of bullet-holes. No one has ever been able to definitely identify a German airfield that would match this description, and debate has raged back and forth between conclusions that, at one extreme, the raid occurred as Bishop described, and at the other, that he landed his aircraft, dismounted his machine gun to shoot up his own aircraft and then took back to the air and returned to base with the entire story made out of whole cloth.

But that debate has been played out between air power historians. Unusual for Canadian military history, Bishop has been fodder for very public controversy. In the late 1970s, he was chosen by the Canadian man of letters John Gray as the subject for a new play that became *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, starring Eric Peterson (who audiences might be more familiar with today as the father in the *Corner Gas* sitcom).²² The play debuted on stage in 1978 and was an immediate success, going on to Broadway, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for television adaptations, as well as undergoing numerous revivals. It does not allege that Bishop invented or inflated his scores (Gray may have been unaware of such debates), but it does reflect 1970s anti-war, anti-imperialist sentiments.

The real public controversy began a few years later, with the National Film Board (NFB) documentary *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*, which did raise the claims of inflated or outright invented scores.²³ This drew widespread criticism from veterans groups and others, which got enough attention that, in 1985, a Senate committee held public hearings on the controversy, and the NFB agreed to change its classification of the film from documentary to docudrama, an outcome that probably did not satisfy any party to the dispute.²⁴ The issue faded from public attention thereafter but has become more inflamed in the academic community; most of the historiographical debates cited earlier were published years after the Senate hearings closed in the mid 1980s. In 2002, the *Canadian Military Journal* published a special issue with dueling articles on the subject.²⁵

More recently, in 2014, the American popular historian specializing in aviation history, Peter Kilduff, produced a new book examining Bishop's victories. He concluded that at least 10 and possibly 21 can be identified from German records. Kilduff also notes how vague the British criteria of the time were for a victory; they included, for instance, cases of enemy aircraft driven down out of control and not seen thereafter but presumed to have crash landed.²⁶ Whatever the truth of the matter (probably that he was a bold and brave flyer, who scored many victories but not 72 of them), that is not the only controversy over Bishop, although the prominence of this debate has tended to overshadow the others.

The other controversies that should be considered are his various works in command. It does not appear that he excelled as a squadron commander, being so given to lone-wolf hunting for his own kills, not to mention being only 24 years old with less than 4 years' experience as an officer. His service in the Second World War especially calls out for scholarly examination. It appears that the RCAF wisely chose to employ him in promotional activities and kept him far away from any real role in higher command or management.²⁷ In this capacity, his official role

was overseeing recruiting, and one noteworthy aspect of his efforts in that area was his fascinating work recruiting Americans for the RCAF at a time when they were still neutral.²⁸

The other undying controversy about Canadians in First World War air history is, of course, about how the Red Baron (Manfred von Richthofen) was shot down, and who did it. It very certainly was not young W. R. “Wop” May, and it probably was not Arthur Roy Brown, both Canadians in the RFC and the pilots of the two fighters involved in the fatal engagement on April 21, 1918. The consensus seems to be that the actual bullet was probably ground fire from Australian troops, but it was a team effort since it was only the combat with May and especially Brown that forced Richthofen down low into the ground fire.²⁹

William Barker, with 50 credited victories and also a VC, is less well remembered in the public imagination but has attracted one book-length popular history and mention in many others.³⁰ There is a considerable volume of works on the numerous other Canadians who served in the RFC, as noted earlier, mostly popular histories recounting their individual acts of derring-do.³¹

A significant complicating factor in telling the stories of Canadians in the RFC is the difficulty of separating them from the larger British organization. With no citizenship laws at the time (a problem in the Second World War as well), there was no formal distinction between British and Canadian members of the RFC. Early attempts to comb through the records by hand and identify personnel by their place of origin were time consuming and problematic (e.g., how to count those who had grown up and joined from Canada but had been born in the British Isles and immigrated to Canada as young children?). Deciding who among those who served in the British flying services counts as Canadian remains a challenge for both world wars.³²

There is less writing on the smaller number of Canadians who served in the RNAS. As always, the relevant official history provides a good overview, but we have no work dedicated specifically to this subject. It is addressed as background in the first chapter of the old RCN Historical Section’s *A History of Canadian Naval Aviation*.³³ There is also the usual smattering of memoirs and popular histories of individual flyers.³⁴ And of course, the same challenges also apply with identifying Canadians in the larger British service mentioned for the RFC.

Much of the best material on Canadian aviators in the First World War—certainly much of the most detailed on individual airmen—is to be found in the works of various societies devoted to the study of Great War aviation. The most important of these is the British Great War Aviation Society, which has long published the famous journal *Cross & Cockade International* and in more recent years has run an excellent website.³⁵ In the US are the similar groups *Over the Front* and *The Aerodrome*, which both maintain extensive websites,³⁶ and in Germany and Italy are the harder to find journals *Propellerblatt* and *Aerofan* respectively.

Quite a few Canadians in the RFC and RNAS have been the subject of articles in those fora. Perhaps the most prolific author of such works was Stewart K. Taylor, who personally interviewed many of the surviving airmen and, from the 1970s onward, published numerous articles in both *Cross & Cockade International* and *Over the Front*.³⁷

5. FIRST WORLD WAR: RFC TRAINING IN CANADA

While it is probably unsurprising that attention has been fixated on the quite astonishing number of aces who came from Canada, this has tended to overshadow the less inherently dramatic but significant role Canada played in training aircrew in the First World War. Considerable training facilities for the British air-war effort were established in Canada, presaging the even greater effort that would be made in the Second World War. We lack a dedicated study examining this subject, although there are a few popular histories and an immediate post-war study that provides much detail (including description of the Armour Heights method of instruction for pilots) if less analysis of broader issues.³⁸

There are two journal articles that can serve as good introductions to the subject, one from the 1950s and one that is more recent, as well as a good overview in a chapter-length study.³⁹ Lastly, just for fun, we note that famous American novelist William Faulkner volunteered for the Royal Air Force (RAF) in the final months of the war and was undergoing training in Canada when the war ended, something Faulkner promoted and allowed to grow in the telling into war-time service in France.⁴⁰

6. INTER-WAR: FOUNDING THE RCAF

As noted above, organized air forces in Canada actually predate the founding of the RCAF, which did not occur until 1924. After the false starts of the Canadian Aviation Corps in 1914 as well as the Royal Canadian Naval Air Service and independent Canadian Air Force in 1918, there came the Air Board in 1919 and then the Canadian Air Force (without the “Royal” designation) in 1920.⁴¹

Perhaps it is not surprising that these organizations are mostly forgotten and have attracted little writing. There is a book-length monograph from the official historians and a chapter in volume 2 of the official history that provide good overviews, but one is now more than 50 years old and the other only a couple of dozen pages long.⁴² Milberry’s *Evolution of an Air Force* provides a brief history before focusing on the Second World War onwards.⁴³ Various works mention or describe the founding but none really analyse it in any detail, from either a government-policy perspective or the institutional implications for the RCAF.⁴⁴

7. INTER-WAR: BUSH PILOTS

The official history covering the inter-war years has a chapter titled “Bush Pilots in Uniform,” which outlines how running an air service focused in large part on aerial mapping was the major responsibility the government gave to the RCAF in the 1920s.⁴⁵ More recently, the noted Canadian scholar of military history Desmond Morton expanded upon that point in a work with the blunt title “A Non-Operational Air Force.”⁴⁶

Various popular histories have also described the era.⁴⁷ However, while that is certainly true of the 1920s and—especially after what was known at the time as the “big cut” in the Depression—it is also true that this emphasis changed, at least somewhat, in the later 1930s, when it was increasingly clear that another war was looming.⁴⁸ Survey histories of the Second World War tend to start by observing how ill-prepared Canada was in 1939, which is certainly true, but it is also true that, even in Canada, rearmament began not with the declaration of war in September 1939 but years earlier; Canadian defence spending began rising as early as 1935.⁴⁹ Furthermore, as James Eayrs put it in his seminal work, when this rearmament began, tentative as it was, “the Air Force [came] before the Navy, and the Navy before the Militia” (as the Army was still formally known at the time).⁵⁰ This order of priorities reflected the strategic reasoning of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King that would be apparent when war came, as we shall read about later.

8. INTER-WAR: CANADIANS IN THE RAF

Another underappreciated aspect of Canadian air power history is how a number of Canadians pursued careers in the RAF during the inter-war years, something less true of Canadians in the British Army or Royal Navy.⁵¹ As many as 1,800 Canadians served in the inter-war RAF, most of whom travelled to the UK as individuals and enrolled in the RAF there (sometimes after having been rejected by the RCAF), which was absolutely possible for them to do at the time as subjects of the British Empire. As noted earlier, this is an issue that complicates all efforts to tell the stories of Canadians in British service.⁵² Furthermore, there were arrangements at the time for students from RMC to serve in the RAF for several years after graduation and then return to Canada for civil careers and reserve service in the RCAF.⁵³ Indeed, when war broke out in 1939 there were actually more Canadians in the RAF than there were in the RCAF.⁵⁴

Canadians crossing the ocean to join the RAF persisted into the war, but the phenomenon of Canadians in the RAF really began with those who had served in the First World War and elected to remain with the RAF afterwards. The most prominent of these were Raymond Collishaw, the second-highest-scoring Canadian ace in the First World War at 60 victories, and Robert “Bob” Leckie. Collishaw, born and raised on Vancouver Island, served in the RNAS during the war, transferring to the RAF when it was formed. By 1939 he was an Air Commodore in the RAF and became the first RAF higher commander in the Middle East until 1941, when he was promoted to A/V/M and posted to Fighter Command back in the UK.

Leckie, born in the UK, moved with his family to Toronto as a teenager, where he joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force in 1914. He signed up for flying training and wound up in the RNAS, thence the RAF, and was an air commodore when the Second World War broke out. In 1942, he was transferred to the RCAF to oversee the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP), probably at the suggestion of the British, who wanted someone they felt they could trust to run such a large and critical endeavour. A scholarly biography of Collishaw and study of his command in the Western Desert was recently penned.⁵⁵ There is no biography of Leckie, although his role in the BCATP is examined in various works.

9. SECOND WORLD WAR: GENERAL

Writing on the Second World War is unquestionably the single largest area of RCAF historiography, but as is so often the case with air power writing, most of it is the recounting of aircrew experiences. There is nevertheless a fair body of work summarizing the RCAF in the war. Once again, first mention should go to the *Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*. At over 1,000 pages between Volumes II and III, it provides a comprehensive and scholarly survey.

Volume III, *The Crucible of War, 1939–1945*, even managed to provoke public reaction and briefly gain attention—if not actual notoriety—when it was published in 1994, due to its perceived slighting of the strategic-bombing effort. It covered air policy at the national level and then all aspects of the RCAF's war effort overseas, including fighters, bombers, maritime air and air transport, but it should be noted that the history of the RCAF's home-based activities is covered in Volume II, *The Creation of a National Air Force*. It covers not only the massive and important BCATP, but also Canadian-based air defence, which was untried by enemy action but extensive, and more significantly, it covers the maritime air war from the Canadian side of the North Atlantic.

What is **not** covered in the official histories is the experience of the approximately 50,000 RCAF personnel who served as individuals in RAF units. More popular survey histories of note include Spencer Dunmore's *Above and Beyond*, Milberry and Halliday's *The Royal Canadian Air Force at War, 1919–1945* and the relevant chapters of the survey histories of the RCAF.⁵⁶

10. SECOND WORLD WAR: CANADA AND THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

The RCAF missed the Battle of France in 1940 (although once again it should be noted that a number of individual Canadians serving in the RAF were present for that campaign), our first formed unit, No. 1—later 401—Squadron (Sqn) not arriving in time. But it was a fighter squadron, and it did serve in the Battle of Britain, claiming 30 enemy aircraft destroyed, 8 probable and 35 damaged, losing 3 pilots killed and 13 wounded.⁵⁷ There is now a new book-length study by the popular Ted Barris, “Battle of Britain: Canadian Airmen in Their Finest Hour,”⁵⁸ but 401 Sqn's exploits are covered in most of the survey histories, the several versions of their squadron history—notably a 1991 publication that consists of their operational record book entries reproduced with some commentary—and a special edition of the *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal (RCAF Journal)*.⁵⁹

The commanding officer (CO) was Squadron Leader (S/L) Ernie McNab, a pre-war Regular Force officer who scored five victories and subsequently commanded RCAF Station Digby in the UK, finishing the war as a group captain (G/C) in Western Air Command. He went on to have a distinguished post-war RCAF career. Another top-scoring ace with five victories was Gordon McGregor, later a wing commander in the Overlord campaign and in post-war years was an early member of Trans-Canada Air Lines (which became Air Canada), from which he retired in 1968, having been its first president.

Also worthy of note was 242 Sqn, which, although a RAF and not an RCAF unit, was often referred to unofficially as “242 Canadian Sqn,” as the RAF had made an effort to concentrate the fair number of Canadians in the RAF in this unit, as was noted earlier, although it should be noted here that the CO was not a Canadian, but famous British officer Douglas Bader.⁶⁰ Prominent Canadians in the Squadron included William McKnight (one of those Canadians who had crossed the Atlantic to join the RAF in February 1939) and John Blandford Latta.

At least 50 other Canadians flew in the Battle, scattered among various RAF squadrons. Once again, we lack biographies of any of these men, but there are accounts of many of their individual exploits in various popular history anthologies, most notably *All the Fine Young Eagles: In the Cockpit with Canada's Second World War Fighter Pilots* by Dave Bashow as well as an earlier account of Canadian participation in the Battle of Britain by Billy Bishop's son, Arthur, himself a fighter pilot later in the Second World War.⁶¹

11. SECOND WORLD WAR: BCATP

In the Second World War, Canada's wide open and safe airspace was once again in demand for training aircrew, just as it had been in the First World War. Also, it is clear the government's initial intention—or at least hope—was that Canada might be able to follow a “limited liability” and focus upon the air rather than troops on the ground as we had with the Canadian Corps in the First World War.⁶² In consequence, Canada eventually ran a massive programme, generally known in Canada as the BCATP, but sometimes elsewhere as the Empire Air Training Plan (EATP), or Empire Air Training Scheme (EATS), with a network of some 230 facilities that over the course of the war trained more than 130,000 aircrew from not only Canada, but also the UK, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa as well as numbers of Free French, Czechs, Belgians, Dutch, Norwegians and Poles.

The standard reference on the work is Fred Hatch's thorough but somewhat plodding official history, *Aerodrome of Democracy*, now over 40 years old.⁶³ More recently are a chapter-length study, various popular histories and the creditable *Training for Victory*.⁶⁴ In 2016, RCAF Chief Historian Richard Mayne noted that there has been no scholarly examination of the BCATP from the British side, a lacuna now at least partially filled by Iain E. Johnston.⁶⁵ Also worthy of note, a special issue of the *RCAF Journal* was dedicated to the BCATP, with seven articles on subjects such as how the Mackenzie King Government negotiated the deal with the British and, in particular, the contentious Article 15, which led to the Canadianization issue and to an examination of the politics of selecting sites for airfields.⁶⁶

12. SECOND WORLD WAR: BOMBERS

It is probably fair to say that, in general (not just in Canada), the most controversial aspect of air power in the Second World War was strategic bombing, both its effectiveness and its morality.⁶⁷ In Canada, however, although the subject certainly has been controversial, its study has all too often been shallow. The first overviews of the Canadian strategic-bombing effort did not come until we were into the 1990s, when non-academic Spencer Dunmore teamed up with William S. Carter to produce *Reap the Whirlwind*, finished in 1991, the same year in which Carter's 1989 doctoral dissertation on No. 6 (RCAF) Group of Bomber Command was published as a book.⁶⁸ Since then, the only other such work of note is Milberry's recent *Bombing and Coastal Operations Overseas 1939–1945*, although strategic bombing has featured as a section within the various survey histories already mentioned.⁶⁹ None of those works addressed any of the wider controversies about the bombing campaign.

Really, the first work to spark debate on the subject in Canada was the now-infamous CBC documentary miniseries *The Valour and the Horror*, which originally aired in January 1992.⁷⁰ One of the series' three episodes, "Death by Moonlight," examined the Canadian effort in the bombing campaign, offering harshly critical conclusions. The McKenna brothers argued that not only was the bombing militarily ineffective and egregiously immoral, but what is more (and somewhat quixotically), it amounted to something of a conspiracy perpetrated by the commander of the RAF's Bomber Command, Air Marshal Harris. The bombing was kept secret from the Canadian aircrew flying the missions, in essence cynically exploiting their innocent patriotism and determination, all to "crush Germany."

Reaction was swift and divisive. The documentary was harshly criticized by veterans' groups and some historians but was defended by others.⁷¹ Inquiries were launched by the CBC's own in-house ombudsman, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and even the Senate. A group of respected Canadian military historians were consulted and produced a book about it.⁷² Decisions from the various inquiries were split and did not please anyone.⁷³ A class-action lawsuit was launched by one veterans' group but came to naught.⁷⁴

Just as things were coming to that unsatisfactory conclusion, volume III of the official history was published. In the 350 pages of the official history's section devoted to "The Bomber War," it dares to offer the conclusion that the bombing campaign "proved to be something of a disappointment," noting that while it produced "acres of devastation," German industrial production actually increased through most of the bombing and that German civilian morale had proven surprisingly resilient.

Bombing had played "some part in slowing the rate of expansion" in German production, although "precisely how much" was "difficult to determine." It was, however, "of much greater significance" the official history concluded, that the bombing campaign had "constituted a 'Second Front' long before" D-Day.⁷⁵ Such measured conclusions reignited the controversy from *The Valour and the Horror*, resulting in the astonishing spectacle of media pundits debating a scholarly military history work, and official historians being sought out for prime-time interviews.⁷⁶

Jack Granatstein, doyen emeritus of Canadian military historians, offered a scathing review of the official history, characterizing its introduction as “offensively politically correct,” the main body—or at least the section on the bombing war—as “astonishingly opinionated” and the whole as lacking “any conclusion that attempts to tie the book together,” perhaps due to the lack of a “guiding editorial hand, one needed to rein in the intemperate judgments that mar it.” More generously, he did allow that it was “massively researched, a wonderful guide to the sources for all who follow.”⁷⁷

Incredibly, even that was not the end of the public controversies. In 2007, another round of controversy flared up, once again with the Royal Canadian Legion leading the charge. This time the controversy surrounded a small plaque within the then-new building at the Canadian War Museum, which had just completed its display on the bombing campaign. Complaints were aimed at the plaque’s text, which noted that “the value and morality of the strategic bomber offensive against Germany remains bitterly contested” and “the raids resulted in only small reductions in German war production.”

Another Senate inquiry was mounted, and the plaque was changed, replaced with a longer one that still noted how the campaign “remains a source of controversy” and that “while the campaign contributed greatly to enemy war weariness, German society did not collapse despite 600,000 dead and more than five million left homeless. Industrial output fell substantially, but not until late in the war. The effectiveness and the morality of bombing heavily populated areas in war continue to be debated.” Once again, even within the historical community, opinions were divided.⁷⁸

A more recent contribution to the debate has come from University of Toronto political scientist Randall Hansen. Although not focused upon the RCAF’s contribution specifically, in 2009 he published a book that was highly critical of the bombing effort in general, and Air Marshal Harris in particular.⁷⁹ This work has received mixed reviews—mostly positive from non-specialists and rather critical from air power historian Randy Wakelam, who found it interesting but riddled with errors, filled with misunderstandings of the technicalities, and uninformed by the wider literature.⁸⁰ While not meant as a rebuttal to Hansen or the *Valour and the Horror* per se, a study produced by Wakelam shows how the RAF struggled to improve its operational technique.⁸¹

But the most ardent defender of the bombing campaign in Canadian historiography is, unquestionably, retired fighter pilot, academic, historian and former editor of the *Canadian Military Journal* David Bashow. In rapid succession he produced no less than three works arguing on various grounds in favour of the bombing campaign, ranging from political effect on the Germans, to attrition of their industrial capacity, to diversion of resources.⁸² He first made these arguments in 2005 in some detail in the more than 500-page *No Prouder Place*, then in the much shorter *None but the Brave*, which recycles much of the former’s material but broadens the scope somewhat to include the Americans.

Finally, in response to Hansen’s *Fire and Fury*, Bashow produced the even shorter but sharper *Soldiers Blue*, which opens with a direct refutation of what he describes as eight key points from

Hansen's work.⁸³ Who might be right or wrong in these debates is surely not the relevant point here; what matters is that these are important questions, and we need more engagement, not less, to answer these tough questions.⁸⁴

13. SECOND WORLD WAR: FIGHTERS

Once again, the Red Baron Syndrome's effects are strong, and most of what we have are writings on personal experiences, including multitudes of popular anthologies of fighter pilots and a few memoirs. There are, however, no proper biographies.⁸⁵ There also are not any great controversies to compare to either that about Billy Bishop in the First World War or the undying arguments over strategic bombing as outlined earlier.

The closest thing to controversy probably concerns George "Buzz" Beurling, actually. He is now best known under the call sign "Buzz," a moniker apparently given to him by public relations in place of his actual nickname, "Screwball," which hints at the nature of the debate over his legacy. Beurling is one of those Canadians who joined the RAF after being turned down by the RCAF, completing his pilot training in 1941. Because of his nationality, his first posting was to an "RCAF" squadron (No. 403) in December 1941, but in early 1942 he was posted out—ironically due to the Canadianization efforts to replace RAF aircrew with RCAF personnel. He wound up with 249 Sqn in Malta, then besieged by the Axis and under continual air attack.

It was in Malta that Beurling earned the Screwball nickname, either because it was a favourite expletive of his, or because it was evocative of his somewhat idiosyncratic and loner personality. Regardless, he proved to be an excellent fighter pilot, eventually earning 31 kills. The RAF commissioned him in July 1942, clearly because of his record of aerial victories and despite reservations about his teamwork and leadership potential. That year they also awarded him in succession the Distinguished Flying Medal (DFM), the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC) and the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) for the same reasons. At the end of the year, with 27 victories at that point, he was pulled out of Malta and sent back to Canada for a publicity tour selling war bonds. While he was welcomed by the public as a hero, by all accounts he was ill-suited for the work, getting into some trouble for impolitic comments and undisciplined behaviour.

On his return to Britain, he was briefly employed as an operational training unit instructor, and then, in September 1943, he was transferred to the RCAF and posted back to his first squadron, No. 403, where he clearly irritated his CO but was nevertheless promoted to flight lieutenant (F/L). Eventually he was transferred to 412 Sqn (probably to avoid his CO charging him), with which he scored his final victory in December 1943, before being posted back to Canada and given an honourable discharge. It seems clear that the only explanation for a discharge at the height of the war in 1944 is that patience with Beurling's ongoing discipline problems had finally run out. (Likely anyone less famous would have been court-martialed rather than released.)

After the war, he volunteered for action with the nascent Israeli Air Force but was killed in an air crash on his way to join their cause. A colourful character, Beurling has been the subject of two popular histories and is mentioned in many histories of the Malta siege and various fighter-pilot anthologies (both Canadian and British) but lacks a proper biography.⁸⁶ He is also the subject of a chapter-length study that somewhat unconvincingly argues that he did show teamwork and leadership skills.⁸⁷

So much for colourful personalities. There is also a body of more analytical work examining the role of fighters in the war, particularly their role as fighter-bombers. Some of this focuses upon the aircraft themselves and some on the techniques perfected in the final land campaigns of the war, when modern tactical air power was developed.⁸⁸

14. SECOND WORLD WAR: MARITIME AIR

There is very little writing on the RCAF in the maritime air effort of the Second World War, which means essentially the Battle of the Atlantic.⁸⁹ Aside from the official history, which provides a solid overview of the RCAF's efforts in that endeavour both from the western side of the ocean under Canadian command and from the eastern side under RAF Coastal Command, there is not a single book-length work dedicated to examining this critical effort.

RCAF participation is of course discussed in various naval histories,⁹⁰ but, as the noted Canadian naval historian Marc Milner put it, the role of the RCAF in the Battle of the Atlantic, or indeed of air power more generally, is something that air historians "ignore utterly and naval historians treat only in passing."⁹¹ This lack of attention is especially critical since, as Milner goes on to argue, "the failure of the Allies to close the air gap [in the middle of the North Atlantic] before 1943 remains one of the great historical problems of the war."⁹²

There are works examining that issue, but none focused upon the RCAF specifically.⁹³ In the absence of books examining the air-gap question, there are a few articles devoted to the issue.⁹⁴ There are not even squadron histories on the RCAF units from Canada and Newfoundland that fought the Battle, although there are a handful of articles.⁹⁵ There are two popular histories of RCAF squadrons in the RAF's Coastal Command.⁹⁶

15. SECOND WORLD WAR: AIR TRANSPORT

Despite the RCAF placing, as Bertram Frandsen noted, "greater emphasis" on fielding combat squadrons than air transport during the war, eventually no less than six overseas and nine home-based transport, utility or ferry squadrons were raised.⁹⁷ The only scholarly work dedicated to the subject is the section on air transport in volume III of the official history and a

few scattered articles or chapter-length works.⁹⁸ A related scholarly work is Carl Christie's *Ocean Bridge*, which is not air-transport related per se, but rather about the ferrying of aircraft across the Atlantic to deliver them from North American factories to operations in Europe.⁹⁹

16. SECOND WORLD WAR: CANADIANIZATION

The Canadianization issue, dating from the First World War as noted earlier, reflects the heritage of personnel of Canadian origin serving in British air services as individuals.¹⁰⁰ During the Second World War this issue was exacerbated by the way the BCATP was established; the programme fed Canadian personnel as individuals into the RAF to where they were needed most, which often meant British squadrons, especially in the early years. This was in addition to those Canadians who had joined the RAF directly, either during or before the war. Really, the RCAF overseas was not organizationally distinct from the RAF in the way that the Canadian Army was distinct from the British Army. Even RCAF-formed squadrons were allocated as units within the RAF structure under British command, with British RAF personnel posted into them to fill vacancies as needed, something that was especially true of ground crew earlier in the war.

As the war progressed, a policy of Canadianization—the term used at the time—was pursued (i.e., collecting all RCAF personnel scattered across RAF units into Canadian squadrons and then grouping those squadrons into Canadian-run wings and ultimately [within Bomber Command] No. 6 Group). These efforts caused real frictions with the British, who tended to regard them as a parochial complication in the midst of their efforts to fight a total war.

