"*Knights of the Air Division*"[1]

The fighter pilots of the Great War (or World War I) were young men who quickly developed a new art of warfare to a high state of perfection.[2]

Forty years later, young Canadian pilots would again develop a new art of warfare to a high state of perfection, this time flying supersonic jet fighters. These new pilots, flying over the same towns and villages that had suffered through two world wars, would prove every bit as daring and courageous as those first *Knights of the Air*, but this time it was to prevent a war, not fight one.

---

[1] Peter J. Robichaud, "*Knights of the Air Division*," 2023. NB Aviation Museum collection. Used with permission.
[2] John Norman Harris, *Knights of the Air: Canadian Aces of World War I*, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1958), 11.

Knights of the Air Division:

Flying, Fatalities, Families, and Fear

by

Kevin N. Anderson

Bachelor of Arts, University of Manitoba, 2004

A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the Graduate Academic Unit of History

Supervisor: Lee Windsor, PhD, Department of Historical Studies

Examining Board: Stefanie Hunt-Kennedy, PhD, Department of Historical Studies, Chair
Donald Wright, PhD, Department of Political Science
Suzanne Hindmarch, PhD, Department of Political Science

This thesis is accepted by the
Dean of Graduate Studies

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

August 2024

©Kevin N. Anderson, 2024

ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a multi-generational, oral history approach to investigate the experiences of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) personnel and their families in Canada's No. 1 Air Division in Europe from 1951 to 1963. It examines issues with housing, food, and education; exercises and operations during the Cold War.

While more has been written about the Army Brigade in Europe, No. 1 Air Division was meant to be Canada's largest contribution to NATO. The RCAF members interviewed for this project strongly believed that their service contributed significantly to deterring a major war with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War. This research captures previously undocumented experiences of life in Canada's foreign air bases and provides emotional context and unique perspectives so others can understand the sacrifices of those who lived and died there. This thesis thus makes an important contribution to Canada's emerging Cold War history.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of one of Canada's finest Cold War aviators, General Paul D. Manson, OC, CMM, CD. To those who knew him, General Manson was the epitome of a great leader. His energy, drive, sense of duty, and approachable demeanor earned him the respect of his superiors, peers, and subordinates alike. He had a tremendous aviation career that began in the 1950s as a CF-100 Canuck pilot in Europe in the early days of the Cold War. He eventually became the Chief of Defence Staff and, after leaving the Air Force, found further success in the aviation industry. He was also the driving force behind the fundraising campaign for the new Canadian War Museum and he lent his talents to several organizations, including the NATO Peacekeeping Veterans Association and Canada's Aviation Hall of Fame.

Sadly, General Manson passed away on July 1, 2023, surrounded by his family after suffering a tragic fall. Maybe it was fitting that he passed on Canada Day as he was truly one of Canada's best. I had known Paul for just over a decade, but he was one of the greatest people I have ever had the pleasure of calling a friend. He was a great supporter of the New Brunswick Aviation Museum, even agreeing to be interviewed in 2014 as part of our Sabre Legacy Project. He was an eloquent writer and in one of the articles he wrote, he spoke of Cold War soldiers, sailors, and aviators being looked at as "second-class veterans". This didn't apply to General Manson though as he was never second-class at anything. He was first-class all the way.

PREFACE

As a pilot who twice served in fighter squadrons in Canada's No. 1 Air Division in Europe, General (retired) Paul D. Manson, OC, CMM, CD, knew the danger of serving on the front line of a potential nuclear battlefield, and how families stationed there shared that danger. Having interviewed General Manson and more than 65 other pilots who served in the Air Division, I found that while Canadians are mostly oblivious to Canada's long-standing commitment to NATO in Europe, memories of which are in jeopardy of being lost due to the advancing age of Canada's Cold War veterans, people are now starting to realize the importance of this significant period in Canadian history.

Recent histories have considered some questions about the Air Division, including its creation (Babcock 2008 and Frandsen 2015), aircraft procurement (Wakelam 2011) and defence policy (Stouffer 2015); while others have begun looking at the roles of female service personnel (Hogenbirk 2017) and families during the Cold War (Campbell 2016). This project builds on their work, and that of Chris Bateman 2017; David Ropeik 2012; David Mackenzie 2001, and others, regarding fear in the Cold War period, as it delves into the tumultuous early years of 1 Canadian Air Division history.

This MA research uses a multi-generational, oral history approach to investigate the experiences of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) personnel and their families in Canada's No. 1 Air Division in Europe from 1951 to 1963. Although there is no separate category specifically for "oral military history" in historical theory or methodology, the two normally distinct categories of oral history and military history have been intimately linked since Herodotus and Thucydides first started recording the history of Western civilization. It was circa 425 B.C. that Herodotus wrote,

> [T]hese are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud.[3]

For almost twenty-five centuries, military events have dominated historical writing. Professor Andrew Lambert of King's College London wrote:

> [W]ar is the harshest test of societies and citizens, and the most potent agent of transformation. To study the past without war, warriors and war-fighting organisations is close to impossible, but not infrequently attempted. Armed forces serve societies, and they reflect much of that link in their design and conduct. They are also among the best documented aspects of the human experience.[4]

While oral history cannot be the sole source of evidence regarding what took place at any given moment in time, it can fill in background detail, emotional context, unique battlefield perspectives, and first person insight on very human choices and efforts made that are not found in official government reports or contemporary media accounts. Oral history thus fills in the gaps between official military records, newspaper articles, and after action reports, and the personal papers and correspondence left behind by the highest political and military leaders. For this work, oral history methodology captured previously undocumented experiences of life in Canada's foreign air bases and provided emotional context and unique perspectives on what people saw and thought so that others can understand the experience and personal sacrifices made by those who lived and died there. The legacy of the longest and largest peacetime Canadian overseas military deployment is evident in how 1,350 RCAF personnel and family members were buried in

---

[3] Herodotus, *The Histories*, Trans. by George Rawlinson, Roman Roads Media, LLC, 2013, https://files.romanroadsstatic.com/materials/herodotus.pdf.
[4] Andrew Lambert, "Military History," Making History, Institute of Historical Research, accessed December 9, 2019, https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/military_history.html.

cemeteries in England, France, Germany, and Belgium during the Cold War.

This thesis builds on existing scholarly research to consider the experiences of air force personnel and their families who established Canada's first permanent military presence on foreign soil in peacetime. While the majority of the interviews were conducted on behalf of the New Brunswick Aviation Museum prior to beginning this thesis, approval was given to make use of that material, along with any future interviews conducted, in REB #2020-089. It was determined that there was "minimal risk" to participants as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd edition (TCPS2) and this project was considered to comply with the TCPS2 and the University Policy on Research Involving Humans (UPRIH). All interview participants consented to sharing their information.

Interviewees weighed in on how the RCAF employed air power, exercises and operations in Europe during the Cold War, perceptions of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact threat, plans for evacuating families in the event of hostilities, and how families coped with leaving deceased loved ones behind in foreign cemeteries when they returned to Canada. Interview participants also provided perspectives on their experiences in the Air Division including travel to and from Europe, housing, food, education, work, and other significant memories of those days.

Several important findings emerged from the research process. First, although some may consider Air Division personnel to be "peacekeepers", as their service helped to prevent a major war between the two superpowers for more than forty years, members of the Air Division would vehemently disagree. The RCAF pilots, ground crew, and support personnel of No. 1 Air Division trained at high intensity with their NATO allies

to prepare for total war with the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. To deter their opponent, they maintained a constant state of readiness for the outbreak of a war they worked diligently to avoid. They knew hostilities would quickly go nuclear, putting themselves and their families at risk of annihilation. Secondly, the RCAF did an excellent job in a brief period to re-establish a comprehensive flying training program for both RCAF and NATO air forces. LGen (retired) Fred Sutherland believed that this "training produced a most impressive legacy of successive generations of outstanding fighter pilots […]." [5]

Thirdly, Air Division members served in a time when cutting edge science and technology constantly reshaped Canada's air force contribution to NATO, as evident in Alliance evaluations and competitions. Rapid advances in aircraft design, propulsion systems, missile and bomb capabilities, as well as new radar and navigation aids all drove steady change in the activities and efficacy of No. 1 Air Division. Another key finding was that the pride and professionalism of pilots and ground crew was evident both in individual and squadron exploits and their ability to manage technological change. As an example, Canadian Sabre pilots won the coveted Guynemer trophy in aerial gunnery competitions four years in a row between 1958 and 1961 and came in second in 1962, their final year in the competition.

This peacetime military contribution came at a high price as the RCAF sustained many casualties in the Air Division. General Manson pointed out that, "whenever a Canadian airman was killed in Europe (as more than 100 were), he was invariably buried

[5] Lieutenant-General Fred Sutherland, "The Cold War – An Aviator's Retrospective," *Airforce* 37, No. 2, (2013): 5.

in a small military cemetery in Choloy-Ménillot, France; no ramp ceremony, no funerary procession along the Highway of Heroes, no headlines." [6] In addition to military deaths, many family members, especially young children, also lost their lives there. What made it worse was that the bodies could not be returned to Canada for burial. Norman Avery explained that "[F]rom 1919 to 1970 Canadian government policy prohibited the return of human remains – military or civilian – to Canada, even at the expense of next of kin."[7]

The lack of public awareness of the efforts and personal sacrifices made by Canadian military members and their families during the Cold War is a point of contention for many RCAF veterans. General Manson argued that some people in Canada "look upon those who did not fight in a shooting war as second-class veterans. […] The Cold War, however, was not a shooting war. […] Our job was deterrence, and deterrence worked." [8] In addition to the lack of awareness by the Canadian public, many critics suggested that Canada's air contribution to NATO, especially in the latter Sabre/Canuck and CF-104 eras, was of little military value. The men who flew and serviced those aircraft though, believed that they were an integral part of the NATO deterrent force. For this reason, many Cold War veterans feel their service went unappreciated.

This research provides new insight into the beliefs, thoughts and expectations of RCAF Cold War pilots, the impact of the Cold War on military families, and the legacy of Canadian air force participation in Europe as part of NATO as these RCAF veterans and their families had a front row seat to some of the most significant moments in

---

[6] Paul Manson, "Canada's Forgotten Cold Warriors," *The Globe and Mail (index-Only)*, Nov. 11, 2015, www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/canadas-forgotten-cold-warriors/article27200333/.
[7] Norman Avery, "The Forgotten Canadians," *Airforce* 26, No. 1, (2002): 49.
[8] Op. Cit.

Canadian and world history. This thesis also advances the scope of military oral history in Canada, not least by including the perspective of Air Division families who endured greater hardships than most other military families in Canadian peace-time history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a thesis on a subject as broad as No. 1 Air Division requires the support of many people, not the least of which is the men and women who served there between 1951 and 1993. The list of individuals who shared their memories consists of numerous retired RCAF/Air Command personnel, including Generals Paul D. Manson and Jean Boyle; Lieutenant Generals Al DeQuetteville, Lloyd Campbell, Ken Thorneycroft, and Fred Sutherland; Major-Generals Ken Lett, Glen Younghusband, and Charles "Duff" Sullivan; Colonels Grant Nichols, George Miller, Ed McKeogh, and Gerry Morrison; and many others too numerous to mention.

My academic supervisor, Dr. Lee Windsor was instrumental in helping develop the focus of the thesis. It would have been easy to get sidetracked, considering the amount of material available. I would also like to thank my friend, Dr. Marc Milner, for reviewing my draft chapters and providing invaluable feedback. I am also grateful to Ray Stouffer, author of "*Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF's Original 1 Canadian Air Division*" for sharing his research material with me. He was the first to write specifically about the Air Division, relating how the Air Division came about and the trials and tribulations of those who led it.

I had never planned on returning to university to complete a Master's degree, so I am very grateful to Veteran's Affairs Canada for instituting an education and training benefit that covered most of the costs incurred. I am also thankful to the members of the Royal Canadian Air Force Heritage Fund for twice awarding me the AVM Keith Hodson Scholarship award valued at $4,000.00/year. Your belief in my project to capture the history of No. 1 Air Division is greatly appreciated!

As a full-time employee at the Public Service Pay Centre in Miramichi, New Brunswick since beginning my Master's journey in 2019, I am indebted for the tremendous support I received from my various supervisors and managers. It began with Vincent Nash, who understood the value of education, but was continued with Marc Comeau, Guy Daigle, Jeff Seamone, Lisa Driscoll, Christine Martin and Tonya Gould. I'm sure my need for time off caused extra work for all of them but their support never wavered.

While everyone mentioned above contributed to this thesis in one way or another it would never have been finished without the patience and support of my beautiful wife, Pam. Working a full-time job, trying to create an aviation museum, conducting interviews, and spending a tremendous amount of time researching and writing this thesis took precious time away from her, and often tested her patience to the limit. I am looking forward to making it up to her in the months and years ahead.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT ii
DEDICATION iii
PREFACE iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x
Table of Contents xii
List of Abbreviations xv
Chapter 1 - Introduction And Literature review 1
Cold War and NATO 3
Historiography 5
The RCAF "Story" 11
Families 24
Fear 29
Conclusion 33
Chapter 2 - A Monumental Task: Creating No. 1 Air Division (1946-1951) 35
Canada and Air Power 36
Post-War Reductions and Cold War Build-up 39
The Formation of NATO 41
Money and People Desperately Needed 45
Korea Brings It Home 53
Reintroduction of Women in the RCAF 61
Industrial buildup: Canadair, A.V. Roe, Orenda 63

Back to Europe 65

Conclusion 68

Chapter 3 - Sabres on Patrol (1951-1956) 70
Getting to Europe 71

Operation Leap Frog I 73

Leap Frog II 77

Leap Frog III 78

Leap Frog IV 80

Other Modes of Transport 82

No. 1 Air Division: Organization and Structure 83

Strengthening a Weak Europe: Canada's Greatest Contribution? 85

'Teething' Problems 86

Yellow Jack 91

Flying The F-86 92

Exercises and Competitions 99

Exercise *Carte Blanche* – June 20-28, 1955 99

Other Exercises 101

Rabat Sale Gunnery Range 103

Aerobatics 106

Conclusion 109

Chapter 4 - Bring on the 'Canucks' (1956-1963) 111
Getting to Europe 112
Operation *Nimble Bat* 112
The Golden Age of Sailing Comes to An End 113
Flying the CF-100 Canuck 113
Decimomannu Air Weapons Unit 115
The Guynemer Trophy 118
A Dangerous Occupation 121
Losing A Family Member – A Child's Perspective 125
'Canuck' Families 126
Education 134
Fear 135
Getting Out Of Harm's Way 136
Conclusion 139
Chapter 5 – Conclusion 142
Bibliography 150
Appendix A: Air Division Questionnaire –LCol John Bagshaw 183
Appendix B: Air Division Fatalities 193
Curriculum Vitae 217
Curriculum Vitae

List of Abbreviations

AAFCE	Allied Air Forces, Central Europe
A/C	Air Commodore
ACE	Allied Command Europe
AC&W	aircraft control and warning
AFHQ	Air Force Headquarters
Air Div	Air Division
A/M	Air Marshal
AOC	Air Officer Commanding
ATAF	Allied Tactical Air Force
ATC	Air Transport Command
A/V/M	Air Vice-Marshal
AW	all-weather
AW(F)	all weather (fighter)
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CAG	Canadian Air Group
CAS	Chief of the Air Staff
CDC	Cabinet Defence Committee
CDS	Chief of the Defence Staff
CF	Canadian Forces
CFHQ	Canadian Forces Headquarters
CGS	Chief of the General Staff
CJS(L)	Canadian Joint Staff, London
CSC	Chiefs of Staff Committee
DCL	Defence Construction (1951) Limited
DEA	Department of External Affairs
DFC	Distinguished Flying Cross
DHH	Directorate of History and Heritage
DND	Department of National Defence
F/O	Flying Officer
F/L	Flight Lieutenant
G/C	Group Captain
GCI	Ground Control Interception
HQ	Headquarters
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
LAC	Library and Archives Canada

MC	Military Committee
MFR	monthly flying rate
MG	Manuscript Group
MiG	Mikoyan-Gurevich
mm	millimetre
MND	Minister of National Defence
MP	Miles per hour
MPH	Member of Parliament
MRBM	medium-range ballistic missile
MSF	Mobile Striking Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDHQ	National Defence Headquarters
No.	Number
NORAD	North American Air Defence
OTU	operational training unit
QRA	quick reaction alert (also referred to as "Q")
R/A	reconnaissance/attack
RAF	Royal Air Force
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
recce	reconnaissance
RG	Record Group
S/A	strike/attack
SAC	Strategic Air Command
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander, Europe
SAS	special ammunition storage
SG	Standing Group
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
S/L	Squadron Leader
TACEVAL	tactical evaluation
TAF	tactical air force
UN	United Nations
USAF	United States Air Force
USAFE	United States Air Forces in Europe
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Vol	Volume
W/C	Wing Commander
WP	Warsaw Pact

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

> The story of the RCAF in the early post-Second World War years remains largely untold, or, at the very least, *poorly* told. Although there are numerous discussions of higher defence policy planning, the particular problems of force development, force structure, and doctrinal development have been largely ignored.[9]

The Cold War history of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) has often been overlooked as writers and historians focus on the two world wars or turn their attention to more recent conflicts.[10] A critical component of the Cold War story that deserves more attention is No. 1 Air Division, Canada's first large air formation permanently garrisoned on foreign soil in peacetime. Eventually family members followed the thousands of air and ground crew members assigned to large air bases in France and then Germany, creating complete Canadian communities in Europe. The Air Division was established in England, France, and West Germany between 1951 and 1957 as part of Canada's contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

With the 100th anniversary of the RCAF on April 1, 2024, progress is being made to examine the RCAF's Cold War history, however, until now, most writing has been limited to unpublished theses and dissertations, as well as a couple of biographical works. While there were many critics of Canada's military contributions to NATO over the years, the men and women who served in the Air Division believed their efforts helped

---

[9] Scot Robertson, "What Direction? The Future of Aerospace Power and the Canadian Air Force – Part I," *Canadian Military Journal* 8, No. 4, (2007-2008): 13, www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo8/no4/robertso-eng.asp.
[10] See Lieutenant-Colonel David L. Bashow, Colonel Dwight Davies, Colonel André Viens, Lieutenant-Colonel John Rotteau, Major Norman Balfe, Major Ray Stouffer, Captain James Pickett, and Dr. Steve Harris, "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (2000), www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo1/no1/indexeng. asp; David N. Deere, *Desert Cats: The Canadian Fighter Squadron in the Gulf War* (Stoney Creek, Ontario: Fortress Publications, 1991); and, Robert W. Bergen, "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats: The Art of Managing Canada's News Media During the Kosovo Air War" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Calgary, 2005, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global).

deter nuclear war and their record of service was second to none.

Robertson argues that "the story of the RCAF remains largely untold, except in the most fragmented manner. This is, perhaps, one of the greatest gaps in the body of Canadian military history…."[11] One published scholarly work emphasizing No. 1 Air Division is *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF's Original 1 Canadian Air Division* by Ray Stouffer (Ottawa, ON: Royal Canadian Air Force, 2015). Other books, dissertations, and theses touch on the Air Division in relation to aircraft procurement; civil-military relations; government policy; and the rapid growth of the RCAF during the 1950s. In contrast, the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) and Canada-US security relations have been examined in much greater depth.[12] In fact, more books have been written about the Army Brigade in Europe during the Cold War than the Air Division, despite the Brigade's less prominent role in NATO.[13] The limited works on Canada's experiences in the Cold War mainly address questions of nuclear war and Canada's decision to accept nuclear weapons.