The best published examination of this contentious issue is found within volume III of the official history, although the issue had been addressed earlier within two of the great C. P. Stacey's general works.¹⁰¹ The other two significant works are William Carter's already mentioned study of 6 Group and British historian Iain E. Johnston's more recent interpretation, which argues that Canadianization was less resisted and more of a success than others thought.¹⁰² There are also some chapter-length treatments, including the memoirs of Chubby Power, who was the Minister of National Defence for Air, and finally, an unpublished doctoral dissertation.¹⁰³

17. SECOND WORLD WAR: PERSONNEL ISSUES

Unquestionably, the most prominent personnel issue in the Canadian historiography of the Second World War is conscription as well as the workforce difficulties that prompted it. Most of the literature on this issue focuses upon the Canadian Army—in particular the personnel demands for infantry replacements after D-Day—rather than on the RCAF; certainly it was the need for Army replacements that was the single greatest pressure, although RCAF demands

for replacement aircrew through the BCATP were considerable.¹⁰⁴ The most recent scholarship argues that Canadian personnel allocation was more muddled than originally portrayed, and less successful, including for the RCAF.¹⁰⁵

Accounts of personal experiences—often memoirs but in many cases popular accounts of “what it was like”—easily make up the single largest category of books about the RCAF in the Second World War. There are so many of these that they are broken down into the following categories in the annotated bibliography attached to this study: general anthologies, the bomber experience, the fighter experience and the experience of ground personnel.

But as regards more rigorous examination of personnel issues, essentially the only serious work is Allan English's *The Cream of the Crop*, which, as its name suggests, studies how aircrew were selected during the war, although it does touch on other things.¹⁰⁶ There was a monograph produced in the 1950s on personnel allocation in the RCAF, ironically produced by the Army rather than RCAF history staff, but nothing of note since.¹⁰⁷

One personnel issue that bears mention is what was known as “lacking moral fibre (LMF).” Aircrew members who were unable to continue flying due to psychological breakdown under the stress of operations were generally labelled as LMF and either dismissed in disgrace or sent on various regimes which were rather like military detention. The allegation that this was harsh and unfair was one of the accusations of the now-infamous *Valour and the Horror* series, something that was generally overshadowed in that controversy by the wider debate about strategic bombing's utility and morality. The LMF issue is touched upon in *The Cream of the Crop* and examined in two separate chapter studies by the same author.¹⁰⁸

18. KOREA

The Korean conflict has been dubbed “Canada's forgotten war,” but the RCAF's role in it was relatively minor.¹⁰⁹ Aside from the F-86 pilots and some ground personnel that we sent to serve on exchange with the US, our only involvement was 426 Sqn, which was assigned responsibility to fly regular strategic airlift in and out of theatre as well as some medical evacuations. The best survey of RCAF participation is Richard Mayne's chapter in *Canada and the Korean War*.¹¹⁰ A more popular overview is available online, and 426's operations are covered in Chapter 16 of *On the Wings of War and Peace*.¹¹¹

Fortunately, 426 Sqn happens to have the best documented squadron history, in the form of *Thunderbirds for Peace*, which provides 150 pages of well-referenced detail.¹¹² We lack any sort of scholarly study of the 22 pilots who flew Sabres on exchange with the United States Air Force (USAF), although as always there are various popular accounts of their individual exploits, in particular the 7 pilots credited with shooting down MiGs.

Perhaps the best known of these was F/L Omer Lévesque, a war-time Spitfire veteran who happened to be serving on exchange with the USAF's 334th Sqn at Langley Air Force Base (AFB) in Virginia when the war broke out. The 334th was deployed to Korea with its F-86 Sabres, and Lévesque went with them, serving there from December 1950 to June 1951. He scored a victory over a Soviet MiG-15 that, combined with his four victories from the Second World War, made him an ace and won him an American DFC.

Other prominent exchange officers included G/C Ed Hale, the inaugural commander of No. 1 Wing being formed for NATO service in Europe, who was sent for a six-month tour in Korea in preparation for that role, and Wing Commander "Buck" McNair, a distinguished Spitfire ace from the war who was serving as the air attaché in Japan when the war broke out. Additionally, one RCN aviator, Lieutenant Joe MacBrien, flew on exchange with the US Navy in the F9F-5 Panther, and he too won an American DFC. Several who were either Canadian Army pilots or observers served in Korea, including a young Peter Worthington, who subsequently became well known as a journalist. Finally, some 40 RCAF flight nurses flew on medical evacuation flights bringing wounded out of theatre.¹¹³

19. 1950–1960: THE GOLDEN ERA

The 1950s have been referred to as the RCAF's "golden years." At that time in the early years of the nuclear age, as in the US, it was the Air Force that received the largest portion of the defence budget, and the RCAF grew from a small post-war cadre to a force of 41 squadrons with some of the most modern aircraft of the time, more than 50,000 personnel (more than the Army) and a showcase air division with NATO in Europe. The term "golden years" appears in various book and chapter titles and a couple of unpublished doctoral dissertations covering the RCAF of the 1950s, and it was even used by Eayrs in his classic *In Defence of Canada* series.¹¹⁴

Of course, the term has been applied to Canada in those years more broadly, and the other two services look back on the era as something of a time of plenty.¹¹⁵ But of the three Canadian services, it is in RCAF historiography that the phrase tends to appear the most,¹¹⁶ despite the fact that the RCAF suffered some notable institutional disappointments in the 1950s. These ranged from the government quashing of aspirations for a second air division with NATO in Europe, to the infamous cancellation of the Avro Arrow at the end of the decade. Perhaps the Arrow cancellation can be taken as a handy marker for the end of the golden years.¹¹⁷

20. AIR DIVISION IN EUROPE

One of the things that made the 1950s golden years for the RCAF was No. 1 Air Division in support of NATO in Europe. Originally, there were no less than 12 squadrons of F-86 Sabres at four air bases, two in France and two in West Germany, with a support unit in the UK and headquarters

in a gorgeous old chateau just outside of Metz, France. For a time, with 300 Sabres, it was the second-largest contingent of modern fighter jets in NATO, second only to the Americans.¹¹⁸

Even more incredibly, to modern eyes at least, it was a scant three years from a Cabinet decision to create the force to it being operationally ready in Europe. Later it converted to CF-104s, originally in the tactical nuclear role, and then progressively reduced in size until but three squadrons at one air base remained, a reduction which precipitated a name change to 1 Canadian Air Group (vice Division), or “1 CAG.”

In the mid-1980s, it converted aircraft again, to the CF-188, and under the Mulroney Government’s late Cold War defence build-up it was reconstituted as an air division, with a second wing at Lahr on fly-over status. One squadron from Cold Lake and one from Bagotville were to fly in at increased alert levels, but the wing headquarters was established as a standing organization in Lahr. In 1992–93, the Air Division was dissolved as Canada pulled out of Europe after the Cold War. This story is covered in various survey histories, in broad outline at least, but there is only one book-length study, and it only covers the period up to 1970 and the reduction to a group.¹¹⁹

We thus lack any serious study of the 1 CAG years or re-establishment of the Air Division in the 1980s. Once again, this stands in contrast to the several works on the Canadian Army brigade that was committed to NATO.¹²⁰ Histories of the political and policy levels of Canada’s NATO commitment are better covered.¹²¹ It is worth noting that in the contemporary Air Force the headquarters for the operational portion of the RCAF, 1 Canadian Air Division (1 Cdn Air Div) in Winnipeg, perpetuates the name of No. 1 Air Division in Europe, and 1, 2, 3 and 4 Wings perpetuate its four constituent wings.

The major debates regarding the RCAF contingent in NATO concern the scale and role of the contribution. The first controversy, which became something of a civil-military friction, is almost completely forgotten today. In 1951, in the rush to establish the NATO force, President Dwight D. Eisenhower wanted to be able to rely heavily upon air power, in the Western fashion, to counter the Soviet’s large advantage in ground-troop numbers. To that end, he went through purely military channels to ask the four largest air forces of the time—those of the US, UK, France and Canada—what the maximum build-up they might be able to achieve would be in the fastest possible time.¹²²

This resulted in military talks that produced what became known as the “Paris Plan,” which called for Canada to provide not just the air division of fighters that we eventually did deploy but also a second air division of light bombers, which would have brought the total Canadian contribution to almost 500 aircraft.¹²³ The RCAF appears to have been flattered by the prestige and prominence that such a contingent would have represented, but Defence Minister Claxton was clearly irritated by what he considered to be an outrageous request, and forcefully ordered it dropped.¹²⁴

Another behind-closed-doors debate concerning the establishment of the Air Division was where it would be grouped in Europe—with the British in the north or with the Americans in the south? The Canadian Army—or its chief, Lieutenant-General Guy Simonds, at any rate—

strongly favoured grouping with the British. The RCAF, however, strongly favoured grouping with the Americans, partly due to commonality of aircraft type and North American air defence cooperation, and partly due to the somewhat bitter professional experience of working under the British during the war. In the end, the RCAF Air Division was grouped with the Americans and the Canadian Army with the British.¹²⁵

The next and far more public debate concerned the Air Division's nuclearization in the early 1960s, ironically just as the Americans began efforts to change NATO's strategy from one heavily based upon massive nuclear retaliation to a conventionally based flexible response. The history of that larger debate is vast, but makes no particular mention of Canada, which was not a major player in the issue.¹²⁶ It is clear that the leadership of the RCAF had a strong desire to adopt a nuclear role in the late 1950s due to the perceived professional prestige of such a role.¹²⁷

The government appears to have been less impressed with such reasoning, but willing to go along.¹²⁸ No. 1 Air Division duly converted from F-86s to CF-104s, which became something of a NATO standard aircraft for the nuclear strike role, adopted not only by Canada, but also by West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Greece and Turkey. Having begun conversion, however, the Diefenbaker Government dragged its heels on acquiring the nuclear weapons implicit in the decision to do so, although it eventually did. As was the case with the other allies, the nuclear bombs themselves were American, provided under a NATO "nuclear sharing" arrangement where US caretaker units located at each of the airbases held the bombs until they were loaded onto the aircraft, which would only be done on order and with the mutual consent of NATO, the US and the nation owning the aircraft.¹²⁹

The immediate issue with this arrangement for Canada was that two of our four NATO airbases were in France, which under Charles de Gaulle refused to allow on their territory nuclear weapons not under their explicit national control. The CF-104s at the two wings in France were thus confined to their secondary roles of reconnaissance and conventional attack, while the two wings in West Germany held the nuclear role. It is worth emphasizing how firmly committed to the nuclear strike role No. 1 Air Division was by the mid 1960s, with half of our CF-104s holding alert with up to 1.5 megaton-sized nuclear weapons.¹³⁰

In 1968, the new Trudeau Government, opposed to nuclear weapons on principle and military alliances in general, apparently considered withdrawing all forces from Europe. After a wide-ranging study that attracted considerable public attention, it dropped the nuclear role and downsized the Air Division to the wing-sized 1 CAG but did not withdraw from Europe entirely.¹³¹ Finally, in what turned out to be the concluding few years of the Cold War, as part of the Mulroney Government's now largely forgotten defence build-up, 1 CAG was reconstituted as an air division once again, at least nominally. There were two wings: 4 Wing in Baden-Soellingen, as it had been under 1 CAG, and a resurrected 3 Wing in Lahr, of which the wing headquarters and a few elements were in place, but the two constituent CF-188 squadrons were flown in. The resurrected No. 1 Air Division headquarters was housed in the caserne at Lahr, along with Canadian Forces Europe (CFE) Headquarters and the Army Brigade Group Headquarters.

It should also be mentioned that No. 1 Air Division / 1 CAG was not Canada's only Air Force involvement with NATO during the Cold War. Aside from the extensive maritime air efforts in the North Atlantic, two deployable squadrons of CF-5s were part of the Canadian Air Sea Transportable (CAST) commitment, a brigade group that was to reinforce NATO's northern flank in Norway from 1968–1987. The major debate was about how viable a commitment it was.¹³² We also contributed personnel and funds to the NATO Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) unit created in the 1980s at Geilenkirchen, Germany.¹³³ And lastly, perpetuating our traditional large training programmes in both world wars, what was originally known as the NATO Air Training Plan ran in the 1950s, conducted today by the NATO Flying Training in Canada (NFTC) Programme.¹³⁴

21. NORAD / DEFENCE OF NORTH AMERICA

The North American Air Defence (NORAD, now “Aerospace Defence”) agreement was signed in the late 1950s but sprang from over a decade of growing air defence ties with the US before that.¹³⁵ Since the late 1980s, the seminal work on NORAD's founding has been *No Boundaries Upstairs* by an American academic (rather than a Canadian), Joseph Jockel of St. Lawrence University in upstate New York.¹³⁶ Jockel argued that while the US certainly did not regard Canada as an equal partner, NORAD was a reasonable solution to a common threat. Twenty years later he followed that up with *Canada in NORAD*.¹³⁷

Another work of note is the survey edited by Canadian academics Joel Sokolsky, Christian Leuprecht and Thomas Hughes, *North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century*.¹³⁸ The most recent work is an excellent policy-level review, *NORAD in Perpetuity and Beyond* by Andrea Charron and James Fergusson.¹³⁹ There have been a fair number of other policy-level examinations of the issue, but the only other scholarly examinations of NORAD from an air power perspective have been Richard Goette's study of the RCAF-USAF cooperation in the post-war era that laid the groundwork for NORAD, and a doctoral dissertation.¹⁴⁰ There are also various non-academic works, mostly memoirs or amateur historical accounts of those who served with NORAD, with some explanation of what they did.¹⁴¹

While NORAD has a lower profile in Canada than NATO, it has still managed to attract its share of controversy, dating all the way back to when the agreement was announced in 1958. Historians generally regard this as being due to maladroit political handling of the issue by the Diefenbaker Government, as there was broad consensus in Ottawa on the need for it. Indeed, it was the previous Liberal Government that had negotiated the agreement—primarily the Minister for External Affairs of the time, the famous Lester B. Pearson, who had since become the leader of the opposition and was thus in no position to condemn it.

But controversy nevertheless did erupt over the Canadian use of nuclear weapons, especially over allegations that the agreement compromised Canadian sovereignty. Perhaps the exemplar

of that critique was made by journalist James Minifie in his polemic *Peacemaker or Powder-Monkey*, published two years after the agreement was signed, in which he alleged that Canada's "independence of action was subordinated to 'one overall boss' in the USAF" as a result of "brassy intrigue," and more generally that American militarism had betrayed the intent of Western collective security.¹⁴²

Other works offering anti-American critiques of the agreement came out in the 1960s and 1970s, but even some current mainstream military historians have repeated the same claims. Desmond Morton, for instance, in his widely read *A Military History of Canada* wrote that the NORAD agreement "unwittingly" signed away the ability to declare war independently of the US.¹⁴³

More recently, Canadian scholar of Arctic issues Shelagh Grant wrote that "it was proven during the Cuban missile crisis that 'consultation' [by the US with Canada] might mean notification after the fact and not participation in decision-making."¹⁴⁴ In fact, the Cuban missile crisis forms a fascinating case study for this issue, something examined in Peter Haydon's *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered*.¹⁴⁵ These debates, while significant, have tended to crowd out any other issues in the history of NORAD's founding, in particular the St-Laurent Government's role before the Diefenbaker Government inherited the file.¹⁴⁶

American analyses of NORAD, while often noting the Canadian sensitivities about sovereignty, tended to argue that the agreement was driven by the inevitable and unavoidable dynamics of air warfare in the nuclear age, and that the terms of the agreement were, as US scholar Melvin Conant put it in 1962, "only sensible" and that "there were no practical alternatives."¹⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly, a couple of American official histories offer the same assessment.¹⁴⁸ But so did most Canadian academic assessments, albeit perhaps somewhat mournfully.¹⁴⁹

In the late 1990s, the noted Canadian academic Andrew Richter produced an informative assessment of the state of Canadian strategic thinking at the time of NORAD's founding.¹⁵⁰ Most recently, the scholar of air power studies serving as an academic at Canadian Forces College (CFC), Richard Goette, has argued that by working with the USAF at the professional level, the RCAF was able to make adroit use of the "operational control" arrangement to make NORAD work without unduly compromising Canadian sovereignty.¹⁵¹

The primary American debate over NORAD has concerned its necessity. If it is true as is commonly argued that we must rely upon deterrence because no effective defence against strategic nuclear attack is possible, then what is the point of investing in an air defence system like NORAD? This critique of NORAD was made in particular by noted American strategic theorist Colin S. Gray but has been echoed by some Canadian thinkers as well.¹⁵²

A response to that criticism has been that NORAD serves to protect the security not of the North American populace per se—an impossible proposition—but rather the security of US strategic nuclear forces based in the continental US, and thus helps guarantee the security of the American second strike capability, making the nuclear balance more stable.¹⁵³ This in turn has

led to further criticism, especially from some Canadian critics, that NORAD is therefore not really defensive at all but rather it is an adjunct to US strategic nuclear capabilities.¹⁵⁴ Certainly, NORAD's role has been far more closely tied to US strategic nuclear strategy than its superficially defensive nature makes it appear.¹⁵⁵

A nuance on the sovereignty issue has been the debate over the concept of “defence against help” and whether it describes Canada's relationship with NORAD. The phrase, coined back in the early 1970s by Nils Ørvik, the Norwegian scholar of international relations who long worked at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, is the idea that Canada (or any small state caught between two significantly larger powers when one is friendly and the other hostile) faces a situation in which its real concern is not defending itself against the hostile power—since that is completely beyond its capability—but rather managing how the friendly great power helps it mount a defence against the hostile power, whether the help is wanted or not.¹⁵⁶

This model of Canadian defence policy being designed more with an eye towards managing US actions than towards the actual Soviet/Russian threat has been influential with many analysts, although more recently it has been challenged.¹⁵⁷ It has to be said that this debate has largely been conducted among political scientists and has focused upon high-level declaratory policy, rather than any detailed examination of the history of RCAF and USAF capabilities, plans or actions.

Another NORAD-related issue that perennially generates debate is the bugbear of ballistic missile defence (BMD) and Canada's persistent aversion to such a thing on the grounds that it tends to destabilize the nuclear balance.¹⁵⁸ James Fergusson of the University of Manitoba, who has written extensively on the BMD subject, maintains that the Canadian political class's reservations over BMD are greatly exaggerated.¹⁵⁹ NORAD has also attracted some attention for its role in the wake of the 2001 terrorist attacks on the US and more recently for its role in Arctic issues, which are covered later in this publication.

22. THE AVRO ARROW

The greatest debate in the RCAF stemming from the 1950s is unquestionably the issue of the CF-105 Avro Arrow cancellation. Or at least, that is unquestionably the issue that continues to generate the greatest amount of heat and light. The story is certainly sad. Canada finished the Second World War as a world leader in aircraft production, and there were great hopes for the country going on to become a significant producer of military jet aircraft. And indeed, by the mid-1950s impressive successes had been achieved. Not only did Canadair produce a unique variant of the F-86 Sabre, but Avro Canada even developed and produced our own engine for them, the Orenda, widely regarded as superior to US versions. Further, Avro developed and produced the CF-100 Canuck, one of the first all-weather interceptors in the world.¹⁶⁰

The pinnacle of this Canadian jet development was to be the Arrow, developed by Avro to meet a requirement for a supersonic interceptor. The result was unquestionably an outstanding

design, although it is also true that, in certain quarters at least, its excellence has grown in the telling. It was an interceptor designed to streak out across the long distances of the North, vector towards approaching strategic bombers and shoot them down with air-to-air missiles fired at maximum range. It was not a manoeuvrable fighter—indeed, it did not even sport a gun—and it was not a fighter-bomber capable of ground attack. But it did seem ready to excel at its intended role, and its ingenious modular design would have allowed it to be adapted to other roles, accomplishments achieved by sparing no expense in its development.

In 1959, those escalating costs, and the belief that missiles rather than crewed aircraft were the new threat, prompted the Diefenbaker Government to cancel the programme after just five prototypes had begun test flights, causing immediate public shock and outrage. Even more controversially, the existing prototypes were ordered destroyed, as were the designs. Within a few years Avro was out of business, with many of their scientists and engineers moving on to careers in the US, in many cases with NASA.¹⁶¹ It was a body blow to the Canadian aviation industry, which never again designed original military jet aircraft.¹⁶²

The cancellation was controversial right from the moment of its announcement for a variety of reasons.¹⁶³ Most obvious was its effect on the Canadian aviation industry, putting tens of thousands out of work right away, and as mentioned, the company itself out of business, something that has been lamented as perhaps the greatest missed opportunity in Canadian industry and technological development ever. Secondly, the Diefenbaker Government, clearly embarrassed to be closing the programme, offered various and not entirely coherent explanations, ranging from cost to the alleged obsolescence of crewed aircraft in light of the then-new missile age, to criticisms of the performance of the aircraft itself.

Arguments over all of this have supported a cottage industry of publishing, artwork, models, dramatic portrayals, merchandise and memorabilia ever since, as well as, sadly, no end of conspiracy theories.¹⁶⁴ There have even been at least two techno-thriller type novels, and one quixotic proposal to update the Arrow instead of purchasing the F-35.¹⁶⁵ Most recently, efforts to recover scale-model aerodynamic test vehicles from the waters of Lake Ontario have attracted some attention.¹⁶⁶

Non-academic popular histories dominate the written works; indeed, there has yet to be a scholarly book-length treatment of the subject. In compensation, there have been a few good, technical studies of the aircraft itself, a CBC documentary, a television miniseries (criticized as inaccurately over-dramatized) and a seemingly never-ending flow of popular histories of varying merit.¹⁶⁷

Writers that bear special mention include a group who referred to themselves as the “Arrowheads,” a term for aficionados of the CF-105 in general but which was used in particular by Leslie Wilkinson, Don Watson, Ron Page and Richard Organ to publish *Avro Arrow: The Story of the Avro Arrow From Its Evolution to Its Extinction*, which, while a paean to the Arrow, is a reasonable overview; and Palmiro Campagna, a civil servant with an Arrow obsession who has produced three works more devoted to conspiratorial explanations for the cancellation.¹⁶⁸

The conspiracy theories focus on the contention that the Arrow was cancelled, as Campagna put it, “because it was too damn good” and that the Americans pressured Canada somehow into cancelling the programme because they feared it as competition for their own aviation industry.¹⁶⁹ Avro’s slightly earlier cancellation of the civilian C102 Jetliner is sometimes folded into this allegation.¹⁷⁰ Doubtless, the manner in which all Arrow-related materials were so peremptorily ordered destroyed contributed to the conspiracies, but it is clear that this seemingly bizarre order was indeed prompted by security concerns, not a political desire to wipe the Arrow from the record.¹⁷¹ In fact, a set of blueprints smuggled out by an Avro worker who kept them in his basement for decades did survive, as did at least a nose cone.¹⁷² On the other hand, persistent rumours that an entire aircraft was spirited away and hidden are certainly false.¹⁷³

Despite all of that material on the Arrow, the first scholarly studies, in the form of smaller works such as journal articles and graduate theses, did not appear until the 1990s.¹⁷⁴ It would be fair to say that, in contrast to much of the more popular books, the consensus among sober scholarly works is that the sad story is explained by “budgetary pressures and changing perceptions of the Soviet threat,” if not downright poor strategic judgment within the RCAF.¹⁷⁵ Don Story and Russell Isinger of the University of Saskatchewan are the main scholars of the issue.¹⁷⁶ Popular assessments remain more inflamed, with little sign of abating.¹⁷⁷

23. NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Considering the inherently controversial nature of the subject, nuclear weapons and the RCAF have attracted surprisingly little attention. There is of course a vast literature internationally on nuclear weapons, which might be divided into works seeking to explain them and their attendant strategic implications, and those writing to deplore them or, frequently, to advocate against them.¹⁷⁸ There is essentially no Canadian writing of the first type, examining nuclear strategy in general. Of the second type, advocating against nuclear weapons, there have been some academic publications from the late Cold War and a larger body of popular works, including a book version from the CBC radio show *Ideas* as well as a polemic by a retired Army general.¹⁷⁹

The subject of nuclear weapons and Canada in particular has attracted some writing, most of which focuses on the policy level and the mere existence of the weapons in Canadian hands, rather than on any study of the use to which they would have been put by the military.¹⁸⁰ The major Canadian scholar on the subject is Professor Sean Maloney of RMC, whose doctoral dissertation was on Canadian nuclear weapons, and his more recent *Learning to Love the Bomb* is notable for stressing the details of the operational capabilities necessary to realizing any Canadian policy that involved nuclear weapons, with chapters devoted to both Canadian forces in Europe with the CF104 Starfighter, and to NORAD back in Canada with the ill-fated Bomarc missile and Genie air-to-air missile mounted on the CF-101 Voodoos.¹⁸¹ He has also produced a raft of articles based on primary sources.¹⁸²

Two more popular works are John Clearwater's *Canadian Nuclear Weapons* and *US Nuclear Weapons in Canada*, both from the late 1990s, perhaps the first works to gain wide recognition that made clear the extent to which nuclear weapons were present with Canadian military units during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁸³ Clearwater offers little analysis, but thoroughly documents what units had what nuclear weapons. There have also been a number of useful journal articles.¹⁸⁴

The first debate involving nuclear weapons and the RCAF was, of course, whether we should have them, something that came to a head with the Diefenbaker Government, which was palpably uneasy with adopting nuclear weapons and in consequence stalled on their implementation in Canadian service. This created controversy at the time, with many anti-nuclear thinkers tending to blame the conservative Diefenbaker for Canada's eventual muddled adoption of them.

More recent scholarship has stressed how all of the agreements for Canada taking on nuclear weapons had actually been negotiated by the previous Liberal Government, with heavy involvement by Pearson as Minister of External Affairs.¹⁸⁵ The critical decisions were made in 1956 under the Eisenhower policy of massive retaliation and nuclear sharing through NATO, when Canada agreed to convert the air-to-air F-86 Sabres of its NATO air contingent to CF-104 Starfighters for the nuclear strike role.¹⁸⁶ The nuclear weapons themselves would be American, held at our bases and ready for use under the "nuclear sharing" programme.¹⁸⁷

Back in Canada, Bomarc surface-to-air missiles tipped with nuclear warheads, also provided by the US under a similar but bilateral rather than NATO arrangement, would protect Canadian airspace from Soviet bombers. Eventually, after much prevarication and controversy, nuclear weapons were accepted by Canada in both roles (as well as for intermediate range missiles with the Army and depth charges with the Navy), although the ill-fated Bomarc was in service for only a very short time. The Starfighters' nuclear role lasted far longer, as did the Voodoos' nuclear-tipped Genie missiles, until they were phased out by the Trudeau Government in the 1970s.¹⁸⁸

A final period of controversy of nuclear weapons appeared in the late-Cold War 1980s, when a large anti-nuclear movement developed worldwide. By that time the Canadian military was no longer using nuclear weapons and the primary issue in Canada was American testing of their cruise missiles at Cold Lake, Alberta. However, there was a considerable output of Canadian writing and sentiment against nuclear weapons in general, some of it directed against continued Canadian participation in alliances in general and any cooperation with the US in particular.¹⁸⁹

24. RCAF IN THE ARCTIC

In recent years, the Arctic has become a hot topic that has resulted in some writing on the RCAF's long history there. Flying in the North (albeit not, for the most part, the really far North) was, of course, the primary focus of the RCAF at the time of its founding. The Cold War then saw an emphasis upon the area as a theatre to meet the Soviet bomber threat. Broadly speaking,

three major issues emerge regarding the RCAF and the Arctic: first, the classic strategic issues related to NORAD and nuclear weapons, as reviewed earlier;¹⁹⁰ second, the new (or at least increased) threats to the region as climate change opens the area; and third, and increasingly significant, the effect the RCAF has had upon the area and its inhabitants.¹⁹¹

25. MARITIME AIR: POST-WAR ERA

Just as there is little written about the RCAF in the Battle of the Atlantic during the Second World War, there is even less written about it during the Cold War. And indeed, what little there is unsurprisingly features many of the same authors. This is a real gap, as arguably the main role of Canadian maritime power during the Cold War was the same as it had been during the two world wars—keeping the sea lines of communication across the North Atlantic to Europe open, this time against the threat of Soviet submarines rather than German U-boats.