As the RCAF began a major recruiting drive in the early 1950s to re-build its depleted post-Second World War force, it became the first of the three armed services to

---

[11] Robertson, "What Direction? The Future of Aerospace Power – Part I," 6-7.
[12] See Joseph T. Jockel and Queen's University (Kingston, Ont), Centre for International Relations, *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History,* Montreal: Queen's Centre for International Relations & the Queen's Defence Management Program, McGill-Queen's University Press, n.d.; Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945-1958,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987; David Cox and Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament. *Canada and NORAD, 1958-1978: A Cautionary Retrospective*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, 1985; and Gordon A.A. Wilson, *NORAD and the Soviet Nuclear Threat: Canada's Secret Electronic Air War* (Toronto [Ont.]: Dundurn Press, 2011).
[13] See Sean Maloney, *War Without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1997) and Isabel Campbell, *Unlikely Diplomats: The Canadian Brigade in Germany, 1951-64,* Studies in Canadian Military History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

hire women in peace time. Many of these women would go on to serve in the Air Division. Historical writing about women in the RCAF, military families, and other various social aspects of Canadian Cold War culture, is minimal, and again, limited mainly to unpublished dissertations and theses. Of the small number of scholarly articles dealing with military families in the Cold War, none relate to their experiences overseas, however, some American and British writing details what was expected from military spouses and families living in foreign countries.[14]

The contributions of RCAF women, support personnel and families have been almost completely ignored when it comes to the Cold War, especially with their overseas experiences in Europe. By looking at life and death in Canada's No. 1 Air Division, this thesis will contribute to a more complete understanding of the ways that RCAF personnel executed Canadian and Allied goals for deterring nuclear war, highlight social aspects of living in a foreign country in a potential battle zone, recognize the sacrifices and tragic losses that so many young RCAF families had to endure and, most importantly, give voice to an overlooked and rapidly disappearing generation.

COLD WAR AND NATO

The Second World War had barely finished when tensions flared between the Soviet Union and their former Allies, leading to the "Iron Curtain" closing around

---

[14] See Eli M. Bower, "American Children and Families in Overseas Communities," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 37 (4): 787–96. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.1967.tb00521.x. http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=ccf57674-37da-4ab1-a100-84a9311c88fe%40sdc-v-sessmgr01; Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965* (New York: New York University Press, 2007). Accessed March 20, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central; and Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Eastern Europe and the beginning of what came to be known as the Cold War.[15] As Canada sought to improve its standing on the world stage, it helped lead the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, an alliance that was formed as a deterrent to the Soviet Union. After the Korean War broke out in 1950, the threat of the Soviet Union invading Western Europe led Canada to eventually commit an Army Brigade and an Air Division to European defence.

Creation of the Air Division led to a number of significant milestone achievements for Canada. It was the first time female service members were deployed to Europe as an integral part of the RCAF rather than as members of the separate Women's Division; it was the first time spouses and families were allowed to move overseas; and it was the first time that RCAF squadrons flew to Europe.[16] Unfortunately, Air Division families endured more than their share of grief. Over 260 RCAF members lost their lives due to aircraft crashes, car accidents, and disease; while more than 325 children in RCAF families also died, many within days of their birth, in an era of new and dangerous jet aircraft and continued mid-20th century significant child mortality rates.[17] While most RCAF personnel were laid to rest in the Choloy military cemetery in France, deceased spouses and children were laid to rest in local community cemeteries. When families

---

[15] The term "Iron Curtain" was coined by Winston Churchill in a speech he gave to a college in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1947 to describe the demarcation line of the Soviet Union and its communist satellite countries in Eastern Europe.

[16] During the Second World War, RCAF squadrons were formed overseas. Aircraft built in North America were shipped to Europe from 1939-40 then flown over by members of Ferry Command for the rest of the war. See Carl A. Christie, *Ocean Bridge: The History of RAF Ferry Command* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: Midland Publishing, 1995). The first RCAF unit to fly to Europe as part of the Air Division was 439 (Fighter) Squadron in February 1952 in a mission referred to as "Operation Leap Frog I". Three other Leap Frog operations took place between 1952 and 1953 to move the remaining nine squadrons to 2,3 and 4 Wings in France and West Germany.

[17] See Chapter 8 for more details on child fatalities.

returned to Canada, their lost loved ones were left behind.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

> Canada's Cold War history remains virtually a blank slate. While there have been some recent entries onto the field – Sean Maloney, and Andrew Richter stand out – there remains much to be done. A cursory perusal of history departments across the country, however, gives little indication that Cold War history is much of an interest or priority. To some extent, this is not surprising, given the paucity of interest in military history generally.[18]

Robertson's assessment applies to all Cold War history in Canada. Seventeen years on, Cold War historiography in Canada covers several areas; however, it tends to focus on RCMP security spying on behalf of the government, Soviet espionage, and nuclear weapons.[19] This section will deal primarily with those topics and other areas not pertaining directly to the RCAF, women and families, or fear, as the latter will be covered in greater detail in later sections. While these topics are not RCAF-specific, they help identify the scope of Cold War writing in Canada and the areas that have generated the most interest from historians and academics.

It is important to understand why the Air Division was established the way it was so this thesis opens with a review of the origins of the Cold War and the formation of NATO. It then considers the historiography of the RCAF, from the early efforts of the RCAF Historical Section and through to modern scholarship related to women in the

---

[18] Robertson, "What Direction? The Future of Aerospace Power," 13.
[19] See Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* Deslibris Documents, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Christabelle Sethna and Steve Hewitt, 2018, *Just Watch Us : RCMP Surveillance of the Women's Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada*, Montreal: MQUP; and Amy Knight, *How the Cold War Began - The Gouzenko Affair and the Hunt for Soviet Spies* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2005).

post-war RCAF. The next section examines historical writing about Cold War women and families in Canada, as well as on comparable experiences of British and American military spouses and families in Europe. The final section reviews how history has treated the question of how those at the sharp end of the Cold War faced the fear created by living under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation.

The Cold War began shortly after the Second World War ended. As the Soviet Union solidified its control over the eastern European countries it took over while fighting the Nazis back to the heart of Germany, former Allies in the west grew increasingly concerned that Soviet aggression would not stop there. The British perspective, echoed by a number of other countries, was clearly elaborated on by Major General Sir Ian Jacob, a retired Army officer, in 1950:

> We believe that the men in the Kremlin are out for world domination. They do not differentiate between peace and war; they seek to attain their end by whatever method is appropriate at any given moment. All free nations are their prey. This being so, all free nations must unite for mutual self-defense.[20]

Many British and American Cold War participants, commentators, and scholars have written in support of this position, however, equally as many have since argued against it.[21] The following section reviews Canadian writing on the matter.

The Cold War in Canada opened with a scandal when a clerk in the Soviet

---

[20] Ian Jacob, "Principles of British Military Thought," *Foreign Affairs* 29, No. 2 (1951): 228. https://login.proxy.hil.unb.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/1290226814? accountid=14611.

[21] See Edward Crapol, "Some Reflections on the Historiography of the Cold War," *The History Teacher* 20, no. 2 (1987): 251-62; Timothy J. White, "Cold War Historiography: New Evidence Behind Traditional Typographies," *International Social Science Review* 75, no. 3/4 (2000): 35-46; and, Howard Jones and Randall B. Woods, "Origins of the Cold War in Europe and the Near East: Recent Historiography and the National Security Imperative," *Diplomatic History*, 17, no. 2 (1993): 251-76.

embassy, Igor Gouzenko, defected on September 5, 1945.[22] This sensational spy story led to a number of books, including an autobiography.[23] Other Cold War scholarship focused on how society was impacted within Canada. In *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957,* Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse look at the negative experiences of those thought to be associated with Communism, including purges from the civil service and investigation and monitoring by the RCMP.[24]

Christabelle Sethna and Steve Hewitt's, *Just Watch Us: RCMP Surveillance of the Women's Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada* builds on the security theme by detailing RCMP involvement with the women's liberation movement in Canada due to its potential threat as a subversive organization.[25] *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, edited by Richard Cavell, investigates how the "security state" became increasingly suspicious of Canadian churches, homosexuals and the film industry.[26] Meanwhile, Franca Iacovetta looks at how the Cold War influenced immigrants in her book, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada.*[27]

---

[22] David Clark MacKenzie, Fabien Saint-Jacques, and Canadian Historical Association, *Canada's Red Scare: 1945-1957*, Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet, No. 61. (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2001).
[23] Knight, *How the Cold War Began*, 2005. See also J. L Black and Martin Rudner, *The Gouzenko Affair: Canada and the Beginnings of Cold War Counter-Espionage*, Canada/Russia Series, Vol. 8. (Manotick, Ont.: Penumbra Press, 2006); L. D. Cross, *Spies in Our Midst: The Incredible Story of Igor Gouzenko, Cold War Spy*, True Canadian Amazing Stories. (Canmore, Alta.: Altitude Pub., 2005); and, Igor Gouzenko, *The Iron Curtain* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1948).
[24] Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 1994.
[25] Sethna and Hewitt, *Just Watch Us*, 2018. See also Gregory S. Kealey, *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
[26] Richard Cavell, *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, Green College Thematic Lecture Series (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2004). See also Jennifer Anderson, *Propaganda and Persuasion: The Cold War and the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2017).
[27] Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

As the threat of Soviet aggression pushed western governments to increase defence spending throughout the 1950s and 1960s, citizens were advised to build bomb shelters and learn how to protect themselves in case of an aerial attack. Andrew Burtch, historian at the Canadian War Museum, discusses Canadian efforts to promote civil defence in his 2006 article "Armageddon on Tour: The "On Guard, Canada!" Civil Defence Convoy and Responsible Citizenship in the Early Cold War."[28] Burtch follows this up with his book, *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence*, where he argues that the majority of Canadians were unprepared for an attack and that the civil defence plan had largely failed.[29] Other works that contributed to understanding the Cold War within a Canadian framework examine government policies, nuclear weapons, and participation in the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) alliance.

Canada and the Early Cold War, 1943-1957, includes a collection of essays related to government policies affecting relations with Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union.[30] James Eayrs', *In Defence of Canada, Volume 4: Growing Up Allied,* documents Canada's involvement in establishing NATO and the political wrangling to determine what contribution Canada would make for the defence of Europe. [31] Chapter 4, *Mobilizing the Deterrent,* is especially relevant to the establishment of the Air Division.

---

[28] A. Burtch, "Armageddon on Tour: The 'on Guard, Canada!" Civil Defence Convoy and Responsible Citizenship in the Early Cold War," *International Journal -Toronto-* 61, no. 3 (2006): 735–56.
[29] Andrew Paul Burtch, *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence,* Studies in Canadian Military History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).
[30] Greg Donaghy, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. *Canada and the Early Cold War, 1943-1957: Canada Au Début De La Guerre Froide, 1943-1957* (Ottawa: Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1998). For Canadian nuclear policy, see Patricia I. McMahon, "The Politics of Canada's Nuclear Policy, 1957—1963" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Order No. NQ45716, University of Toronto (Canada), 1999).
[31] James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada, Volume 4 – Growing Up Allied* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

In her thesis, "Cold Actions, Cold Methods, Cold War: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Prague Coup of 1948," Susan Ann Villeneuve investigates how the attitudes of Canadian politicians, diplomats and the media were impacted by the Communist coup that took place in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and how that event shaped foreign policy.[32] She argues that after the coup, "Canada's attitude towards the Russians and their doctrines became more somber and pessimistic" and changes in policies were directed towards "restraining the Americans without pushing them back to a policy of isolation."[33]

Canadian military historian Sean M. Maloney has written extensively on the Cold War over the past twenty years. In the previously mentioned *War Without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993*, he posits that the Army Brigade in West Germany was an important part of NATO's conventional forces and their contribution to deterring Soviet aggression earned them "the lasting professional respect from the armies of all the NATO nations…."[34] In *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War*, he argues that nuclear weapons became part of Canada's defence policy as a form of deterrence, both in Canada and in Europe, and it was also "designed to influence Canada's allies and further other Canadian interests."[35]

Andrew Richter questions the assumptions that Canadians were never able to develop their own policies or strategy and that they relied on the British or Americans for

---

[32] Susan Ann Villeneuve, "Cold Actions, Cold Methods, Cold War: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Prague Coup of 1948" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Order No. MM08931, Carleton University (Canada), 1995). https://login.proxy. hil.unb. ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/304189368?accountid=14611.
[33] Ibid., 119.
[34] Maloney, *War Without Battles*, XXXVI.
[35] Sean M. Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War* (version 1st ed.) (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007), xix. See also Sean M. Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970* (St. Catharines, Ont.: Vanwell Pub, 2002).

direction in his book, *Avoiding Armageddon: Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950-1963*. In his review of Canadian nuclear strategy, he often refers to the Air Division and the strike role of the CF-104 aircraft.[36]

It is not surprising that Canada-US relations and the NORAD agreement have been the subject of numerous monographs as the agreement has been reviewed several times over the years and has included many controversial subjects, including missile defence. In *Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental Air Defence, 1940-57*, Richard Goette looks at how Canada and the US developed joint air defence policies starting in the Second World War.[37] He argues that Canada never relinquished command of the RCAF to the US, even when it has allowed the US to have control of Canadian air assets. *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History* by Joseph Jockel takes over from the actual creation of NORAD and discusses how the agreement changed over time as requirements and threats shifted.[38] While the Canada-US defence agreement is an important part of RCAF history, Canada's air role in NATO should not be overlooked. Taking into consideration the importance and priority assigned to air power as a primary

---

[36] Andrew Richter, *Avoiding Armageddon: Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950-1963* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002). Other books written specifically about nuclear weapons in Canada include John Clearwater, *Canadian Nuclear Weapons: The Untold Story of Canada's Cold War Arsenal* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1998); John Clearwater, *U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999); Brian Buckley, *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance, and Character* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and, Erika Simpson, *NATO and the Bomb: Canadian Defenders Confront Critics* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

[37] Richard Goette, *Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental Air Defence, 1940-57,* Studies in Canadian Military History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018).

[38] Joseph T. Jockel and Queen's University (Kingston, Ont.), Centre for International Relations, *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History*, Queen's Policy Studies (Montreal: Published for Queen's Centre for International Relations & the Queen's Defence Management Program by McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007). See also Ann Denholm Crosby, *Dilemmas in Defence Decision-Making: Constructing Canada's Role in NORAD, 1958-96* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998) and David Cox and Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, *Canada and NORAD, 1958-1978: A Cautionary Retrospective,* Aurora Papers, 1 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, 1985).

means of defence during the Cold War, especially in Europe, much more should be known about the Air Division. However, when the RCAF's own record of preserving air force history is considered, the lack of scholarship is not all that surprising.

THE RCAF "STORY"

> Never was so much air history made; and never was so much tactical air history and so little strategical air history told. In our Air Force Staff Colleges in Canada, the U.S. and the U.K. we have by now collected, researched and analysed enough excellent material that we know a story vital to all of us is available for the publishing. […] There is a great need here; and a great service still to be done.[39]

The above quotation from Air Marshal Clare Annis acknowledged the disappointing state of RCAF history in the mid-1950s. At that time, the historiography of air force operations from the First and Second World Wars was extremely limited, especially when compared to that of the Army and Navy. The first volume of a semi-official, air war history, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years,* was published in 1944 but since no time had passed for an in-depth analysis; it is just a record of events that occurred between 1940 and 1943. In the Foreword to the book, Minister of National Defence for Air, Major The Honourable C.G. Power noted, "[T]he following pages are part of Canada's Epic of the Air. That Epic which, some day when the war has ended, will be written in complete detail without the restrictions of censorship, is an immortal story of initiative and courage, of sacrifice and undying devotion to duty."[40]

Recognition of the limitations placed on this historical writing was also noted in

---

[39] Clare Annis, "Dilemma of Air Power," Address delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal by Air Commodore Clare L. Annis, Re-printed in *Canadian Air Force Journal* 1, No. 3 (2008): 34. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00003.

[40] Canada, Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944), ix.

the Preface to the second volume in the series, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Fifth Year*, "…it is hoped that this book will be accepted as a token payment of the complete story which, of necessity, must be delayed until after the cessation of hostilities."[41] It went on to state how the book was not able to "include in the limits of this wartime publication the activities of the less glamorous partners in every air operation - the ground crew, without whom no sorties could have been carried out. For the moment at least their sacrifices and selfless labours in the common cause must go unsung."[42] The Preface to the third and final volume in the series, published in 1949, acknowledged that none of the books "record the work of that gallant band of women, the W.D.s, some of whom also gave their lives for their country, and all of whom lived and worked under the same conditions as their brothers-in-arms wherever they were."[43]

The Historical Section of the RCAF understood the limitations they faced while writing the series and planned to do more detailed analysis once the war ended. Squadron Leader Kenneth Conn, the Air Historian at the time, referred to the recently written works as "a series of interim reports in the form of semi-popular books."[44] However, with de-mobilization and lack of strong support for RCAF history, the unit was all but decimated by 1947.[45] After one of the historians was let go in September 1947, the duties of the

---

[41] Canada, Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Fifth Year* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1945), vii.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Canada, Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Sixth Year* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1949), v. *W.D. refers to the RCAF Women's Division. Women were not integrated into the Army, Navy or Air Force until the 1950s.
[44] Kenneth B. Conn, "The Royal Canadian Air Force Historical Section," *The Canadian Historical Review* 26, No. 3, (1945): 252. https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy.hil.unb.ca/article/624316/pdf.
[45] Hugh Halliday, "The Air Historian Part I," *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, No. 3 (2011): 39. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00014.

Historical Section fell to Wing Commander F.H. Hitchins and one clerk/typist.[46] Hitchins was eventually given a permanent position but with no financial or personnel support and worse, no direction. Hitchins wrote to the RAF Air Historical Board in March 1947 arguing that, "Canadians in general do not have any historical appreciation; the people of Britain have it in their blood, they grow up in the midst of history."[47]

Meanwhile, the Army Historical Section had more than 60 people working on the official history of the Canadian Army. According to W.A.B. Douglas, former Director of the Directorate of History,

> the intercession of a friendly academic community with sympathetic people in government - namely, and in particular, Professor George Brown of the University of Toronto and Mr. Lester Pearson of the Department of External Affairs - saved the army's historical programme from the financial axe during the retrenchment that the new Defence Minister, Brooke Claxton, had to impose on the post-war armed forces.[48]

This was fortunate for the Army as Colonel C. P. Stacey noted that, "Claxton said, and no doubt believed, that there would be no readers for books on World War II after 1947 or 1948."[49] The apathy of Claxton, and succeeding Chiefs of the Air Staff, continued for many years, while RCAF historiography stagnated.[50] Or, as Stacey put it, "RCAF history was shot down in flames, leaving a disgraceful gap in the national historiography."[51]

---

[46] Hugh Halliday, "The Air Historian Part II," *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, No. 4 (2011): 24. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00015.
[47] W.A.B. Douglas, "Filling Gaps in the Military Past: Recent Developments in Canadian Official History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 19, No. 3 (1984): 114. https://login.proxy.hil. unb.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/1300021065?accountid=14611.
[48] See Douglas, "Filling Gaps in the Military Past," 113 and C.P. Stacey, "The Life and Hard Times of an Official Historian," *Canadian Historical Review* 51 (March 1970): 30-31. https://doi.org/10.3138/CHR-051-01-03.
[49] Stacey, "The Life and Hard Times," 29.
[50] Halliday, "The Air Historian Part II," 30.
[51] Stacey, "The Life and Hard Times," 32.

Although a draft version of an official history covering the First World War was in the works in 1962, it wasn't until after the unification of the three armed services (Army, Navy and Air Force) began in 1965, and the subsequent creation of the Directorate of History, that support for the project enabled it to finally move forward. In the interim, a joint publication was produced for Canada's centennial entitled, *The Armed Forces of Canada, 1867-1967: A Century of Achievement*, edited by Lieutenant-Colonel D.J. Goodspeed.[52] The book included a section highlighting RCAF involvement in the 'atomic age' from 1945-1965. While not comprehensive, it provided basic details regarding the creation of No. 1 Air Division and its' support units.