There is a considerable volume of literature upon that issue in general (most of it American) that makes, at best, passing mention of Canada.¹⁹² On the role of the RCAF more specifically in Cold War antisubmarine warfare (ASW), there are a few articles and some mentions in other works.¹⁹³ Probably the single most dramatic incident involving Canadian ASW during the Cold War occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis, when Canadian assets at least partially responded to US national alert states. Haydon's previously mentioned *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis* includes considerable detail upon RCAF ASW operations during the crisis, including a study of the RCAF's complex joint command and control arrangements with the RCN.¹⁹⁴ On Canadian air power and ASW during the later–Cold War era there is almost nothing.¹⁹⁵

The other aspect to maritime air is shipborne aircraft. It is reasonably well known, in Canadian naval history circles at least, that Canada once had aircraft carriers, and there are a handful of works on their air capabilities, most of which are focused on the decision to close out this capability.¹⁹⁶ In the modern era, Canada's shipborne aviation has been maritime helicopters, from 1963 with CH124 Sea Kings, to more recently the CH148 Cyclones.

There is one book which examines the difficulties, both technical and policy-wise, with the introduction of the Sea King on RCN destroyers, and a slow but steady trickle of articles on our shipborne helicopters—some on their deployed operations (which included participation in an overland role in Somalia), many on the procurement issue.¹⁹⁷ Also worthy of note is the chapter-length study of tactically focused RCN air capabilities by Leo Pettipas.¹⁹⁸

26. TACTICAL HELICOPTERS

Tactical helicopters (tac helms) [i.e., those for support of ground forces, often referred to as “tactical aviation”] go back in Canadian service to the 1950s. They were originally both RCAF and Army and based jointly in Rivers, Manitoba.¹⁹⁹ By the mid 1960s the Army had quite an aviation arm, including both fixed-wing light aircraft and helicopters, which the RCAF had all but abandoned, and this is the true precursor to the modern tac hel community.²⁰⁰

The modern tac hel era in the RCAF (as opposed to Canadian Army) dates from unification, when Army plans for more helicopters, based upon US Army developments, were assigned to the new air environment. On that basis, the forming of the following squadrons was dedicated to the tac hel role: 403 in 1968 as the operational training unit, then 408, 422, 427 and 430 in 1971, one for each brigade and one for the Combat Training Centre; 444 in CFE in 1972; and in the Reserves, 450 in 1970 and 422 in 1971.²⁰¹

Canada has never had an attack helicopter at all, investing instead in reconnaissance, utility and transport. Debates range from the effect of helicopters on modern land combat to their survivability in contested airspace, or at least those are debates in the wider international community.²⁰² In Canada, the tac hel role has attracted very little writing, although there has been a slow but steady trickle of articles on various aspects of the tac hel community. However, there is not a single book other than the squadron histories of the relevant units, none of which are in any way analytical.²⁰³

There is a chapter-length-summary history by the former tac hel pilot Dean Black in the *Sic Itur Ad Astra* series.²⁰⁴ As a comment on the field, one article that stands out is Randy Wakelam’s “A Fine Mess: How Our Tactical Helicopter Force Came to Be What It Is,” whose title makes the point.²⁰⁵ More recently, the employment of helicopters with special forces has attracted some attention.²⁰⁶

27. AIR TRANSPORT: POST-WAR ERA

As noted in Section 7, from the bush-pilot era of the RCAF’s founding, air transport has been a core RCAF mission despite being generally ignored in the literature. Yet the first post-war Regular Force squadrons were air transport units, first organized into a group, then in 1948 became one of the founding post-war RCAF Commands. Despite this, air transport in the post-war era is equally overlooked.

There is one popular history overview from previously mentioned prolific aviation writer Milberry, a smattering of articles, some coverage of airlift in specific operations and one recent chapter-length study.²⁰⁷ Three issues stand out in this commentary: first, the relative importance of the air transport role and allegations that it was of lesser perceived importance than combat roles; second, the related questions of how to allocate limited airlift resources to insatiable

demand; and third, the even more vexed question of procurement of new transport aircraft.²⁰⁸ The most recent dramatic incident involving RCAF air transport was the 2021 emergency evacuation of Kabul, which Mike Bechthold has covered.²⁰⁹

Internationally, there are some works on military air transport as an issue, and they generally raise the same questions of utility, allocations and procurement.²¹⁰ The only other writing on the subject is found in the relevant squadron histories, most of which are episodic and poorly documented, although one stands out for its detail and scholarly research—the late Laurence Motiuk's 426 Sqn history *Thunderbirds for Peace*.

28. SEARCH AND RESCUE

Search and rescue (SAR) or, more specifically, SAR from the air, not just for the military but as a public service, became an RCAF responsibility after the Second World War. This was because the RCAF had developed a SAR capability to deal with the (many) crashes that occurred in the course of running the BCATP. Over time, this evolved into a role for which there are now dedicated aircraft types, personnel and units.²¹¹ This story is included in various survey histories of the RCAF, a slow but steady trickle of articles over the years, and now a dedicated book by a practising RCAF member of the SAR community.²¹² Debates over the years have included what resources the SAR role requires, whether the national SAR service should be fulfilled by the military or a civil agency and whether Canada should also develop a combat SAR capability.²¹³

29. RCAF RESERVES/AUXILIARY

While the RCAF has always had a reserve component, it has never been as significant as that of the Canadian Army, which was long officially titled the “militia.” This partly reflects the greater technicalities of flying operations (which are difficult to master part-time) and the policy decisions emphasizing forces in being. Whatever the reasons, the name of the best historical study is revealing: “Withered on the Vine,” by Sandy Babcock.²¹⁴ Former DHH historian Mathias Joost is also working on a study of the issue that comes to similar conclusions.²¹⁵

30. RCAF AND UNIFICATION

The 1968 unification of the three traditional armed services in Canada occasioned a considerable controversy.²¹⁶ Arguably, of the three services, the RCAF was most affected. The Canadian Army lived on in the form of Mobile Command and the RCN in the form of Maritime

Command, both commanded by officers from the respective environment in headquarters located far from centralizing Ottawa. Most of their old units were still under their authority, even if everyone was now wearing new green uniforms.

However, in the new unified single service there was no dedicated air organization; the RCAF was broken up: its air defence elements went to Air Defence Command, fighter-bombers to Mobile Command, maritime air to Maritime Command, transport to Transport Command, training organizations to Training Command and 1 CAG to CFE.²¹⁷ This caused so many difficulties with the technicalities of air issues that even the government noticed, and only four years later the new Air Command (AIRCOM) was created, headquartered in Winnipeg. The air portions of the Canadian Forces (CF) [less 1 CAG which remained under CFE] were placed under AIRCOM.²¹⁸

Arguably, the history of military air power in Canada, from unification to the present, is one of a slow and incremental but persistent move back to what amounts to a separate air service after its near complete dissolution as a professional entity in 1968. The first and most significant organizational step was the creation of AIRCOM. A return to a distinctive environmental uniform of light blue came a decade and a half later, and in 2011, the formal resurrection of the honorific title “RCAF,” along with traditional pattern rank insignia, was a reflection of what a recent article called the “strong service idea.”²¹⁹ A few other works have examined these issues but not many.²²⁰

31. WOMEN, INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS

The history community is now beginning to delve deeper into the roles of women, Indigenous Peoples and other minority groups in a military context. So far, there are more works on women in the RCAF (and aviation generally) than there are on Indigenous Peoples or other minority groups. Works on women in the RCAF may be divided generally into what might be called the “traditional” works—that is, those chronicling the Women’s Division of the RCAF in the Second World War in a generally non-critical way—and more modern scholarship that has begun examination of women in air power, in particular, the question of discrimination and misconduct.²²¹

Regarding other minority groups and the RCAF, there is now a body of scholarship that makes it clear that while there was no formal segregation nor explicit racial policies (as for instance in the US military), there was significant bias which, with time, faded somewhat.²²² Regarding Indigenous Peoples, while most of their service was in the Army, some examination of their participation in the RCAF is beginning to appear.²²³

The issues being addressed in this literature can be broadly grouped into two areas: those pointing out how these groups have been overlooked in past works and telling their stories, and those critically examining the nature of the discrimination that existed against those groups. In this latter category, once again, the largest body of literature examines the experiences of women.

However, the literature so far is slim, and many of the works have a broader focus, examining all three services. This is an area of historical inquiry that is only beginning.

32. QUEBEC, FRANCOPHONES AND THE RCAF

Jack Granatstein noted that “one of the great gaps in all Canadian history is the absence of a study of Quebec and the [Second World] war”;²²⁴ that statement can be extended through the post-war period. Despite the prominence of Quebec and Francophones in the historiography of post-war Canada, there has been very little study of their participation in the RCAF. There is a slightly larger body of work on Francophones in the Canadian military in general, which makes some mention of the RCAF, but very little on the Air Force, this despite the centrality of the two solitudes in Canadian history.²²⁵

33. PROCUREMENT

Military procurement is famously one of the most contentious and politically sensitive issues in Canadian defence policy. And Air Force procurement, as one of the most high-tech and expensive, is one of the most controversial portions of this subject, with perhaps the biggest procurement scandal in Canadian history being the previously discussed Avro Arrow. There is no shortage of other examples right up to the present.²²⁶ This subject has attracted some recent scholarly writing, in particular Aaron Plamondon’s study of the Sea King’s long and winding replacement, and more recently Kim Richard Nossal’s angry indictment of the whole process, *Charlie Foxtrot*.²²⁷ There has also been a steady stream of articles analysing from various angles Canada’s problem-fraught military procurement.²²⁸

In general, all of these works analysing procurement as a problem may be divided into various camps: those that focus upon the bureaucratic challenges, those that focus upon the political complications, and those that focus upon the defence economic complexities; most agree that the issue is a wicked problem of all three, in which political interference can be both the only solution when it makes things a priority and the principal cause of complications when it introduces other considerations.²²⁹ There is also a small body of more historically focused works, examining various strategic decision-making factors in earlier defence procurement decisions.²³⁰

34. AIRCRAFT AND CANADIAN AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURERS

There is no good analytical history of the Canadian aircraft industry—military or civilian. There is, however, considerable literature, at least by Canadian standards, on individual aircraft and aircraft manufacturers as well as a range of works surveying various periods or types.²³¹ Non-

academic popular histories dominate this literature, but there are some scholarly works looking at procurement in particular. Some of the aircraft studies are quite technically detailed, many others are more coffee-table books. Refer to the annotated bibliography for a full list.

35. MODERN OPERATIONS

The RCAF has been involved in a wide range of operations since the Korean conflict, from peacekeeping to combat operations in the Persian Gulf, Balkans and Libya. There are small numbers of works on each of those individual operations, but very little compared to the world wars. Refer to the annotated bibliography for a full list by operation. Most of the works that have been published focus upon simply recounting the events in question, but a few probe deeper to ponder either what those operations show about the nature or utility of air power or the role of Canada in the world.²³² An overview of what are known as “expeditionary operations” may be found in Chapter 5 of the recent overview history *Pathway to the Stars* by former RCAF Commander Michael Hood and Tom Jenkins.²³³

36. PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Although Canadian air power has spent considerable time working in support of peacekeeping, very little has been written on the subject. There is one single work, an edited compilation by CFC professor Walter Dorn, *Air Power in UN Operations: Wings for Peace*, which is international in scope but contains chapters examining RCAF efforts in the Congo, Kashmir and the former Yugoslavia. Particularly noteworthy are the two Congo chapters, one written by the late Lieutenant-General Bill Carr, the first commander of AIRCOM, who led that undertaking, and the other by the Canadian scholar Kevin Spooner.²³⁴ Other than that there are a smattering of chapter-length pieces and articles on Canadian air involvement in various peacekeeping missions, the most recent being the excellent but all-too-short “On Wings of Hope and Peace” by Bill March, the most prolific author on the subject.²³⁵

One particularly noteworthy incident is that of the “Buffalo nine”—the nine CF personnel killed when their CC115 Buffalo aircraft serving with the UN Golan Heights mission was shot down by a Syrian air defence missile on August 9, 1974, after mistakenly being identified as hostile.²³⁶

37. SPACE

Canada has more history in space than many people realize, and the RCAF has been a key player,²³⁷ from the early days of BMD research in the 1950s, to Canada’s first satellite in 1962, to the provision of astronauts right up to the present.²³⁸ The major historian of this subject is

Andrew Godefroy, who completed his doctoral thesis at RMC on the topic, with some related work on strategic-defence issues such as BMD by James Fergusson, already mentioned in the section on NORAD.²³⁹ The major arguments about space and the RCAF have centred on policy debates about how much investment in space should be made by the military, and indeed Canada, and how the military should manage this capability. As well, there is the perennial question of BMD. A small number of government studies and academic articles address those questions.²⁴⁰

38. SQUADRON HISTORIES

Squadron histories deserve special mention as being a category in their own right. Almost none can be called scholarly; they are nearly all popular histories in one form or another, written to tell the often dramatic stories for a general audience. Most are produced by the squadrons themselves (or their veterans), often to mark an anniversary, with volunteers from the unit putting together the book or what in many cases is really a pamphlet. All of this, of course, makes them somewhat like many regimental histories, but there have in fact been some rigorous Canadian regimental histories, especially more recently.²⁴¹ Sadly, the same cannot be said for very many squadron histories.

Probably the best were labours of love by Motiuk for 426 Sqn. He was an air navigator who retired as a lieutenant-colonel and then made an avocation of producing these histories. He produced two volumes, one covering the Sqn in the Second World War as a bomber unit and one covering their post-war service as a transport squadron. Both are detailed and based upon archival sources and interview primary sources, with footnotes and more than 300 pages. On the same level by noted military historian Bill Rawling is the 2010 history of 425 Sqn, although it only covers the Second World War. Also excellent, although not scholarly, is the recent 441 Sqn history by Milberry, which covers from war-time founding to twenty-first century service as a CF-188 squadron.

There are two series of note, both by publishers no longer extant. In the mid 80s, the Hangar Bookshelf produced a series covering seven sqns, all in the same format of cloth hardcover, landscape books with the squadron crest on the cover, about 100 pages each, containing black-and-white photos. Also in the mid-80s, Canada's Wings produced several series in a similar format. Refer to the annotated bibliography for a full list. Finally, there is the invaluable overview that gives short historical summaries of all RCAF squadrons, *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft*.²⁴²

39. RCAF HISTORICAL SECTION

For the penultimate entry in this bibliographical survey, we comment upon our predecessors in RCAF history, which began with the somewhat hit-or-miss efforts to identify Canadians who had served in the RFC and RNAS noted in earlier sections. These efforts failed to produce a narrative to

contribute to the histories of those larger entities.²⁴³ Nor had the tiny RCAF of the inter-war years created any sort of history office; it was early in the Second World War that a historical office was first created under the auspices of Kenneth B. Conn, who had won a DFC in the First World War as a fighter pilot and worked in civil aviation in the inter-war years. In 1940 he was brought in as a wing commander (later promoted to group captain) and made the Director of Staff Duties within Air Force Headquarters in Ottawa, which included responsibility for war artists and history.

Eventually, offices dedicated to recording the history of the RCAF's war effort were created in Ottawa and at RCAF Overseas Headquarters in London.²⁴⁴ The popular three-volume *RCAF Overseas* series was published between 1944 and 1949, but the books were drastically cut before work could begin on any official histories.²⁴⁵ By that time one of the young historians from Conn's war-time history sections, Fred Hitchins, originally recruited from academia (he had earned a PhD in history), had become the RCAF's official historian, but his original vision for a multivolume official history that would match the Army's work under Stacey was not to be. The RCAF declined to support the project and indeed came perilously close to closing the history office entirely. Hitchins was hired at the last minute as a regular officer at the rank of wing commander, but he laboured almost alone, with no staff other than a single clerk through most of the 1950s, cataloging records and producing narratives.

This was in stark contrast with the Army who, with a staff of more than 40 under Stacey, produced their notable and well-regarded official histories between 1955 and 1960. By the early 1960s, Ralph Manning had become the official historian, and in the late 1960s, unification resulted in the consolidation of all the services' history offices into the new unified DHH. The RCAF was once again without its own history office, although DHH did finally produce three volumes of an official history that covered to the end of the Second World War.²⁴⁶

When AIRCOM was established post-unification, it for many years had no history office of any sort. It was not until 1989 that a small, heritage-focused office was established in Winnipeg, and not until 2011 that an actual academically trained historian was hired by that office.²⁴⁷ In 2014, this person was relocated to the Canadian Forces Aerospace Warfare Centre in Trenton, and in the following years four other personnel were added. The unifying thread in that tangled evolution reflects our overall theme, that is, that RCAF history remains largely untitled, especially in comparison to Canadian Army history.

Indeed, the stunted nature of RCAF history in comparison to Army history has been remarked upon, and as author Tim Cook puts it, the shorter and less rigorous works produced by the RCAF Historical Section in the 1940s and 1950s "could not be fairly compared to the enduring army series, which had far greater resources and time."²⁴⁸ This rather sad story is lamented in various articles, going back to one by Conn himself at the end of the war.²⁴⁹ Compare all of this with the widely lauded Canadian Army official historians and the renowned Stacey.²⁵⁰

The other major question raised by official history and the offices that produce it is, what is the exact role of official history, and the tensions inherent in being part of the government

establishment versus the academic independence necessary to produce good scholarly assessment. This is something that has been reflected upon by official historians for several generations and remains an issue today.²⁵¹

As we saw earlier in this publication, official history can flare into public controversy.²⁵² More often, it is simply ignored. W. A. B. “Alec” Douglas provided interesting reflections upon the post-unification work of DHH in the RCAF official histories.²⁵³ More recently, the current director of RCAF History and Heritage spoke on the issue at the American Society for Military History.²⁵⁴

40. NOTABLE GAPS

Founding. The first major lacuna in the literature concerns the very origins of the RCAF. Not only are the various mis-starts such as the Canadian Aviation Corps (CAC) and Canadian Air Force (CAF) largely forgotten, but the 1924 founding of the RCAF itself has attracted almost no serious study.²⁵⁵ What motivated the Canadian government to found the RCAF with that royal designation and far more explicitly modeled upon the RAF than the earlier CAF had been? Was it an interest in pan-imperial defence cooperation? It is not clear why the government might feel that way only two years after the Chanak crisis, when they had refused automatic Canadian support to British military adventurism in the Middle East. We do not really know what motivated the decision to change tack somewhat and model Canada’s Air Force more explicitly on the RAF.

Late-1930s rearmament. As noted earlier in Section 7, we know that rearmament began not with the outbreak of war in 1939 but several years earlier, even in Canada. We also know that the Mackenzie King Government’s thinking was to avoid entanglement in any major conflict as much as possible, and to prioritize the RCAF, and to a somewhat lesser extent the RCN, over the Army. We also know that notwithstanding those priorities, there was at least some thought and effort put into what was known as “imperial defence,” that is, defence cooperation with the UK and Commonwealth. What we do not know very much about is the strategic reasoning associated with these decisions and what this meant in any particular detail for the RCAF.²⁵⁶

The RCAF as an institution. We also lack any good study of the RCAF as a professional institution, something rather like what Stephen Harris’s *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860–1939* provides for the pre–Second World War Canadian Army. All we have in this vein are two (still unpublished) doctoral dissertations and one master’s thesis; there has been no good study of the issue overall.²⁵⁷

Canadianization. As noted earlier, Canadianization was a major issue for the RCAF, a not insignificant source of friction with the British, a national issue for the government, and arguably one of the significant parts of the story of Canada’s evolution from colony to independent nation. Yet, in stark contrast to the admittedly more serious conscription issue, there is very little

on Canadianization.²⁵⁸ Surely there should be a book-length scholarly examination of what Jack Granatstein called “a flat-out colonial issue?”²⁵⁹

Second World War home-based operations. The overseas RCAF eventually numbered 44 squadrons—the famous 400 series—but there were almost as many operational squadrons based in Canada, 39 of them at the peak. They are covered in the official history (tellingly, not in the volume dedicated to the war, but in the one mainly focused upon the inter-war years), but there is not a single dedicated work examining their history.²⁶⁰ Indeed they are almost forgotten even within the RCAF itself.²⁶¹ As noted earlier, almost all of the operational histories of the RCAF in the war are focused upon the overseas squadrons and there is not a single squadron history for a home-based squadron.

Personnel issues. What we lack almost entirely are scholarly analyses of RCAF personnel issues during the war. The social profiles of who made up the RCAF, how personnel were allocated, managed and led is almost entirely neglected. We have no equivalents, for example, to the considerable number of works examining the personnel in the Canadian Army from many angles.²⁶² Nor do we have anything examining training (meaning the principles behind it, who was trained in exactly what and similar policy issues; as already mentioned, there is a fair amount on the overall history of the BCATP as a programme), leadership, tactics, or doctrine. Once again, this stands in contrast to the body of work on similar issues in the Canadian Army and RCN.²⁶³

Ground crew. It is perhaps inevitable that most of the works relating war-time experiences in the RCAF focus upon aircrew, but there has been almost no study of ground crew, not only to examine their experiences but to consider how their necessary work was conducted and how it affected operations.²⁶⁴

Biographies. An area related to personnel is biographies, of which there are few on RCAF figures.²⁶⁵ Particularly obvious lacuna on the biography front include flag officers like G. M. Croil, Gus Edwards, George Brookes, “Black Mike” McEwen, and L. S. Breadner.²⁶⁶ Scholarly works on them, comparable to recent biographies on Army generals such as Andrew G. L. McNaughton, H. D. G. Crerar, Guy Simonds and Kitching, would be invaluable contributions to the study of the RCAF.²⁶⁷ Below that rank level, there are numerous personalities who surely would merit biographies, such as Hugh Godefroy, Lloyd Chadburn, Len Birchall and Andy Mynarski, all of whom would make excellent subjects for master’s theses.²⁶⁸ It should be noted, however, that a forthcoming work, *The Air Marshals*, will provide chapter-length biographies of commanders up to unification.²⁶⁹

Command evaluations. Closely related to biographies is the evaluation of performance in critical appointments, something that has been the subject of lively perennial debate regarding Canadian Army generals during the Second World War. Why was McNaughton removed? Was Crerar any good? Was Kitching’s dismissal fair?²⁷⁰ There are similar questions crying out for examination in the RCAF. How effective was Edwards in his role at the RCAF Overseas Headquarters in London, pushing the British on Canadianization?²⁷¹ And even more juicy, why

was A/V/M Brookes removed from command of 6 Group? It has long been suggested that the British in general—and Harris in particular—were dissatisfied with his performance and actively sought his replacement with the younger and more dynamic McEwen, but no one has ever seriously looked into that.²⁷²

Squadron/wing histories. Squadron and wing histories have to be considered a lacuna in their own right. As noted earlier, while there is at least something for every 400 series squadron, they are generally unsatisfactory. Several are actually just pamphlets with a few paragraphs of potted history. A solid stable of well documented histories would facilitate broader work on the RCAF. This would seem to be an ideal subject for post-graduate students in particular; local histories of local communities and the Army units they raised has become a distinct genre for master's theses. How about a similar effort for RCAF squadrons or wings? And the home-based squadrons have been completely overlooked.

Lack of moral fibre (LMF). The issue has reasonable coverage in principle; what has not been addressed is an assessment of the allegation in *The Valour and the Horror* that LMF was particularly cruel and unfair.

Golden years: sovereignty and nuclear weapons. The 1950s are now fairly well covered, especially with the forthcoming official history that will include the period. There is less on the immediate post-war demobilization and pre-Korea plans for the RCAF. The major ongoing debates about the era concern NORAD and continental air defence with the Americans. Did it compromise Canadian sovereignty or was it the best that Canada could have hoped for? And what, if any, nuclear role should the RCAF have adopted? Sadly, publications on the Avro Arrow will probably continue to outnumber works on such questions.

Cuban Missile Crisis and the RCAF. We know that the Cuban Missile Crisis precipitated a crisis in Canadian civil-military relations and decision-making, which serious academics have argued calls into question the US's respect for Canadian sovereignty. We know that the RCN made a decision to put ships to sea with less than explicit governmental authority and that the defence minister ordered the RCAF's Air Defence Command to higher readiness without Diefenbaker's knowledge.²⁷³ We also know that arrangements to arm RCAF interceptors with nuclear weapons, while underway at the time of the crisis, were not yet complete.

In principle, given the imperatives of continental air defence, the RCAF was more important to the Americans than the RCN was, so what pressure did Canadian air defence elements come under in the crisis and how did they respond? Sean Maloney has demonstrated that at the very least, under prodding, Diefenbaker did approve raising the readiness level of Canadian air defence forces, and that the RCAF wrestled with the problem of equipping them with nuclear warheads and considered various exigent measures such as flying aircraft down to US bases to be armed there.²⁷⁴ But we lack a detailed study of exactly what happened in the RCAF—a book-length Air Force equivalent to Haydon's excellent study of the RCN in the crisis.

Nuclearization. We need further study of the whole question of the nuclearization of the RCAF during the 1960s. Works like Maloney's *Learning to Love the Bomb* and John Clearwater's writings have made clear the (quite considerable) extent of nuclearization of the RCAF. It is less clear what strategic reasoning prompted the palpably reluctant Diefenbaker and Pearson Governments towards such policies and what effects they had on the RCAF.²⁷⁵ As John Keess has pointed out, there has been even less study of the **denuclearization** of the RCAF in the early 1970s, or at least, very little study of the issue below the polemics surrounding the highest-policy-level debates prompted by Pierre Trudeau's policy review.²⁷⁶

Unification. Surprisingly, for a topic that was so controversial at the time, there is very little rigorous examination of the effect of unification on the RCAF as an institution. As noted earlier, all we have are general overviews of unification at the policy level and a few articles or chapter-length reflections. Really, this gap reflects the lack of works examining the RCAF as an institution.

Tactical helicopters. Unquestionably, the most under-studied community in the RCAF is tac hel. In truth, there was no tac hel community at all in the old pre-unification RCAF; the modern tac hel community descends from various policy decisions for helicopters made in the mid 1960s within the Army, not the RCAF, but by the time those policies reached fruition, unification had come to pass and the resulting helicopter units became squadrons within Mobile Command and CFE. Consolidation of all flying elements into AIRCOM resulted in 10 Tactical Air Group (10 TAG), which evolved into the current 1 Wing. There has been almost no examination of any of that convoluted evolution.²⁷⁷

Modern operations. Perhaps the passage of time will address this issue, but one fears not. There is very little writing on the "modern" operations of the RCAF, which actually now stretch back well over 60 years. The best that we can hope for is likely more articles and survey histories, although one cannot help but think that individual operations would make excellent subjects for things such as master's theses.