The first volume in the official history series, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* by Syd Wise, was not published until 1980. Despite a number of problems, including a lack of sources and restricted access to RAF records, the decision was made to complete the book rather than face the "unsatisfactory alternative of relegating to oblivion the great deeds of Canada's first generation of airmen, many of which had been ignored in the British official history of the air war and in popular accounts."[53] It was followed in 1986 by Volume 2, *The Creation of a National Air Force* by W.A.B. Douglas and Volume 3, *The Crucible of War, 1939-1945* by Brereton Greenhous, et al. which came out in 1994.[54] According to Douglas, "[I]t became clear in early research for the

---

[52] D. J. Goodspeed, and Canada. Canadian Forces Headquarters. *The Armed Forces of Canada, 1867-1967: A Century of Achievement* (Ottawa: Directorate of History, Canadian Forces Headquarters, 1967).
[53] Douglas, "Filling Gaps in the Military Past," 113.
[54] 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) and Brereton Greenhous et al., *The Crucible of War, 1939-1945, The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force – Volume III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).*

second and third volumes that certain aspects of RCAF activities would get pretty short shrift in any volume of official history….”[55] A fourth volume, covering post-war demobilization, the Korean War, Canada’s role in North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) - which includes No. 1 Air Division, is now in progress.

This lack of support for historical matters within RCAF leadership, though somewhat surprising, was not indicative of interest in the general public as a number of popular histories were written about the RCAF. As 1959 marked the 50th anniversary of powered flight in Canada and the 35th anniversary of the RCAF, the RCAF Historical Section and the RCAF Association supported the release of the book, *There Shall Be Wings* by Leslie Roberts.[56] It provided a brief overview of operations from the first flight of the Silver Dart in 1909 to operations in Korea and the establishment of the Air Division. Another book that came out the same year dealt with flying in general. Specifically endorsed by the National Co-ordinating Council for the Golden Anniversary of Flight in Canada, *In Canadian Skies: 50 Years of Adventure and Progress* by Frank H. Ellis did not add much to RCAF historiography, but it is noteworthy for acknowledging that

> the R.C.A.F. is not by any means a man’s world. There are all kinds of responsible opportunities connected with its various branches, which are available to the women of the nation, who wish to enter the service. It is an interesting and remunerative life, filled with travel and adventure, which can form a fine future for any healthy Canadian boy or girl.[57]

---

[55] Douglas, “Filling Gaps in the Military Past,” 120.
[56] Leslie Roberts, *There Shall Be Wings: A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, Limited, 1959).
[57] Frank H. Ellis, *In Canadian Skies: 50 Years of Adventure and Progress* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), 219.

There was a proliferation of RCAF squadron histories produced in limited numbers in the 1970s and early 1980s. These were done to mark twenty-five years of active squadron service, however most of them were issued to squadron personnel only. The mass production of brief squadron histories was undertaken by The Hangar Bookshelf publishing company in the 1980s and though many have ties to the Air Division, they are not detailed enough to provide much background information.

Noted Canadian author and editor Larry Milberry has produced much of the popular history pertaining to the RCAF since first publishing *Aviation in Canada* in 1979.[58] Many of his works pertain to the Cold War and to the Air Division including *The Avro CF-100* (1981), *Sixty Years: The RCAF and CF Air Command 1924-1984* (1984), and *The Canadair Sabre* (1986).[59] All of these fine works provide detailed information on the specific aircraft, as well as descriptions of events that took place, interspersed with personal anecdotes and a significant number of photographs. The inclusion of written narratives from people who were there adds perspectives that are not accounted for in official histories. Milberry also co-authored a book on Canadair Ltd. detailing the history of the company that built the F-86 Sabre and CF-104 Starfighter aircraft for service in the Air Division.[60]

More recent monographs, theses, and dissertations have included various aspects

---

[58] Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).
[59] Larry Milberry, *The Avro CF-100* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1981); *Sixty Years: The RCAF and the CF Air Command 1924-1984* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1984); *The Canadair Sabre* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 1986). See also *The Canadair North Star* (Toronto, Canada: CANAV Books, 1982); *Canada's Air Force at War and Peace, Volume 3* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2000); and *Fighter Squadron: 441 Squadron From Hurricanes To Hornets* (Toronto: CANAV Books, 2004).
[60] Ronald Pickler and Larry Milberry, *Canadair: The First 50 Years* (Toronto: CANAV Books Ltd, 1995).

of the Air Division, although Ray Stouffer is the only one who deals specifically with it in *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers*. His book fills a major gap in Canada's Cold War historiography by discussing the air power choices made by senior RCAF leadership and how their experiences in the Second World War helped shape their way of thinking. He argues that "No. 1 Air Division meant much more to the RCAF than a collection of wings and jet fighters. The Air Division was an expression of nationalism."[61] He addresses several areas including the relationships between government and military leaders; the threat posed by the Soviet Union; the importance of air power to Canadian defence priorities; and, how the choices made by RCAF leadership enabled them "to operate as an independent national force within a multinational military alliance."[62]

Alexander Babcock's dissertation, "The Making of the Cold War Air Force: Planning and Professionalism in the Postwar Royal Canadian Air Force, 1944-1950," examines the reduction of personnel and equipment in 1945-46 after the Second World War ends, the rapid growth of the post-war RCAF, and it investigates how developing professionalism within the organization led to greater respect and enhanced relations between the government and the air force.[63] Babcock challenges the notion that the military was not involved in the creation of national defence policies by suggesting that the RCAF formulated their plans based on their own needs and "self-interest."[64]

---

[61] Ray Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF's Original 1 Canadian Air Division* (Ottawa, ON: Royal Canadian Air Force, 2015), 2.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Alexander A. Babcock, "The Making of the Cold War Air Force: Planning and Professionalism in the Postwar Royal Canadian Air Force, 1944-1950," (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Order No. NR47471, Carleton University (Canada), 2009). https://login.proxy.hil.unb.ca/login?url= https:// search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/304850178?accountid=14611.
[64] Ibid., 19.

Brian Wentzell believed this was a unique period in Canadian civil-military relations. In "The Rise and Fall in Civil-Military Relations in Canada, 1946-1960," he argues that,

> there existed in Ottawa a small group of internationally focussed politicians, senior civil and military leaders that skilfully guided the country through international events. Most were of similar age and background […]. They understood the opportunities for Canada in the world as well as the needs of Canadians at home. On military matters there was agreement on the strategic role for Canada and the resources to be committed. They acted as a team and conducted civil-military relations in a manner that has not been replicated.[65]

Wentzell provides a detailed analysis of how relations between military and government leaders reached their peak during the early years of the Air Division (1951-54) then tapered off as conflicts arose over the Avro Arrow project and Canadian use of nuclear weapons during the Diefenbaker years.

Meanwhile, Urs Obrist used his PhD dissertation to examine the relationship between Canada and West Germany. In "An Essential Endeavour: Canada and West Germany, 1946-1957," Obrist discusses how the relationship developed between the two former enemies and the role that the Army Brigade and the Air Division played in helping resolve war-time differences.[66] He contests that the air force contribution "was of at least equal if not higher significance in economic and military terms in comparison with the contribution of the brigade."[67]

---

[65] Brian K. Wentzell, "The Rise and Fall of Civil-Military Relations in Canada, 1946-1960" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Order No. MR23828, Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 2006). iv-v. https://login.proxy.hil. unb.ca/login?url=https:/search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/304923198?accountid=14611.

[66] Urs Obrist, "An Essential Endeavour: Canada and West Germany, 1946-1957" (Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Toronto, 2006). Library and Archives Canada = Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, 2009. https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/304929516/88A3C5F21DE14B5EPQ/1?accountid =14611

[67] Ibid., 19.

These studies were well complemented by the PhD thesis of Bertram Frandsen, "The Rise and Fall of Canada's Cold War Air Force, 1948-1968."[68] Frandsen looks at air power through a Canadian lens and details how the influences of Douhet and Mitchell, combined with RCAF experiences during the Second World War, led to a "Big Air Force concept" that saw unprecedented growth under Louis St. Laurent's government.[69] While these scholarly works relate to the RCAF in general, the Air Division is well represented.

Another important aspect of the early Cold War period was the aircraft procurement process. In *Cold War Fighters: Canadian Aircraft Procurement, 1945-54*, Randall Wakelam reveals how the RCAF obtained the F-86 Sabre from Canadair Ltd and the Canadian designed and built CF-100 Canuck from Avro.[70] Both aircraft were instrumental in the air defence role in Europe from 1951-1963. His work supports Babcock's argument as he found that "RCAF leaders had played a significant, often crucial, role in the formulation of defence policy and subsequent equipment decisions."[71] A similar study was done by Glen Berg in 1993, however in his MA thesis, "Scrambling for Dollars: Resource Allocation and the Politics of Canadian Fighter Aircraft Procurement 1943 – 1983," he covers a much greater period, ending with the purchase of the CF-18 Hornet.[72]

---

[68] Bertram C. Frandsen, "The Rise and Fall of Canada's Cold War Air Force, 1948-1968" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, 2015), *Theses and Dissertations* (Comprehensive), http://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/1754.
[69] Ibid, 5.
[70] Randall T. Wakelam, *Cold War Fighters: Canadian Aircraft Procurement, 1945-54*, Studies in Canadian Military History (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).
[71] Ibid., 17.
[72] Glen Berg, "Scrambling for Dollars: Resource Allocation and the Politics of Canadian Fighter Aircraft Procurement 1943 – 1983" *(*Unpublished MA Thesis, Order No. MM94207, Royal Military College of

Another area of deficiency in the historiography of the RCAF is the lack of biographies of its senior leaders. The biographies of Canadian politicians including Louis St. Laurent, Lester B. Pearson, John Diefenbaker and Brooke Claxton, who were all influential during the Air Division years, are of great value for understanding government policy and direction; however, it would be beneficial to have completed biographies of Air Marshals Wilf Curtis, C. Roy Slemon, Hugh Campbell and C.R. Dunlap to help clarify their roles and impact on the RCAF in general and the Air Division in particular.

When it comes to the history of women in the RCAF, the majority of what has been written deals with the Women's Division (WD) during the Second World War. This is not surprising as the WD was separate from the RCAF and there were many more women who served during the war than were recruited into the early post-war RCAF. Unfortunately, as with most other RCAF history, the writings consist mainly of individual accounts, popular histories, and a small number of theses and dissertations. One of the first, and better known works, is *We Serve That Men May Fly*.[73] It was written by Mary Ziegler in 1973 on behalf of the Hamilton, Ontario branch of the W.D. Association. In her Foreword, she noted that

> virtually nothing had been written about W.D.'s and that a vast amount of research would be necessary to uncover original sources. […] Finally, it was agreed that an account should be written with such material as was at hand and could be supplied by the ex-airwomen themselves. […] The result is a picture of the R.C.A.F. (W.D.) which stresses its daily life rather than the official aspect of the organization.[74]

Canada (Canada), 1994). See also Bruce P. Barnes, "'Fighters First': The Transition of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1945 – 1952" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Order No. MR64539, Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 2007).

[73] Ziegler, Mary. *We Serve That Men May Fly*, 2d ed., R.C.A.F. (W.D.) Association (Hamilton, Ont.: J.H. French & Co. Ltd.,1974).

[74] Ibid., Foreword.

A more scholarly account was completed by Glad Bryce in 2010. *First In, Last Out: The RCAF, Women's Division and Nursing Sisters in World War II* details the formation of the WD, recruiting, training, overseas operations, and then disbandment, as the war ended and women were no longer required.[75] Based on more than 100 interviews she did with women who served, she argues that "[O]ne aspect of Air Force history that cannot be stressed enough is the part that WDs played in keeping the planes flying and the airmen able to fly."[76]

Props on Her Sleeve: The Wartime Letters of a Canadian Airwoman by Mary Hawkins Buch and Carolyn Gossage, details Buch's experiences from basic training until the end of the war.[77] While not an academic examination of service in the WD, it provides insight into what one woman thought and felt about wartime service. While Buch did not serve in the post-war RCAF, some of her experiences in basic and initial training may be similar to those of women who served during the Cold War. Another personal account can be found in *To Spread Their Wings: on the 50th Anniversary of the RCAF (WD) 1941-1991*.[78] In the book, Sara E. Johnson, an RCAF photographer in the war, describes her experiences.

---

[75] Glad Bryce, *First In, Last Out: The RCAF, Women's Division and Nursing Sisters in World War II*, University Women's Club of Toronto, (Kitchener: Cober Printing Limited, 2010).
[76] Ibid., 19.
[77] Mary Hawkins Buch and Carolyn Gossage, *Props on Her Sleeve: The Wartime Letters of a Canadian Airwoman* (Toronto Ont.: Dundurn Press, 1997).
[78] Sara E. Johnson, *To Spread Their Wings: on the 50th Anniversary of the RCAF (WD) 1941-1991* (Spruce Grove, AB.: Saraband Publisher, 1990). The following books provide more information on women in all three military services (Army, Navy and RCAF): Carolyn Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War (1939-1945)* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991); Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood,* The Canadian Social History Series

Scholarship directly related to women in the post-war RCAF is found in two MA theses. "'With their Feet on the Ground": Women's Lives and Work in the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1951-1966," by Patricia Power, does not deal specifically with women in the Air Division, however its focus on why women chose not to enlist or why women left the RCAF in the early Cold War period helps fill another gap in the historiography.[79] Regarding the latter, Power argues that "many airwomen were engaging in behaviour that did not necessarily conform to the RCAF's ideal."[80] These behaviours included drinking alcohol, fraternizing with officers, and having homosexual or extra-marital affairs. Despite RCAF efforts to "control the women's behaviour through courses, lectures and recreational activities," many women left the RCAF because of their lifestyle choices or for "social reasons, including children and marriage."[81] Nancy Power Shiner's, ""In the Best Interest of the Service:" RCAF Flight Nurses as the "New Woman", 1945-1959," argues that flight nurses were "harbingers" of change based on their non-traditional roles that allowed them to be more independent and work more closely with men than other nurses, or women in general.[82]

(Toronto, Ont.: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); and, Ruth Roach Pierson,, National Film Board of Canada, National Museums of Canada, and National Museum of Man (Canada), *Canadian Women and the Second World War: Les Canadiennes Et La Seconde Guerre Mondiale*. Canada's Visual History, Vol. 66 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1984).

[79] Power, Patricia A. "'With Their Feet on the Ground": Women's Lives and Work in the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1951-1966" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1998). UMI. https://ruor.uottawa.ca/ bitstream/10393/4173/1/MQ36734.PDF

[80] Ibid., Abstract. Power states that the RCAF expected women to have good manners and "adhere to the strict standards which Canadian society had set for them." Ibid., 54.

[81] Ibid., Abstract.

[82] Nancy Power Shiner, ""In the Best Interest of the Service": RCAF Flight Nurses as the "New Woman", 1945-1959" (Unpublished MA Thesis, *Masters Abstracts International* 37 (04): 1109, 1998). http://search.ebscohost.com. proxy.hil.unb.ca/ login.aspx? direct=true&db=fyh&AN=MRB-WRI0279840&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Although directly related to RCAF women in the Cold War, *50 Years: RCAF Airwomen, 1951-2001,* produced by the Airwomen's Association for their reunion in 2001, is an informal, non-scholarly work.[83] It captures personal anecdotes and photographs and provides some basic information regarding Cold War trades and operations, however its' value is extremely limited. Vi Dudley-Mathiesen details her RCAF experiences in *Sweet 'N' Sour - My Nine Years in the Wartime and Peacetime Royal Canadian Air Force*.[84] It is one of the rare accounts of women who served in both the WD and the RCAF after it opened to women in the early 1950s.

In *A History of Women in the Canadian Military*, Barbara Dundas explores the full range of women's experiences since the latter half of the nineteenth century.[85] Though an official history, its broad scope prevents it from giving a thorough account of women in the RCAF. By reducing the timeline in her dissertation, "Women Inside the Canadian Military, 1938-1966," Sarah Hogenbirk provides information regarding women's service after the war, however the RCAF story is again limited.[86] Hogenbirk argues that women helped create a "female military service;" that some women had military career aspirations as opposed to just serving in wartime; and, that some women maintained long-term connections with the military.[87] She believes historians have

---

[83] Airwomen's Association, *50 Years: RCAF Airwomen, 1951-2001* (Kingston, NS: T & S Office Essentials and Printing, 2001).
[84] Vi Dudley-Mathiesen and Chris Buffett, *Sweet 'N' Sour - My Nine Years in the Wartime and Peacetime Royal Canadian Air Force* (Sidney, B.C: Family Compact, 1985).
[85]Barbara Dundas, and Canada Department of National Defence, *A History of Women in the Canadian Military*, (Montréal: Art global and Dept. of National Defense in co-operation with de Dept. of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000).
[86]Sarah Hogenbirk, "Women Inside the Canadian Military, 1938-1966" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 2017). https://curve.carleton.ca/70a52935-02dc-4a82-b7e6-b82511d846c9.
[87] Ibid., 2.

overlooked these women as "important repositories of military knowledge."[88]

The RCAF story is far from completed. The wartime historical deficiencies noted in *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Sixth Year* have still not been fully rectified while the subsequent 79 years of air force history wait to be recorded. "Canada's Epic of the Air," describing the "immortal story of initiative and courage, of sacrifice and undying devotion to duty" that C.G. Power longed for, has only been partially accounted for. The gaps are wide which means there are many opportunities for future scholars. As will be seen in the next section, one of these large gaps deals with RCAF spouses and families.

FAMILIES

Stacey Douglas' MA thesis, "Building Base Home: The Department of National Defence and Military Families, 1945–1965," is particularly relevant to the Air Division as it discusses the need to build married quarters and recreation facilities for families. Douglas argues that the government did this to help keep experienced soldiers in the military and to provide more stability on what were often isolated bases. However, there was an expectation that women would fill the traditional role of wife and mother.[89] A related, and often cited, publication is *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* by Elaine Tyler May.[90] May argues that "in the early years of the cold war, amid a world of uncertainties brought about by World War II and its aftermath, the home seemed to offer a secure private nest removed from the dangers of the outside world."[91]

---

[88] Ibid.
[89] Douglas, "Building Base Home," 3.
[90] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era,* Rev. and updated (New York: Basic Books, 1999).
[91] Ibid., 3.

In his PhD dissertation, "Growing Up in Postwar Suburbia: Childhood, Children and Adolescents in Canada, 1950-1970," James Onusko suggests that children shared many similar experiences whether they grew up in Calgary or in other suburbs across the country, although these experiences could differ even within the same household.[92] This raises the question of how experiences may have differed for children growing up in the Air Division. Eli M. Bower discusses deployed children specifically in his article, *American Children and Families in Overseas Communities*.[93] His research indicates that the mental health needs of "children with beginning or chronic emotional difficulties and for families which cannot mediate positively the stresses of life overseas"[94] were not being met. Whether or not Canadian children and families suffered from the same issues is yet to be determined.

Only one popular account written by the wife of a long-serving RCAF member has been located. *We're Moving Where? The Life of a Military Wife* by Jeannette (Shetler) Russell adds an RCAF perspective to the other military wives' books, but it does not come close to capturing the myriad of experiences or locations where RCAF spouses and families found themselves during the Cold War.[95] Russell acknowledges that her family did not share the same degree of hardships as many other military families

---

[92] James A. Onusko, "Growing Up in Postwar Suburbia: Childhood, Children and Adolescents in Canada, 1950-1970" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Order No. 3643291, Trent University (Canada), 2014). https://login.proxy.hil. unb.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/ 1635102053? accountid=14611.
[93] Eli M. Bower, "American Children and Families in Overseas Communities," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 37, No. 4: 787–96. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1967.tb00521.x
[94] Ibid., 795.
[95] Jeannette (Shetler) Russell, *We're Moving Where? The Life of a Military Wife* (Renfrew, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 2003). See Dianne Collier, *Hurry Up and Wait: An Inside Look at Life as a Canadian Military Wife* (Carp, ON: Creative Bound, l994).

due to her husband's rank and trade but her account is still worthwhile reading.