CONCLUSION

So, as noted in the introduction, the history of the RCAF is rich. Certainly, there are many schools of thought offering interpretations, including our fair share of controversies, some of which have become surprisingly (for Canadian military history) public news. It is also clear that we need more—more research, from more people, from more angles—if we are to move towards a better understanding of our past.

ABBREVIATIONS

1 CAG	1 Canadian Air Group
1 Cdn Air Div	1 Canadian Air Division
AFB	air force base
AIRCOM	Air Command
ASW	antisubmarine warfare
A/V/M	air vice-marshal
AWACS	airborne warning and control system
BCATP	British Commonwealth Air Training Plan
BMD	ballistic missile defence
CAF	Canadian Air Force
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CF	Canadian Forces
CFC	Canadian Forces College
CFE	Canadian Forces Europe
CO	commanding officer
DFC	Distinguished Flying Cross
DHH	Director History and Heritage
F/L	flight-lieutenant
G/C	group captain
LMF	lacking moral fibre
MRC	Military Representatives Committee
NFB	National Film Board

RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
<i>RCAF Journal</i>	<i>Royal Canadian Air Force Journal</i>
RCN	Royal Canadian Navy
RFC	Royal Flying Corps
RMC	Royal Military College of Canada
RNAS	Royal Naval Air Service
SAR	search and rescue
SG	Standing Group
Sqn	squadron
tac hel	tactical helicopter
VC	Victoria Cross

NOTES

1. Mike Bechthold, “Canada [military history] from WW1 to the Present,” *Oxford Bibliographies* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014). These numbers reflect the counting of recent books, the book reviews in the *Canadian Military Journal* and the books cited in the *Oxford Bibliography for Military History – Canada*. Arguably these proportions are a fair representation of Canada’s actual historical experience, but the predominance of Army-focused works is clear.

2. Scot Robertson, “Reflections on the Canadian Experience,” in *Aerospace Power: Beyond 100 Years of Theory and Practice, Silver Dart Canadian Aerospace Studies*, vol. 1, ed. James G. Fergusson (Winnipeg: Centre for Defence and Security Studies, University of Manitoba, March 2005), 25–43.

3. Syd F. Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Volume I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); W. A. B. Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Volume II* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); Brereton Greenhous et al., *The Crucible of War: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Volume III, 1939–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). Of note, a fourth volume, to cover the Cold War period up to unification, is in production.

4. RCAF Historical Section, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944); *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Fifth Year* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1945); and *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Sixth Year* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1949).

5. Refer to the annotated bibliography for URLs.

6. David Bercuson, *Canada’s Air Force: The Royal Canadian Air Force at 100* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2024); and Larry Milberry and Hugh Halliday, *The Royal Canadian Air Force: 100 Years of Service* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2024), the first volume of which covers up to the end of the Second World War, with a forthcoming second volume to cover the post-war to present.

7. Michael Hood and Tom Jenkins, *Pathway to the Stars: 100 Years of the Royal Canadian Air Force* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023); Hugh Halliday and Brereton Greenhous, *Canada’s Air Forces, 1914–1999* (Montreal: Art Global, 1999); Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada: Evolution of an Air Force* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2010); Larry Milberry, *Canada’s Air Force at War and Peace*, 2 volumes (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2000); Larry Milberry, ed., *Sixty Years—The RCAF and CF Air Command, 1924–1984* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1984); and Leslie Roberts, *There Shall Be Wings: A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force* (Toronto: Irwin & Company, 1959).

8. D. C. Watt, “The Air Force View of History,” *Quarterly Review* 300, no. 634 (London: John Murray Publishers, October 1962): 428–37. Canadian historians have remarked upon the same phenomenon. Refer to Stephen Harris and Brereton Greenhous, “British Commonwealth Air Forces,” *Aerospace Historian* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 51–55; and Robertson, “Reflections on the Canadian Experience,” 25.

9. Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*, 3–18. Chapter 1, “Military Aviation before the First World War,” other than some points about the organization of early Canadian military aviation, is written entirely from secondary sources. Regarding the Silver Dart, Green’s work is cited in note 11.

10. Terrance W. MacDonald, *Firsts in Flight: Alexander Graham Bell and His Innovative Airplanes* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2017).

11. Henry Gordon Green, *The Silver Dart: The Authentic Story of the Hon. J. A. D. McCurdy, Canada's First Pilot* (Fredericton: Atlantic Advocate Book, 1959), recently reprinted as *The Silver Dart: The Story of J. A. D. McCurdy, Canada's First Pilot and the First Airplane Flight in the British Empire* (Sydney, NS: Breton Books, 2014); and Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada: The Pioneer Decades* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2008).

12. C. R. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss: Pioneer of Flight* (Syracuse, New York: Doubleday, 1972).

13. Strictly speaking, at the time the Army was titled the “Militia,” either the “Permanent Active Militia” (PAM, i.e., what we would today call the Regular Force), “Non-Permanent Active Militia” (NPAM, i.e., the modern Reserve Force), or the “Sedentary Militia” (roughly analogous to the modern Supplementary Reserve). Also strictly speaking, there were briefly both a Canadian Air Force and a Canadian RNAS during the First World War, but neither sent forces abroad; all of the Canadian war-time experience was by individuals within the wider British RFC or RNAS. Refer to Tim Cook, “The Great War in the Air,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, modified September 9, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-air-war>.

14. Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*, 579–620. Refer also to Milberry, *Pioneer Decades*; Sydney F. Wise, “The Borden Government and the Formation of a Canadian Flying Corps, 1911–1916,” in *Policy by Other Means: Essays in Honour of C.P. Stacey*, ed. Michael Cross and Robert Bothwell (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1972), 121–44; William McAndrew, “The Evolution of Canadian Aviation Policy Following the First World War,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 3–4 (Nov 1981): 86–99; and Fred Hitchins, “Evolution of the Royal Canadian Air Force,” [Canadian Historical Association] *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association / Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada* 25, no. 1 (1946): 92–100.

15. Honourable mention should be made of the insightful but broader work by Canadian professor Jonathan Vance, *High Flight: Aviation and the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2002), which, while not a history of Canadian military aviation in the First World War specifically, covers much that is relevant. Refer also to his chapter-length work “The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Campaign for Air-Mindedness,” in *Sic Itur Ad Astra: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 3, Combat if Necessary, but Not Necessarily Combat*, ed. W. A. March (Ottawa: Department of National Defence [DND], 2011), 6–15.

16. Harris and Greenhous “British Commonwealth Air Forces,” 51. “Drum and bugle histories” is a term that began to appear (as a pejorative) in the 1970s with the appearance of the so-called “new military history,” which sought to stress scholarly analysis of deeper issues and distance itself from more traditional histories that focused upon chronicles of battles and the decision-making of “great captains.”

17. Refer to, for example, Bill Rawling, *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci and Mike Bechthold, ed., *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009); Shane Schreiber, *Shock Army of the British Empire: The Canadian Corps in the Last 100 Days of the Great War* (Westport: Praeger, 1997); Alex Haynes, “The Development of Infantry Doctrine in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918,” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 4 (Autumn 2007): 63–72; and Desmond Morton, “Changing Operational Doctrine in the Canadian Corps, 1916–1917,” *Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 35–39. Doctrinal innovation in the Canadian Army, from the entire corps at Vimy Ridge, to the 100 Days, to the especially inventive Canadian motor machine guns, has become an entire genre of Canadian military history. Nothing has been published on Canadian contributions to doctrinal innovations in air power, either because there were no such Canadian contributions (which would beg explanation) or because such contributions remain unnoticed.

18. Prominent memoirs include William Avery Bishop, *Winged Warfare* (New York: George H. Doran, 1918); and Raymond Collishaw, *Air Command: A Fighter Pilot's Story* (London: Kimber, 1973). Of the

many popular histories, some of the better works include Larry Milberry and Hugh A. Halliday, *Aviation in Canada: Fighter Pilots and Observers 1915–1939* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2018); Edmund Cosgrove, *Canada's Fighting Pilots* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1966, revised edition Kemptville, ON: Golden Dog, 2003); and Dan McCaffery, *Air Aces: The Lives and Times of Twelve Canadian Fighter Pilots* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1990). A more scholarly work is Dave Bashow's *Knights of the Air: Canadian Fighter Pilots in the First World War* (Toronto: McArthur, 2000).

19. The only biography of Bishop's entire life was the tribute by his son, William Arthur Bishop, *The Courage of the Early Morning: A Son's Biography of a Famous Father, the Story of Billy Bishop* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965). More recent works of note are Brereton Greenhous, *The Making of Billy Bishop* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2002) and Dan McCaffery, *Billy Bishop: Canadian Hero* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1988, 2nd Edition 2002), but almost all of these works on Bishop focus upon his experiences in the First World War and indeed, really only upon the scant six months he spent flying at the front. We lack a good scholarly biography of his whole life, in particular of his Second World War experience.

20. Refer to Greenhous, *The Making of Billy Bishop*, 31–33. At the very least Bishop had to repeat a year, and Greenhous notes that in 1914 he withdrew at his parents' request, "the time-honoured formula for escaping without a diploma ... or expulsion"; refer to the essay by J. Ross McKenzie, "The Real Case of No. 943: William Avery Bishop" (Kingston: Royal Military College of Canada, 1990), which defends Bishop's record at RMC. Bashow concluded that "the truth of Bishop's RMC experience is that he was a clown, a scamp, very popular, and demonstrated very little application, except perhaps for seeing how many young ladies he could chase." David Bashow, "The Incomparable Billy Bishop: The Man and the Myth," *Canadian Military Journal* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 55–60.

21. Brereton Greenhous, *The Making of Billy Bishop*; and "Billy Bishop – Brave Flyer, Bold Liar," *Canadian Military Journal* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 61–64.

22. John M. Gray and Eric Peterson, *Billy Bishop Goes to War* (Vancouver, BC: Talon Books, 2012).

23. Paul Cowan, *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss* (Ottawa: National Film Board, 1982).

24. For an overview of the controversy, refer to Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 122–125. For an especially vociferous example of the criticism, refer to H. Clifford Chadderton, *Hanging a Legend: The NFB's Shameful Attempt to Discredit Billy Bishop, VC* (Ottawa: The War Amputees of Canada, 1986). For the Senate's conclusions, refer to Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology: Sub-Committee on Veterans Affairs, 1st session, 33rd parliament, Proceedings on the examination of the activities of the National Film Board with respect to the production and distribution of the film "The Kid Who Couldn't Miss," No. 8, December 10, 1985.

25. Bashow, "The Incomparable Billy Bishop" and Greenhous, "Billy Bishop – Brave Flyer, Bold Liar."

26. Peter Kilduff, *Billy Bishop VC: Lone Wolf Hunter: The RAF Ace Re-Examined* (London: Grub Street, 2014).

27. Refer to Richard Goette, "Billy Bishop: Leader of Men? Examining the Leadership Characteristics of Canada's Greatest Air Hero," in *Neither Art, nor Science: Selected Canadian Military Leadership Profiles*, vol. 2, ed. Bernd Horn and Craig Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 41–84. Finally, for another fascinating perspective on the Billy Bishop controversies, refer to the book by his granddaughter, Diana Bishop, *Living up to a Legend: My Adventures with Billy Bishop's Ghost* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2017).

28. Rachel Lea Heide "Allies in Complicity: The United States, Canada, and the Clayton Knight Committee's Clandestine Recruiting of Americans for the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1940–1942," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, 15, no. 1 (2004): 207–30.

29. For an overview of the debate refer to David Bashow, “Who Killed Von Richthofen?,” *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 58–59. There have been numerous works, most notably Frank McGuire, *The Many Deaths of the Red Baron: The Richthofen Controversy, 1918–2000* (Calgary: Bunker to Bunker Publishing, 2001); Peter Kilduff, *The Red Baron: Beyond the Legend* (Cassell, 1999); and Norman Franks and Alan Bennett, *The Red Baron’s Last Flight* (London: Grub Street, 1997).
30. Wayne Ralph, *William Barker VC: The Life, Death and Legend of Canada’s Most Decorated War Hero* (Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons Canada, 2007). Barker is a common figure in the various anthologies of First World War flyers cited.
31. Refer to, for example, the works cited in note 18. It should also be noted that Canadians feature as individuals in many British survey histories of First World War airmen, e.g., Ralph Barker, *The Royal Flying Corps in France*, 2 vols. (London: Constable and Company, 1995).
32. For an overview of attempts to wrestle with this problem after the First World War, refer to Tim Cook, *Clio’s Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia [UBC] Press, 2006), 70–73. Refer also to notes 50, 51 and 98 on the issue in the inter-war years and Second World War.
33. J. D. F. Kealey and E. C. Russell, *A History of Canadian Naval Aviation, 1918–1962* (Ottawa: Naval Historical Section, DND, 1965), 1–10, <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/official-military-history-lineages/official-histories/book-1965-naval-aviation.html>.
34. For example, Collishaw’s *Air Command* in note 18 and the popular history by Roger Gunn, *Raymond Collishaw and the Black Flight* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2013). Refer also to the informative overview work J. Allen Snowie, *Collishaw & Company: Canadians in the Royal Naval Air Service, 1914–1918* (Bellingham, WA: Nieuport Publishing, 2010).
35. The back issues of *Cross & Cockade International*, accessed November 8, 2024, can be found at <https://greatwaraviation.org/product-category/back-issues/>.
36. The websites, accessed November 8, 2024, are <http://www.overthefront.com/> and <https://www.theaerodrome.com/index.php>. Curiously, France lacks such an equivalent.
37. He passed away in 2020 at the age of 89. For an example of his work refer to Stewart K. Taylor, “Jack Malone...First Ace of Naval Three,” *Over the Front Journal*, accessed November 8, 2024, <https://www.overthefront.com/over-the-front-journal/sample-articles/jack-malone-first-ace-of-naval-three>.
38. The popular histories are C. W. Hunt, *Dancing in the Sky: The Royal Flying Corps in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009); and Peter C. Conrad, *Training Aces: Canada’s Air Training during the First World War* (Markham, ON: Bookland Press, 2015). The post-war history is Alan Sullivan, *Aviation in Canada, 1917–1918: Being a Brief Account of the Work of the Royal Air Force, Canada, The Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board and the Canadian Aeroplanes Limited* (Toronto: Alan Sullivan, 1919).
39. Rachel Lea Heide, “Training the Flyers: The Legacy of Canada’s International Air Training Schemes and the NATO Air Training Plan,” in Randall Wakelam, William March and Peter Rayls, *On the Wings of War and Peace: The RCAF During the Early Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023), 152–180; Hugh Halliday and Laura Brandon, “Into the Blue, Pilot Training in Canada, 1917–1918,” *Canadian Military History* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 59–64; R. V. Dodds, “Canada’s First Air Training Plan,” Part 1, *Roundel* 14, no. 9 (Nov 1962): 7–14; Part 2, *Roundel* 14, no. 10 (Dec 1962): 16–21; Part 3, *Roundel* 15, no. 1 (Jan–Feb 1963): 18–24; and Part 4, *Roundel* 15, no. 2 (Mar 1963): 18–24.

40. In fact, Faulkner had not completed his training when the armistice came in November 1918, and he was demobilized and returned to civilian life in the US shortly thereafter; further, it appears that he was not actually training as a pilot and never flew, not even as a passenger. This did not stop him from wearing an RFC uniform with wings (apparently purchased in a pawn shop) upon his return home. Michael Zeitlin, "Faulkner and the Royal Air Force Canada, 1918," *The Faulkner Journal* 30, no. 1, *Special Issue: Faulkner and the North* (Spring 2016): 15–38.

41. For one of the few overviews of this complicated stop-start history, refer to William March, "Royal Canadian Air Force," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed November 8, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Royal-Canadian-Air-Force>. For a more scholarly examination refer to Richard Mayne, "The Influence of Empire: A National Organization and the Birth of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1918–1924," *Canadian Military Journal* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2019): 38–44.

42. The monograph is F. H. Hitchins, *Mercury Series, Canadian War Museum Paper No. 2: Air Board, Canadian Air Force and Royal Canadian Air Force* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1972). Douglas, *Creation of a National Air Force*, 37–64, provides a good start, but in 27 pages can only paint the picture in broad strokes.

43. Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada: Evolution of an Air Force* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2010) covers the Air Board and CAF briefly.

44. Aside from the *Canadian Military Journal* article by Richard Mayne cited in note 40, there is also his piece "Royal Matters: Symbolism, History and the Significance of the RCAF's Name Change, 1909–2011," *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 1, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 22–37.

45. Douglas, *Creation of a National Air Force*, 91–118.

46. Desmond Morton, "A Non-Operational Air Force: The RCAF, 1924–1931," in March, *Combat if Necessary*, 1–5.

47. In particular Milberry, *Evolution of an Air Force*, but other recent examples include L. D. Cross, *Flying on Instinct: Canada's Bush Pilot Pioneers* (Victoria: Heritage House Publishing, 2012); and Bill Zuk, *True-Life Adventures of Canada's Bush Pilots* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2009).

48. On the "big cut" refer to Douglas, *Creation of a National Air Force*, 87–89, 125–27; and Halliday and Greenhous, *Canada's Air Forces*, 36. On the RCAF and rearmament in the later 1930s, consult C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Vol 2: 1921–1948 The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 220–22; and C. P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 67–107.

49. Douglas, *Creation of a National Air Force*, 131–51.

50. James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada, Vol 2: Appeasement and Rearmament* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). It remains the standard work on Canadian rearmament in the second half of the 1930s. The quote is from pages 139–40.

51. Canadians serving in the British Army had been a definite phenomenon from Victorian times, but it had largely died out by the inter-war years, although there were a few Canadians serving following the outbreak of war in 1939. Refer to Andrew Godefroy, "For Queen, King and Empire: Canadians Recruited into the British Army, 1858–1944," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 87, no. 350 (Summer 2009): 135–49. Some Canadians also served in the Royal Navy, but this was less of a phenomenon. Refer to Richard Lier, "'Big Ship Time': The Formative Years of RCN Officers Serving in RN Capital Ships," in *The RCN in Retrospect, 1910–1968*, ed. James Boutilier (Vancouver: UBC Press), 74–95.

52. Refer to Hugh Halliday, "CAN/RAF: The Canadians in the Royal Air Force," *RCAF Journal* 4, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 21–34.
53. C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Volume 2: 1921–1948, The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 222.
54. Fred Hitchins, "Evolution of the Royal Canadian Air Force," 92–100.
55. The biography is Gunn, *Raymond Collishaw and the Black Flight*, but it only covers his early years and First World War experience. His autobiography, edited by Ronald Dodds, *Air Command*, is cited in note 18. The recent study of his command in North Africa is Mike Bechthold, *Flying to Victory: Raymond Collishaw and the Western Desert Campaign, 1940–1941* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).
56. Spencer Dunmore, *Above and Beyond: The Canadians' War in the Air, 1939–45* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1996); and Larry Milberry and Hugh Halliday, *The Royal Canadian Air Force at War, 1919–1945* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1990). Refer also to Halliday, "CAN/RAF"; and refer to notes 3, 4 and 6 for the RCAF survey histories that include overviews of the Second World War.
57. Richard Mayne, "'A Very Swift Death to the Enemy': The RCAF's Number One Fighter Squadron and the Battle of Britain," *RCAF Journal* 4, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 57–77.
58. Ted Barris, *Battle of Britain: Canadian Airmen in Their Finest Hour* (Toronto: Sutherland House Incorporated, 2024).
59. Canada, DND, *The Royal Canadian Air Force Journal*, 4, no. 2 (Spring 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/air-force/corporate/reports-publications/royal-canadian-air-force-journal/2015-vol4-iss2-spring.html>.
60. On 242 Squadron, refer to Hugh Halliday, *242 Squadron: The Canadian Years: Being the Story of the RAF's 'All-Canadian' Fighter Squadron* (Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1981).
61. David Bashow, *All the Fine Young Eagles: In the Cockpit with Canada's Second World War Fighter Pilots*, 2nd ed. (Madeira Park, BC: Douglas McIntyre), features accounts of various Canadians in the Battle, including McNab and McGregor; and William Arthur Bishop, *The Splendid Hundred: The True Story of Canadians Who Flew in the Greatest Air Battle of World War II* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1994), covers both 401 Sqn and Canadian individuals serving in RAF units.
62. Larry Rose, *Ten Decisions: Canada's Best, Worst, and Most Far-Reaching Decisions of the Second World War* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2017), 66; Sandy Babcock, "The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and Limited Liability," in *Sic Itur Ad Astra: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 2, Big Sky, Little Air Force*, ed. W. A. March (Ottawa: DND, 2009), 12–28; Norman Hillmer et al., ed., *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1996); W. A. B. Douglas and Brereton Greenhous, *Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 30, 35; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939–1945* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), Chapter 1; C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Vol 2: 1921–1948 The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 257, 274, 292–93; and C. P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 18–20, 252–64.
63. F. J. Hatch, *Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan 1939–1945* (Ottawa: Directorate of History, DND, 1983).
64. The chapter-length study is Heide, "Training the Flyers"; Peter Conrad, *Training for Victory: The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan in the West* (Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989);

Ted Barris, *Behind the Glory* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1992, and republished with a new preface by Thomas Allen Publishers, 2005); and James Williams, *The Plan: Memories of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan* (Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1984).

65. Richard Mayne, "A Test of Resolve: Article XV, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and a Crusade for National Recognition," *RCAF Journal* 5, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 19–37; and Iain E. Johnston, "'Only the Air Force Can Win It': The British Commonwealth Air Training Schemes," in *The British Commonwealth and Victory in the Second World War*, Part II (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 91–150. As well, refer to Iain E. Johnston's article "The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the Shaping of National Identities in the Second World War," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 5 (2015): 903–926.

66. *RCAF Journal* 5, no. 2 (Spring 2016).

67. The literature on this subject is vast, but key works on the history of the combined bomber offensive against Germany and its effectiveness include these titles: Richard Overy, *The Bombing War: Europe 1939–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2013); Tami Davis Biddle, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Horst Boog, *Germany and the Second World War Volume VII: The Strategic Air War in Europe and the War in the West and East Asia, 1943–1944/5* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Cargill Hall, ed., *Case Studies in Strategic Bombardment* (n.p.: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1998); Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Denis Richards, *The Hardest Victory: RAF Bomber Command in the Second World War* (London: Coronet, 1995); Alan Levine, *The Strategic Bombing of Germany, 1940–1945* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); Michael Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987); and Charles Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939–1945*, vols. 1–4 (London: HMSO, 1961). Prominent works specifically examining the morality of the bombing include Yuki Tanaka and Marilyn B. Young, ed., *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: New Press, 2010); A. C. Grayling, *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WWII Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009); Conrad Crane, *Bombs, Cities and Civilians* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Stephen Garrett, *Ethics and Airpower in World War II* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); and a useful article-length summary of the debate—by a Canadian academic no less—can be found in David Ian Hall, "'Black, White and Grey': Wartime Arguments for and against the Strategic Bomber Offensive," *Canadian Military History* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 7–19.

68. Spencer Dunmore and William S. Carter, *Reap the Whirlwind: The Untold Story of 6 Group, Canada's Bomber Force of World War II* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); and William S. Carter, *Anglo-American Wartime Relations, 1939–1945: RAF Bomber Command and No. 6 (Canadian) Group* (New York: Garland, 1991), originally a doctoral dissertation at McMaster University, 1989.

69. Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada: Bombing and Coastal Operations Overseas 1939–1945* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2011).

70. Brian McKenna and Terrence McKenna, *The Valour and the Horror* (CBC Television and the National Film Board of Canada, original release January 1992). There is also a book version, Merrill Weisbord and Marilyn Simonds Mohr, *The Valour and the Horror: The Untold Story of Canadians in the Second World War* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1991).

71. The Royal Canadian Legion began an organized lobbying campaign against the CBC, but an astonishing number of private individuals also complained. For an overview of the controversy refer to Anne Collins, "The Battle over 'The Valour and the Horror,'" *Saturday Night* (May 1993), 44–49, 72–76. Perhaps the

harshest critic was Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1998), 14–15, 116–120. Noted Canadian military historian Desmond Morton tactfully declined to argue for or against the show's historical interpretations but lamented the way the media set itself up as judge, jury and executioner on any criticism of the show which, in his opinion, allowed the CBC to escape any criticism. Desmond Morton, "As I See It: Horror, Valour, and the CBC," *Canadian Social Studies* 28, no. 2 (Winter 1994), 57–58. Popular historian Pierre Berton and various others came to the show's defence. The series went on to win three Gemini awards, the highest Canadian honour for documentaries.

72. David Bercuson and Syd Wise, *The Valour and the Horror Revisited* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

73. The Senate of Canada, *The Valour and the Horror: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, Proceedings of the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, January 25, 1993); and Bill Morgan, Ombudsman's Report on the "Valour and the Horror" Series, CBC, 1992, CRTC, December 1992.

74. On the unsatisfactory denouement of the controversy, refer to Graham Carr, "War, History and the Education of (Canadian) Memory," in *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, ed. Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003); and David Taras, "The Struggle over 'The Valour and the Horror': Media Power and the Portrayal of War," *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 28, no. 4 (December 1995): 725–48.

75. Greenhous et al., *The Crucible of War*, 865–67.

76. It is worth noting that a generation earlier, the publication of the British official history of the strategic bombing offensive (refer to note 65) produced similar media controversy for similar reasons. For an interesting albeit somewhat inside-baseball memoir of that controversy, refer to Noble Frankland, "Some Thoughts About and Experience of Official Military History," *The Journal of The Royal Air Force Historical Society* 17 (1997): 5–20.

77. "Book Reviews," *Quill & Quire* 60, no. 6 (June 1994): 41.

78. Condemning the change in wording as something akin to censorship were Robert Bothwell, Randall Hansen and Margaret MacMillan, "Controversy, Commemoration, and Capitulation: The Canadian War Museum and Bomber Command," *Queen's Quarterly* 115, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 367–89. Arguing that the original plaque was indeed too simplistic was Randall Wakelam, review of *Fire and Fury: The Allied Bombing of Germany 1942–45*, by Randall Hansen, *The Journal of Military History* 73, no. 3 (July 2009): 999–1,000. Refer also to Randall Wakelam, "Bomber Harris and Precision Bombing – No Oxymoron Here," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 14, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 15.

79. Randall Hansen, *Fire and Fury: The Allied Bombing of Germany, 1942–45* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2009).

80. For a positive review refer to Matthew McMurray, *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 2 (Autumn 2010): 384–86. "*Fire and Fury*," was nominated for the 2009 Governor General's Literary Award in non-fiction. For a rather scathing review, refer to Randall Wakelam, review of *Fire and Fury*, *The Journal of Military History* 73, no. 3 (July 2009): 999–1,000.

81. Randall T. Wakelam, *The Science of Bombing: Operational Research in RAF Bomber Command* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

82. David L. Bashow, *Soldiers Blue: How Bomber Command and Area Bombing Helped Win the Second World War* (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2011), *None But the Brave: The Essential*

Contributions of RAF Bomber Command to Allied Victory During the Second World War (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), and *No Prouder Place: Canadians and the Bomber Command Experience, 1939–1945* (St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing, 2005).

83. Bashow, *Soldiers Blue*, 2–3.

84. Refer to Jack Granatstein's plea on this in "What Is to Be Done?' The Future of Canadian Second World War History," *Canadian Military Journal* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 54–59.

85. Prominent examples include the previously cited Bashow, *All the Fine Young Eagles*; Wayne Ralph, *Aces, Warriors and Wingmen: The Firsthand Accounts of Canada's Fighter Pilots in the Second World War* (Toronto: Wiley, 2005); Peter Pigott, *Flying Canucks: Famous Canadian Aviators* (Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1994); and Dan McCaffery, *Air Aces: The Lives and Times of Twelve Canadian Fighter Pilots* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1990).

86. Nick Thomas, *Sniper of the Skies: The Story of George Frederick 'Screwball' Beurling, DSO, DFC, DFM and Bar* (Barnley, UK: Pen & Sword Aviation, 2015); Brian Nolan, *Hero: The Buzz Beurling Story* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1981); Diane Canwell and Jon Sutherland, *Air War Malta: June 1940 to November 1942* (Barnley, UK: Pen & Sword Aviation, 2008); and Brian Cull and Frederick Galea, *Spitfires Over Malta: The Epic Air Battles of 1942* (London: Grub Street, 2005). Refer also to the public relations book put out during the war, George Beurling with Leslie Roberts, *Malta Spitfire: The Buzz Beurling Story, Canada's World War II Daredevil Pilot* (London and Toronto: Penguin Books, 1943).

87. Dean Black, "The Lone Ranger: An Air Warfare Leadership Study of George Frederick 'Buzz' Beurling," *Neither Art, Nor Science: Selected Canadian Military Leadership Profiles*, vol. 2, ed. Bernd Horn and Craig Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 123–51.

88. On the aircraft themselves, refer to Hugh Halliday, *Typhoon and Tempest: The Canadian Story* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1992). On the RCAF and tactical air power, the best published works are an overview anthology, Mike Bechthold, ed., *Airpower and the Normandy Campaign* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2025) and various articles, including two works by Paul Johnston, "The Question of British Influence on U.S. Tactical Air Power in World War II," *Air Power History* 52, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 16–33 and "Tactical Air Power Controversies in Normandy: A Question of Doctrine," *Canadian Military History* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 59–71; and Michael Bechthold, "Air Support in the Breskens Pocket: The Case of the First Canadian Army and the 84 Group Royal Air Force," *Canadian Military History* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 53–62. Also relevant for context are various British histories: David Ian Hall, *Strategy for Victory: The Development of British Tactical Air Power, 1919–1943* (Westport: Praeger, 2008); and Ian Gooderson, *Air Power at the Battlefield: Allied Close Air Support in Europe 1943–45* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

89. Although, honourable mention should be made of Canadian participation in maritime air operations in the Far East, where Leonard Birchall served with 413 Sqn and Robert Hampton Gray won his VC.

90. As noted earlier, the home-based squadrons' war is covered in *Building a National Air Force* and the efforts of the overseas-based squadrons (including in Iceland) in *Crucible of War*. On the Battle of the Atlantic overall, refer also to the two relevant RCN official histories: W. A. B. Douglas et al., *No Higher Purpose: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939–1943, Volume II, Part 1* (St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 2002); and *A Blue Water Navy: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1944–1945, Volume II, Part 2* (St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 2007).

91. Marc Milner, "The Battle of the Atlantic," in *Decisive Campaigns of the Second World War*, ed. John Gooch (London: Frank Cass, 1990), 45–66.

92. Milner, "The Battle of the Atlantic," 59. The best treatments of the air-gap issue in book-length studies are John Buckley, *The RAF and Trade Defence 1919–1945: Constant Endeavour* (Newcastle-under-Lyme, UK: Keele University Press, 1995), especially 132–37; Iain E. Johnston, *British Commonwealth and Victory*, 175–82; and Malcolm Llewellyn-Jones, *The Royal Navy and Anti-Submarine Warfare, 1917–49* (London: Routledge, 2006), 25–67. Noteworthy histories of the Battle of the Atlantic that give air power the traditional passing mention include Marcus Faulkner and Christopher M. Bell, ed., *Decision in the Atlantic: The Allies and the Longest Campaign of the Second World War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019); David Syrett, *The Defeat of the German U-Boats: The Battle of the Atlantic* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); and Marc Milner, *The U-Boat Hunters: The Royal Canadian Navy and the Offensive Against Germany's Submarines* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

93. The most recent work is Brian Walter, *The Longest Campaign: Britain's Maritime Struggle in the Atlantic and Northwest Europe, 1939–1945* (Philadelphia: Casemate Publishers, 2020), which gives air forces the traditional mention in passing. There is also a narrative in the DHH: W. A. B. Douglas, *Closing the Greenland Air Gap, 1942-3: The Anatomy of an Anglo-American Muddle* (DHH narrative, September 1983).

94. Christopher M. Bell, "Air Power and the Battle of the Atlantic: Very Long Range Aircraft and the Delay in Closing the Atlantic 'Air Gap,'" *Journal of Military History* 79, no. 3 (July 2015): 691–719 and "The Battle of the Atlantic, the 'Air Gap,' and the Delay in Allocating Liberators to the Royal Canadian Air Force," *The Northern Mariner / Le Marin du nord*, 34, no. 2 (2024): 235–58; Duncan Redford, "Inter- and Intra-Service Rivalries in the Battle of the Atlantic," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 32, no. 6 (December 2009): 899–928; Richard Goette, "Britain and the Delay in Closing the Mid-Atlantic 'Air Gap' During the Battle of the Atlantic," *The Northern Mariner / Le marin du nord* 15, no. 4 (October 2005): 19–41; David Syrett and W. A. B. Douglas, "Die Wende in der Schlacht im Atlantik: Die Schliessung des 'Grönland-Luftlochs,' 1942–1943," *Marine-Rundschau* 83 (January/February 1986): Teil III, 147–49. English translation available at DHH; and Richard Goette, "The Command and Control of Canadian and American Maritime Air Power in the Northwest Atlantic, 1941–1943," *Canadian Military History* 26, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2017), 1–27. Also relevant are several articles in Volume 6 of the *Sic Itur Ad Astra* series.

95. Not a single history of any Home Establishment squadron has been published. Note that those squadrons which were sent overseas and renumbered into the 400 series do have squadron histories under their redesignated numbers (e.g., 127/443 Sqn). There is an unpublished master's thesis: Jeff Noakes, "Proud to Serve: An Operational History of Number 162 (Bomber Reconnaissance) Squadron, Royal Canadian Air Force, 1942–1945" (master's thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1997). Refer also to Richard Goette, "Squadron Leader N. E. Small: A Study of Leadership in the RCAF's Eastern Air Command, 1942," *Canadian Military Journal* 5, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 43–50.

96. Milberry, *Bombing and Coastal Operations*; and Andrew Hendrie, *Canadian Squadrons in Coastal Command* (St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing, 1997).

97. Bertram Frandsen, "Air Transport Command: Versatile and Ready in Cold War and Hot War," in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 371–91. The six overseas squadrons were 422, 423, 426, 435, 436 and 437, and the nine home-based squadrons were 12, 122, 124, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168 and 170, although it should be noted that 422, 423 and 426 were originally bomber or reconnaissance squadrons, only re-rolled to transport after the end of hostilities.

98. Greenhous et al., *Crucible of War*, 876–909; Carl Christie, "The Role of Ferry, Transport, and Civil Aviation in the Second World War," in *Big Sky, Little Air Force*, 29–41; Atholl Sutherland Brown, "Victory in Burma: The Role of Canada and the Air Force," *Canadian Military History* 14, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): 75–76; and Larry Milberry, "Air Transport Overseas," *Canada's Air Force: At War and Peace* (n.p.: CANAV, 2000) 2:205–19.

99. Carl Christie, *Ocean Bridge: The History of RAF Ferry Command* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

100. On this refer to notes 31, 50 and 51; and Hugh Halliday, “Lost in the RAF: Air Force Part 55,” *Legion Magazine*, Jan/Feb 2013, 66–69.
101. Greenhouse et al., *Crucible of War*, 44–105, 623–88. The two earlier works by Stacey were *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, vol. 2, 292–96 and 354–55; and *Arms, Men and Governments*, 264–88.
102. Carter, *Anglo-American Wartime Relations*; and Johnston, *British Commonwealth and Victory*, in particular Chapter 9, “National Identity and the RAF,” 123–34.
103. Larry Rose, “Putting the ‘Canadian’ in ‘Royal Canadian Air Force,’” in *Ten Decisions: Canada’s Best, Worst, and Most Far-Reaching Decisions of the Second World War* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2017), 87–110; Charles G. Power, *A Party Politician: The Memoirs of Chubby Power*, ed. Norman Ward (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966); and Leslie Nuttall, “Canadianization and the No. 6 Bomber Group R.C.A.F.” (doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, 1990).
104. The seminal works on this issue are Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*; and J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977). Both are focused primarily upon the Army but do consider the RCAF.
105. For instance, refer to M. D. Stevenson, *Canada’s Greatest Wartime Muddle: National Selective Service and the Mobilization of Human Resources during World War II* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); and Daniel Byers, *Zombie Army: The Canadian Army and Conscription in the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016). Both sources are focused upon the Army but make broader arguments.
106. Allan English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Aircrew, 1939–1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996).
107. J. MacKay Hitsman, *Manpower Problems of the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War* (Ottawa: Army Headquarters, 1954), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/official-military-history-lineages/reports/army-headquarters-1948-1959/manpower-air-force-ww2.html>.
108. Allan English, “Leadership and Lack of Moral Fibre in Bomber Command 1939–1945: Lessons for Today and Tomorrow,” in *The Insubordinate and the Noncompliant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1920 to Present*, ed. Howard Coombs (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 101–12; and “Leadership and Lack of Moral Fibre in Bomber Command, 1939–1945,” in *The Evolution of Air Power in Canada*, vol. 1, ed. William March and Robert Thompson (Winnipeg: Air Command History and Heritage, 1997), 67–75. Internationally, the issue is touched upon in Sydney Brandon, “LMF in Bomber Command, 1939–45: Diagnosis or Denouncement?,” in *150 Years of British Psychiatry: Volume 2: The Aftermath*, ed. Hugh Freedman and German Berrios (London: Athlone, 1996), 119–129; and Edgar Jones “‘LMF’: The Use of Psychiatric Stigma in the Royal Air Force during the Second World War,” *Journal of Military History* 70, no. 2 (2006): 439–58.
109. The best overview histories include William Johnston, *A War of Patrols: Canadian Army Operations in Korea* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); David Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and the now somewhat dated but thorough Herbert Wood, *Strange Battleground: The Operations in Korea and Their Effects on the Defence Policy of Canada* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1966). The sobriquet “Canada’s Forgotten War” was first popularized in Canada by John Melady in his popular history *Korea: Canada’s Forgotten War*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Dundurn, 2011). The best overview of Canada’s participation at the policy level is still Denis Stairs, *The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

110. Tim Cook and Andrew Burtch, ed., *Canada and the Korean War: Histories and Legacies of a Cold War Conflict* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2024).
111. Carl Mills, "Canadian Airmen and Airwomen in Korea," Royal Canadian Air Force History and Heritage, modified June 6, 2017, <https://www.canada.ca/en/air-force/services/history-heritage/korea-war.html>; and Bertram Frandsen, "Air Transport Command: Versatile and Ready in Cold War and Hot War," in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 371–91.
112. Lawrence Motiuk, *Thunderbirds for Peace: Diary of a Transport Squadron* (Ottawa: Larmot Associates, 2004), 179–322, 343, 358, 369, 377, 389, and 397–400.
113. Terry Leversedge, *Canadian Eagles in Crimson Skies: Canada's Fighter Pilots in the Korean War 1950–1954* (Ottawa: Kestrel Aerospace Publications, 2020). Chapter 11, "North Stars vs MiGs," in *Melady's Korea: Canada's Forgotten War*, 113–22, covers the Canadian Sabre pilots; and various other works include mentions of them, e.g., McCaffery, *Air Aces*, 191–205. Many American accounts of the air war over Korea make at least passing reference to the Canadian exchange pilots, e.g., Michael Napier, *Korean Air War: Sabres, MiGs and Meteors, 1950–53* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2021). Refer also to various *Roundel* articles published at the time, one of which has been reprinted in modern times: Andy MacKenzie and Bruce McIntyre, "Encounter Over Korea," *Canadian Military History* 3, no. 1 (1994): 117–22, which was originally published in 1955. Finally, there is the recent aviation-history-enthusiast book, Brian Cull and Dennis Newton, *With the Yanks in Korea: The First Definitive Account of British and Commonwealth Participation in the Air War. Vol. I: June 1950 to December 1951* (London: Grub Street Publishing, 2000).
114. Jeff Rankin-Lowe, *Golden Years: The Royal Canadian Air Force in the 1950s* (London: Sirius Productions, 1997); Milberry, *Sixty Years*, the chapter titled "The Golden Years," 258–367; Eayrs, *Growing Up Allied*, 38; Richard Goette, "Air Defence Leadership During the RCAF's "Golden Years," in *Sic Itur Ad Astra: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 1, Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership*, ed. W. A. March (Ottawa: DND, 2009), 51–64; Bertram Frandsen, *The Rise and Fall of Canada's Cold War Air Force, 1948–1968* (doctoral dissertation, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2015); and Alexander Babcock, *The Making of a Cold War Air Force: Planning and Professionalism in the Postwar Royal Canadian Air Force, 1944–1950* (doctoral dissertation, Carleton University, 2008).
115. On the era as golden years for Canada generally, refer to Andrew Cohen, *While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003); on the RCN refer to Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy: The First Century*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); and on the Canadian Army refer to Andrew Godefroy, *In Peace Prepared: Innovation and Adaptation in Canada's Cold War Army* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014).
116. Both the Army and the Navy tend to have mixed feelings about the 1950s. The Army never did establish a full standing division, much less the corps they persisted in dreaming of. Refer to Peter Kasurak, *A National Force: The Evolution of Canada's Army, 1950–2000* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2013); and Sean M. Maloney, *An Identifiable Cult: The Evolution of Combat Development in the Canadian Army 1946–1965* (Kingston, ON: DND, 1999). The RCN never got its second carrier. Michael Whitby, "Fouled Deck: The Pursuit of an Augmented Aircraft Carrier Capability for the Royal Canadian Navy, Part 1, 1945–56," *Canadian Air Force Journal* 3, no. 3 (Summer 2010), 1–13, and "Fouled Deck: The Pursuit of an Augmented Aircraft Carrier Capability for the Royal Canadian Navy, Part 2, 1956–64," *Canadian Air Force Journal* 3, no. 4 (Fall 2010) 6–20.
117. Bert Frandsen makes the point that Canada could not sustain the first half of the 1950s level of effort. Refer to his unpublished PhD dissertation referenced in note 112 and his chapter with Peter Rayls, "The Expansion and Contraction of Canada's First Line of Defence: The RCAF in the Cold War, 1945–1968," in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 9–37.

118. Initially, neither the British nor the French, with their Meteors, Vampires, Ouragans and F-84Gs, had fighters as modern as the Sabre, especially once the Canadian Sabres were equipped with the superlative Orenda engine. Even the US Air Forces in Europe were at the time equipped primarily with F-84s. Refer to the commentary on the RCAF Air Division in Joseph Jockel and Joel Sokolsky, “Canada and NATO,” *International Journal* 64, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 315–66; and David Bercuson, “Canada, NATO, and Rearmament: Why Canada Made a Difference (But Not for Very Long),” in *Making a Difference? Canada’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order*, ed. John English and Norman Hillmer (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1992), 103–124.

119. Ray Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF’s Original 1 Canadian Air Division* (Ottawa: DND, 2015). Refer also to his chapter, “No. 1 Air Division,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 38–59.

120. Sean Maloney, *War Without Battles: Canada’s NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951–1993* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1997); Isabel Campbell, *Unlikely Diplomats: The Canadian Brigade in Germany, 1951–64* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); and Frank Maas, *The Price of Alliance: The Politics and Procurement of Leopard Tanks for Canada’s NATO Brigade* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).

121. The original seminal works were Eayrs, *Growing Up Allied*, and Escott Reid, *Time of Fear and Hope: The Making of the North Atlantic Treaty, 1947–1949* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977). More recent prominent works include Joseph Jockel and Joel Sokolsky, *Canada in NATO, 1949–2019* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021); and Robert Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945–1984* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

122. The four chiefs were Air Marshal Wilf Curtis of Canada, General François Lecheres of France, Marshal of the RAF, Sir John Slessor and General Hoyt S. Vandenberg of the USA. Refer to NATO, *SHAPE History*, vol. I, Sect. II, *Plans and Progress, 1951–1952*, 184–91.

123. This request was first identified by NATO in the form of SG 20/31 on August 15, 1951, and reiterated in a formal request to Canada in the form of MRC 5/1 five days later.

124. David Bercuson, *True Patriot: The Life of Brooke Claxton, 1898–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 227; and Eayrs, *Growing Up Allied*, 223.

125. For the story of this little controversy, refer to David Bercuson, “The Return of Canadians to Europe: Britannia Rules the Rhine,” in *Canada and NATO: Uneasy Past, Uncertain Future*, ed. Margaret MacMillan and David Sorenson (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Press, 1990), 15–26; and Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers*, 56–57.

126. The seminal works on this issue remain Ivo Daalder, *The Nature and Practice of Flexible Response: NATO Strategy and Theater Nuclear Forces Since 1967* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); and Jane Stromseth, *The Origins of Flexible Response: NATO’s Debate over Strategy in the 1960s* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988). For an important update on their interpretations, refer to the more recent Francis Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America’s Atomic Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).

127. Isabel Campbell, “Sitting Ducks and Strategic Change: The Air Division in Europe, 1959 to 1967,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 23, no. 1 (2024), 32–49.

128. Refer to Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers*, 105–137.

129. Good overviews of the US nuclear sharing programme in general include Ernest May and Catherine McArdle Kelleher, “History of the Deployment of BNW,” in *Battlefield Nuclear Weapons, Issues*

and Options: *CSIA Occasional Paper Series*, ed. Stephen Biddle and Peter Feaver (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989); and Leon Sloss and Richard N. Smith, *The Development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Nuclear History Occasional Paper 4* (McLean, VA: SAIC, 1997). For more detail on Canada, the RCAF and nuclear sharing, refer to Chapter 23, “Nuclear Weapons.”

130. This is one of the major themes of Sean Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons During the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2007).

131. For an overview of the Trudeau reorientation of Canadian policy towards the NATO commitment, refer to J. L. Granatstein and Robert Bothwell, *Pirouette: Pierre Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), especially Chapter 1, 3–35. For various more detailed scholarly assessments of how it turned out, refer to Roy Rempel, *Counterweights: The Failure of Canada's German and European Policy, 1955–1995* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997); Margaret MacMillan and David Sorenson, ed., *Canada and NATO: Uneasy Past, Uncertain Future* (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Press, 1990); and R. B. Byers, “Defence and Foreign Policy in the 1970s: The Demise of the Trudeau Doctrine,” *Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 33, no. 2 (June 1978): 312–38.

132. Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada and NATO's Northern Flank* (North York: York Centre for International and Strategic Studies, 1986), in particular refer to the section “The Air Squadrons,” 30–31; Sean Maloney, “Fire Brigade or Tocsin? NATO's ACE Mobile Force, Flexible Response and the Cold War,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 27, no. 4 (Dec 2004): 585–613; and John Price, “The Northern Flank: The Air Dimension,” in *Britain and NATO's Northern Flank*, ed. Geoffrey Till (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 140–46.

133. For an overview of the Canadian contribution to NATO AWACS refer to Patrick Dennis, “NATO AWACS: Alliance Keystone for Out-of-Area Operations,” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 22–31; and Arnold Lee Tessmer, *The Politics of Compromise: NATO and AWACS* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1995).

134. On the 1950s NATO Air Training Plan refer to Heide, “Training the Flyers,” as well as the brief mention in Halliday and Greenhouse, *Canada's Air Forces*, 134.

135. On the pre-NORAD Canada-US cooperation over continental air defence, refer to Richard Goette, *Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental Air Defence, 1940–57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), as well as Frandsen and Rayls, “Expansion and Contraction,” 9–37; and Richard Goette, “The RCAF, USAF, and Continental Air Defence, 1945–1957,” 60–81, both in *On the Wings of War and Peace*.

136. Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945–1958* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), which was based upon his 1978 PhD dissertation at Johns Hopkins University.

137. Joseph T. Jockel. *Canada in NORAD, 1957–2007: A History* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007). Most recently, Jockel contributed a chapter, “NORAD Peaks, 1957–1964,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 82–102.

138. Christian Leuprecht, Joel J. Sokolsky and Thomas Hughes, ed., *North American Strategic Defence in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World* (New York: Springer International, 2018).

139. Andrea Charron and James Fergusson, *NORAD: In Perpetuity and Beyond* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022).

140. The policy-level studies include Ann Denholm Crosby, *Dilemmas in Defence Decision-Making: Constructing Canada's role in NORAD, 1958–96* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Keith Neilson, Ronald G. Haycock, ed., *The Cold War and Defense* (New York: Praeger, 1990); David Haglund and Joel Sokolsky, ed.,

The US–Canada Security Relationship: The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989); and Joel Sokolsky, *Defending Canada: US-Canadian Defense Policies* (New York: Priority Press, 1989). The more air power–focused studies are Goette, *Sovereignty and Command in Canada–US Continental Air Defence, 1940–57*; and Matthew Trudgen, “The Search for Continental Security: The Canadian-American Relationship and the Development of the North American Air Defence System, 1949–56” (doctoral thesis, Queen’s University, 2011), publication of which is forthcoming. Also of note is Robert Douglas Allin, “Implementing NORAD, 1956–1962: The Bureaucratic Tug of War for Access and Influence” (master’s thesis, Carleton University, 1998).

141. Gordon A. A. Wilson, *NORAD and the Soviet Nuclear Threat: Canada’s Secret Electronic Air War* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2011); Fraser Holman, *NORAD in the New Millennium* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 2000); and Don Nicks, John Bradley and Chris Charland, *A History of Air Defence in Canada 1948–1997* (Ottawa: Canadian Fighter Group, 1997).

142. James Minifie, *Peacemaker or Powder-Monkey: Canada’s Role in a Revolutionary World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 98–99. For a recent scholarly assessment of these accusations that concludes they are largely baseless, refer to Matthew Trudgen, “Good Partners or Just Brass Intrigue: The Transnational Relationship Between USAF and the RCAF with Respect to the North American Air Defence System, 1947–1960,” in *Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership*, 77–83.

143. John Warnock, *Partner to Behemoth: The Military Policy of a Satellite Canada* (Toronto: New Press, 1970); Lewis Hertzman, John Warnock and Thomas Hockin, *Alliances and Illusions: Canada and the NATO-NORAD Question* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969); and Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 242.

144. Shelagh Grant, *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America* (Madeira Park, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2011), 324.

145. Peter Haydon, *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1993), in particular 70–88. Refer also to Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, 54–55; and Michael Crawford Urban, “A Fearful Asymmetry: Diefenbaker, the Canadian Military and Trust During the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 21, no. 3 (2015): 257–71.

146. On how significant the previous Liberal Government was in the establishment of NORAD, in particular Lester B. Pearson, refer to Joel Sokolsky and Joseph Jockel, ed., *Fifty Years of Canada – United States Defense Cooperation: The Road from Ogdensburg* (Queenston, ON: Edwin Mellin Press, 1992); and Trudgen, *Search for Continental Security*.

147. Melvin Conant, *The Long Polar Watch: Canada and the Defense of North America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 85. Refer also to his earlier article, “Canada and Continental Defence: An American View,” *International Journal* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1960): 219–28.

148. Lydus H. Buss, *US Air Defense in the Northeast 1940–1957* (Colorado Springs: Directorate of Command History Office of Information Services Headquarters Continental Air Defense Command, 1957); Kenneth Schaffel, *The Emerging Shield: The Air Force and the Evolution of Continental Air Defense, 1945–1960* (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1991); George F. Lemmer, *The Air Force and Strategic Deterrence, 1951–1960* (Washington: Office of Air Force History, 1967); and C. L. Grant, *The Development of Continental Air Defense to 1 September 1954* (Maxwell AFB: United States Air Force, 1957).

149. For example, refer to David Cox, “Canada and NORAD 1958–1978: A Cautionary Retrospective,” *Aurora Papers* 1 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, 1985): 18; and Jon McLin, *Canada’s Changing Defense Policy 1957–1963: The Problems of a Middle Power in Alliance* (Toronto: Copp Clarke Publishing, 1967).