Deborah Harrison and Lucie Laliberte, both military wives themselves, interviewed 150 other wives for *No Life Like It: Military Wives in Canada*.[96] Their ground-breaking, academic research provides insights into what it was like for spouses in military families and examines how they were controlled by the military. They used an ethnographic approach as they believed it was appropriate when looking at "a group of women of whom considerable unpaid work is expected but who have almost no control over how often they see their husbands, how long they live in one place, what kinds of jobs they have, how long their friendships last, how many disruptions their children experience, whether their accounts of battering are believed, or whether they will have enough money to live on after their working lives end."[97]

Historian Isabel Campbell interviewed the wife and daughter of an RCAF non-commissioned member for her article, *"*Exemplary Canadians? How Two Canadian Women Remember Their Roles in a Cold War."[98] The article looks at gender roles and hierarchy in a Cold War family, revealing that there were times when the women conformed to the societal norms Douglas alluded to, but there were also instances when they challenged them.[99]

The most relevant information to be found relating to family life in the Air

---

[96] Deborah Harrison and Lucie Laliberte, *No Life Like It: Military Wives in Canada* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1994).
[97] Ibid., 7.
[98] Isabel Campbell, "Exemplary Canadians? How Two Canadian Women Remember Their Roles in a Cold War," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 27, No. 1 (2016). www.erudit.org/en/journals/jcha/2016-v27-n1-jcha03132/1040525ar/.
[99] Ibid., 89.

Division can be found through British and American scholarship. In *Relocation, Gender and Emotion: A Psycho-Social Perspective on the Experiences of Military Wives,* Sue Jervis looks at the psycho-social aspects of married military life and how these aspects affected wives who travelled to foreign postings with their service spouses.[100] She argues that relocation has a major impact on wives as "it involves loss; arousing grief and disrupting the inner world," however "their collusive identification with military stoicism means that those losses are often denied."[101] Although it refers to British wives, the challenges faced by Canadian spouses would have been similar. The loss and grief must have been much worse after a husband or child died and had to be left behind.

Donna Alvah, herself a member of a military family, describes the roles of military spouses and, to a lesser extent, families when deployed with service personnel to postings overseas in *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965.*[102] Alvah posits that the American government believed military families were "crucial cultural and ideological weapons" against communism.[103] It was therefore expected that they would be a good example of what families were like in the US so they could "gently persuade people around the world of the superiority of American life and institutions, in contrast to life as imagined under Soviet rule."[104]

---

[100] Sue Jervis, *Relocation, Gender and Emotion: A Psycho-Social Perspective on the Experiences of Military Wives* (London: Karnac Books, 2011).
[101] Ibid.,15.
[102] Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965* (New York: New York University Press, 2007). See also Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and Maria H. Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill (N.C.): University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
[103] Donna Alvah, "American Military Families Overseas and Early Cold War Foreign Relations," *MINERVA: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* XVIII, No. 1 (2000): 23.
[104] Ibid., 24.

Campbell points out that it was similar for Canadians as "the brigade, its dependants, and the civilians serving with it became unofficial representatives of Canada."[105] Although she limited her analysis to the Army brigade, RCAF members and their families also represented Canada, especially within the local English, French, and German communities in which they lived.

While RCAF casualties from aircraft crashes and other incidents were to be expected, the large number of infant deaths is troubling and raises several questions about who these children were, why they died, and, how families coped with their tragic loss. With the Air Division based in West Germany and France throughout the 1950s and 1960s, there is no doubt that the infamous drug, *thalidomide*, played a role in the significant number of infant fatalities. However, this link has never been investigated. Frauke Brammer, who conducted interviews with several Canadian military spouses who lived in Europe during the Cold War as part of her unfinished PhD research, made a disturbing finding. Brammer said that most of the women she spoke with believed "babies died because mothers were drinking too much because [sic] there were so many parties/TGIFs going on."[106] While drinking was prevalent in the Air Division, it seems highly unlikely that this was the main reason for the significant number of infant deaths. More importantly, it means women may have been blaming themselves (or were blamed) for years for something they might not have been responsible for.

An article in the June 11, 1987, edition of *The Globe and Mail* describes how

---

[105] Campbell, *Unlikely Diplomats*, 121.
[106] TGIF (Thank God It's Friday) parties often took place at military Messes (clubs) on Friday afternoons. Frauke Brammer, LinkedIn message to author, April 4, 2020.

Clifford Chadderton, Chief Executive Officer of the War Amps of Canada, reported visiting the Army Brigade in 1960 after "the birth of 15 severely deformed children to the wives of Canadian servicemen stationed in West Germany in the late fifties…."[107] Chadderton believed he had given sufficient detail to the army for them to raise the alarm in Canada about the children but "you were dealing with soldiers' wives whom the army wanted to know nothing about."[108] In a follow up article, Chadderton clarified that he told army leadership in Germany about his findings regarding thalidomide but he did not report them to Army commanders back in Canada.[109] The article also reported that the deformed children were handed over to the Germans, "who had experience with thalidomide cases," and most of them were adopted. The article never mentions how many soldiers' children had died due to thalidomide or how many deformed children may have been born to families in the Air Division. According to *Globe and Mail* reporter Andre Picard, while most people relate thalidomide to the severely disabled children who lived, almost four times as many died.[110]

FEAR

> Indeed, there is fairly general agreement that armed force has now reached a degree of destructiveness so fearful that its main purpose is not for actual use but for the creation of a climate of opinion based on a great fear. […] There is no second chance. You can't lose a nuclear war, you can't win it, you can only leave as its memorial a civilization destroyed.[111]

---

[107] "No Thalidomide Alert," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jun 11, 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[108] Ibid.
[109] "Army Not Blamed for Failing to Probe Thalidomide Cases," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Sep 22, 1987, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[110] Ibid. It is estimated that there were 20,000 disabled children born and 80,000 that died worldwide due to thalidomide.
[111] Stephen King-Hall, "The Alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-Violent Resistance (Lecture)," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 103 (1958): 10, Periodicals Archive Online.

Fear was an underlying element of the Cold War; it was pervasive and it affected everyone. In "American Fears and Mindsets of the Early Cold War," Ryan Thomas suggests that although there were numerous fears and superstitions in the US regarding the Soviet Union, "none was more clouding for the lens of American foreign policy than that of the belief that the USSR was omnipotent master of all of international communism, with control and influence over every Communist movement, orchestrating a macabre plot for world domination."[112] Political leaders in Canada were also afraid of the spread of Communist ideology and this fear led them to spy on labour groups, churches, and other organizations.

The military was afraid of the Soviet Union's huge conventional (and later, nuclear) arsenal which eventually led to the purchase of nuclear-capable aircraft. For some Canadian families, the fear of nuclear war inspired them to build bomb shelters and stock up on non-perishable goods. Surprisingly, that same fear did not seem to affect RCAF families, especially those who were most at risk in the Air Division.

Several articles related to fear can be found in Canadian media throughout the Cold War. In his 1949 *Globe and Mail* article, "War Scare Slackens, Claxton Tells House," Frank Flaherty quoted Minister of Defence Brooke Claxton, who said, "[A]ny war would be a world war involving all western peoples who would be fighting for their survival as nations and their freedom as men."[113] In his 1950 article, "Why We Are

---

[112] Ryan Thomas, "American Fears and Mindsets of the Early Cold War," Owlcation, October 12, 2017. https://owlcation.com/humanities/American-Fears-and-Mindsets-of-the-Early-Cold-War. USSR was the short title for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, often referred to as the Soviet Union.
[113] Frank Flaherty, "War Scare Slackens, Claxton Tells House," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Nov 12, 1949, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Losing the Cold War," Bruce Hutchison argues that the Cold War was about *ideas* and that "it is in the realm of ideas, not in the realm of military power or economics, that we are in peril, for if we were winning the war of ideas the military and economic problems would solve themselves." [114]

As tensions rose between the US and the Soviet Union, articles began looking at how American aggressiveness may have been exacerbating the issue. In the March 29, 1958, *Maclean's* article, "For the Sake of Argument: We Must Come to Terms with Russia - Or Perish," Cyrus Eaton tries to convince Canadians that the stalemate between the USA and the Soviet Union wouldn't last. [115] He posited that western nations needed to make peace with Russia as the "present American course of provocation, insult and threat can lead only to one terrible outcome: the final world war."[116]

Ian Sclanders', "Is the U. S. Talking Itself into Hot War?", compares the differences in attitudes between Canadians and Americans regarding the probability of nuclear war. [117] He suggests that Canadians didn't seriously believe a war would occur while Americans were proposing mandatory bomb shelters and the right to attack first, based on fears from "newspapers that churn American emotions with scare headlines and TV and radio commentators who always sound as shrill and excited as they would be if

---

[114] Bruce Hutchison, "Why We Are Losing the Cold War," *Maclean's*, Apr 15, 1950, Periodicals Archive Online.
[115] Cyrus Eaton, "For the Sake of Argument: We Must Come to Terms With Russia - Or Perish," *Maclean's*, Mar 29, 1958, Periodicals Archive Online.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ian Sclanders, "Is the U. S. Talking Itself Into Hot War?," *Maclean's*, Jul 30, 1960, Periodicals Archive Online.

the Martians had landed."[118] Sclanders concluded that "[T]he atmosphere in the U.S. in 1960 is far more highly charged with worry and tension than the atmosphere in Canada, and to Americans, the cold war is a real war, not a picturesque label for an inferior and perhaps temporary peace."[119]

Such anxiety has become the subject of recent scholarly attention. Jennifer Lynn Hunter explored the topic of fear in the Cold War in her PhD dissertation, ""Is it Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?" Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945-1963."[120] Her findings echoed the position of Sclanders that Canadians were mostly apathetic when it came to the possibility of another war, even one that threatened nuclear annihilation. Not even government pressure to build shelters or, at a minimum, prepare for an evacuation, could spur them to action.[121]

That same apathy didn't necessarily pertain to children though as Sidney Katz pointed out in his article, "How Nuclear Fears Affect Children."[122] He indicates that numerous studies were undertaken in Canada and the US and though fear and anxiety were greater in American children, Canadian children were still affected. In addition to fearing their own death in a nuclear war, children were just as scared of losing their

---

[118] Ibid. Nelson Rockefeller, the Governor of New York proposed the mandatory bomb shelters and the commander of the US Strategic Air Command, General Thomas Power, believed you needed to be capable of starting a war in order to be able to prevent one.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Jennifer Lynn Hunter, ""Is it Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?": Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945–1963" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Order No. NR12861, McGill University (Canada), 2005). https://login.proxy. hil.unb.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/305372904?accountid=14611.
[121] Ibid., 316-317.
[122] Sidney Katz, "HOW NUCLEAR FEARS AFFECT CHILDREN," *Maclean's*, Jun 15, 1963, Periodicals Archive Online.

families and friends.[123] Katz states that "the imminent danger of nuclear war is not a "child care" problem: it is a world problem of unprecedented seriousness and complexity" and that it is up to parents to resolve.[124] Most pertinent to this essay is that by "the end of the 1950s, 60 percent of American children reported having nightmares about nuclear war."[125] This is another area that needs to be explored as two full generations of Canadians grew up in the shadow of "the bomb".

CONCLUSION

The state of RCAF historiography in Canada has improved over the past forty years but the number of gaps remaining is staggering. Only one monograph has been published that deals solely with No. 1 Air Division, though it will probably not be seen by many outside academia or the RCAF. The same thing applies to the dissertations and theses that have examined RCAF activities in the Cold War, including aircraft procurement; civil-military relations; government policy; and the rapid growth of the RCAF during the 1950s. Fortunately, the completion of Volume 4 of the official history of the RCAF will go a long way to rectifying this issue.

The situation is comparable regarding the experiences of the spouses and families of RCAF members that spent significant parts of their lives in Europe during the Cold War. Despite it being peacetime, many RCAF families were forced to endure suffering

---

[123] Ibid., 23. See also Shirley Radice, "A Study of Children's Conceptions of Nuclear War and Peace" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Order No. EP10994, Kean University, 1963). https://login.proxy.hil.unb.ca/login? url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/docview/302133333?accountid=14611.
[124] Ibid., 40.
[125] Stephanie Buck, "Fear of nuclear annihilation scarred children growing up in the Cold War, studies later showed," Timeline, August 29, 2017. https://timeline.com/nuclear-war-child-psychology-d1ff491b5fe0 https://timeline.com/nuclear-war-child-psychology-d1ff491b5fe0.

unlike that of other Canadian families. They not only saw a large number of husbands/fathers killed and an even greater number of children die, but they also had to abandon their loved ones in foreign cemeteries when they returned to Canada. This isn't just a shortcoming of the RCAF, military or Cold War record. It is an area of Canadian history that impacted many lives and needs to be told.

This thesis will examine the experiences of the Canadian men, women and children who lived at various RCAF locations in Europe during the Cold War. Though it won't provide a complete record of activities in the Air Division, it will start to bridge the gap. In the end, the goal is to provide "a deeper knowledge and appreciation of our airmen's way of life, their duties, their intrepid heroism and their steadfast honour," and to show how women and families were integral to their success.[126] RCAF history is something all Canadians can be proud of, but they need to be made aware of it first.

[126] Canada, Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years,* ix.

CHAPTER 2 - A MONUMENTAL TASK: CREATING NO. 1 AIR DIVISION (1946-1951)

The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) played a significant role in the air defence of Europe as part of Canada's commitment to the newly established North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) during the Cold War. Establishing an Air Division on foreign soil was a massive undertaking for a country that had significantly downsized its' military after the Second World War. Leaders at all levels worked through the problem of how to organize and employ Canadian and NATO air forces to defend against the emerging Soviet threat at the dawn of a new jet and nuclear age. New aircraft and infrastructure were needed, and post-war administrative policies had to be amended in order to improve RCAF recruiting efforts. Getting aircraft and personnel moved to Europe was another one of the many challenges, which became an even larger issue in 1953 when families were allowed to accompany serving members to their new homes in England, France, and Germany.

This chapter builds the context around the creation of Canada's first peacetime overseas air force by integrating published works on early Cold War history with contemporary media, including military professional journals. It will briefly explore Canada's ideas of air power at the start of the Cold War and introduce how the RCAF went from a severely depleted force equipped with mostly obsolete aircraft to become one of the largest and most capable air forces in the world. It will also review Canada's involvement in the formation of NATO, the role Korea played in the establishment of the Air Division, and the frantic push to obtain the personnel and equipment needed to fulfill Canada's commitment to the defence of Western Europe.

In *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF's Original 1 Canadian Air Division*, Ray Stouffer explains how many RCAF leaders ascribed to the theories of Giulio Douhet and Lord Trenchard as most of the doctrine between the wars was obtained from the Royal Air Force (RAF).[127] Airpower offered the Canadian government a means of investing dollars and technology in the collective defence of the North Atlantic alliance instead of massed land armies. Stouffer argues that "[I]f there is no evidence that (Prime Minister Mackenzie) King read the works of strategic bombing advocates like Giulio Douhet, Billy Mitchell and Hugh Trenchard, he embraced any military concept whose understood lethality deterred war, or, if war did occur, could bring it to a quick conclusion and avoid the human carnage of the previous world war."[128] In the late 1940s, newly elected Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent shared King's belief in deterrence as the government tried to avoid deploying any troops to Europe in support of NATO, preferring to provide arms and equipment instead.[129]

Unlike First Canadian Army's 1939-45 war, RCAF units were integrated into the RAF. This meant that RCAF leaders had little control over the employment of forces and were not given command positions where they could gain valuable strategic and operational level planning experience.[130] This issue had been recognized during the war as Air Marshal H. Edwards wrote that, "we are not building up a supply of prospective leaders to take command of squadrons and we must submit to the judgement of the

---

[127] Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers*, 8.
[128] Ibid., *9.*
[129] Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada, Volume 4 – Growing Up Allied*, 190.
[130] Stouffer, *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers*, 23.

R.A.F. who make comparisons between our personnel and their better men of longer experience."[131] In his opinion, "[I]t is essential that a large number of potential squadron commanders in the rank of Squadron Leader and Wing Commander be posted overseas to gain experience and be available to take command when new squadrons formed."[132] While the push for the "Canadianization" of RCAF units led to the formation of a number of fighter and transport squadrons, participation in higher levels of Command was only addressed later in the war by forming RCAF bomber squadrons into No. 6 Group.

The lack of wartime command and staff experience in the RCAF was noticeable, especially in the early Cold War years. Former RCAF officer John Gellner, a veteran himself, believed that "[T]his lack of operational command experience in the highest echelons of the RCAF made itself felt in the first two decades after the war when it came to maintaining Canadian air power in time of peace."[133] While the RCAF could perform administrative and technical tasks very efficiently, it "was less successful in the determination of its operational tasks." Having no real experience "with strategy and major tactics, they clearly found it all too easy to go along with concepts worked out abroad, mainly in the U.S."[134] According to Douglas Bland, "[T]he willing subordination of Canadian commanders to British, and later American, direction was the result of the immaturity of Canada's military establishment and the lack of a coherent, unified military

---

[131] DND, DHH, 181.009 (D774) in 181.009 (D 747 – D774 Box 34), Air Marshal H. Edwards, Message to Chief of Air Staff, S.2-1-2, 22/01/1943, 2.
[132] Ibid.
[133] John Gellner, "Canadian Air Power – at the beginning of a new era", *Canadian Aviation* 41, No. 2 (1968): 14.
[134] Ibid.

structure at home and in England."[135]

Annis acknowledged the challenges of developing an air force into "a fully organized and integrated whole which is efficient at all levels" and suggested it could take up to twenty five years to reach that stage.[136] The experience gained through the war did have an impact though as Annis believed that air forces were finally, by the early 1950s, finding suitable candidates for senior command positions from within their own organizations.[137] This was a timely development "in view of the extent to which air power dominates the military scene in this age – an age in which, be it remembered, our civilization and our way of life are greatly threatened."[138] Overall though, the 1950s was a time where Canada offered up its air forces to NATO for others to command.

In 1956, retired Lieutenant-General Guy Simonds did not agree with the emphasis placed on the RCAF build up, stating that "[T]he incessant propaganda of air forces and a massive and powerful aircraft industry are leading the public and political leaders along dangerous strategic paths."[139] He believed that, due to the coming proliferation of thermonuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles, "[T]he existing imbalance as between the power of the offensive and the weakness of the defensive in aerial warfare cannot be corrected by continuing evolutionary development of the winged manned fighter."[140]

---

[135] Douglas L. Bland, *Chiefs of Defence: Government and the Unified Command of the Canadian Armed Forces* (Toronto: Brown Book Company Limited, 1995), 42.
[136] Annis, "The Party Line: Organizational Trends in Air Power," 5.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Lt-Gen Guy Simonds, "We're wasting millions on an obsolete air force," *Maclean's*, August 4, 1956, https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19560804/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Maclean%27s#p16.
[140] Ibid., 39.

POST-WAR REDUCTIONS AND COLD WAR BUILD-UP

Air power would eventually become the top priority for the Canadian government in the Cold War, but at the end of the Second World War, Canada substantially reduced its forces and looked forward to a more peaceful world. The hopes of a long-lasting peace were quickly dashed though, due to the aggressive actions of the Soviet Union. Former Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal Robert Leckie, summed it up by saying, "[T]his nightmare has taken every one [sic] by surprise."[141] Some disagreed with Leckie's observation though as an editorial in a November 1948 edition of the *Globe and Mail* opined that "Peace, ever since the surrender of Germany in 1945, has been at best a tenuous thing. How on earth any right-thinking person could contemplate the soulless depredations of Soviet Russia which began even before the war ended, and arrive at the conclusion that there would be a century of peace, is incomprehensible."[142]

As early as 1946, articles began to appear in Canadian newspapers, highlighting the need for a peacetime air force. In "Air Power Canada's Weapon," a *Globe and Mail* editorial discussed the proposed manning of the Army and Navy but stated that "the adequacy of either will at no time depend primarily on their respective strengths, however great. This will be determined by their effectiveness as supporting power for what must be our main defensive, as well as our major offensive, weapon – air power."[143] The article goes on to address the buildup of the RCAF prior to the war and argues that,

---

[141] "RCAF 'Pitifully Small'; Wartime Chief Takes Unpreparedness Blame," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Nov 15, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[142] "It's Getting very Late," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Nov 19, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[143] "Air Power Canada's Weapon," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jan 30, 1946, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"Canada's position geographically, financially and physically, dictates even more rigidly now than it did then that we concentrate our defense on air power. Quite apart from the demonstrated supremacy of this weapon in war, quite apart from its direct relationship with the exploitation of atomic energy, it is the only proved weapon we can afford on an effective scale.[144]

Building the peacetime air force proved challenging in the immediate post-war years when the lure of better paying civilian jobs and the lack of aircraft in Canada generated little interest. RCAF leaders were surprised when their advertising campaign to recruit new aircrew barely attracted enough qualified applicants to meet basic quotas. The new peacetime six-year short service contract, designed for single men between 18 and 24 who had completed their senior matriculation, paid $143.00/ month (plus an additional $30.00/month when undergoing flight training) and offered little incentive.[145] Air Marshal Leckie acknowledged his role in the continued sad state of the RCAF in 1948 stating, "[I]f there is any blame that the air force is pitifully small, I will take it."[146] Nonetheless, as Cold War tensions grew in the late 1940s, plans for the future RCAF got underway. Those plans would evolve significantly and take several years to complete.[147]

As Western nations, especially those in Europe, recovered from the heavy costs incurred during the war, getting support for defence expenditures was not easy. In the

---

[144] Ibid.
[145] "Canadian Youths Shun Training Under RCAF Plan," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Aug 04, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[146] "Air Power Canada's Weapon."
[147] See Babcock, "The Making of a Cold War Air Force," and Frandsen, "The Rise and Fall of Canada's Cold War Air Force."