150. Andrew Richter, "The Evolution of Strategic Thinking at the Canadian Department of National Defence, 1950–1960," *Occasional Paper no. 38, Security Policy Special Issue no. 2* (North York: Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, 1996). For a sampling of writing at the time, refer to John Gellner and James Jackson, "Modern Weapons and the Small Power," *International Journal* 13, no. 2 (June 1958): 87–99; Ronald Ritchie, "Problems of a Defence Policy for Canada," *International Journal* 14, no. 3 (Summer 1959): 202–12; and R. J. Sutherland, "Canada's Long Term Strategic Situation," *International Journal* 17, no. 3 (Summer 1962): 199–223.
151. Goette, *Sovereignty and Command in Canada*.
152. Colin S. Gray, *Canadian Defence Priorities: A Question of Relevance* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1972), 74; and Brian Cuthbertson, *Canadian Military Independence in the Age of the Superpowers* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977), 50, 77–80.
153. Joel Sokolsky, "The Bilateral Security Relationship: Will 'National' Missile Defense Involve Canada?," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (June 2000): 231–33; and Colin S. Gray, "Canada and NORAD: A Study in Strategy," *Behind the Headlines* 31 (June 1972): 11–15.
154. Joseph Jockel and Joel Sokolsky, "Canada's Cold War Nuclear Experience," in *Pondering NATO's Nuclear Options*, ed. David Haglund (Kingston, ON: Queen's Quarterly and the Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1999), in particular 107–124; and Ann Denholm Crosby, *Dilemmas in Defence Decision-Making: Constructing Canada's Role in NORAD, 1958–96* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).
155. This point is argued most forcefully by Douglas Murray in his chapter "NORAD and US Nuclear Operations," in Sokolsky and Jockel, *Fifty Years of Canada*, 209–38.
156. Nils Ørvik originally proposed the theory in "Defence Against Help – A Strategy for Small States?," *Survival* 15, no. 5 (September/October 1973): 228–31, and expanded upon it over the years, e.g., "The Basic Issue in Canadian National Security: Defence Against Help, Defence to Help Others," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (Summer 1981): 8–15.
157. For an overview of the idea's attractions, refer to Philippe Lagassé, "Nils Ørvik's 'Defence Against Help': The Descriptive Appeal of a Prescriptive Strategy," *International Journal* 65, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 463–74. For the more recent challenges, refer to Andrea Charron and James Fergusson, "Canada and Defence Against Help: The Wrong Theory for the Wrong Country at the Wrong Time," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, ed. T. Juneau, P. Lagassé and S. Vucetic (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 99–115; and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Defence Against Help" (working paper, Defence and Security Foresight Group, Oct 2020).
158. Philippe Lagassé, "Canada, Strategic Defence, and Strategic Stability: A Retrospective and Look Ahead," *International Journal* 63, no. 4 (Autumn 2008): 917–37.
159. James Fergusson, *Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence, 1954–2009: Déjà Vu All Over Again* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).
160. On the early hopes for the post-war Canadian aviation industry, refer to Randall Wakelam, *Cold War Fighters: Canadian Aircraft Procurement, 1945–54* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 1–18; Lawrence Aronsen, "A Leading Arsenal of Democracy: American Rearmament and the Continental Integration of the Canadian Aircraft Industry, 1948–1953," *The International History Review* 13, no. 3 (1991): 481–501; Fred Gaffen, "Canada's Military Aircraft Industry: Its Birth, Growth and Fortunes," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (Autumn 1985): 48–53; and D. Hiscocks, "Aircraft Design in Canada from Silver Dart

to Challenger and Dash 8,” *Canadian Aeronautics and Space Journal* 30, no. 2 (June 1984): 99–101. On the Sabre and the Orenda engine, refer to Larry Milberry, *The Canadair Sabre* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1986). For some commentary from the time, refer to “Super Sabres” *Aviation Week*, August 27, 1956, 37. On the Canuck, refer to Larry Milberry, *The Avro CF-100* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1981).

161. Refer to Chris Gainor, *Arrows to the Moon: Avro’s Engineers and the Space Race* (Burlington, ON: Apogee Books, 2001); and Manfred von Ehrenfried, *The Birth of NASA: The Work of the Space Task Group, America’s First True Space Pioneers* (London: Springer, 2016), 54–58.

162. How devastating it was to Canadian industry and technology is stressed by many of the Arrow books, e.g., those by Shaw, Campagna and Murray Peden. On the other hand, Canadian aviation did continue, albeit more on a branch-plant basis. While we lack a good history of the Canadian aviation industry, the best assessment of the cancellation’s effects, which were indeed severe, can be referenced in Gainor, *Arrows to the Moon*; and Daniel Todd and Jamie Simpson, “Aerospace, the State and the Regions: A Canadian Perspective,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (April 1985): 111–30.

163. For an overview of the controversy, refer to “The Legacy of the Avro Arrow,” *Globe and Mail*, January 18, 1997, A2. For a vivid description of “Black Friday,” the day the cancellation was announced, refer to James Dow, *The Arrow* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1997), 79–93.

164. For some trenchant observations about the Arrow’s “mythology,” refer to Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker* (Toronto: McFarlane Walter & Ross, 1995), 634.

165. The two novels are Daniel Wyatt, *The Last Flight of the Arrow* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1990); and Robert R. Robinson, *Scrap Arrow: A Novel* (Don Mills, ON: R. R. R. Communications, 1975). On the strange proposal to update the Arrow, refer to Steven Chase, “Ottawa Shoots Down Plan to Revive Avro Arrow Fighter Plane,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 11, 2012.

166. Alexandra Sienkiewicz, “A New Hunt for Avro Arrow Models in the Depths of Lake Ontario: This Time the Search Will Be Different,” CBC News, July 14, 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/a-new-hunt-for-avro-arrow-models-in-the-depths-of-lake-ontario-this-time-the-search-will-be-different-1.4205184>.

167. The most recent technical study is by the credible Terry Leversedge, *Kestrel Aviation Profile #4: The Avro CF-105 Arrow in Preparation for RCAF Service* (Ottawa: Kestrel Aerospace Publications, 2019). The documentary, written by George Robertson, was “There Never Was an Arrow” (CBC, 1980), confusingly not based upon the book of the same name by Edith K. Shaw (originally published by Steel Rail Educational in 1979, with a 2nd ed. in 1981), but rather the works of Greig Stewart and James Dow. The later CBC miniseries “The Arrow” was produced by Film Works and Tapestry Pictures, was released January 12, 1997, and was based largely upon the sensationalist popular account by Greig Stewart, *Shutting Down the National Dream: A. V. Roe and the Tragedy of the Avro Arrow* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1988 [republished 1997 when the miniseries came out]). For an account of the miniseries that admires it as an inherently dramatic story, refer to Tom McSorley, “Lament for a Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Avro Arrow,” *Take One: Film and Television in Canada* 14 (Winter 1997): 5–10; and for criticism of its accuracy by an academic historian, refer to Michael Bliss, “Arrow That Doesn’t Fly: The CBC’s mini-series about the interceptor that wasn’t, is good to look at but ungrounded in facts,” *Time Magazine* [Canadian edition], January 20, 1997.

168. The Arrowheads (Leslie [Les] Wilkinson, Don Watson, Ron Page, and Richard Organ), *Avro Arrow: The Story of the Avro Arrow from Its Evolution to Its Extinction* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1985). Palmiro Campagna, *The Avro Arrow: For the Record* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2019), *Storms of Controversy: The Secret Avro Arrow Files Revealed* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), and *Requiem for a Giant: A. V. Roe Canada and the Avro Arrow* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003).

169. Campagna, *Storms of Controversy*, 152. Another conspiracy allegation Campagna in particular advances is that only the Arrow could have shot down the U-2, which the US wanted to be able to fly unthreatened in Canadian skies. Refer to Jack Granatstein's review of *Storms of Controversy* in *Quill & Quire* 59, no. 1 (Jan 1993): 21. Campagna has also taken to writing on UFOs.

170. On the ill-fated C102, refer to Jim Floyd, *The Avro Canada C102 Jetliner* (Erin, ON: Boston Mill Press, 1986).

171. Sean Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons During the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2007), 158; and Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West* (Eastbourne, UK: Gardners Books, 2000), 219.

172. David Shield, "Avro Arrow Blueprints on Display after Sitting in Sask. Man's Home for Decades," CBC News, January 6, 2020.

173. Dow, *The Arrow*, 141. Dow notes how tales of a surviving Arrow "persist and [seem] destined to become part of the fabric of Canadian legends."

174. Honourable mention should also be made of the late 1980s article by Julius Lukasiewicz, "Canada's Encounter with High-Speed Aeronautics," *Technology and Culture* 27, no. 2 (April 1986): 223–61.

175. Walter O. Gordon, "Once There Was an Arrow," *AIAA Scitech 2019 Forum* (San Diego, CA: January 7–11, 2019), 1; and Russell Isinger and Donald Story, "The Origins of the Cancellation of Canada's Avro CF-105 Arrow Fighter Program: A Failure of Strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1,025–50, emphasizes the weak strategic thought of the RCAF itself. Refer also to Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb*, 157–58.

176. Refer to Russell Isinger, "The Avro Canada CF-105 Arrow Programme: Decisions and Determinants" (master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1997); and Russell Isinger and Donald Story, "The Plane Truth: The Avro Canada CF-105 Arrow Program," in *The Diefenbaker Legacy: Canadian Politics, Law and Society Since 1957*, ed. D. C. Story and R. Bruce Shepard (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1998), 43–55; as well refer to their chapter, "Hubris: The CF-105 Avro Arrow Program and the End of the Golden Age of the Royal Canadian Air Force," in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 107–27.

177. Refer to the annotated bibliography for a more comprehensive list of such works.

178. In the former camp, the original work, appearing only a year after Hiroshima, is Bernard Brodie, ed., *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946). The seminal survey work is Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 4th ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). Other good surveys include Henry D. Sokolski, ed., *Getting MAD: Nuclear Mutual Assured Destruction, Its Origins and Practice* (Carlisle, PA: [US Army] Strategic Studies Institute, November 2004); and John Baylis and John Garnett, ed., *Makers of Nuclear Strategy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). Key works in the intellectual history of nuclear strategic thought include Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); William Kaufmann, ed., *Military Policy and National Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956); Anthony Buzzard, "Massive Retaliation and Graduated Deterrence," *World Politics* VIII (January 1956): 228–37; Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 2 (January 1959): 211–34, based upon his earlier RAND Paper, "The Delicate Balance of Terror" (Santa Monica: RAND, P-1472, November 6, 1958, revised December 1958); B. H. Liddell Hart, *Deterrent or Defence: A Fresh Look at the West's Military Position* (Westport: Praeger, 1960); Herman Kahn's three seminal works: *On Thermonuclear War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), *Thinking About the Unthinkable* (New York: Horizon Press, 1962), and *On Escalation: Metaphors and Scenarios* (New York: Praeger, 1965); Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), and *Arms*

and Influence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Morton Halperin, *Limited War in the Nuclear Age* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963); Raymond Aron, *Le Grand Débat: Initiation à la stratégie atomique* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1963); Robert Powell, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); and Keith Payne, *Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996). Prominent anti-nuclear works include Bertrand Russell, *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959); Anatol Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); E. P. Thompson, *Protest and Survive* (London: Penguin, 1980) and *Zero Option* (London: Merlin Press, 1982); and Catherine McArdle Kelleher and Judith Reppy, *Getting to Zero: The Path to Nuclear Disarmament* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011). Prominent histories of the various waves of anti-nuclear thought are Hedley Bull, *The Control of the Arms Race: Disarmament and Arms Control in the Missile Age* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson for the Institute for Strategic Studies, 1961); and Lawrence Wittner's three volume effort, *The Struggle Against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

179. Robert Malcolmson, *Beyond Nuclear Thinking* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) and his earlier *Nuclear Fallacies: How We Have Been Misguided Since Hiroshima* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk, *Indefensible Weapons: The Political and Psychological Case Against Nuclearism* (Toronto: CBC, 1982); and the somewhat quixotic polemic from a retired Canadian Army general is E. L. M. Burns, *Megamurder* (Toronto: Clarke-Irwin, 1966).

180. Andrew Richter, *Avoiding Armageddon: Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Erika Simpson, *NATO and the Bomb: Canadian Defenders Confront Critics* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Brian Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance, and Character* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Joe Jockel and Joel Sokolsky "Canada's Cold War Nuclear Experience," in *Pondering NATO's Nuclear Options*, ed. David Haglund (Kingston: Queen's Quarterly and the Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1999), 107–24; Joseph Levitt, *Pearson and Canada's Role in Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control Negotiations, 1945–1957* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); and Albert Legault and Michel Fortmann, *Une diplomatie de l'espoir : le Canada et le désarmement 1945-1988*. (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989), published in English as *A Diplomacy of Hope: Canada and Disarmament, 1945–1988* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

181. Sean Maloney, *Canadian Shield: Canada's National Security Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1951–1971* (Philadelphia: Temple University, doctoral dissertation, 1998), which became the basis for *Learning to Love the Bomb*.

182. Sean Maloney, "The Missiles of Anadyr: Soviet Cold War Plans That Could Have Included the Destruction of RCAF Station Comox, 1962–1969," *Canadian Military Journal* 17, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 57–67; "Secrets of the BOMARC: Re-examining Canada's Misunderstood Missile, Part 1," *RCAF Journal* 3, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 33–43; "Secrets of the BOMARC: Re-examining Canada's Misunderstood Missile, Part 2," *RCAF Journal* 3, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 64–78; "The Missing Essential Part: Emergency Provision of Nuclear Weapons for RCAF Air Defence Command, 1961–1964," *Canadian Military History* 23, no. 1 (2014): 33–70; "The Five Hour War: Exercise BOOKCHECK and Nuclear War, 1960–63," *RCAF Journal* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 24–41; "Parry and Thrust: Canadian Maritime Forces and the Defence of North America, 1954–62," *The Northern Mariner* 18, no. 1 (January 2008): 39–54; and "Dr. Strangelove Visits Canada: Project Rustice, Ease, and Bridge, 1958–1963," *Canadian Military History* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 42–56.

183. John Clearwater, *Canadian Nuclear Weapons: The Untold Story of Canada's Cold War Arsenal* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1998), and *US Nuclear Weapons in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999).

184. Raymond Stouffer, “Nuclear Virgin or Nuclear Strike? John Diefenbaker and the Selection of the CF104 Starfighter,” in *Combat if Necessary*, 29–40; and Matthew Trudgen, “Do We Want ‘Buckets of Instant Sunshine?’ – Canada and Nuclear Weapons 1945–1984,” *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 46–55. Refer also to Sean Maloney’s many articles.

185. Patricia McMahon, *Essence of Indecision: Diefenbaker’s Nuclear Policy, 1957–1963* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009).

186. Prominent works on the nuclearization of NATO—which typically mention Canada only in passing but give the context of the wider issue—include Beatrice Heuser, *NATO, Britain, France and the FRG: Nuclear Strategies and Forces for Europe, 1949–2000* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997); Helga Haftendorn, *NATO and the Nuclear Revolution: A Crisis of Credibility, 1966–1967* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Saki Dockrill, *Eisenhower’s New-Look National Security Policy, 1953–61* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996); Cristoph Bluth, *Britain, Germany and Western Nuclear Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Marc Trachtenberg, “The Nuclearization of NATO and US-West European Relations,” in *History and Strategy* (Princeton University Press, 1991); Richard L. Kugler, “Laying the Foundations: The Evolution of NATO in the 1950s” (RAND, Report N-3105-FF/RC, 1990); and David Schwartz, *NATO’s Nuclear Dilemmas* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1983).

187. Good overviews of the US nuclear sharing programme include May and McArdle Kelleher, “History of the Deployment of BNW”; Leon Sloss and Richard N. Smith, *The Development of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe*, Nuclear History Occasional Paper 4 (McLean, Virginia: SAIC, 1997); and also Jan Melissen, “Nuclearizing NATO, 1957–1959: The ‘Anglo-Saxons,’ Nuclear Sharing and the Fourth Country Problem,” *Review of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (July 1994): 253–75.

188. The only study of Canada’s removal of nuclear weapons in use by our armed forces is Darrin Jerroll Erickson, “Relinquishing Canada’s Nuclear Roles” (master’s thesis, UBC, 1990).

189. John Clearwater, *“Just Dummies”: Cruise Missile Testing in Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006). For an overview of the 1980s anti-nuclear weapons movement in Canada, refer to Don Munton, “The Canadian Winter of Nuclear Discontent,” *Current History* 83, no. 493 (May 1984): 202–205, 228–30. For examples of the advocacy of that time, refer to Ernie Regehr, Simon Rosenblum, ed., *The Road to Peace* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1988); and M. V. Naidu, “Canada, NATO and the Cruise Missile,” *Peace Research* 15, no. 2 (May 1983): 1–12.

190. Refer to Sean M. Maloney, “Canada’s Arctic Sky Spies: The Director’s Cut,” *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 76–88; and Adam Lajeunesse, “The Distant Early Warning Line and the Canadian Battle for Public Perception,” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 51–59. Refer also to Hugh Halliday, “Exercise ‘Musk Ox’: Asserting Sovereignty ‘North of 60,’” *Canadian Military History* 7, no. 4 (1998); and Sean Maloney, “The Mobile Striking Force and Continental Defence, 1948–1955,” *Canadian Military History* 2, no. 2 (1993).

191. Wilfrid Greaves and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, ed., *Breaking Through: Understanding Sovereignty and Security in the Circumpolar Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021); Jean-Christophe Boucher, Pierre-Gerlier Forest and Louis Bélanger, ed., *Defending Canadian Sovereignty: New Threats, New Challenges* (Ottawa: DND, 2019); Danielle Metcalfe-Chenail, *Polar Winds: A Century of Flying the North* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2014); P. Whitney Lackenbauer and W. A. March, ed., *Sic Itur Ad Astra: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 4, De-Icing Required! The Historical Dimension of the Canadian Air Force’s Experience in the Arctic* (Ottawa: DND, 2012); P. Whitney Lackenbauer et al., *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North* (Markham, ON: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2008); and John Poland, Scott Mitchell and Allison Rutter, “Remediation of Former Military Bases in the Canadian Arctic,” *Cold Regions Science and Technology* 32, no. 2–3 (September 2001): 93–105.

192. Good overviews of Cold War ASW in the North Atlantic—if scant mention of Canada—can be found in Owen Cote, “The Third Battle: Innovation in the U.S. Navy’s Silent Cold War Struggle with Soviet Submarine,” *Newport Papers* 16 (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 2003); Michael Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy: The Development of American Naval Strategy, 1945–1955* (Annapolis: The Naval Institute Press, 1990); and Norman Friedman, *The Postwar Naval Revolution* (Annapolis, MD: US Naval Institute Press, 1986).

193. Ernest Cable, “Maritime Air,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 325–48; Richard Mayne, “Cinderella’s Star: The CP 140 Aurora and the Evolution of the Royal Canadian Air Force’s Modern Long Range Patrol Capability, 1939–2015,” *Canadian Military History* 30, no. 1 (2021); Ernest Cable, “Canadian Maritime Aviation: Requiem or Renaissance?,” *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (Summer 1998):12–19; Richard Goette, “The RCAF and the Creation of an RCN Air Arm: A Study of the Command and Control of Maritime Air Assets,” *Canadian Military History* 13, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 5–13; and Richard Gimblett, “Canada and Antisubmarine Warfare during the Cold War,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, modified October 13, 2023, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canada-and-antisubmarine-warfare-during-the-cold-war>.

194. Haydon, *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis*. On the RCAF in ASW refer to 155–75, and on C2 in general, 88–111.

195. But refer to Bernie Thorne’s article “The Lockheed CP-140M Aurora, Canada’s Current Long Range Patrol Fleet,” *Canadian Military Journal* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 26–37.

196. Leo Pettipas, *Canadian Naval Aviation, 1945–1968*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Canadian Naval Air Group– Sea Fury Chapter, 1990); Stuart Soward, *Hands to Flying Stations: A Recollective History of Canadian Naval Aviation*, vols. 1 and 2 (Victoria: Neptune Developments, 1984); “Canadian Naval Aviation, 1915–1969,” in *RCN in Retrospect, 1910–1968*, ed. James Boutilier (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1982), 271–86; and J. D. F. Kealy and E. C. Russell, *A History of Canadian Naval Aviation, 1918–1962* (Ottawa: The Naval Historical Section, DND, 1965); and J. Allan Snowie, *The Bonnie: HMCS Bonaventure* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1987).

197. W. A. March, ed., *Wings for the Fleet: 50 Years of the Canadian Sea King* (Ottawa: DND, 2015); and Shawn Cafferky, *Uncharted Waters: A History of the Canadian Helicopter-Carrying Destroyer* (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2005). Embarked Sea Kings on deployed operations are mentioned in Jean H. Morin and Richard H. Gimblett, *Operation Friction: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997); Duncan Miller and Sharon Hobson, *The Persian Excursion: The Canadian Navy in the Gulf War* (Clemensport, NS, and Toronto: Canadian Peacekeeping Press and Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1995); and Richard Gimblett, “Rethinking Maritime Air: Preparing and Maintaining Canadian Sea King Helicopters for Operations in the Persian Gulf, 1990–1991,” in *Big Sky, Little Air Force*, 125–35.

198. Leo Pettipas, “Tactical Air Power and Canadian Naval Aviation, 1946–1962,” in *Big Sky, Little Air Force*, 76–96.

199. The Canadian Army owned the helicopters and formed several helicopter units, including 1 Transport Helicopter Platoon and various reconnaissance flights. The RCAF had 444 Squadron at Rivers, which flew the Auster light observation aircraft, staffed mostly by army officer pilots and RCAF ground crew, and ran the Helicopter Training Unit.

200. On this prehistory refer to Dean Black, “From Army Co-operation to Army Co-optation: Canada’s Struggles with Aviation Support to the Land Forces,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 349–70. After unification, a few helicopters inherited from the Canadian Army struggled on in base flights, in the SAR and utility roles.

201. 403 Squadron was formed in Petawawa and, as with 444 at Rivers in the 1950s, was staffed mostly with pilot-qualified Army officers and RCAF ground crew; it subsequently moved to Gagetown, NB, where it remains today.

202. Prominent international works on tactical helicopters include Walter Boyne, *How the Helicopter Changed Modern Warfare* (New York: Pelican Publishing, 2011); Stanley McGowen, *Helicopters: An Illustrated History of Their Impact* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005); Matthew Allen, *Military Helicopter Doctrines of the Major Powers, 1945–1992: Making Decisions About Air-Land Warfare* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993); and John Tolson, *Vietnam Studies: Airmobility, 1961–1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

203. Examples include Greg Zweng, “Tactical Aviation within the Future Fight,” *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2021): 32–43; T. Gongora and Slawomir Wesolkowski, “What Does a Balanced Helicopter Force Look Like: An International Comparison,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 13–19; Tom Kupecz, “Special Report: Escort of Canada’s Chinook Helicopter,” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 4 (Autumn 2007): 90–95; Danny Houde, “The CH-146: An Armed Helicopter for the Canadian Army,” *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 3, no. 4 (2000): 37; and Sharon Hobson, “Canada’s New Helicopter Program: Recognition of a Continuing Need,” *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (March 1996): 10–14.

204. Dean Black, “Canada’s Army Loses its Air Force: The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Origins of 10 Tactical Air Group,” in *Big Sky, Little Air Force*, 97–106.

205. R. Wakelam, “A Fine Mess: How Our Tactical Helicopter Force Came to Be What It Is,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 1, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 50–51; and “Creating an Air Arm for the Canadian Army: Lessons from the Past” in *Sic Itur Ad Astra, Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 6, From Hot War to Cold War*, ed. Mike Bechthold and William March (Ottawa: DND, 2017), 77–95.

206. David Johnston, “Future Airpower: Trends and Implications for Canadian Special Operations Forces Command (CANSOFCOM),” *Canadian Military Journal* 17, no. 4 (Autumn 2017): 16–23; Jim Dorschner, “Instructions Not Included – Thoughts on Building a Canadian Special Operations Aviation (SOA) Capability,” *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 3 (2008): 92–94.

207. Bertram Frandsen, “Air Transport Command: Versatile and Ready in Cold War and Hot War,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 371–91; Larry Milberry, *Air Transport in Canada*, vol. 1 (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1997). The articles include Mark Matheson, “The Rebirth of Aerial Delivery,” *Canadian Military Journal* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 43–46; Paul Anderson, “A Fifth-Generation Tactical Air Transport Platform, Part 1,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2020): 16–34, and “A Fifth-Generation Tactical Air Transport Platform, Part 2,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2020): 42–60; and Sean Maloney, “The Mobile Striking Force and Continental Defence, 1948–1955,” *Canadian Military History* 2, no. 2 (1993): 75–88.

208. Richard Mayne, “Flying ‘Truck Drivers’ or ‘Captains of the Clouds’: Paul Hellyer and the RCAF’s Acquisition of the CC130 Hercules,” in *Sic Itur Ad Astra, Canadian Aerospace Power Studies, Vol. 6, From Hot War to Cold War*, ed. Mike Bechthold and William March, 70–76; Abdeslem Boukhtouta et al., *Optimal Decisions for Canadian Military Airlift Problem: Technical Report TR 2010-517* (Valcartier: Defence Research and Development Canada, September 2010); Martin Shadwick, “The Strategic Airlift Enigma,” *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 63; and “The Strategic Mobility Conundrum,” *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 81.

209. Mike Bechthold, “The Royal Canadian Air Force and the 2021 Kabul Air Evacuation: Lessons from an ad hoc mission,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 23, no. 1 (2024): 71–96.

210. For example refer to Derek Salmi, *Behind the Light Switch: Toward a Theory of Air Mobility* (Maxwell AFB: Air University Press, 2020); and Robert A. Slayton, *Master of the Air: William Tunner and the Success of Military Airlift* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

211. For a summary of this evolution, refer to James Pierotti, “The Search for Rescue Leadership,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 278–98.

212. For an example of the overview type coverage of SAR, refer to Larry Milberry, *Air Transport in Canada, Vol. 2* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1997), 923–40. The book dedicated to the subject is James Pierotti, *Becoming a No-Fail Mission: The Origins of Search and Rescue in Canada* (n.p.: Lulu Press, 2018). Refer also to James Pierotti, “Reluctant to Rescue: The RCAF and the Search and Rescue Mandate, 1939–1959” (master’s thesis, CFC, 2016).

213. A sampling of journal articles, going back to the early 1950s, includes S. R. Miller, “Search and Rescue in the RCAF,” *Roundel* 3, no. 2 (January 1951): 14–22; D. A. McIsaac, “Search and Rescue’s new Look,” *Roundel* 13, no. 9 (November 1961): 6–9; multiple articles by Martin Shadwick in the *Canadian Military Journal*; and David Lavoie, “Imaging Technology for Search and Rescue” *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 6, no. 1 (Winter 2017): 16–44. There have also been a number of official reviews and studies over the years, e.g., Canadian Armed Forces, Chief of Review Services, *SAR Program Review 2014* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, March 2015).

214. Sandy Babcock, “Withered on the Vine: The Postwar RCAF Auxiliary,” in *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference, Ottawa, 5-9 May 2000*, ed. Yves Tremblay (Ottawa: National Defence, 2001), 395–404.

215. Mathias Joost, “The Air Reserves: A Functional Second Line of Defence?,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 228–50, as well as a forthcoming book-length study. Joost’s conclusion is that the Air Reserves were never really effective. There is also a student paper, R. P. Haskell, “The Rise and Fall of the RCAF Auxiliary” (directed research project, RMC, 1998).

216. The best survey of unification is still Vernon J. Kronenberg, *All Together Now: The Organization of the Department of National Defence in Canada, 1964–1972* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1973). For the story from the controversial Minister of Defence who drove it through, refer to Paul Hellyer, *Damn the Torpedoes: My Fight to Unify the Canadian Forces* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990).

217. Those were the original commands created in 1968; over time, many of them were merged to reduce span of control.

218. Survey histories giving the broad facts of RCAF organization over the period include Hugh Halliday and Brereton Greenhous, *Canada’s Air Forces, 1914–1999* (Montreal: Art Global, 1999); and three by Larry Milberry, *AIRCOM: Canada’s Air Force* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1991), *Canada’s Air Force Today* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1987), and *Canada’s Air Force Today – 1991 Update* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1991).

219. J. P. Y. D. Gosselin, “A 50-Year Tug of War of Concepts at the Crossroads: Unification and the Strong-Service Idea,” in *The Operational Art: Canadian Perspectives – Context and Concepts*, ed. Allan English et al. (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2005).

220. Studies of unification and its effects on the RCAF as an issue include Lieutenant-General W. K. (Bill) Carr (Retired), “Canadian Forces Air Command: Evolution to Founding” *RCAF Journal* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 13–23; Daniel Gosselin, “Hellyer’s Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old – Part One,” *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 6–15; Daniel Gosselin, “Hellyer’s Ghosts: Unification of the Canadian Forces is 40 Years Old – Part Two,” *Canadian Military Journal* 9, no. 3

(Summer 2008): 6–16; Daniel Gosselin, “The Storm Over Unification of the Armed Forces: A Crisis of Civil-Military Relations,” in *The Insubordinate and the Noncompliant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1920 to Present*, ed. Howard Coombs (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 309–43; K. R. Pennie, “The Impact of Unification on the Air Force,” in *The Evolution of Air Power in Canada, Vol. 1*, ed. William March and Robert Thompson (Winnipeg, MB: Air Command History and Heritage, 1997), 108–09; Stephen L. James, “The Formation of Air Command: A Struggle for Survival” (master’s thesis, RMC, 1989); and J. L. Granatstein, “Unification: The Politics of the Armed Forces,” in *Canada 1957–1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986).

221. For a generation now the standard traditional work has been Ruth Roach Pierson, *They’re Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), which like many of these works covers women in all three armed services, not just the RCAF. More recently but with the same tone is Carolyn Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War, 1939–1945*, Rev. ed. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001); and Barbara Dundas, *A History of Women in the Canadian Military* (Montreal: Art Global, 2000). For the same type of work on the post-war period, refer to Allan English, “The Forgotten Decade: Women and the RCAF, 1952–1962,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 205–27. The best recent book-length study offering a critical analysis is Charlotte Duval-Lantoiné, *The Ones We Let Down: Toxic Leadership Culture and Gender Integration in the Canadian Forces* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2022), which also examines all three armed services.

222. Simon Theobald, “Not So Black and White: Black Canadians and the RCAF’s Recruiting Policy During the Second World War,” *Canadian Military History* 21, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 35–43; Mathias Joost, “Racism and Enlistment: The Second World War Policies of the Royal Canadian Air Force,” *Canadian Military History* 21, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 17–34; and R. Scott Sheffield, “Of Pure European Descent and of the White Race: Recruitment Policy and Aboriginal Canadians, 1939–1945,” *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 8–15.

223. Magdalena Paluszkiewicz-Misiaczek, “Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military,” in *Indigenous Perspectives of North America: A Collection of Studies*, ed. Enikő Sepsi et al. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 387–403; R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man’s on the Warpath: The Image of the ‘Indian’ and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle, ed., *Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2007); R. Scott Sheffield and Noah Riseman, *Indigenous Peoples and the Second World War: The Politics, Experiences and Legacies of War in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); R. Scott Sheffield, “Of Pure European Descent and of the White Race,” 8–15.

224. Granatstein, “What Is to Be Done?,” 57.

225. Refer to Annotated Bibliography Section 32. “Quebec, Francophones and the RCAF,” for a list of relevant works.

226. For a summary of the long sordid history, refer to Martin Auger, *The Evolution of Defence Procurement in Canada: A Hundred-Year History* (Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Publication No. 2020-54-E, December 14, 2020); and Charles Davies, “Understanding Defence Procurement,” *Canadian Military Journal* 15, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 5–15.

227. Aaron Plamondon, *The Politics of Procurement: Military Acquisition in Canada and the Sea King Helicopter* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); and Kim Richard Nossal, *Charlie Foxtrot: Fixing Defence Procurement in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016).

228. Refer to, for instance, Randall Wakelam, “The Calculus of Procurement,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 23, no. 1 (2024); Martin Shadwick, “A Perfect Storm?” *Canadian Military Journal* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2021): 66–70, “The Auditor General on Fighters – Parliamentarians on Search and Rescue,”

Canadian Military Journal 19, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 63–69, and many other of his “Commentary” columns in the *Canadian Military Journal*; Charles Davies, “Understanding Defence Procurement,” *Canadian Military Journal* 15, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 5–15; and Richard Shimooka, “The Catastrophe: Assessing the Damage from Canada’s Fighter Replacement Fiasco” (Ottawa: Macdonald-Laurier Institute, May 2019).

229. Recent examples of analyses focused upon the bureaucracy include Richard Fadden and Guy Thibault, “Three Ways To Improve Defence Procurement In Canada” (Ottawa: Conference of Defence Associations Institute, 2022); and Alan S. Williams, *Reinventing Canadian Defence Procurement: A View from the Inside* (Kingston: Queen’s University, School of Policy Studies, Breakout Educational Network, 2006). Kim Nossal’s *Charlie Foxtrot* is a leading example of the argument that political will is the core problem, as are most of Martin Shadwick’s columns in the *Canadian Military Journal*. Prominent recent economic analyses include Craig Stone, “Making Informed, Evidence-Based Defence Purchases,” *Policy Options* (January 25, 2016) and “Defence Procurement and Industry,” in *Canada’s National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interest, and Threats*, ed. David McDonough (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 73–97; and the official publication, Ross Fetterly and Binyam Solomon, ed., *RCAF Defence Economics* (Ottawa: DND, 2019).

230. Refer to, for instance, Wakelam, *Cold War Fighters*, and Stouffer’s two works: “Nuclear Virgin or Nuclear Strike?,” 29–40, and “Cold War Air Power Choices for the RCAF: Paul Hellyer and the Selection of the CF-5 Freedom Fighter,” *Canadian Military Journal* 7, no. 4 (Autumn 2006): 63–74. There are also two unpublished dissertations: Stephane Guevremont, *Aim for the Sky: The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Development of a Canadian Aircraft Industry, 1909–1949* (doctoral dissertation, University of Calgary, 2010); and Bruce “Pux” Barnes, “Fighters First: The Transition of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1945–1952” (master’s thesis, RMC, 2006).

231. Martin Auger, “The Air Arsenal of the British Commonwealth: Aircraft Design and Development in Canada During the Second World War, 1939–45” (PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 2006); and Ken Molson, “World War Two Aircraft Production in Canada,” *Canadian Aviation Historical Society* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 138–47.

232. Refer to, for instance, W. A. March, “Impact of a Combat Air Wing – Canadian Air Power in ISAF,” *Joint Air Power Competence Centre Journal*, 13th ed. (Spring 2011); and Paul Johnston, “Canadian Hornets Over Kosovo: A Small Part of a Future Model for Air Power?,” in *Big Sky, Little Air Force*, 117–24.

233. Michael Hood and Tom Jenkins, “Expeditionary Operations,” *Pathway to the Stars: 100 Years of the Royal Canadian Air Force* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023), 263–316.

234. Walter A. Dorn, ed., *Air Power in UN Operations: Wings for Peace* (London: Routledge, 2016). Of note, Richard Goette is working on a forthcoming book-length examination of Bill Carr’s career, which includes a chapter on his experience in the Congo.

235. William March, “On Wings of Hope and Peace,” *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 299–324; and William March, “The Royal Canadian Air Force and Peacekeeping,” in Serge Bernier, ed., *Maintien de la Paix de 1815 À aujourd’hui | Peacekeeping 1815 to Today: Proceedings of the XXIst Colloquium of the International Commission of Military History* (Quebec, QC: DND, 1995), 467–77.

236. Refer to the capsule description of this largely forgotten incident in Hood and Jenkins, *Pathway to the Stars*, 335–36.

237. Indeed, by some calculations Canada was the third nation to get into space. Andrew B. Godefroy, *Defence and Discovery: Canada’s Military Space Program, 1945–74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 95.

238. For a concise summary, refer to Andrew Godefroy, “The RCAF and the Dawn of the Space Age, 1958–1965,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 255–77.

239. His 2004 doctoral thesis, available at the RMC library, was published as a book: Andrew B. Godefroy, *Defence and Discovery: Canada's Military Space Program, 1945-74* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011). Refer also to his other works: *The Canadian Space Program: From Black Brant to the International Space Station* (Chichester, UK: Springer, Praxis, 2017); and "Canada's Space Policy and Its Future with NORAD," Canadian Global Affairs Institute, July 1, 2016, <https://coilink.org/20.500.12592/tjmn0d>. All this from an Army officer! The only other book-length works of note are Chris Gainor, *Canada in Space: The People and Stories Behind Canada's Role in the Exploration of Space* (Edmonton: Folklore Publishing, 2006); and the less-analytic work by Gordon Shepherd and A. Kruchio, *Canada's Fifty Years in Space: The COSPAR Anniversary* (Burlington, ON: Apogee Books, 2008). For the BMD work by James Fergusson, refer to note 157.

240. The two government studies are *A Canadian Military Space Strategy: The Way Ahead for DND and The Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: National Defence Headquarters, 1998); and *Space Appreciation 2000* (Ottawa: Directorate of Space Development, 2000). Both are now rather old and never updated. Journal articles and book chapters of note include Andrew Godefroy, "The Intangible Defence: Canada's Militarization and Weaponization of Space," in *The Canadian Way of War: Serving the National Interest*, ed. Bernd Horn (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 327–37; "Canada's Early Space Policy Development 1958–1974," *Space Policy* 19, no. 2 (2003): 137–41; and "Is the Sky Falling? Canada's Defence Space Programme at the Crossroads," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 3 (2000): 51–58; James Fergusson and Stephen James, "Report on Canada, National Security and Outer Space" (Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, 2007); James Fergusson, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Canada, Outer Space, and National Security," *Fraser Forum* (May 2004), 15–17; "Thinking the Unthinkable: On Revolution, Outer Space and Canadian Policy," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 41–50; and "The NORAD Conundrum: Canada, Missile Defence, and Military Space," *International Journal* 70, no. 2 (June 2015): 196–214. For a non-military perspective, refer to Matthew Wiseman, "Canadian Scientists and Military Research in the Cold War, 1947–60," *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (Sep 2019): 439–63.

241. For instance, Michael R. McNorgan and Gordon T. Crossley, *Facta Non Verba: A History of the Fort Garry Horse* (Winnipeg: Fort Garry Horse Foundation, 2012); Bernd Horn, *Establishing a Legacy: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment 1883–1953* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2008); and Michael R. McNorgan, *The Gallant Hussars: A History of the 1st Hussars Regiment* (Aylmer, ON: The 1st Hussars Cavalry Fund, 2004). But there are good quality regimental histories going back at least as far as Brereton Greenhous's *Dragoon: The Centennial History of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, 1883–1983* (Belleville, ON: Guild of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, 1983); and Donald Graves, *South Albertas: A Canadian Regiment at War* (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 1998).

242. Samuel Kostenuk and John Griffin, *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft* (Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert, 1977).

243. Refer to note 31, particularly Cook, *Clio's Warriors*, 72–73.

244. Hugh Halliday, "The Air Historian, Part 1," *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 35–40.

245. Refer to note 4.

246. Refer to note 3.

247. The young PhD graduate Richard Mayne, now the RCAF Director of History and Heritage.

248. Cook, *Clio's Warriors*, 196.

249. Hugh Halliday provides the rather sad story of the long-suffering, understaffed RCAF historians

in “The Air Historian, Part 1,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 35–40, and “The Air Historian, Part 2,” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 23–30. This negative view goes back further: refer to Kenneth B. Conn, “The Royal Canadian Air Force Historical Section,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 26, no. 3 (September 1945): 246–50. A slightly less mournful account that still acknowledges the limited resources allocated is Edward Peter Soye, “Leadership in Preservation: Wing Commander Ralph V. Manning and the RCAF Historical Section 1961–1965,” in *Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership*, 84–99.

250. For the issue within the context of Canadian military historiography overall refer to Cook, *Clio’s Warriors*. But Cook notes the same thing on page 163, in particular that the RCAF was unwilling to devote resources to its history.

251. Refer to the classic essay, Herbert Butterfield, “Official History: Its Pitfalls and Criteria,” *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951), 182–224. More recently, Cook’s *Clio’s Warriors* constitutes an extended reflection upon the theme.

252. Refer to Section 12 on strategic bombing in the Second World War, in particular the controversy surrounding Vol III of the RCAF official history. Refer to notes 73–75.

253. W. A. B. Douglas, “Archives and Canada’s Official Air Force History,” *Archivaria* 26 (Summer 1988): 154–62.

254. Richard Mayne, “Roundtable: Historical Study and the Challenge of Current Operations,” Society for Military History, Annual Conference, San Diego, March 24, 2024.

255. In the absence of a book-length study, there is a recent journal article by Richard Mayne, “The Influence of Empire: A National Organization and the Birth of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1918–1924,” *Canadian Military Journal* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2019): 37–44, which complements his earlier article, “Royal Matters: Symbolism, History and the Significance of the RCAF’s Name Change, 1909–2011,” in *RCAF Journal* 1, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 23–37.

256. The relevant works essentially focus on Canadian policy writ large rather than the RCAF and air power: Eayrs, *Appeasement and Rearmament*; Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*; and Galen Roger Perras, *Franklin Roosevelt and the Origins of the Canadian-American Security Alliance, 1933–1945: Necessary, But Not Necessary Enough* (n.p.: Praeger, 1998) provides an examination of the issue from the American perspective. A start from the RCAF’s perspective may be found in the article by Scot Robertson, “What Direction? The Future of Aerospace Power and the Canadian Air Force – PART 1,” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 4 (Winter 2007–2008): 5–13.

257. The two doctoral dissertations are Sandy Babcock, *The Making of a Cold War Air Force*; and Bert Frandsen, *The Rise and Fall of Canada’s Cold War Air Force*. The thesis is Brian Wentzell, “The Rise and Fall in Civil-Military Relations in Canada, 1946–1960” (master’s thesis, RMC, 2007).

258. Also worthy of note by comparison is Marc Milner’s discussion of the somewhat similar issue in the RCN, “A ‘Made in Canada’ Navy,” in *Canada’s Navy: The First Century, Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 183–85.

259. Granatstein, “What Is to Be Done?,” 54–59.

260. Douglas, “Part III: The Air Defence of Canada,” *Creation of a National Air Force*, 343–427; and “Part IV: The North Atlantic Lifeline,” *Creation of a National Air Force*, 468–610. Also in Milberry, *Evolution of an Air Force*.

261. All but one of the RCAF's present day squadrons perpetuate numbers from the 400 series, the sole exception being 103 Search and Rescue Squadron in Newfoundland—but even its lineage goes back to the post-war formation of SAR squadrons in the 1950s, not a wartime home-based, non-400 squadron.

262. Prominent recent works include Douglas Delaney, Mark Frost and Andrew Brown, *Manpower and the Armies of the British Empire in the Two World Wars* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021); and Daniel Byers, *Zombie Army: The Canadian Army and Conscription in the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016). The issue has attracted quality book-length works at least since E. L. M. Burns, *Manpower in the Canadian Army, 1939–1945* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1956).

263. Prominent recent works include Geoffrey Hayes, *Crerar's Lieutenants: Inventing the Canadian Junior Army Officer, 1939–45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); and Robert Engen, *Strangers in Arms: Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army, 1943–1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016).

264. Refer to the “Personal Experiences – Ground Personnel” section of the annotated bibliography for the few published works on the ground-crew experience. There is also Mathias Joost, *Answering the Call: A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force's Non-Commissioned Members* (Trenton: RCAF Aerospace Warfare Centre, 2023); and the recent chapter by Terry Leversedge, “RCAF Air Maintenance,” in *On the Wings of War and Peace*, 152–204.

265. Refer to Granatstein's lament and call for more and better RCAF biographies, “What Is to Be Done?,” 58.

266. Croil was Chief of the Air Staff when war broke out in 1939, replaced by Breadner in 1940. Edwards was the senior air officer of the RCAF staff in London during the early war and introduction of Canadianization. Brookes was the first commander of No. 6 Group, until he was replaced by McEwen. There is a biography for Gus Edwards; however, it is a loving tribute by his daughter rather than a scholarly critical analysis: Suzanne Edwards, *Gus: From Trapper Boy to Air Marshal; Air Marshal Harold Edwards, Royal Canadian Air Force: A Life* (Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing, 2007). There is a survey with chapter-length studies of the pre-unification RCAF Chiefs of the Air Staff forthcoming from RCAF History and Heritage.

267. For example, John Nelson Rickard, *The Politics of Command: Lieutenant General A. G. L. McNaughton and the Canadian Army, 1939–1943* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Paul Douglas Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General: A Biography of General H. D. G. Crerar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); and Dominick Graham, *The Price of Command: A Biography of General Guy Simonds* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993). There is also the scholarly anthology/study by J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993); and Angelo Caravaggio, *21 Days in Normandy: Maj. Gen. George Kitching & the 4th Canadian Armoured Division* (Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword Books, 2016).

268. To be fair, some of these do have biographies, but they are non-scholarly popular accounts.

269. Richard Mayne and Mike Bechthold, ed., *The Air Marshals: Canadian Air Force Commanders, 1920–1964* (Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming).

270. Indeed, this has been one of the central debates in Canadian Army historiography; refer to John A. English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command* (Westport: Praeger, 1991), versus Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire: The Canadians in Normandy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); *Cinderella Army: The Canadians in North West Europe 1944–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); and more recently, Caravaggio, *21 Days in Normandy*, written by an RCAF officer who chose the Army for subject matter rather than the RCAF!

271. This question is at least raised in Suzanne Edwards' biography of her father, but it lacks a rigorous examination.

272. The question of 6 Group's performance is addressed somewhat in Volume III of the official history, and in William Johnston, "Losses, Loss Rates and the Performance of No. 6 (RCAF) Group, Bomber Command, 1943–1945," *War & Society* 14, no. 2 (October 1996): 87–99.

273. Refer to notes 143 and 192, and also to Michael Whitby, *Exceptional Circumstances: Canada's Maritime Response to the Cuban Missile Crisis*, October–November 1962 (Ottawa: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2022).

274. Refer to Maloney, "The Missing Essential Part."

275. The higher policy-level debates are framed in Andrew Richter's *Avoiding Armageddon*.

276. John Keess, "Strategic Parasitism, Professional Strategists and Policy Choices: The Influence of George Lindsey and Robert Sutherland on Canadian Denuclearisation, 1962–1972," *Canadian Military History* 29, no. 1 (2020).

277. Honourable mention has to be made of Dean Black's two chapter-length works, quoted in notes 198 and 202, and an unpublished master's paper, D. W. Forbes, "Soldier, Aviator, or Both: Analyzing the Impact of Canada's Unified Air Power Structure on Tactical Aviation" (master's thesis, CFC, 2016).

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21. NORAD / Defence of North AmericaNORAD / Defence of North America: General Histories

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Gray, Colin S. "Canada and NORAD: A Study in Strategy." *Behind the Headlines* 31, nos. 3–4 (June 1972): 11–15.

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Notes Canadian ability to affect US actions in our airspace is marginal.

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Dawson, Michael. "NORAD: Remaining Relevant." *The School of Public Policy Publications* 12, no. 40 (November 2019).

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Granatstein, J. L. *A Friendly Agreement in Advance: Canada-US Defense Relations Past, Present, and Future*. Toronto: C. D. Howe Institute, 2002.

Haydon, Peter. *The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1993.

Fascinating study, with considerable command and control and tactical detail, of Canadian forces' actions during the crisis and the civil-military tensions that arose from Diefenbaker's reluctance to make clear decisions.

Primarily navy-focused but examines RCAF in both NORAD and ASW.

Jockel and Sokolsky. "Canada's Cold War Nuclear Experience." (21, Strategic Issues)

Legault. "L'organisation de la défense au Canada." (20)

Overview of Canadian international policy, includes where NORAD fits in.

McDonough, David, ed. *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interest, and Threats*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

O'Shaughnessy, Terrence J. and Peter M. Fesler. *Hardening the SHIELD: A Credible Deterrent and Capable Defense for North America*. Washington, DC: The Wilson Center, September 2020.

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NORAD / Defence of North America: Defence Against Help

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NORAD / Defence of North America: 9/11

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Madsen, Chris. “Military Responses and Capabilities in Canada’s Domestic Context Post 9/11.” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 13, no. 3 (Spring 2011).

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Nicks, Don, John Bradley and Chris Charland. *A History of Air Defence in Canada 1948–1997*. Ottawa: Canadian Fighter Group, 1997.

Wilson, Gordon A. A. *NORAD and the Soviet Nuclear Threat: Canada’s Secret Electronic Air War*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2011.

Concise account by a former practitioner, a fighter pilot who retired as a major-general.

Argues the conventional view that NORAD is important and effective.

22. The Avro Arrow

Arrow: Scholarly Assessments

Gordon, Walter O. “Once There Was an Arrow.” AIAA Scitech 2019 Forum. San Diego, CA: January 2019.

Concludes that the cancellation was “certainly due to budgetary pressures and changing perceptions of the Soviet threat.”

Isinger, Russell. “The Avro Canada CF-105 Arrow Programme: Decisions and Determinants.” MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, September 1997.

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Isinger, Russell and Donald C. Story. “Hubris: The CF-105 Avro Arrow Program and the End of the Golden Age of the Royal Canadian Air Force.” In *On the Wings of War and Peace*, edited by Wakelam, March and Rayls, 107–27. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023.

- Isinger, Russell and Donald C. Story. "The Origins of the Cancellation of Canada's Avro CF-105 Arrow Fighter Program: A Failure of Strategy." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1,025–50.
- Isinger, Russell and Donald C. Story. "The Plane Truth: The Avro Canada CF-105 Arrow Program." In *The Diefenbaker Legacy: Canadian Politics, Law and Society Since 1957*, edited by D. C. Story and R. Bruce Shepard, 43–55. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1998.
- Isinger and Story are the preeminent scholars of the Arrow, both arguing that the cancellation was due to cost and priorities.
- Lukasiewicz, Julius. "Canada's Encounter with High-Speed Aeronautics." *Technology and Culture* 27, no. 2 (April 1986): 223–61.
- Arrow: Reasonable Popular Histories
- Gainor, Chris. *Who Killed the Avro Arrow?* Edmonton: Folklore Publishing, 2007.
- Liversedge, T. F. J. *The Avro CF-105 Arrow in Preparation for Royal Canadian Air Force Service*. Ottawa: Kestrel Aerospace Publications, 2019.
- Good technical reference.
- Miller, Lawrence. *The Avro Arrow: The Story of the Great Canadian Cold War Interceptor Jet in Pictures and Documents*. Toronto: Lorimer, 2014.
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- Organ, Richard, Ron Page, Don Watson and Les Wilkinson (calling themselves "The Arrow Heads"). *Avro Arrow: The Story of the Avro Arrow from Its Evolution to Its Extinction*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1985.
- Revised edition 1992, reprinted 1996, 2004.
- Admiring but reasonable history.
- Peden, Murray. *Fall of an Arrow*. Stittsville: Canada's Wings, 1978.
- Reprinted by Stoddart in 1987.
- Non-scholarly but reasonably balanced study.
- Main focus is to debunk the various somewhat muddled justifications that Diefenbaker gave for the cancellation, in particular claims of the Arrow's obsolescence.
- Smye, Fred. *Canadian Aviation and the Avro Arrow*. Oakville: Randy Smye, 1989.
- Reprinted Seattle: CreateSpace, 2014.
- Valiquette, Marc-André. *Destruction of a Dream: The Tragedy of Avro Canada and the CF-105 Arrow*. 3 vols. Imaviation, 2009.
- Journalistic, lots of colour illustrations, no notes, but well done.
- Vol. 1: History of Avro Canada post-war – its promise.
- Vol. 2: Arrow.
- Vol. 3: Cancellation, destruction, remembrance.
- Waechter, David. *Flight Test. The Avro Arrow and a Career in Aeronautical Engineering*. Privately published, 2015.
- Not a study of the Arrow or its cancellation per se, but a popular history on the work of an engineer, written by his son.
- Explicitly acknowledges Isinger's scholarly work and avoids taking sides in the controversy, focusing instead on providing some interesting human interest background on the story.

Zuk, Bill. *Janusz Zurakowski: Legend in the Skies*. St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell, 2004.

Paeon to the test pilot for the Arrow.

Treads a fine line between reasonable (if transfixed by technicalities) history and conspiratorial views.

Zuuring, Peter. *Arrow Countdown: Rebuilding a Dream and a Nation*. Kingston: Arrow Alliance Press, 2001.

Zuuring, Peter. *The Arrow Scrapbook*. Kingston: Arrow Alliance Press, 1998.

Arrow: Conspiracy Theorists, or at least Anti-American

Campagna, Palmiro. *The Avro Arrow: For the Record*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2019.

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Campagna argues that the cancellation was due to US pressure, which was motivated by various things, from economics to a desire to be able to fly the U-2 over Canadian airspace.

His later books become more anti-American and more conspiratorial in their analysis.

Campagna, Palmiro. *Storms of Controversy: The Secret Avro Arrow Files Revealed*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010.

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Dow, James. *The Arrow*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Publishers, 1979.

Second edition published in 1997.

Popular history. Opens with “This is not a lament for the Avro Arrow,” but that protests too much—after a reasonable survey it goes on to offer a version of the conspiracy theory of US aviation industry pressure.

Does include a vivid description of “Black Friday,” 79–93.

Gainor, Chris. *Who Killed the Avro Arrow?* Edmonton: Folklore Publishing, 2007.

Shaw, Edith K. *There Never Was an Arrow*. Ottawa: Steel Rail Educational Publishing, 1979.

Second edition published in 1981.

Main argument is that “economics” explains the cancellation—both cost overrun and US defence industry commercial interests.

Preface to the second edition notes that the book had been accused of being anti-American, protested that the book “is not anti-American” but in fact argues that the cancellation was due to covert US pressure to protect their aviation industry.

Stewart, Greig. *Arrow Through the Heart: The Life and Times of Crawford Gordon and the Avro Arrow*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1998.

Popular history; more a biography of Gordon than a study of Arrow per se.
Strongly anti-American.

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31. Women, Indigenous Peoples and Other Minorities

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33. Procurement

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34. Aircraft and Canadian Aircraft Manufacturers

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35. Modern Operations

General

Refer to the DHH website for a comprehensive listing of all modern operations: <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/past-operations.html>.

In particular, refer to the entries for the following:

- Ops AUGMENTATION, MERCATOR (1991–2003) (Sea King participation in maritime interdiction, Persian Gulf);
- Op PROVIDE COMFORT (1991–96, Canadian contribution to AWACS monitoring in Eastern Turkey and northern Iraq);
- Op ECHO (1998–99, CF-188 contingent for ALLIED FORCE, the NATO air war with Serbia);
- Ops APOLLO, ATHENA (2001–2021, Afghanistan including Camp Mirage and Task Force SILVER DART); and

- Op MOBILE (2011, Libyan Civil War).

RCAF and the Gulf War, 1990–91, Op FRICTION

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Morin, Jean H. and Richard Gimblett, *Operation Friction, 1990–1991: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf*. Toronto: Dundurn, 1997.

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RCAF and 9/11, Op NOBLE EAGLE

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Mantle, Craig. "The Loss of a Canadian Chinook in Afghanistan: The Pilot's Recollection of 5 August 2010." *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 2 (2015): 267–90.

March, W. A. "Impact of a Combat Air Wing – Canadian Air Power in ISAF." *Joint Air Power Competence Centre Journal*. 13th ed. (Spring 2011).