1970s, General E.L.M. Burns reflected that, "…to be effective in war tomorrow forces must be in a state of immediate readiness. Nations can no longer plan to bring their defence forces into action by mobilizing over a period of days or weeks (months or years for Canada and the United States in World War I and II). There will not be time to enlist men, create divisions, train air forces and naval units and bring them into effective use in a war."[148] This concept was just as valid in 1950 as the nuclear threat limited reaction time for all nations. It became even more pronounced for Canada and the U.S. later on with the proliferation of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). The use of Reserve or militia forces was expected to be of significant value but as Burns saw it, "[I]f it ever comes to a clash (God forbid) only forces in being will be effective. And equally, only forces in being can be a deterrent to any possible enemy from initiating an attack."[149]

THE FORMATION OF NATO

Though he did not believe a war was imminent, Leckie posited that "[F]ear of reprisals is the only thing that's holding the Russians back. Thank God we have the atomic bomb."[150] The threat from the Soviet Union led Canada to promote the idea of an alliance between Western democratic countries in order to deter further Soviet aggression; to try and prevent a future war; and, to share in the costs of defence. After months of meetings and negotiations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed with Canada, Belgium, France, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Britain, Norway,

---

[148] E. L. M. Burns, *Defence in the Nuclear Age: An Introduction for Canadians* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1976), 30.
[149] Ibid.
[150] "Air Power Canada's Weapon."

Portugal, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United States as founding members.[151] As part of the agreement, each member nation agreed to provide forces for the defence of Western Europe. Before the signing of the NATO agreement on May 3, 1949, Minister of External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, stated that,

> *[A]ir power will be the major contribution by this country* to the Integrated Force of the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe… in conformity with the view that *this is a medium in which Canadian experience and capacity can most effectively be employed*. They (the RCAF forces allocated to the Integrated Force) will be organized into an air division which is the air force formation normally adequate to provide air support for an army of four or more front-line divisions…[152]

The idea of positioning RCAF units in Europe in peacetime followed an American lead. On December 3, 1948, representatives of the US Air Force based in Europe met with "the newly created Air Forces Western Europe, which represents the combined air power of the five Brussels treaty powers – Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg."[153] Short term plans for these forces "would entail immediate combined use in case of an emergency of the United States, British and French air forces in occupied Germany, the three squadrons of United States long-range B-29 bombers based in Britain, plus the incipient Western European Air Force."[154]

Later on, the 1964 *Canadian White Paper on Defence* clarified the collective defence aim and explained that "NATO was necessary because there was a direct threat to the security of Europe which could not be met by United Nations or national means

---

[151] For a thorough review of the formation of NATO and Canada's role in it, see Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Growing Up Allied*.
[152] A.R. Durston, "The Party Line: Organization of the R.C.A.F.," *The Roundel.* 5, No. 9 (1953): 21. *Author's emphasis in italics.
[153] Benjamin Welles, "U.S. Officially Contacts W. Europe Air Forces; Role for Canada Later," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.)*;* Dec 4, 1948, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[154] Ibid.

alone. As befitted her relatively strong post-war position, Canada played a prominent part in the formation of the Alliance."[155] Some argued that Canada did not have a foreign policy but according to Thomas Keating and Larry Pratt, “Canada had a vital interest in preventing another war in Europe and she was therefore driven – in spite of Mackenzie King’s frettings – into supporting guarantees and other measures that would help restore confidence and a balance of power in Western Europe. […] Canadian interests, not sentiment, lay behind the decision to support an alliance of North Atlantic states.”[156]

One of the major concerns about the new organization was whether it would be properly supported. In an article in the *RUSI Journal*, it was suggested that “Leagues, Unions, Pacts or Treaties are no guarantees for peace unless they are backed, not merely by paper plans for defence, but also by real readiness for war. If the Western Union Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty are to be true bulwarks of peace, the nations which have subscribed to them must give their military leaders the authority and the means to make their fighting Services an effective deterrent to any aggressor; there must be no relying on the “other fellow” to make good our own deficiencies or defaults.”[157]

According to the 1964 *White Paper on Defence*, when Canada’s armed forces were re-established after the war, "it was recognized that Canada could not return to its pre-war attitude to defence. Canada was then relatively strong and prosperous at a time of Soviet expansion and Western European weakness."[158] While collective security was the

---

[155] Canada, Paul Hellyer, and Lucien Cardin. *White Paper on Defence*, 1964, 6.
[156] Thomas F Keating and Larry Pratt. *Canada, NATO, and the Bomb: The Western Alliance in Crisis.* (Edmonton, Alta.: Hurtig, 1988), 3.
[157] “The North Atlantic Treaty,” *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 94 (1949): 276, Periodicals Archive Online.
[158] Canada, *White Paper*, 1964, 7.

key reason the Alliance was established, "[M]embership in NATO was thought to provide Canada with access to, and influence within, the higher councils of Western political, economic, and military planning."[159] This was to be the argument for Canada staying in NATO for many years to come.

The need for member nations to increase their defence spending so soon after the war had numerous challenges. A 1950 report entitled *Defence in the Cold War*, from the Chatham House Study Group in the U.K., discussed the cost of re-arming and the choice to be made between "devoting the years ahead to preventing a war and then getting higher standards of living, or of enjoying higher standards of living before war comes and then losing them all, and this time without hope of recovery. In fact it is not a question of guns before butter but rather of peace before plums."[160] The phrase "guns or butter" was used to describe the choice between spending on the military or on social programs.[161]

Robert Ehrlich noted that European interest in U.S. protection against possible Soviet aggression "became more pressing as the growth of the Soviet nuclear arsenal continued and as NATO countries proved unwilling to provide the money, people, and commitment necessary to counter growing Soviet conventional military strength. Because of these NATO concerns, in the early 1950s the United States proposed, and European

---

[159] Howard Peter Langille. *Changing the Guard: Canada's Defence in a World in Transition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 59.
[160]Wing Commander Edward Howell, "Cold War Problems," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 96 (1951): 31, Periodicals Archive Online.
[161][161] According to John Cartwright and Bianca Mugyenyi, the wording was first used by the Americans when they were discussing entering World War I, then it gained more notoriety when Hermann Göring, head of the German Luftwaffe, said in 1936 – "Guns will make us powerful; butter will only make us fat." See "Guns or Butter," Council of Canadians, June 20, 2023, https://canadians.org/analysis/guns-or-butter/

governments accepted, the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) in Europe as a quick and inexpensive way of countering the perceived growing Soviet threat."[162] This proved to be a two-edged sword though as General Burns argued that, "[O]nce it was generally accepted that ultimately the defence of Europe rested on the power of the US Strategic Air Command, it proved very difficult to prevent a corollary idea from being generally accepted also; namely, that it didn't matter so very much what the European members of NATO did in the way of providing conventional forces for the defence of their own territory."[163]

MONEY AND PEOPLE DESPERATELY NEEDED

In Canada, even the opposition parties were in favour of NATO membership in the beginning and "[T]he CCF led even the Progressive Conservatives in endorsing it when the treaty was signed in 1949."[164] However, support from both parties dropped after the decisions that were made at the NATO meeting held in Lisbon in February 1952 called for the provision of troops as part of a standing force. George Drew of the PC party called for a "rationalization of military contribution" which would maximize "the tremendous industrial potential on this continent" and "make effective use of the vast pool of available manpower in Europe."[165] The 1964 *White Paper* indicated that the government felt "that in any future war Canada's principal contribution might best be made in the air or at sea. It was argued that as a nation possessing a relatively small

---

[162] Robert Ehrlich, *Waging Nuclear Peace: The Technology and Politics of Nuclear Weapons* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 133.
[163] E. L. M. Burns, *Megamurder* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1966), 124.
[164] Blair Fraser, "How Wide is the Split over NATO," *Maclean's*, April 15, 1952, 5. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19520415xxx/print.
[165] Ibid., 49.

population but an advanced technology, with an historic objection to conscription and separated by an ocean from any probable theatre of war, Canada was well placed to supply air and naval forces but at a disadvantage in supplying large land forces."[166]

Minister of National Defence, Brooke Claxton, explained the situation to Canadians during a 1950 radio address on CBC, stating, "[I]t is being brought home to us day by day that to preserve our freedom we peoples of the democratic free nations must be prepared to devote to defence some of the resources we would rather use to promote human welfare and provide greater social security. In international as in national affairs we do not get something for nothing. We must work and pay for what we get; we must work and pay the price for our security."[167] He went on to say that "[T]he Russians' attitude leaves us without a choice. In the present state of the world, defence expenditures are the necessary premiums for national security."[168]

The rapid expansion subsequently expected within all three of Canada's military services to meet their NATO commitments presented a huge challenge. Air Commodore R.C. Ripley explained that "[C]hanges in policy which have a major effect on financial expenditures usually take some considerable time to put into effect. This is particularly true in peacetime."[169] Increasing the number of personnel would involve securing "accommodation and additional food and clothing. The new entry must then be recruited, transported to training units, trained, and finally transported to places of employment."[170]

---

[166] Canada, *White Paper*, 1964, 7.
[167] The Honourable Brooke Claxton, "$31.50," The *Roundel* 2, No. 9 (1950): 5.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Air Commodore R.C. Ripley, "How The Air Force Spends Its Money," *The Roundel* 1, No. 8 (1949): 43.
[170] Ibid.

For the RCAF in particular, it could "take two years to obtain delivery of extra equipment, such as aircraft. In other words, from the time that the initial government approval has been given to expand, it can conceivably take (under normal conditions of peace) as much as two to three years to complete what might be considered a minor expansion."[171]

A significant portion of the allocated budget would need to be used to obtain supplies and equipment. In 1949, out of the planned $64.8 million allotment and another $58.7 million established for future years, "$27-million cash and $49-million in future years will go into the purchase of aircraft and aircraft spares alone. These purchases constitute the real starting-point of the reequipment programme, as the authority includes production of the F-86 interceptor fighter and the XC-100."[172]

The XC-100 (CF-100) all-weather fighter was borne out of necessity. According to R.V. Dodds, "Canadian geographical conditions make it imperative that the R.C.A.F. have an all-weather fighter such as the XC-100, in addition to new day interceptors. Accordingly, general specifications of such an aircraft, to meet present and future Canadian operating conditions, were laid down several years ago by the R.C.A.F."[173] A review "of developments in other allied countries failed to indicate the immediate availability of any aircraft suitable for our own special needs, and it was decided that the design and development of an all-weather fighter must be undertaken in Canada."[174]

---

[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid., 45.
[173] R.V. Dodds, "R.C.A.F. Aircraft Procurement Policy," *The Roundel* 2, No. 1 (1949): 36.
[174] Ibid.

Dodds, a public relations officer with the RCAF, also noted that the "[A]cquisition of the F-86 is significant, for it marks an important phase in the post-war aircraft procurement policy of the R.C.A.F. This policy is designed to avoid the supply difficulties which were encountered during the last war, and to meet current defence problems."[175] The key points of the new policy included the need for a reliable aircraft industry in Canada and to prioritize the acquisition of equipment from within North America, rather than purchasing items from overseas, where possible. The F-86 Sabre fit the bill as it would "be manufactured here in Canada, and, in addition, air-frame and engine spares will be available in Canada and the United States, respectively."[176] Air Marshal Wilf Curtis told RCAF Association members in 1950 that the Air Force had

> looked into the aircraft that were available, and, after careful study of the figures that were available to us – and which are *not* available in all of the magazines – we decided that the F-86 had the best features … On top of that, at the time we made the decision, the F-86 was just going into production … So, we started right from scratch with a new aeroplane that had already been accepted in a Service with which we hoped to be able to work closely in the event of emergency.[177]

While obtaining these new aircraft was a priority, Ripley said having "high-speed jet fighters necessitated a more elaborate navigational and communications network. Much of the wartime signals equipment was inadequate for the new conditions, so that one of the biggest allocations of funds had to be made for its improvement."[178] In addition, despite having a large number of airfields established as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP) during the war, many had been closed and

---

[175] Ibid., 34.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Air Marshal W.A. Curtis, "Excerpt from a speech delivered at the First National Convention of the RCAF Association," *The Roundel* 2, No. 9, (1950): 23.
[178] Ripley, "How The Air Force Spends Its Money," 44.

those still in use were inadequate as "their runways were too short for the new aircraft. The plan therefore had to include a programme of aerodrome improvement which would run into millions of dollars."[179]

Finding people to fly this new jet fighter fleet was not too difficult, but skilled ground crew was another story. An RCAF publication regarding war-time manning pointed out that "[T]he whole business of sky warfare had developed from a knightly game of aerial jousting to a deadly technical science. And the business of selecting the right types to man and service our sky fleets would be a highly technical job also – the biggest job of personnel selection ever tackled."[180] While this quote related to recruiting during the war, it was even more appropriate for the post-war RCAF buildup and when it came to recruiting, there were more issues than just getting numbers. Air Marshal Curtis, then-Chief of the Air Staff, identified some of the problems:

> At the end of the war, […], we did not demobilize according to an over-all plan whereby we would lose so many fitters, so many riggers, so many instrument makers, and so forth. All of our radar people went, a good many of our signallers, and a large number of our specialists in all ranks who could get twice as much money outside ...We were in a pretty bad way for a while. We were short some 4,000 men from the approved establishment which meant that we had to set up a complete organization ... to train men in all sorts of trades, including aircrew.[181]

In March 1951, Blair Fraser wrote in *Maclean's* that over a period of several months, the RCAF was able to find "more volunteers for aircrew than it can handle. Ground crew is short, but there are ways of meeting that. Last month arrangements were made to have

---

[179] Ibid.
[180] DND, DHH, 181.009 (D 1182-D1214 Box 49), *Manning the R.C.A.F.: A Short History of the Directorate of Manning*, 2. *The experience gained from the rapid expansion of recruiting, selection and training during the war would be needed again for the post-war expansion.
[181] Curtis, "Excerpt from a speech," *The Roundel*, 21.

Trans-Canada Air Lines and Canadian Pacific Airways take over some maintenance work for the RCAF."[182]

The issue of conscription had been discussed in Canada but one significant reason to avoid it in peace time was that the first step in the process would involve recalling Second World War veterans to handle the training and administration. While that would be justified in wartime, Fraser wrote that, "[I]n peacetime it's grossly unfair. If we were to attempt "partial" mobilization, these keymen are the very ones with the best right to be let alone. They have done their bit already."[183] John Stevenson suggested that "as long as the Canadian Government will spend upon defense only a much smaller proportion of the national income than do both the United States and Britain, and balks at the enforcement of conscription, Canada can expect continuous criticism both at home and abroad for the inadequacy of her contribution."[184]

The question of Quebec and conscription had been problematic in both world wars, however, in a 1948 *Maclean's* article, Wallace Goforth wrote that the people of Quebec were most attached "to their soil, to "*La Patrie*" and to their faith. Now all three of these are endangered directly and equally by a force which infiltrates when it cannot invade, corrupts when it cannot convince, absorbs when it cannot conquer and crushes when it cannot persuade – world Communism and its domestic offshoots."[185] While

---

[182] Blair Fraser, "Conscription!," *Maclean's*, March 15, 1951, 60, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19510315016/print.
[183] Ibid.
[184] John A. Stevenson, "Canada, Free and Dependent," *Foreign Affairs* 29, No. 3 (1951): 467.
[185] Wallace Goforth, "We DO NOT Stand On Guard," *Maclean's*, June 15, 1948, 51, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19480615022/print, 51.

conscription had been a divisive issue in Quebec in the two world wars, potential conscription to fight Russia was expected to be seen much more favourably. One former Quebec politician went so far as to say, "it's a different enemy this time. Our people are far more anti-Communist than they ever were anti-Fascist."[186]

The RCAF would soon learn that conscription would not be required, especially when it came to aircrew. However, in order to meet the aircrew training demands expected for Canada's NATO commitment (and for the potential establishment of a NATO flying training program in Canada), it became necessary to re-open many of the former BCATP stations that had closed when the Second World War ended. In the early post-war period, "aircrew training was centered at Centralia, Ont. (basic pilot training); Clinton, Ont. (radio officer training); and Summerside, P.E.I. (navigation training)."[187] Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Fern Villeneuve, AFC, remembered that "the only flying training school they had in '50 was Centralia" but due to the Korean War, which hadn't begun when he joined, "now they accelerated everything. And they opened up, first of all I think it was Gimli, as a flying training school, and then Macdonald, and I lose track of the order now, you know, Portage La Prairie, Moose Jaw, Claresholm, all opened up as flying training schools, one kind or another."[188]

Creating a large standing air force, even in the early years of the jet age, would not come cheap. In 1950, the Department of National Defence asked "Parliament to vote $425 million on defence on the Navy, Army and Air Force; on men, construction,

---

[186] Fraser, "Conscription!," 61.
[187] "The R.C.A.F. Today," *The Roundel* 11, No. 1 (1959): 26.
[188] Fern Villeneuve (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson. May 12, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

equipment; on research and development. That means $31.50 for each man, woman and child in Canada, nearly 18 per cent of the national budget and nearly 3 per cent of the national income." Claxton stated that, "[A]t current rates of exchange, Canada is spending on defence more per capita than any other nation in the British Commonwealth except the United Kingdom, and more than any other nation in the North Atlantic Treaty organization, except the U.K. and U.S."[189] Air Marshal Curtis pointed out that "[A]n Air Force is a very expensive organization, but it is an organization that must be ready to strike immediately in an emergency. We have not got two years in which to get ready; we must be ready at the moment."[190]

The amounts being spent in Canada for the defence of Europe were the subject of much debate. Fraser argued that, "[F]or the cost of one Canadian soldier in Europe, we can clothe, feed and arm 15 European soldiers. Canada is already pretty close to full employment, is even bringing in workers from Europe to keep production rising. Some European countries, on the other hand, have an unemployment problem – men to spare who lack only arms to be soldiers. Why send Canadians to replace them?"[191]

The debate about spending money on European defence versus home defence would continue throughout the Cold War. However, as vulnerability to Soviet aggression was considered to be strongest in Europe, the decision to send forces overseas would prevail. In Britain, Colonel P.A. Tobin wrote, "[T]here is in the cold war no active part for the fighter defence forces to play. However, so vital is it that the air defence, of this

---

[189] Claxton, "$31.50," 4.
[190] Curtis, "Excerpt from a speech…," 25
[191] Fraser, "Conscription!," 59.

Country in particular, is as efficient in the first hour of war a human endeavour can make it, the provision and training in peace of an adequate and fully trained fighter defence force is the most important single commitment that devolves upon those responsible for our national defences."[192] The lack of advanced fighter forces in the U.K., and in other European NATO countries, in 1950-51 was a major factor in the decision to fully equip the Air Division with top-of-the-line F-86 Sabres.