RCAF and Libya, Op MOBILE

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RCAF and ISIS, Op IMPACT

Cook, Brendan. "Unblinking and Unheralded: Canada's ISR Contribution to Operation IMPACT." *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 5, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 97–99.

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RCAF and Mali, Op PRESENCE

Roberts, Chris W. J. "Op PRESENCE – Mali: Continuity Over Change in Canada's 'Return to Peacekeeping' in Africa." Canadian Global Affairs Institute, October 2018. https://www.cgai.ca/op_presence_mali_continuity_over_change_in_canadas_return_to_peacekeeping_in_africa.

36. Peacekeeping Operations

Bernier, Serge, ed. *Peacekeeping 1815 to Today: Proceedings of the XXIst Colloquium of the International Commission of Military History*. Quebec City, DND, August 20–26, 1995.

Refer to William March, “The Royal Canadian Air Force and Peacekeeping.” (27)

Dorn, Walter A., ed. *Air Power in UN Operations: Wings for Peace*. London: Routledge, 2016.

In particular refer to

- Chapter 1, “Planning, Organizing, and Commanding the Air Operation in the Congo, 1960,” by William K. Carr, the retired RCAF officer who commanded that effort;
- Chapter 3, “A Fine Line: Use of Force, the Cold War, and Canada’s Air Support for the UN Organization in the Congo,” by Kevin Spooner;
- Chapter 5, “Above the Rooftop of the World: Canadian Air Operations in Kashmir and Along the India-Pakistan Border,” by Matthew Trudgen; and
- Chapter 11, “Observing Air Power at Work in Sector Sarajevo, 1993–1994: A Personal Account,” by F. Roy Thomas.

Gaffen, Fred. *In the Eye of the Storm: A History of Canadian Peacekeeping*. Toronto: Deneau & Wayne Publishers, Ltd., 1987.

Overview account of Canadian peacekeeping but includes some RCAF content.

Goette, Richard. Forthcoming study of William Carr in the Congo.

March, William. “A Most Abrupt Departure: The Royal Canadian Air Force and the United Nations Emergency Force.” In *From Hot War to Cold War*, vol. 6 of *Sic Itur Ad Astra - Canadian Aerospace Power Studies*, edited by Mike Bechthold and William March, 57–69. Ottawa: National Defence, 2017.

March, William. “On Wings of Hope and Peace: The RCAF and Humanitarian and Peacekeeping Operations, 1946–1967.” In *On the Wings of War and Peace*, edited by Wakelam, March and Rayls, 299–324. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023.

Pierotti, James. “A Tactical Silver Lining in a Horrifying Storm: Canadian Airlift in Rwanda, 1994.” *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 5, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 24–42.

Trudgen. “Operation AIR BRIDGE.” (27)

Refer also to the DHH online list (35), in particular the entries for

- Op READY LIFT (1956–67, airlift for the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] in the Middle East);
- Op AIRBRIDGE (1992–96, tactical airlift into former Yugoslavia); and
- Op SCOTCH (1993–96, tactical airlift into Rwanda).

Also, various peacekeeping-related reports available online from DHH: <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/official-military-history-lineages/reports.html>.

Refer also to Motiuk, *Thunderbirds for Peace* (18); and Frandsen, *The Rise and Fall of Canada’s Cold War Air Force*. (19)

37. Space

- Fergusson, James. "The NORAD Conundrum: Canada, Missile Defence, and Military Space." *International Journal* 70, no. 2 (June 2015): 196–214.
- Fergusson, James. "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Canada, Outer Space, and National Security." Fraser Forum (May 2004): 15–17.
- Fergusson, James. "Thinking the Unthinkable: On Revolution, Outer Space and Canadian Policy." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 41–50.
- Fergusson, James and Stephen James. "Report on Canada, National Security and Outer Space." Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, 2007.
- Gainor, Chris. *Canada in Space: The People & Stories Behind Canada's Role in the Exploration of Space*. Edmonton: Folklore Publishing, 2006.
- Godefroy, Andrew. "Canada's Early Space Policy Development 1958–1974." *Space Policy* 19, no. 2 (2003): 137–141.
- Godefroy, Andrew. "Canada's Space Policy and its Future with NORAD." Canadian Global Affairs Institute, July 2016. https://www.cgai.ca/canada_s_space_policy_and_its_future_with_norad.
- Godefroy, Andrew. *The Canadian Space Program: From Black Brant to the International Space Station*. Chichester, UK: Springer, Praxis, 2017.
- Godefroy, Andrew. *Defence and Discovery: Canada's Military Space Program, 1945–74*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Godefroy, Andrew. "The Intangible Defence: Canada's Militarization and Weaponization of Space." In *The Canadian Way of War: Serving the National Interest*, edited by Bernd Horn, 327–37. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006.
- Godefroy, Andrew. "Is the Sky Falling? Canada's Defence Space Programme at the Crossroads." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 51–58.
- Godefroy, Andrew. "The RCAF at the Dawn of the Space Age, 1958–1965." In *On the Wings of War and Peace*, edited by Wakelam, March and Rayl, 335–36. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023.
- Government of Canada. *A Canadian Military Space Strategy: The Way Ahead for DND and the Canadian Forces*. Ottawa: National Defence Headquarters, 1998.
- Government of Canada. *Space Appreciation 2000*. Ottawa: Directorate of Space Development, 2000.
- Both now rather old and never updated, but essential background. Primary writer of both was Andrew Godefroy (refer to previous citations).
- Jones-Imhotep, Edward. *The Unreliable Nation: Hostile Nature and Technological Failure in the Cold War*. Cambridge, MS: MIT Press, 2017.
- Based upon his 2001 Harvard PhD dissertation.
- McKeown, Ryder and Alex Wilner. "Deterrence in Space and Cyberspace." In *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, edited by T. Juneau, P. Lagassé and S. Vucetic, 399–416. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Shepherd, Gordon and A. Kruchio. *Canada's Fifty Years in Space: The COSPAR Anniversary*. Burlington, ON: Apogee Books, 2008.

A less analytic chronicle.

Wiseman, Matthew. "Canadian Scientists and Military Research in the Cold War, 1947–60." *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (September 2019): 439–63.

38. Squadron Histories

Summary Overview

Kostenuk, Samuel and John Griffin. *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft*. Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert & Company, 1977.

103 Squadron

Smith, Grant. *Seek and Save: The History of 103 Rescue Unit*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1990.

400 Squadron

McCague, Capt W. F. *400 Squadron: The First Half Century*. Privately produced, 1982.

17 pages, soft cover, some black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices listing commanding officers, aircraft flown by the squadron.

Wylie, Ron. *On Watch to Strike: 400 (City of Toronto) Squadron History: 1932–1996*. Privately published, 1996.

125 numbered pages plus 8 pages of colour photos at end, no notes but well researched.

Starts with foreword by Arthur Bishop, prehistory back to First World War, Air Board and then 110 Squadron RCAF.

401 Squadron

Hammond, R. L., ed. *401 Squadron*. Privately published, 1959.

60 pages, some black-and-white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Produced by the Squadron itself as a 25th anniversary booklet.

McIntosh, Dave. *High Blue Battle: The War Diary of No. 1 (401) Fighter Squadron, RCAF*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1991.

Annotated reprint of the Squadron's Second World War Operations Record Book.

Various squadron members. *Escadrille – 401 – Squadron*. Privately published, 1984.

60 pages, black-and-white photos, no notes, 50th anniversary booklet.

402 Squadron

Klaponski, F. *City of Winnipeg 402 Squadron: 1932–1974*. Privately published, 1978.

Update to 1974 edition produced for another squadron reunion.

Krall, Dean. *402 'City of Winnipeg' Squadron History, 60th Anniversary*. Privately produced, 1992.

McNorgan, Pat, ed. *402 'City of Winnipeg' Squadron History*. Privately published, 2007.

232 pages, colour and black-and-white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Index, appendices listing commanding officers, Squadron award winners.

McNorgan, Pat and Robert Sullivan, eds. *402 'City of Winnipeg' Squadron History*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017.

Zwickel, R. A. *City of Winnipeg 402 Squadron: 1932–1974*. Privately produced, 1974.

20 pages, some black and white photos.

Covers founding to 1974, no notes or bibliography, produced for a Squadron reunion.

403 Squadron

Wade, Fletcher. *403 Wolf Squadron: March 1941–June 2001, The 60 Year History of 403 Squadron*. Privately published, 2001.

404 Squadron

404 Squadron: Ready to Fight. n.p., 1972.

64 pages black-and-white photos, no notes or bibliography, appears to have been produced for 1972 Squadron reunion.

Sniderhan, Mike. *404 Squadron History*. Craig Kelman and Associates, 1991.

120 pages, some black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: squadron casualties, award winners, battle honours.

405 Squadron

405 Squadron History. Privately published, 1989.

130 pages, some black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Squadron casualties, award winners, targets hit in the Second World War, commanding officers.

406 Squadron

406 – The Rest of the Story. Privately published, 1998.

407 Squadron

The Demon Squadron: 407 Squadron in War and Peace, May 1941–June 1945, July 1952–June 1975.
E. W. Bickle, 1975.

Procter, Tom. *407 Squadron History: 1941–2000*. Privately published, 2000.

276 pages, black and white photos, some colour photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Squadron commanding officers, aircraft, casualties.

408 Squadron

408 Squadron History. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1984.

108 pages, some black and white photos, 8 pages in colour, no notes, but a bibliography.

Appendices: Commanding officers, squadron locations, casualties (including post-war flying losses).

Gates, Morris, ed. *408 Squadron RCAF, The Rockcliffe Years 1949–1964*. Privately published, 2014.

600 pages, black and white photos, no notes but an index.

Focuses on air photo role in the period but opens with a broader overview of air photography in the RCAF, including a bibliography on that issue.

409 Squadron

409 Squadron: 1941–1945, The Nighthawks. Privately produced, circa late 1940s.

Appears to have been produced as a booklet for a Squadron reunion.

Mahon, Mike, ed. *Nighthawk! A History of 409 (Night Fighter) Squadron, 1941–1977*. Privately published, 1977.

94 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Whip, H. H. *409 Squadron History*. Privately published, 1947.

80 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Immediate post-war account of the Squadron's wartime history.

410 Squadron

410 Squadron: A History. Privately published, 1976.

118 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Covers Second World War and post-war up to mid 1970s.

Appendix: Commanding officers.

411 Squadron

"*Digby to Downsvew*": *A 411 Squadron History, 1941–1981*. Privately produced, 1981.

22 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Produced for squadron anniversary.

McClenagh, John and Derek Blatchford. *411 City of North York Squadron: 50 years of History, 1941–1991*. n.p.: Friesen Printers, 1992.

190 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: casualties, award winners, squadron crest, locations, aircraft flown, commanding officers, deployments, organization charts.

412 Squadron

Waterberg, M. E., ed. *412^e Escadron de transport, 412 (Transport) Squadron: 1936–1995*. Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing, 1995.

112 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

413 Squadron

A History of 413 Squadron. Burnstown, ON: General Store Publishing, 1997.

163 pages, black and white photos, some notes, bibliography.

Covers Second World War, foreword by Len Birchall.

414 Squadron

414 Squadron (1941–1975): A Short History. n.p., 1975.

120 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

415 Squadron

Larsen, Chris. *415 Squadron History*. Privately published, 2010.

Swordfish: The Story of 415 Squadron. Privately published, 1982.

70 pages, black and white photos, appendix of Squadron casualties.

416 Squadron

Fitzpatrick, Pat. *416 Squadron History*. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1984.

160 pages, black and white photos, no notes, covers Second World War and post-war.

Appendices: Award winners, air-to-air victories by Squadron members.

Schmidt, Don and Rick Twambley. *416 Squadron*. Privately published, 1974.

134 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Velleman, Alexander. *416 Squadron History*. Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1984.

417 Squadron

Robins, Keith. *417 Squadron History*. Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1983.

104 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography, 8 pages of colour photos at end.

Appendices: Commanding officers, casualties, air-to-air victories by Squadron members.

418 Squadron

Jackson, Fred, ed. *The Story of "418": The City of Edmonton Squadron R.C.A.F*. Privately published, 1946.

72 pages, black and white photos, covers Second World War.

Appendices: Names of all wartime squadron members.

Vaughan, Arnold. *418 (City of Edmonton) Squadron History*. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1984.

116 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Squadron locations, members winning-ace status, chronology.

419 Squadron

419 Tactical Fighter (Training) Squadron: The Final Years. Privately published, 1995.

Foulds, Glen and David Hisdale. *"Moosemen" 419 Squadron*. Privately published, 1989.

108 pages, black and white photos, no notes but a bibliography.

Appendices: Commanding officers, aircraft flown by the squadron, casualties, including flying fatalities post-war.

Guevremont, Stéphane. *Moosa Aswayita "Beware of the Moose": A History of 419 Squadron "City of Kamloops" 1941–2016*. Privately published, 2016.

The Moose Squadron: 1941–1945 The War Years of 419 Squadron. Privately published, 1977.

Reissued in 1980.

A reprinting of DHH manuscript 73/331, the narrative of the Squadron's wartime years.

The Moose Squadron: 1941–83 The War Years to the Present on 419 Squadron. Privately published, 1983.

420 Squadron

Sainty, Peter J. *"Zig-Zag": The Hampdens of 420 (RCAF) Squadron RAF*. Self-published, 2008. 2nd edition.

Not really a squadron history, but rather an enthusiast's account of a narrow period.

421 Squadron

Godwin, Robin. *421 Squadron History*. Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1982.

108 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Squadron locations, commanding officers, casualties, air-to-air victories by Squadron members.

422 Squadron

Crookes, Bernard. *Life and Times of No. 422 Squadron: The Royal Canadian Air Force, Wartime (1942–1945)*. Privately published, 2001.

"This Arm Shall Do It": 422 Squadron, 1942–1970. Privately published, 1970.

66 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

423 Squadron

Orr, John. *"With Eagle Wings" 423: A Canadian Squadron in Peace and War*. Privately published, 2002.

138 pages, black and white photos, 4 pages of colour photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Squadron members, aircraft, locations.

424 Squadron

Bottomley, Nora. *424 Squadron History*. Kingston, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1985.

137 pages, black and white photos, covers Second World War and post-war 1985.

No notes or bibliography.

Appendices: List of wartime targets, all commanding officers, all Squadron aircraft.

Morneault, J. C. *424 Tiger Squadron 1935–1977*. Privately produced, 1978.

32 pages, no photos, no notes or bibliography.

425 Squadron

425 Alouette. Privately published, circa 1970.

105 pages, bilingual, covers up to early 1970s Voodoo times, many black and white photos.

No notes or bibliography.

Boulanger, Gilbert. *L'alouette affolée*. Montréal: Lux Éditeur, 2010.

Not a squadron history per se, but rather a historical-novel type account of Second World War experiences of the Squadron.

Machabée, Marco. "Les origines et l'histoire du premier escadron canadien-français (le 425^e) de l'Aviation royale du Canada, 1942-1945: étude politique, sociale et médiatique." MA thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1996.

Rawling, Bill. *L'Alouette en guerre : la 425^e Escadrille, 1939–1945*. Outremont, QC: Athéna éditions, 2010.

Valiquette, Marc-André and Richard Girouard. *Je te plumerai: Escadron 425 Alouette: défendre la liberté depuis 1942 | Je te plumerai: 425 Alouette Squadron : Defending Freedom since 1942*. Imaviation, 2012.

248 pages, colour photos, no notes or bibliography, index.

426 Squadron

Jacobson, Ray. *426 Squadron History*. Privately published, 1988.

188 pages, black and white photos, 8 pages of colour photos, no notes or bibliography.

Appendices: Award winners, list of operations, casualties.

Motiuk, Laurence. *Thunderbirds at War: Diary of a Bomber Squadron*. Nepean, ON: Larmot Associates, 1998.

Written by a retired air navigator who passed away in 2021.

Exhaustive coverage, 500 pages, extensive notes from multiple primary sources.

Many photos, maps, illustrations.

Motiuk, Laurence. *Thunderbirds for Peace: Diary of a Transport Squadron*. Nepean, ON: Larmot Associates, 2004.

Exhaustive coverage, 500 pages, extensive notes from multiple primary sources.

Many photos, maps, illustrations.

No. 426 (Thunderbird) Squadron. Privately published, 1982.

427 Squadron

427 Lion Squadron 1942–1970. Privately published, 1970.

78 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

428 Squadron

Cassels, Ron. *Ghost Squadron*. Gimli, MB: Ardenlea Publishing, 1991.

160 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Really a personal memoir, but it provides an account of the Squadron's war years.

Appendices: Squadron personnel, missions flown.

429 Squadron

History of 429 (Composite) Squadron: CFB Winnipeg, 1942–46, 1967–72. Privately produced, 1972.

“Program: Dedication and Consecration of the Squadron Standards.” Privately produced, 1992.

Pamphlet produced for a ceremony but includes a three-page synopsis of the Squadron's history, list of commanding officers.

Welcome to 429 (Composite) Squadron, C.F.B. Winnipeg. CFB Winnipeg, 1977.

Short synopsis of squadron history produced as part of a booklet for new Squadron members.

430 Squadron

Lessard, Jacques. *430^e Escadron / 430 Squadron, 1943–2000*. Privately published, 2001.

442 pages, black and white photos, 8 pages of colour photos, bilingual.

Some notes, bibliography.

Lessard, Jacques. *430 Squadron / Escadrille 430*. 1981.

288 pages, black and white photos, 4 pages of colour photos, no notes or bibliography, bilingual.

431 Squadron

Dempsey, Daniel V. *A Tradition of Excellence: Canada's Airshow Team Heritage*. Victoria, BC: High Flight Enterprises, 2002.

Fast, Beverley G. *Snowbirds: Flying High, Canada's Snowbirds Celebrate 25 Years*. Saskatoon, SK: Lapel Marketing and Associates, 1995.

Heron, William. *A Yorkshire Squadron: The History of 431 RCAF Squadron and More, 1942–1945*. Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing, 2009.

308 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

McNenly, Hugh. *A History of 431 Iroquois Squadron*. 1992.

Mummery, Robert. *Snowbirds: Canada's Ambassadors of the Sky*. Edmonton, AB: Reidmore Books, 1984.

Philp, Owen B. and Bill Johnson. *Snowbirds from the Beginning*. Porthole Press, 1990.

Rycquart, Barbara. *The Snowbirds Story*. London, ON: Third Eye, 1987.

Sroka, Mike. *Snowbirds: Behind the Scenes with Canada's Air Demonstration Team*. Toronto, ON: Fifth House Publishers, 2006.

432 Squadron

Ward, Chris. *Royal Air Force Bomber Command Squadron Profiles: 432 Squadron*. Privately published, 2003.

433 Squadron

Marchesseault, Dan. *433 Squadron History*. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1985.

112 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography, bilingual.

Covers wartime and post-war to mid 1980s.

Appendices: Commanding officers, award winners.

434 Squadron

Mackenzie, Ward. *434 Squadron History*. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1984.

138 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography, 8 pages of colour photos.

Appendices: Battle honours, locations, commanding officers, award winners.

Mathews, Don, Robby Robertson and Murray Bertram. *434 Squadron: A History*. Privately published, 1977.

156 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

435 Squadron

Law, W. C. *Chinthe: 435 Squadron, Burma-India, 1944–1945*. Victoria, BC: Diggon-Hibben, 1946.

166 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Immediate post-war survey of the squadron's wartime service in the Far East.

Appendix: Names of all Squadron personnel.

Pittet, Richard and Brent Kostyniuk. *Determined on Delivery: The History of 435(T) Squadron*. Privately published, 1994.

436 Squadron

Coyle, F. R., ed. *Canucks Unlimited: The Record in Story and Picture of the History, Life, and Experiences of the Men of 436 R.C.A.F. Squadron, India, Burma, 1944–1945*. Toronto: Rous & Mann Press, 1945.

94 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

No. 436 Squadron (RCAF). Privately produced, circa late 1960s.

437 Squadron

Sproule, J. A. G. *437 Squadron History*. Belleville, ON: The Hangar Bookshelf, 1985.

114 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.
 Appendices: Commanding officers, award winners, casualties.

438 Squadron

Escadrille – 438 – Squadron. Privately produced, 1984.

42 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

Produced for the Squadron's 50th anniversary.

Fielden, Jerry and Michel Pratt. *Le 438^e Escadron tactique d'hélicoptères "Cité de Montréal."* Québec: Les éditions Histoire Québec, 2010.

160 pages, black and white and colour photos, no notes or bibliography.

439 Squadron

Valiquette, Marc-André and Richard Girouard. *Fangs of Death: 439 Sabre-Toothed Tiger Squadron Standing on Guard for Thee Since 1941*. Privately published, 2015.

440 Squadron

Strocel, Terry and Carl Vincent. *440 Squadron History*. Stittsville, ON: Canada's Wings, 1983.

104 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography, 8 pages of colour photos at end.

Appendices: Commanding officers, aircraft flown by the squadron, locations, air-to-air victories by Squadron members.

441 Squadron

Milberry, Larry. *Fighter Squadron: 441 Squadron from Hurricanes to Hornets*. Toronto: CANAV Books, 2003.

200 pages, no notes, but a bibliography and exhaustive coverage.

Many photos, maps, charts, in black and white and some colour.

442 Squadron

MacDonald, Grant D. *442 Squadron History*. Privately published, 1987.

148 pages, black and white photos, no notes or bibliography.

443 Squadron

443 Squadron. Privately produced, circa 1980s.

Listemann, Philippe. *No. 443 (RCAF) Squadron 1944–1946*. Privately published, 2013.

Only covers 1944–46.

444 Squadron

444 (CS) Squadron 1947–1997. Privately produced, 1997.

14 pages, black and white, some colour photos.

Booklet produced for the Squadron's anniversary.

Harrison, David. *444 Squadron: 25 Years Active Service 1947–1982*. Privately published, 1982.

450 Squadron

Eaton, A. *By Air to Battle*. Privately published, 1994.

80 pages, black and white and some colour photos.

Covers Australian 450 Squadron in the Second World War, No. 1 Transport Helicopter Platoon from early 1960s (Royal Canadian Army Service Corps), and 450 Squadron Canadian Forces/RCAF from 1968.

39. RCAF Historical Section

Conn, Kenneth B. "The Royal Canadian Air Force Historical Section." *The Canadian Historical Review* 26, no. 3 (September 1945): 246–50.

Compare all of this with the widely lauded Canadian Army official historians and the famous C. P. Stacey.

Cook, Tim. *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

Survey of all Canadian military history; includes much detail on the RCAF Historical Section.

Halliday, Hugh. "The Air Historian, Part 1." *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 35–40; and "Part 2," vol. 4, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 23–30.

Soye, Edward Peter. "Leadership in Preservation: Wing Commander Ralph V. Manning and the RCAF Historical Section 1961–1965." In *Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership*, vol. 1 of *Sic Itur Ad Astra - Canadian Aerospace Power Studies*, edited by W. A. March, 84–99. Ottawa: National Defence, 2009.

40. Biographies

Bechthold, Mike. *Flying to Victory: Raymond Collishaw and the Western Desert Campaign, 1940–1941*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.

Bishop, William Arthur. *The Courage of the Early Morning: A Son's Biography of a Famous Father, the Story of Billy Bishop*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965.

More recently reprinted by Thomas Allen in 2011.

Bishop, William Arthur. *Winged Combat: My Story*. (17)

Edwards, Suzanne K. *Gus: From Trapper Boy to Air Marshal; Air Marshal Harold Edwards, Royal Canadian Air Force: A Life*. Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing, 2007.

Edwards, Suzanne K. "The Leadership of Air Marshal Harold (Gus) Edwards." In *Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership*, vol. 1 of *Sic Itur Ad Astra - Canadian Aerospace Power Studies*, edited by W. A. March, 9–15. Ottawa: National Defence, 2009.

Abridged version of her book cited above.

Mayne, Richard and Mike Bechthold. *The Air Marshals*. Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming.

Provides a chapter each for the post-war RCAF Chiefs of the Air Staff up to unification.

Rohmer, Richard. *Generally Speaking: The Memoirs of Major General Richard Rohmer*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2004.

Stouffer, Ray. "Air Chief Marshal Frank Miller: A Civilian and Military Leader." *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 41–51.

Refer also to the First and Second World War sections, which include many popular biographies.

41. Miscellaneous Other RCAF Related Works

Burtch, Andrew Paul. *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.

Donovan, Ronald and David McElrea. *A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force Police and Security Services*. Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing House, 2008.

Gladman, Brad, Richard Goette, Richard Mayne, Colonel Shayne Elder, Colonel Kelvin Truss, Lieutenant-Colonel Pux Barnes and Major Bill March. "Professional Airpower Mastery and the Royal Canadian Air Force: Rethinking Airpower Education and Professional Development." *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 5, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 9–23.

Goette, Richard. *Preparing the RCAF for the Future: Defining Potential Niches for Expeditionary Operations*. Ottawa: National Defence, 2020.

Power, Charles G. *A Party Politician: The Memoirs of Chubby Power*. Edited by Norman Ward. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1966.

A somewhat dated, politically focused memoir.

During the Second World War, Power was the Minister of Defence for Air.

Vance, Jonathan. *High Flight: Aviation and the Canadian Imagination*. Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2002.

Vance, Jonathan. "The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Campaign for Air-Mindedness." In *Combat if Necessary, but Not Necessarily Combat*, vol. 3 of *Sic Itur Ad Astra - Canadian Aerospace Power Studies*, edited by W. A. March, 6–15. Ottawa: National Defence, 2011.

Wakelam, Randall. "Aerospace Power and Leadership Perspectives: The Human Dimension." *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no. 4 (Autumn 2003): 17–24.

Wakelam, Randall. "Educating Air Power Practitioners." In *On the Wings of War and Peace*, edited by Wakelam, March and Rayls, 128–51. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2023.

Wakelam, Randall and David Varey, eds. *Educating Air Forces: Global Perspectives on Airpower Learning*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2020.

Wentzell, Brian. "The Rise and Fall in Civil-Military Relations in Canada, 1946–1960." MA thesis, Royal Military College of Canada, 2007.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Johnston is a Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) intelligence officer, currently employed at the RCAF Aerospace Warfare Centre in the RCAF History and Heritage office. His career has ranged from tactical positions with CF-188 fighters (starting at Baden-Soellingen in Germany during the Cold War), to operational-level headquarters (including 1 Canadian Air Division / Canadian NORAD Region Headquarters in Winnipeg), to the strategic level at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa, where, for his sins, he has been posted twice. He has served postings with NATO in Europe twice. He has deployed to the Persian Gulf, the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan and, most recently, Kuwait, for operations against the Islamic State. During his service, he earned a Bachelor of Arts from Royal Roads Military College, a Master of Arts in war studies from the Royal Military College and a PhD in history from Queen's University. A long-time scholar of Air Force history with numerous article and book-chapter publications in the field, he is currently working on the next volume of the RCAF's official history, which will cover the Cold War period up to unification. He lives in Kingston with his wife, Sheila, and the family parrot, Monty, their four children having grown.