KOREA BRINGS IT HOME

While no one in the RCAF believed a major conflict was imminent, NATO planners fully expected that the Soviet Union would be ready to fight a nuclear war by July 1, 1954, and they prepared their defence estimates for the European theatre based on that date.[193] Although member countries made commitments to provide forces, most of the post-war militaries were ill-equipped and the political will to substantially increase defence budgets was lacking. The situation changed drastically on June 25, 1950, after Communist forces of North Korea invaded their southern neighbours.[194] By June 30th, thirty-three countries had notified the United Nations that they supported action in Korea, with NATO partners, Canada, Britain, and the Netherlands pledging military aid.[195] However, a *Globe and Mail* article in July 1950 suggested that the first few days of the war highlighted

> the lamentable unpreparedness of the United States and other Western countries. […] Ultimate defeat of the Korean Communists will not repair the damage to

---

[192] Colonel P.A. Tobin, "Trench Gascoigne Prize Essay, 1951," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 97, (1952): 375. Periodicals Archive Online.
[193] Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada*, 198.
[194] Ibid., 198-199.
[195] A. M. Rosenthal, "33 UN Members Declare Support for South Korea," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jul 01, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

> Western prestige. Nor is it likely to discourage the Kremlin from further use of puppet armies in experimental prodding of weak spots. The next such move may come in Europe.[196]

The article also noted how Western countries had been woefully unprepared for each of the wars of the twentieth century but argued the situation should have been different by 1950 as peacetime defence spending was higher, even in Canada. In James Eayrs analysis of events relating to Korea, he wrote that "when the test came, Canada had neither air nor ground combat forces – the most needed kind of strength – to offer to UN [sic]."[197]

General Burns said that to the Western powers, this unprovoked attack "inspired the plans for a buildup of NATO land forces to a size capable of offering effective resistance to an aggression from the east. […] These forces it was considered would have been large enough, acting on the defensive, to hold off any invasion by the Warsaw Pact forces, without resort to nuclear war – although the US air-nuclear power would be always the ultimate protection and deterrence against aggression."[198] According to John Warnock, the war's impact on NATO was significant as, "(1) the alliance was transformed into an integrated unit; (2) the allies were pressed into increasing their economic and military contribution; (3) it was agreed to rearm Germany; and (4) NATO's membership was expanded."[199] Keating and Pratt wrote that Korea basically "generated support for higher defence expenditures, unprecedented large peacetime

---

[196] "Penalties of Unpreparedness," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jul 20, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[197] Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada*, 200.
[198] Burns, *Defence in the Nuclear Age*, 39.
[199] Warnock, *Partner to Behemoth*, 58-59.

armed forces, and, for the first time in peacetime, the deployment of Canadian forces to Europe."[200]

At a luncheon in September 1950, Minister of Health, Paul Martin, said that the invasion "must not be considered as the great crisis. Success there would not assure that the efforts of international communism would end then."[201] He publicly proclaimed the need for Canada and other western nations to accept the increased costs for defence spending as it "would be vital insurance against attack. A strong front might well dissuade the Soviet from attempted invasion and overthrow of its weaker nations."[202] In a statement that ideally summed up the Cold War, he suggested that "democracies today were not in a period of peace. They were in a twilight zone between peace and war."[203] Minister of National Defence, Brooke Claxton, later credited the war with changing the public's attitude towards the threat of communism and to the costs involved in securing their freedom.[204]

Stevenson wrote that Canada's initial naval and air commitment of three destroyers and transport aircraft for Korea, "aroused such severe criticism in Canada herself, and such caustic taunts from American papers like the *Chicago Tribune*, that the St-Laurent Ministry was impelled to raise a special force, about 12,000 strong."[205] The new jet fighter force, unfortunately, was not yet developed enough to contribute more

---

[200] Keating and Pratt, *Canada, NATO, and the Bomb*, 27.
[201] "Collective Action Defense Essential, Martin Stresses," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Sep 06, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada*, 200.
[205] Stevenson, "Canada, Free and Dependent," 463.

than a handful of pilots on exchange with the US Air Force. However, that experience offered a first glimpse of what service in the new RCAF fighter force would look like. One of the pilots, Group Captain E. B. Hale, DFC, then-commander of 1 (Fighter) Wing at North Luffenham, England, became "a keen student of aerial war, seeking the lessons of MIG Alley for RCAF Air Defense Command and his colleagues of No. 1 Canadian Fighter Wing. To obtain them, he lived, flew and fought with the Americans, entering into his logbook combat experience in the F-86 Sabre, the same speedy interceptor with which his own squadrons are equipped."[206]

The initial requirement for Canadian fighter pilots to go on exchange was to have flown a minimum of fifty hours on the F-86 Sabre. The first few pilots to go over were Second World War aerial combat veterans, and many, like Group Captain Hale, were of higher rank. Several of them were assigned as instructors to the Sabre Operational Training Unit at RCAF Station Chatham, New Brunswick, when they returned so they could share the tactics and experiences they had regarding jet combat against the Soviet MiG-15.

While it may have made sense to have experienced pilots go to Korea, many younger pilots complained that they would be the future of the Air Force and should be given the opportunity to go as well. Korean veteran Grant Nichols recalled that the RCAF "didn't seem to have a real coherent policy" on who was chosen.[207] He said that "when it came to our base, the Base Commander, who was a World War II pilot, and not a fighter

---

[206] James Hornick, "Tall, Dark and Handsome: Canadian Pilot Amazes U.S. Airmen in Korea," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.)*;* Aug 15, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[207] Grant Nichols (Retired RCAF Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson. September 5, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

pilot, that he would be the first, he'd lead the way. And then the Wing Commander flying. […] And then the Squadron Commanders would go."[208]

Nichols didn't agree with this selection process and "thought this was dumb. Why are they sending these guys who are experienced because we had in my own case, I had over 500 hours jet time between Vampire and Sabre."[209] Nichols believed that at

> 26 years old, I was as good as I was ever going to get. But I had no combat experience. So, I wrote a letter to the Base Commander saying you know, I thought the policy was not a good one that they should be sending some of us to get the experiences.[210]

When RCAF pilot Andy McKenzie was shot down in Korea and taken prisoner, Nichols said, "they needed a replacement in a hurry and they asked me if I was still keen to go and I said yes, so I went.[211]

The Canadian pilots were all sent over as individuals and were posted to one of three units, the 16th, 25th, or 39th Fighter Interceptor Squadrons (FIS), USAF. While very few Canadians shot down Korean fighters; they still learned some valuable lessons. Nichols found that, "[Y]ou can practice all you want, and we dog fought all the time using cine film, but your perspective changes when they're actually using live ammunition."[212] He also came to understand that, for "a fighter pilot one of the prime characteristics is aggressiveness. […] And certainly in Korea if you wanted to get kills you had to, well in our case you had to break every rule in the book, practically."[213]

---

[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.

There were concerns raised over how the air war was fought in Korea and the limitations imposed on the air forces there, including not attacking the enemy north of the Yalu, that impacted what UN forces were able to do. Air Vice Marshal A.L. Morfee of the RCAF responded to some negative comments made in the *Ottawa Journal* newspaper about the air war and explained that,

> [B]y far the greatest danger of false military lessons from Korea lies in the fact that our real aim is to avoid a major war. The more impressively we are prepared, the less likely the aggressor is to strike. He will not be deterred by large armies, for he will be preponderant in that field, and having the initiative he will not even have to face our armies until and *if* we get them to the scene of his choosing. Russia does know we can have in being a strategic air force that can reach out and hit him hard the moment one of his troops violates a frontier. The war would in a matter of hours come to his people. That can deter an aggressor; and further, if he persists, Air Power would be the decisive factor in the ultimate decision, should general war ensue.[214]

There had been some senior officers in the US Air Force in favour of dropping nuclear weapons in Korea, however, cooler heads prevailed.[215]

The Korean War made it obvious that Western rearmament in Europe had to be a priority. Defence policy analysts Joseph Jockel and Joel Sokolsky wrote that after much deliberation, Ottawa decided that Canada's contribution to NATO would include an Army brigade group, and "[W]hile its quality was high, being largely composed of veterans of World War II and Korea, it was a fairly small force of 6000"; an Air Division of eleven (later raised to twelve) squadrons outfitted with top of the line F-86 Sabre jet fighters which "constituted a substantial portion of the alliance's inventory of combat

---

[214] AVM A.L. Morfee, Excerpt from response to *Ottawa Journal* article published on 13 Sep 1950, in *The Roundel* 2, No. 12 (1950): 32.
[215] See Bret J. Cillessen, "Embracing the bomb: Ethics, morality, and nuclear deterrence in the US air force, 1945–1955," Journal of Strategic Studies 21, no. 1 (1998): 118.

aircraft"; and, a naval fleet containing more than 50 ships, including an aircraft carrier, for service with NATO under the command of the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT).[216] Howard Langille argued that by providing "a Canadian force of nearly ten thousand troops and twelve air squadrons stationed near this front, Ottawa signalled its commitment to participate in NATO primarily through the defence of West Germany."[217]

Only two months after war broke out in Korea, Brooke Claxton announced on August 28, 1950 that $200 million had been secured for the purchase of Canadian-built jet fighters (300 F-86 Sabres and 100 CF-100 Canucks) to fill eleven squadrons in Europe and a smaller version of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan was being instituted to train approximately 300 foreign NATO air crew per year.[218] Journalist Warren Baldwin wrote that this build up would make Canada "the third ranking air power in the free world and probably the second ranking air training nation."[219] With so many positions becoming available, it was expected that, "the services will again be allowed to recruit women, who make better staff for radar stations and similar jobs; more men will then be available for training as mechanics."[220] In spite of the tremendous role Canada played in Bomber Command during the war, there were "no immediate plans to form RCAF

---

[216] Joseph T. Jockel and Joel J. Sokolsky, "Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa in, Expenses down, Criticism out… and the Country Secure," *International Journal* 64, No. 2 (2009): 322.
[217] Langille, *Changing the Guard*, 60.
[218] James Hornick, "Order 400 Fighters for RCAF Expansion," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Aug 29, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[219] Warren Baldwin, "Canada's 3-Year Plan: $5 Billion For Defense Build RCAF to 40 Sqdns., 11 for Europe," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Feb 06, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[220] Fraser, "Conscription!," 60.

bomber squadrons."[221] According to Ronald Dodds, "[I]t was apparent that a long-range strategic bomber force of anything more than token size was rapidly becoming strictly "big league" and was something that the postwar R.C.A.F. could not afford."[222]

The following April, the *Globe and Mail* reported on the progress being made and provided more details on future RCAF plans. Former Second World War air bases, including the one at Chatham, New Brunswick, had been re-acquired and were being upgraded.[223] Before getting into one of the flight schools though, prospective pilots had to first get through the basic officer training course at RCAF Station Crumlin, Ontario. It was there that successful candidates were selected to be pilots, radio officers or navigators. Former Sabre pilot, John Farnham, recalled his experience after qualifying to be a pilot. He said,

> I went to Centralia to start pilot training and we started on Harvards at that time. […] And after about eight or nine months, switched over to the Expeditor and flew that for a couple of months. […] Then I went to Air Armament School in Trenton on Harvards but the Korean war was on then and, well, only after a week or ten days on Air Armament School, we suddenly were all put on Flying Instructor's Course, much to our regret.[224]

Farnham and his fellow students "were forced to train as flying instructors in the back seat of the Harvard and a Texan."[225] With the war going on, the US Air Force had loaned Canada several Texan trainer aircraft.

---

[221] James Hornick, "Forges Ahead as Air Power: RCAF Expansion Rate Triples in Year," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Apr 25, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail..
[222] Ronald V. Dodds, "CANADA'S AIR FORCE YESTERDAY AND TODAY," *Aerospace Historian* 17, no. 2/3 (1970): 97-103. www.jstor.org/stable/44522394.
[223] Chatham was to play a pivotal role in preparing pilots for the Air Division as it became the home of No. 1 (Fighter) Operational Training Unit from 1951-1962 and then the Sabre Transition Unit (STU) from 1963-1968.
[224] John Farnham (Retired RCAF Major), Interview with Kevin Anderson, August 8, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[225] Ibid.

This process of going straight from training to instructor school, and then back to a flying school as instructor was a process that would be followed for several more years. It had been done during the war and, with the huge push to get pilots trained, it was necessary again. In addition to training Canadian pilots, however, the Canadian government also arranged to train pilots from a number of NATO countries that didn't have the infrastructure or capacity to meet their training needs, with the majority coming from the UK. This program, an updated version of the BCATP, was known as the NATO Air Training Program.

REINTRODUCTION OF WOMEN IN THE RCAF

As mentioned earlier, RCAF personnel strength increased after Air Marshal Curtis personally called for "thousands of recruits – particularly air crew – to fill the ranks for an air force expansion" in August 1950, however many more were needed.[226] To address the shortfall, veterans were being offered incentives to re-join and plans were being made to enroll women.[227]

The RCAF became the first of the armed services to hire women directly into the regular force starting in June 1951. In addition to being in the same organization as male members, as opposed to the separate Women's Division that existed during the Second World War, women would now have the same ranks and receive the same pay.[228] Flying

---

[226] "Expand, Train Fighter Force for any Front," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Aug 16, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[227] Hornick, "Forges Ahead as Air Power," and Lotta Dempsey, "Person to Person: Styles for WD's Main Air Force Topic," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Apr 26, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[228] "Armed Forces Agree Women Necessary," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jul 06, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Officer (F/O) Joyce Kennedy said the new recruits would "receive their basic training and introduction to service life at St. Johns, Quebec, where they must complete an eight-week course. Here they are given lectures on various air force subjects (such as history and organization, procedures, etc.) as well as medical inoculations, their complete uniform (which incidentally is of no cost to them) and a considerable amount of drill."[229]

There was also a basic training course for women who wanted to join as officers. These women were sent to RCAF Station Centralia, Ontario for a nine-week Officers' Training Course.[230] The initial cadre of women, "most of them former RCAF WD officers and airwomen – was retrained, and they in turn began the long and steady task of interviewing, advising, selecting and training the increasing flood of new recruits at the RCAF Station St. Johns' Manning Depot."[231] For officers, there were "numerous opportunities in administrative capacities, as well as limited openings for officers in food services, medical and nursing duties, public information, welfare, recreation and supply." Education standards were much higher for officers though. Women usually needed a university degree to get a commission although a woman could "be commissioned from the ranks if they have a minimum education of senior matriculation, three years of service experience, and have reached the rank of corporal."[232]

In order to recruit women for the post-war RCAF, it was recommended that "appeal should be made to highest motives so as <u>not</u> to encourage women to enlist merely

---

[229] Flying Officer Joyce Kennedy, "Airwomen are everywhere," *The Roundel* 12, No. 2 (1960): 18.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid., 17.
[232] Kennedy, "Airwomen are everywhere," 18.

for adventure or to escape from difficult or unsavoury home conditions."[233] It was found that "[T]he best airwomen were those who enlisted to help the war effort, and not because it was "a good job" and they were promised promotion."[234] The experiences of these women differed somewhat from those who served in the Women's Division, however, many wartime policies, especially those related to marriage and pregnancy remained, ending a number of careers prematurely.[235]

INDUSTRIAL BUILDUP: CANADAIR, A.V. ROE, ORENDA

While the RCAF was kept busy with recruiting and training issues, the Canadian aircraft industry was preparing for a massive increase in aircraft production .The enormity of what took place in Canada's aviation industry during the war was highlighted by R.V. Dodds when he wrote, "[I]t is one thing for an industry already in healthy existence to expand, but it is quite another to create an industry from next to nothing."[236] He argued that, "[F]rom the standpoint of defence needs alone, Canada's aircraft industry must never again be allowed to fall to its pre-war status. We cannot have an aircraft industry if we do not build aircraft."[237] Air Marshal Wilf Curtis shared that opinion as he said, "[I]f you must have an Air Force you must have an aircraft industry behind it, and, by encouraging a Canadian factory to build a Canadian type of aircraft, we were not only

---

[233] *R.C.A.F. (Women's Division) Plan For Organization and Suggestions Concerning Employment*, 21.
[234] Ibid.
[235] To learn more about women in the RCAF during the Cold War, see Hogenbirk, "Women Inside the Canadian Military," and Power, ""With Their Feet on the Ground.".
[236] Dodds, "R.C.A.F. Aircraft Procurement Policy," 34.
[237] Ibid.

giving employment to engineers and setting up an engineering staff, but we were helping industry here to support the Air Force."[238]

The situation at Canada's post-war aircraft facilities was very good in the late 1940s and early 1950s with many projects on the go and many Canadians being put to work. In his speech during the inaugural RCAF Association convention in 1950, Brooke Claxton said that the production of the F-86 Sabre, the CF-100 Canuck "and the jet transport, taken with the production of three types of conventional planes and considerable activities in several plants, supports essential air industry in Canada."[239] The idea that some of the workers should be in the RCAF instead of industry was discussed by Blair Fraser. He reported that,

> Canadair has a line-up outside the plant gate every morning of 100 to 200 men looking for work. A draft board could, theoretically, come along and put those 200 men into uniform. But what good would that do? In a few months' time, when the engines arrive, Canadair would be moving heaven and earth to get them back again."[240]

On leaving office as President of the USA in 1961, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the first SACEUR, was concerned about the growing armament industry and said, "we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.[241] While Canada didn't have an armament industry anywhere

---

[238] Curtis, "Excerpt from a speech…," 23.
[239] The Honourable Brooke Claxton, "Excerpt from a speech delivered at the First National Convention of the RCAF Association," *The Roundel* 2, No. 9 (1950): 19.
[240] Fraser, "Conscription!," 15.
[241] President Dwight D. Eisenhower, "January 17, 1961: Farewell Address," *Presidential Speeches*, University of Virginia, Miller Center. Retrieved on 20/04/2024 from https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-17-1961-farewell-address.

close to that in the US, the industry still had significant power and influence, and keeping the industry alive was a major factor in selecting aircraft for the RCAF. Canadair, one of the premier aircraft manufacturers in Canada at the time, often placed ads warning of the Communist threat in *Maclean's* magazine. These ads were meant to stoke Canadian fears by highlighting places of worship, schools, and other locations where Communism might try to infiltrate Canada.

BACK TO EUROPE

As the F-86 Sabre and CF-100 Canuck aircraft would not be ready for some time, when new fighter pilots completed their training they were sent to 410 or 421 squadrons, the first two jet fighter squadrons to be re-established in the post-war era. Both squadrons were equipped with deHavilland Vampire jets and some obsolete propeller-driven Mustangs. While waiting for Canadair to provide the first F-86 Sabres for the Air Division, the decision was made to send 421 Squadron from RCAF Station Chatham, N.B. to RAF Station Odiham in the U.K. Their deployment coincided with the move of 1 (Fighter) Operational Training Unit (OTU) to Chatham. Retired Lieutenant-General Ken Thorneycroft was one of the original 421 Squadron post-war members and he recalled that,

> when the OTU was scheduled to move down, that's when we parked our airplanes and left them there and went to England. All the guys in 421. Everybody. Fitters, riggers, everybody. When we got to Odiham we didn't mix in with the two British squadrons, particularly. They put us out in the back 40 somewhere. We had our own quarters, our own doctor, our own everything.[242]

---

[242] Ken Thorneycroft (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-General), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 13, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum. **No. 1 (Fighter) Operational Training Unit (OTU) moved from St. Hubert, QC to Chatham, NB in 1951 for training on the Vampire. It would transition to the F-86 Sabre a few months later.

Having left their aircraft in Chatham, the squadron utilized British Vampire jets in Odiham to learn jet tactics and get familiar with European airspace. In a *Globe and Mail* article, Eric Harrison wrote that the squadron, composed of approximately 147 pilots, groundcrew and support staff, "look so healthy, they are so obviously "living" their job, and they've set up such a record of efficiency for themselves that it would be easy to conclude that they had all been specially selected for this tour of duty overseas."[243]

Technicians were equally adept at proving their skill as Harrison reported that "[S]etting Canadians to work with the British is having the usual effect of making them go all out to show how good they are."[244] The reporter also noted that in spite of their quality, the quantity was not there and that it was "symptomatic of the present strategic plight of the West and of the danger that will continue to hang over us until the NATO nations are strong enough to make the policy of armed provocation too risky a game for the Soviets to play."[245]

Air Marshal Sir Basil Embry of the Royal Air Force expressed his appreciation for the efforts of 421 Squadron. He wrote that,

> No. 421 Squadron has taken a very full and active part in the Station life and amusements, as well in ceremonial parades, inspections, and Station defence duties, besides carrying out routine day and night individual flying training. The Squadron has been engaged in fourteen air exercises in which the Odiham Wing has operated as a whole. In addition, No. 421 Squadron has flown in fourteen Sector or Group exercises, in which it has operated separately from the Wing. […] While this Squadron has operated under my control it has flown nearly four thousand hours, a most noteworthy achievement and one that reflects great credit on the pilots and

---

[243] Eric Harrison, "Picked Lot: Red Indians Putting on Fine Show," *The Globe and Mai*l (Toronto, Ont.); Sep. 15, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[244] Op. Cit.
[245] Ibid.

ground servicing organization.[246]

Embry went on to acknowledge "that quite a number of the members of this Squadron have married while they have been stationed in England and that they will have therefore a personal link with this country, and particularly with Odiham."[247]

When 410 Squadron was preparing to head to Europe in October 1951, James Hornick reported that there was a "steady arrival of wives and children of men attached to 421 Squadron, finishing a year's tour of duty with the RAF."[248] After completing their "familiarization" tour, the Squadron returned to Canada and was eventually re-equipped with the Canadair F-86 Sabre. However, the majority of Squadron members were "re-posted to squadrons-in-training in order that their operational experience with the RAF may benefit formations as yet untried under conditions of simulated combat."[249]

In late 1951, the Army's 27th Brigade also deployed to Europe, becoming the first Canadian peacetime force to be deployed on European soil. According to Douglas How, the "[M]ovement of the brigade before snow flies will mean that for this winter at least the army will represent Canada's main military effort in Western Europe. But it is slated to yield that pre-eminence in time to the RCAF and its 11-squadron air division, for *it is the air force which is earmarked to make Canada's main military contribution to the defense of Europe*."[250]

---

[246] Air Marshal Sir Basil Embry (RAF), "A Tribute to No. 421 Squadron," (excerpt from postagram sent to Air Commodore M. Costello (RCAF) in November 1951), *The Roundel* 4, No. 1 (1952): 21.
[247] Ibid.
[248] James Hornick, "First RCAF Group May Join Ike This Weekend," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Oct 25, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Douglas How, "27th Canadian Brigade May Be in Europe Dec. 1," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Sep 12, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail. *Author's emphasis in italics.

CONCLUSION

Despite three years of budget increases, progress was slow and public criticism was growing.[251] As of May 1951, there were only four fighter squadrons in the RCAF, including 421 Squadron stationed in Odiham, England. As attention was focused on recruiting soldiers to fight in Korea and to form an Army Brigade in Europe, air force efforts appeared to be overlooked. An editorial in the *Globe and Mail* pointed out that, "[A] force of 45,000 men to fly and service a promised forty squadron air force presupposes the machinery to supply a steady flow of recruits. No such machinery exists; the air force must get recruits, if it can, by haphazard competition with industry and the other armed services."[252]

Defence Opposition critic, Major-General George R. Pearkes, pushed the government to "proceed immediately to set up the machinery necessary to accelerate its method of enlistment and its method of assigning the manpower of the country to the military, industrial and agricultural needs of the country."[253] Conscription was not necessary though as nearly 1,000 people enlisted in the RCAF in January 1951 with 100 officers and 700 men entering ground crew occupations.[254] By the end of March 1952, the RCAF had managed to increase its strength to 32,600 with 6,800 officers and 25,800

---

[251] "Where is the Airpower," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), May 08, 1951, 6, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail. See also "A Sad, Sad Story." *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Oct 13, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[252] "Where is the Airpower," 6.
[253] Baldwin, "Canada's 3-Year Plan," 2.
[254] Warren Baldwin, "Liberals See no Need for Forced Training," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Feb 01, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

other ranks.[255] While this was a large increase in personnel, the RCAF was having trouble finding enough aircrew to man the jet fighters.[256]

Adding to the problem was a decision that was made at the NATO Council meeting in Lisbon in February 1952 that Canada would provide twelve squadrons for the Air Division by 1954, rather than the eleven originally planned for. Although the need for air forces in Europe was critical, delays were necessary in order to build the airfields in France and West Germany.[257] These challenges, and many more, would be met head-on by the government, the RCAF, and the families of those who would eventually serve in the Air Division, as the 1950s wore on.

---

[255] George Bain, "Claxton Claims Canada Meeting Defense Quota Pearkes Not Satisfied," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Apr 04, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[256] "For Want of Incentive," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Apr 18, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[257] "Canada Boosts Jet Squadrons to 12 for Europe," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Feb 27, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

CHAPTER 3 - SABRES ON PATROL (1951-1956)

While the RCAF was actively recruiting and training personnel to form the additional fighter squadrons required for the Air Division, as well as for home defence, there was general consensus in early 1952 that there would not be another world war that year. *Maclean's* journalist, Lionel Shapiro, argued that unlike the Germans, Russians "respect strength; they have a vivid realization of their technical shortcomings. They are above all realists: they will not precipitate a world war the result of which they cannot clearly see."[258]

Although the Soviet Union now had the atomic bomb and NATO nations were still in the process of re-arming, the Soviets were not ready to test the strength of the Americans. Shapiro said that many Western European leaders

> realize we have come to a crossroads of history. If peace is to be preserved, for a generation at least, we must be able to negotiate with Russia on equal terms or better. This means we must negotiate from strength. Not moral strength, nor ideological strength. The Russians recognize only military strength."[259]

A similar attitude was shared a few years later by John Gellner. In 1957, he wrote that

> [T]here is no doubt that the West is on the threshold of a very difficult, if not the most difficult, phase of the cold war. We must match Russia's military might. We must stay well ahead of her in the economic field because the free economy of a democracy, as compared to the controlled economy of a dictatorship, can convert only a relatively small proportion of its economic power into political power.[260]

As described in the previous chapter, Canada was doing its part to contribute to the strength of the Alliance by providing an Army brigade and a formidable Air Division.

---

[258] Lionel Shapiro, "What the West thinks Russia will Do," *Maclean's*, Mar 1, 1952, 17, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19520301018/print.
[259] Ibid., 28.
[260] Wing Commander John Gellner, "The Era Of Competitive Co-existence," *The Roundel* 9, No. 8 (1957): 10.

While Canada's contribution would be subjected to negative publicity and even ridicule in future years, the provision of twelve squadrons of twenty-five top of the line fighter jets (a total of 300 aircraft), spread initially over four fighter wings in three countries (England, France, and Germany), earned Canada the respect and trust of other NATO nations, many of whom were still trying to recover from the war. New squadrons were being stood up in Canada as soon as personnel became trained and available, with Second World War veterans filling the necessary leadership roles. While they waited for their new *Sabres* to come off the line at Canadair in Montreal, squadron members would fly Mustangs and Vampires to increase their flying hours. Once the squadron was fully equipped with *Sabres* and the pilots had the opportunity to get familiar with their new aircraft, they would make their way to Europe.

This chapter will highlight how the aircraft, personnel, and families travelled to Europe and activities at the flying squadrons including exercises and aerobatics.

GETTING TO EUROPE

The first squadron of the Air Division to head to North Luffenham, England, the temporary home of 1 (F) Wing, was 410 (City of Saint John) Squadron in November 1951. All the F-86 *Sabre* Mk II jets for both 410 and 441 squadrons were flown to Norfolk, Virginia and loaded onboard the Canadian aircraft carrier, HMCS *Magnificent*. Some of the aircraft were loaded below decks but the majority had to be 'cocooned' and tied down on the deck. The wrapping of the aircraft was to try and protect them from the saltwater spray they would be subjected to while crossing the Atlantic Ocean on their way to England. Once the 'Maggie' was loaded, it sailed on to Europe.

William Bain was a member of 410 Squadron at the time and he recalled the trip. He said, "we took a train to Halifax and got on the Maggie, the aircraft carrier, and we took that down to Norfolk, Virginia and we loaded 48 Sabres. I think eleven went below decks, because that's all the room they had down there, and the rest were tied down with steel cabling on the decks."[261] According to Bain, "that was a big mistake" because after being at sea for a few days, they found that the cables had "no give" and "the movement of the ship would break the steel cables […]."[262] When they eventually ran into "rough seas, the seamen and the airmen had to go out and tie all the airplanes down with rope that had enough give so that the airplanes would shift a little bit. Then at one point in the trip, the captain was debating whether he should dump our airplanes over board."[263]

The next squadron to head overseas was 441 Squadron. As their aircraft had already been shipped over, the air and ground crew (and some family members) were sent to Saint John, New Brunswick where they boarded the ocean liner, the *Empress of France* in February 1952. Their trip was much more pleasant than it was for those who went on the *Magnificent*. Lieutenant-Colonel (Retired) Fern Villeneuve was a member of 441 and he was on the voyage. He said, "[W]e were just tourists. Nothing went on at all, except it was a great time because we had about seven days and we got to know ourselves, know our fellow pilots. There were twenty-four of us on the squadron."[264]

---

[261] William Bain (Retired RCAF Major), interview with Kevin Anderson, July 8, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Villeneuve Interview.

OPERATION LEAP FROG I

While sending the first batch of F-86 *Sabres* to Europe via aircraft carrier had worked, after 439 Squadron successfully flew to North Luffenham, England on Operation *Leap Frog I* in May 1952, all other F-86 *Sabres*, T-33 *Silver Stars* and CF-100 *Canucks* "cross(ed) to Europe on the "airbridge"; a great circle route passing through Goose Bay, Labrador, Greenland, Iceland and Scotland."[265] This method was more cost effective than shipping the aircraft according to S/L J. D. Harvey, as there were no additional costs for "dismantling, cocooning and surface shipping and subsequent re-assembly and test flying."[266] It also gave "the pilots operational training over the most difficult route in the world; a route that could be used both ways if the cold war blossomed."[267]

One of the last surviving pilots of *Leap Frog I*, J. Laurie Hamilton, discussed how the operation got its name and why they flew to Europe. He said,

> [T]here were two North Stars assigned from 426 Squadron, Lachine, (Quebec) to support the operation, each carrying maintenance personnel and equipment which would quote, "leap frog," one another to be on the site to service the Sabres as they arrived, hence the name of the operation. [...] We weren't officially advised that the squadron would be flying to England until February of 1952. However, it was apparent that this was the plan because we had heard that the transport of the F-86's by the Maggie had been a logistics nightmare and, with the aircraft on the carrier's deck, well doused with corrosive salt water.[268]

With much of the flying taking place over open ocean, Hamilton said before they left Canada, "the pilots were fitted with survival suits that consisted of separate quilted

---

[265] DND, DHH, 181.003 (D5417) Operation "Nimble Bat" Movement of Squadrons to No. 1 Air Division, NATO, S/L J.D. Harvey, "Jets Over the Atlantic," 1-2.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] J. Laurie Hamilton (Retired RCAF Captain), telephone interview with Kevin Anderson, February 2, 2021, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

inner liners and khaki rubberised outer. […] The boots were fitted separately and then vulcanized to the legs of the suits."[269] After the manufacturers completed the suits, "we all donned them and were transported by bus to the swanky Chateau Laurier Hotel swimming pool where we cavorted around, tested, and bobbed in our ballooning attire."[270] These immersion suits were necessary as "[T]he single engine of a jet fighter is all that stands between the pilot and the icy water. Ditching, the landing of an aircraft on water, is out, since the hot engine would explode on contact with the ocean."[271]

If a pilot had an emergency he would be forced to eject so, in addition to the suits, there were "emergency packs complete with dinghies and other life preservers. In all, the pilot has over 35 pounds of clothing worn or strapped to his body during these crossings."[272] The pilots were well aware "that 30 to 40-degree water temperature will enable them to live for only five minutes if they are forced to bail out. They have only one engine and although the best possible maintenance has the engine purring like a kitten, engines have been known to stop."[273] To help ensure their safety when flying over the water, there were "aircraft called "Duckbutts," amphibious aircraft which orbit set positions between the stationary ocean weather ships and the land. By transmitting continuous radio signals they enable the jets to "home" on to their positions."[274] These aircraft of the US Air Force were also prepared to rescue downed pilots if necessary.

Hamilton recalled how hectic the final week of preparations had been. He said

---

[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Harvey, "Jets Over the Atlantic", 2. *navs = navigation aids
[272] Ibid.
[273] Harvey, "Jets Over the Atlantic," 4.
[274] Ibid.

that in addition to getting packed and ready, there were

> interviews with the press and the many VIPs who insisted on visiting us. The day before we were to leave, all our aircraft were neatly lined up on the tarmac and each pilot at attention in front of his airplane. Then Air Marshal Curtis accompanied the national Minister of Defense, Mr. Brooke Claxton, along the line, shaking hands and wishing us bon voyage. And the usual picture taking as each one was greeted.[275]

During their preparations for the historic trip, Hamilton said that 439 Squadron pilots "had numerous briefings in respect to the route, radio navs, radio frequencies, possible alternates, safety procedures and especially the approach and landing overshoot procedures to Bluie West I, Greenland."[276] This was the most challenging part of the operation. Ken Roberts, a former public relations officer in the Air Division wrote,

> [W]ith their J-47 engines gulping fuel, the pilots arrived at "Bluie" with about five minutes to spare. There was no room for error. The strip lay about 50 miles up a winding fiord, guarded by solid granite walls, false leads, fog, tricky winds, and surrounded by the permanent ice cap. One end of the runway ended at the water's edge, the other against the rock walls climbing to the ice cap.[277]

Another issue with Bluie was that it had "the worst reputation for changeable weather of any landing-strip in the world."[278] Thick fog could roll in "within 10 minutes, changing bright blue sky to solid white and completely isolating the base."[279] With only a single airstrip to land on, pilots had to get it right "the first time since one end of the runway starts at the water and the other faces cliffs rising to 8,000 feet."[280]

Hamilton described the record-setting first trip across the Atlantic made by

---

[275] Hamilton Interview.
[276] Hamilton Interview.
[277] Ken Roberts, "Early Days At Air Div – A Personal Perspective," *Airforce* 12, No. 3 (1988): 21.
[278] Harvey, "Jets Over the Atlantic," 3.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.

Canadian single-engine jet fighters. He said the Squadron departed

> right on time, Friday the 30th of May 1952, with each four-plane section ten minutes apart. […] The original plan was to fly to Bagotville, refuel then proceed to Goose Bay. However, on arriving at Bagotville we learned that all the Sabres had been grounded the day before to check for foreign object contamination.[281]

The squadron had to wait "two days to complete the inspection and after living in our flying suits, and only our shaving kits, because our clothes had been leap frogged ahead of us, we arrived at Goose Bay. We waited at Goose for nine days for acceptable weather at Bluie."[282] Hamilton explained that "[B]ecause of the mountainous terrain and the 22-mile dog leg of the proper fjord through the airport and the fact there were no alternates, the weather had to be VFR* or better."[283] The squadron finally arrived in Bluie on June 10, 1952. While they enjoyed clear skies for their approach over the fjord, Hamilton said, "about an hour after we'd landed, the fog rolled in off the ice cap and we were there for two days."[284] There were no issues on the trip to Keflavik, Iceland, however, they had to wait there an extra day before heading to Kinloss "due to gale force winds over the north of Scotland."[285] The squadron arrived in Kinloss on June 15th and the pilots

> stayed overnight in an old wartime hut that lacked heat and hot water. The next day we left on time for Luffenham […]. The mission had taken 17 days and 8 hours and 15 minutes flying time, and we delivered 20 plus one F-86 Sabres safely.[286]

With the arrival of 439 Squadron, No. 1 (Fighter) Wing of the Air Division was complete. Although the move to North Luffenham was only temporary while the

---

[281] Hamilton Interview.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid. *VFR = visual flight rules.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.

'permanent' air base at Marville, France was under construction, *Globe and Mail* reporter James Hornick had the impression that the Wing would "remain indefinitely at North Luffenham to bolster the lagging strength and equipment deficiencies of RAF Fighter Command."[287] While the RAF appreciated Canada's early contributions, they were soon flying their own Canadair built F-86 Sabres and other more modern aircraft and no longer needed assistance. The move to Marville would eventually be completed between November 1954 and March 1955.

LEAP FROG II

The second *Leap Frog* operation, which left Canada in October 1952, was another milestone in Canadian aviation history. This time it was a full Wing flying overseas together, led by Second World War fighter ace, Wing Commander (W/C) James "Stocky" Edwards, DFC. According to Stocky, who was in command of 430 Squadron at the time, all three squadrons (the other two being 416 and 421) flew from their home bases and met up at Goose Bay, Labrador. Once all squadrons were ready, Stocky said,

> we flew out of Goose Bay as a Wing. We got into Bluie and the weather there of course is touch and go and you have to […] start at 4 o'clock in the morning to find out whether you can get into Keflavik in time before the weather changes back or whatever. And two squadrons got off but one had to hold up, 421 - they had to wait."[288]

After 421 Squadron met up with them in Keflavik, "we flew into Prestwick, and we had a hold up in Prestwick because GrosTenquin wasn't ready."[289]

---

[287] James Hornick, "Leap Frog II: RCAF to Fly Entire Wing To Europe," *The Globe and Mail (Toronto, Ont.)*; Aug 14, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail..
[288] James F. Edwards (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, September 6, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[289] Ibid.

After leaving Prestwick, "we got over to Europe, we had no navigational aids at all except this one radio station in Europe, […] it was in Holland, and we hit that, and then we would turn on it heading to GrosTenquin […]."[290] Roughly one hundred miles back of GrosTenquin, "we start letting down and it's a nice day everything is going good, all the guys are following along and I'm calling GrosTenquin and they haven't a tower, they're just sitting in the middle of the field with tents."[291] Stocky asked them to "fire some cartridges or send signals" to make sure they were in the right place. After confirming their location, "we came right over the field and peeled off in fours and come in and landed (and) here was all these VIPs, the Prime Minister, the President of France, and a bunch (of other dignitaries), and everything went perfect."[292]

Hornick wrote, "Leapfrog II is the most ambitious project of its kind ever contemplated by the RCAF. As many as 75 aircraft will be involved paralleling earlier mass crossings by the U.S. Air Force."[293] He argued the first reason for the mass deployment, "and perhaps the most important, is to dramatize in the eyes of the Europeans the mounting contributions of Canada to NATO."[294]

LEAP FROG III

Leap Frog III was notable as it took longer than any of the other trips to get to Europe. Retired Sabre pilot, Arnold Cavett, said you could "call it Creep Frog 3, because it took us so long to get there. I think it was the only time we spent a month...anybody

---

[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Hornick, "Leap Frog II," 13.
[294] Ibid.

spent a month flying a Sabre across the Atlantic."[295] The problem, according to Cavett, was that "we were flying in early March, and the weather was terrible at that time of year in the North Atlantic."[296] Although the flight to Goose Bay went well, there were weather issues at Bluie West I. So, every day, the pilots had "get up early in the morning to get all ready to fly and then go down and get the bad news that the weather wasn't good. We'd have to stand by, it may clear... and then it only seemed to clear on Saturdays."[297]

They finally got to Bluie but before they could take off for Keflavik, "the weather closed in again, which...again, we'd get up every morning, get dressed in these immersion suits, go down and wait for our briefings, get our briefings and told oh...weather's not good today, but hold by, it may clear."[298] Although the weather had cleared by the next Saturday, "an American aircraft was lost at sea and, of course, all the rescue aircraft were diverted to that and we weren't permitted to fly without them, so we missed that day". [299] Before they could take off the following day, the weather had once again turned bad.

They eventually got on their way to Keflavik, but as they were getting ready to start their descent, Cavett said, "the tower called us and said return to your base, we've just been hit by a large winter storm, and every air base on the island is closed."[300] As the aircraft didn't have enough fuel to return to Bluie, permission was granted for the *Sabres* to land in Keflavik, although they were warned "that there's very low cloud, high winds,

---

[295] Arnold Cavett (Retired RCAF Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, June 24, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Cavett Interview.

90 degrees across the runway, and blowing debris."[301] The *Sabre* was not an all-weather fighter so the landing "was difficult because the whole front of the aircraft got covered with this wet goo, which...I mean you could only see out the sides of the aircraft, you couldn't see the front. […] Well, my soul...we got in, a lot of them had to shut their engines off, some of them were able to make it all the way in, taxiing, but we got every aircraft down."[302]

The last squadron in the group, 434, still had enough fuel to return to Bluie so they did, then flew in to Keflavik the next day. However, "they had to wait 'til the North Star came in with their ground crew and all their servicing equipment […], and they had to clean the aircraft and by the time they got that done, the weather was closed in again. So, we were another week waiting to get into Kinloss." [303] Weather wasn't an issue in Kinloss, so they were able to depart the next day and finally arrived at their new home at No. 3 (Fighter) Wing in Zweibrucken, West Germany.

LEAP FROG IV

Richard Kiser was a young pilot on 422 Squadron, one of the three squadrons heading to 4 Wing in Baden-Soellingen, Germany, on *Leap Frog IV* in August 1953. As per the earlier trips, the squadrons met up in Goose Bay before proceeding overseas. Kiser said, "I shouldn't talk about the amount of alcohol we consumed, but we had a major party at Goose because it was, you know, here we are off on our way to, across the Atlantic, to a new base in Germany and it was going to be just great. So, you know, all

[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

again, being 21, 22 years old we were big party types and, unfortunately, we got to Goose, the last leg before we go across the pond, (and) we ended up partying too much the first night."[304]

The next morning, "Wing Commander Allan, who was in charge of *Leap Frog IV* had noticed that there were some bleary-eyed pilots, like about 90% of us were not really capable, and I'm ashamed to say now, but because of the partying done the night before he said, you know, "The weather's marginal. We could take off for Bluie on Greenland, but the pilots are less marginal than the weather.""[305] The delay proved costly as weather closed in at Bluie, postponing the departure for an extra couple of days. When they arrived at Bluie One, another party was held at the American base in order to "show them how the Canadians could out drink the Americans."[306] The squadrons were delayed a couple of more days after arriving in Keflavik, Iceland but things went pretty smoothly after that. The total trip lasted only seven days, the shortest trip up to that point, thanks to better weather in the late summer. Retired Colonel Gord Brennand wrote about the trip and said the fact that it was completed in only seven days "must be attributed in no small measure to our dedicated ground crew. Getting sixty two serviceable aircraft on the line every morning for seven days is no small feat."[307]

The Atlantic crossings were especially challenging for RCAF ground crew. S/L J.D. Harvey wrote, "[W]hile the pilots debrief and plot the next flight, the ground crews

---

[304] Richard Kiser (Retired RCAF Flying Officer), interview with Kevin Anderson, August 8, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Colonel (Retired) G. Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy* (Victoria, BC: FriesenPress, 2017), 66.

must pitch in and inspect every jet, refuel, correct any minor snags and bed the aircraft down for the night."[308] In cases where weather was good for multiple legs, ground crews had to be quick in order to get the jets back in the air so they could complete a "double-jump".[309] In addition, the ground crew were forced to endure long flights in North Star aircraft. A pilot on the Overseas Ferry Unit described return trips on the North Star as "excruciating. There was 22 hours of it. The noise, stink and vibration of back-end North Star riding has to be suffered to be appreciated."[310]

OTHER MODES OF TRANSPORT

While Leap Frog operations had their challenges, flying the F-86 Sabre to Europe was better than some of the alternatives. Retired pilot Glen Younghusband said, "[W]e went across on a North Star with a load of drop tanks...first class...they didn't even have seats for all of us. Had the bench seats along the sides, and there weren't actually enough seats for everybody that was in the airplane."[311] While there were only about a dozen passengers travelling with him, having "this big pile of drop tanks and cargo" meant that "a couple had to sit with their backs against the bulkheads for landing".[312] Although relatively few pilots shared the North Star experience, it was routine for technicians.

From 1951 until 1961, many personnel and their families travelled to Europe by ocean liner. While the majority of these trips were very enjoyable, some were far from

---

[308] Harvey, "Jets Over the Atlantic," 7.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Flight Lieutenant R.J. Childerhose, "Reflections On The Random Route," *The Roundel* 10, No. 8 (1958): 17.
[311] Glen Younghusband (Retired RCAF Major-General), interview with Kevin Anderson, September 10, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[312] Ibid.

ideal. Ray Walker said, "I was in the first group that went to 2 (F) Wing in October 1952 on the SS Columbia and what a trip that was with 100 airmen and 1 woman on the ship. It took 9 days to cross as they had a broken shaft or screw and we were drifting in mid Atlantic for two days. To make matters worse there was a storm going on."[313]

RCAF members and their families would sail out of Montreal, Quebec City, Saint John, New Brunswick or Halifax, Nova Scotia, with the majority of them arriving in Le Havre, France. In addition to the SS Columbia, other ships travelled on included the SS *Arkadia*, RMS *Ascania*, RMS *Carinthia*, and *Empress of Canada*, and many more. As Fern Villeneuve recalled, the days spent at sea gave RCAF members a chance to get to know each other. Ron Rockey said,

> I sailed on the SS Atlantic from Quebec City on 8 August 1952. I was able to meet a few other RCAF personnel who also were on their way to Europe. Wing Commander Walsh eventually became the Chief Administration Officer (CAdO) at 2 Wing. Wing Commander Jordan would take on the role of the Chief Technical Services Officer (CTSO) at 2 Wing. Other RCAF passengers included Sgt Ken Sutton (a cook) and myself - I was to be the Fire Chief.[314]

When the ships arrived, passengers would normally take a train to Paris and then make their way to their respective Wings.

NO. 1 AIR DIVISION: ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

Although Canada agreed to provide the twelve F-86 Sabre squadrons to Europe, W/C G. Hunt wrote in *Roundel* magazine that when initial plans were being developed to provide an Air Division to support NATO, the "force was to consist of eleven squadrons,

---

[313] Ray Walker, "Additional detail from Ray Walker," 1 Air Division: SS Columbia – Assorted Sources, Communications and Electronics Museum, accessed on April 20, 2024, www.c-and-e-museum.org/marville/other/maother-44.html.
[314] Ron Rockey, "SS Atlantic," 1 Air Division: SS Atlantic – Ron Rockey, Communications and Electronics Museum, accessed Apr. 20, 2024, www.c-and-e-museum.org/marville/other/maother-42.html.

seven fighter-bomber squadrons, a tactical reconnaissance squadron, and three day interceptor squadrons."[315] Plans changed though as "it became apparent that the one vital factor which could affect Allied success in the opening phases of the war would be our ability to exercise and maintain air supremacy over and behind the combat zone. Without it, our land and air forces would not be able to mount a counter-attack of any kind, or even carry out a successful withdrawal, and the enemy would be perfectly free to exploit his overwhelming superiority in men and materiel."[316]

With this in mind, and as Canada was already in the process of building F-86 Sabres, "one of the few aircraft capable of effectively meeting the MIG 15, the R.C.A.F. agreed to convert its contributions to a division of day interceptors," and Canada would now provide twelve squadrons instead of eleven.[317] Operating one aircraft type was mutually beneficial as it provided NATO with the fighter force it required and the RCAF saved time and money. It also helped "maintain our national identity, an important consideration from the standpoint of morale."[318]

When No. 1 Air Division officially opened on October 1, 1952, there was only "one fighter wing established at North Luffenham, England in addition to the Headquarters, temporarily located in Paris, France. Over the next two years, the Air Division would grow to its full strength consisting of a Headquarters (now located in Metz, France); four fighter wings, equipped with three F-86 Sabre squadrons each; an air

---

[315] W/C G.R.M. Hunt, "Planning the Air Force Structure," *The Roundel* 5, No. 4 (1953): 17.
[316] Hunt, "Planning the Air Force Structure," 17.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.

material base (AMB) in Langar, England; and a number of other support units."[319] The numbers would fluctuate as the Air Division received more trained personnel and added more support units. Once established though, numbers would remain fairly constant until the F-86 and CF-100 aircraft were replaced with the CF-104 in 1963.

STRENGTHENING A WEAK EUROPE: CANADA'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION?

When No. 1 Air Division was formed in Europe, it became "a component of 4th ATAF (4th Allied Tactical Air Force) together with the U.S. Twelfth Air Force and the French Premier Corps Aerien Tactique (1er CATAC)."[320] Jon McLin argued that "[A]t the time it was first sent to Europe, and for years thereafter, the air division helped fill a crucial gap in Western Europe's air defenses, a gap caused by the non-existence or ill-equipped nature of European air forces."[321] When 2 (F) Wing in GrosTenquin became the first operational Canadian Wing on the European continent, it became "the only NATO force in Europe possessing fighter aircraft capable of dealing with the Mig 15s flown by the Soviet air force."[322] McKenzie Porter noted in a *Maclean's* article that after two years of NATO operations, "the RCAF fighter pilots in Europe have outstripped all other nationalities at aerial agility and fire power. This is because they alone are fully equipped with the F.86 Sabre Jet, the only match in mass production for the Russian MIG."[323]

In 1955, then Minister of National Defence, Ralph Campney told the House of

---

[319] Hunt, "Planning the Air Force Structure," 17.
[320] O'Doherty, "The Maple Leaf in NATO," 7.
[321] Jon B. McLin, *Canada's Changing Defense Policy, 1957-1963: The Problems of a Middle Power in Alliance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 115.
[322] DND, DHH, 181.003 (D5417) *Operation "Nimble Bat" Movement of Squadrons to No. 1 Air Division*, "NATO The RCAF's Air Division in Europe, Release No. 8694," 7.
[323] Mackenzie Porter, "THE JET-PROPELLED SQUIRE OF TOLETHORPE HALL," *Maclean's*, Oct. 1, 1953, 27, Periodicals Archive Online.

Commons that "[T]here is, I feel sure, no finer, more modernly equipped, better trained, fighting air force in Europe today than the Canadian air division, equipped with Canadian-built Sabre jet planes powered by Canadian-built Orenda engines. And when the squadrons have all been equipped with Sabres Mk. VI, they will be still more effective."[324] Jim Holt, who served in the Air Division in the early years, said, "you cannot believe how dominant the F-86 was in those days. The other air forces were just, sort of, gearing up and getting ready."[325] He believed that "from '53-'54, through to the early '60's, you had this window of F-86 dominance and then the airplanes started to get better than the F-86. Then it passed. But during that period, that Cold War period, if we had to go to war at that time the, the squadrons from the four wings would have given a very good account of themselves because we were all trained to go for it."[326]

'TEETHING' PROBLEMS

Although the Air Division would develop into a highly efficient organization, it encountered a number of issues in the early years, especially at 2 (F) Wing GrosTenquin, the first 'permanent' air base established in Europe for the Air Division. Unlike the two bases being created in West Germany, GrosTenquin had many challenges to deal with during the first few months, including lack of ground handling equipment and spare parts, and construction delays. As of January 1953, "[T]he main difficulties, emphasized by the winter period, have been the failure to provide adequate heating and lighting."[327] At the

---

[324] DND, DHD, 111.1 (D3), Speech in House of Commons by Hon Ralph Campney MND on NATO and Canada's Relation to NATO, 28 Jan. 55, 6-7. *Hereinafter referred to as "Campney Speech".
[325] James Holt (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, September 2, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[326] Ibid.
[327] LAC, RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 21 Jan. 53, 2.

time, “only one of the three permanent heating plants is in operation and even this one is not yet reliable. The remainder of the camp has intermittent, temporary, heating.”[328] The June 1953 Wing status report stated that “[C]onsiderable work has been done to the buildings this month, but a very high percentage of the effort went to removing and re-installing unacceptable work.”[329]

GrosTenquin had been built on a swamp and was often referred to as the “Big Muddy.” According to former RCAF member, Norman Avery, planks were set up to provide “some insurance that we would not go over our boot tops in the mud. When it rained it was murder. And it rained all winter.”[330] Despite these issues, RCAF members “reacted favourably to the difficult conditions of their domestic life and to their lack of equipment to get on with the job.”[331] Other construction-related issues included serious problems with the concrete runways. Stocky Edwards was shocked at the state of the Wing when he arrived on *Leap Frog II*. He said,

> they had nice runways so slick you couldn't brake on them in wet weather. Anyway, the hangars are there with no sides on them - they had the roofs. There was no food on the base, there wasn't a starter battery on the base. Can you imagine? And we got these oh, how many airplanes we have? 60? All lined up. You couldn't (re-fuel), just the fuel you had in them that was left. [332]

In order to address these issues, Edwards reported that “the Americans came over and helped us. They sent a tanker over, and starter batteries, not enough to do anything but in an emergency, and there was no armament there or anything. It was a hell of a mess.”[333]

---

[328] Ibid.
[329] LAC, RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 6 Jul. 53, 3.
[330] Norman Avery, “Grostenquin Revisited,” *The Roundel* 16, No. 10 (1964): 24.
[331] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 21 Jan. 53, 3.
[332] Edwards Interview.
[333] Ibid.

All of these issues were impacting flying operations. The "inability to operate is progressively reducing the flying ability of the pilots and the proficiency of the squadrons, and they are now faced with the necessity of redoing training carried out in Canada. Lately, however, there has been an encouraging development of a spirit of self-reliance within the Wing, which is resulting in a modest flying programme."[334] The goal was to increase the flying rate "until it reaches about a hundred hours a month per squadron where it will rest until the equipment situation improves materially."[335] In addition to the fuel issues, in February 1953 at 2 (F) Wing, "[A]s many as 26 aircraft have been grounded at one time for lack of spares."[336]

At 2 (F) Wing, forty-four airwomen were expected on March 9, 1953, so "[M]odifications to existing accommodation are being carried out in order to provide the airwomen with a reasonable degree of privacy and comfort."[337] There were also concerns with housing for airwomen in other locations. When the first twenty-four airwomen were posted to Air Division Headquarters in Paris on March 15, 1953, there were no issues, however, housing was to be problematic in April with the move to the much smaller community of Metz.[338] According to Norman Avery, there was a well-known Russian propaganda radio program hosted by "Moscow Molly" that proved how "the red spies we

[334] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 21 Jan. 53, 3.
[335] Ibid.
[336] LAC, RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 28 Feb. 53, 2.
[337] Ibid., 1-2.
[338] Ibid., 1.

were warned about actually existed."[339] After the airwomen arrived in Europe; Molly reported "that "comfort women" had been supplied to the Canadian troops."[340]

One area of concern that became more pronounced in later years was airfield security and the survivability of men and machine in the event of a Soviet first-strike. In order to address the vulnerability, "a programme of ground defence training has been started at Gros-Tenquin which aims at completing basic defence training for all personnel by September, 1953. Concurrently, action is being taken to expedite the provisioning of ground defence weapons and equipments (sic), lack of which at present is handicapping training."[341] In 1954, the RCAF knew that "aircraft on the ground will present an extremely vulnerable target."[342] To counter this, "[A]s part of the Passive Defence protection the camouflage of all aircraft has been introduced. Camouflage decreases the visibility of aircraft on the ground but increases the potential for spotting aircraft in flight." [343] After evaluating the impact that camouflage would have on the aircraft, the decision was made to apply it to all the F-86 Sabres in Europe.

Security concerns lingered though as "[T]he vulnerability of our present concentration of aircraft per Wing to atomic attack is readily apparent. Accordingly, higher Headquarters have outlined a policy of dispersal to one squadron per airstrip."[344]

---

[339] Norman Avery, "Get Some Mud on Your Boots," Grostenquin, France, Communications and Electronics Museum, accessed Apr. 21, 2024, http://c-and-e-museum.org/grostenquin/ other/earlydays-11.html.
[340] Ibid. "Comfort women" was a term used by the Japanese military for women and girls who became sex slaves for their soldiers. See Erin Blakemore, "The Brutal History of Japan's 'Comfort Women'," History Channel, Updated May 31, 2023, www.history.com/news/comfort-women-japan-military-brothels-korea.
[341] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 28 Feb. 53, 4.
[342] LAC, RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Sep. 54, 5.
[343] Ibid.
[344] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Sep. 54, 7.

In 1954, Air Division policy was "to construct revetments for only 25 aircraft. During war, aircraft other than those required for immediate operation will be dispersed off the airfield."[345] To accomplish this, they would need "eight additional airfields, three of which may be assigned from the existing AAFCE airfield complex and five from future airfield construction."[346] This new policy would require a strategic mind-shift though as the "organization of the Air Division has been based on the concept of the Wing being the basic fighting element. The introduction of the squadron v.s. Wing concept as the basic fighting unit will require a major reorganization of the Division."[347]

While there were some minor disciplinary problems in the early days of the Air Division, they were nothing compared with what went on in 27 Brigade. A *Maclean's* report from North Luffenham pointed out that there were "a few dust-ups in pubs […], but these have usually been settled by peaceful Canadians ejecting their offending countrymen."[348] In addition, "[W]elfare officers have had some legal work in connection with paternity suits, but such cases are rare."[349] On the Brigade side, Lionel Shapiro wrote that "Canada, which prides itself on one of the highest living standards in the world and on a truly magnificent military tradition, is represented on the ground in Europe by an indifferent brigade – indifferent in military efficiency, in *esprit de corps*, in appearance and in behavior. Canada has contributed one of the few second-class military

[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.
[347] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 10 Jan. 55, 5.
[348] Mackenzie, "THE JET-PROPELLED SQUIRE," 26.
[349] Ibid.

formations standing guard in western Europe."[350]

Shapiro concluded that "[W]hen the educational standard is dismal, the crime and VD rate high, and the human material lower than average, it is hardly possible for the brigade to be anything except second-class."[351] According to Blair Fraser, this situation would be resolved with the 27th Brigade replacements as "[T]he worst of its misfits were weeded out at home" and the new policy "that soldiers' families may go with them is expected to make a big difference, too. The general level of behavior will rise, and the VD rate will fall."[352] He was right, as the Brigade would go on to achieve recognition as one of the top land force units in NATO.

YELLOW JACK

After completing the stand up of 1 Air Division HQ in Metz, France, in 1953, and the four Wings in Europe, the RCAF had more work to do. A new radar unit was established just outside Metz that became operational in July 1955. The Canadian Ground Control Intercept (GCI) radar installation, more commonly known by their callsign "Yellow Jack," allowed the Air Officer Commanding (AOC) of the Air Division "to control his forces" and filled "a vulnerable gap in the radar coverage of the 4 ATAF area."[353]

No. 61 Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron (61 AC & W) was "the only

---

[350] Lionel Shapiro, "Lionel Shapiro Examines the Failure of the 27th," *Maclean's*, 15 Aug 1953, 7, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19530815014/print.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Fraser, Blair, "A New (and Better?) 27th Brigade," *Maclean's*, 15 Nov 1953, 6, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19531115011/print.
[353] "Status Report - February 1955," 3.

RCAF radar squadron outside Canada."[354] The unit had a staff of "around 250, and about 35 of these are airwomen. Like radar stations in Canada, of course, the division's unit operates on a 24-hour-day basis, necessitating shifts."[355] Although the unit was an instrumental part of the Air Division, it did not enjoy "the usual glamour of the division's more highly publicized operational fighter wings. […] Most of the important operations at 61 AC & W Sqn. go on in an undertone in a crowded, darkened room filled with tote boards, radar scopes, a big transparent plotting board, desk and telephones."[356]

Sabre pilots were intimately familiar with "Yellow Jack" and its' capabilities. Ed McKeogh recalled that when on 'Zulu' alert,

> [I]f anything came eastbound out of those Iron Curtain countries, they would spot it right away and up we would go to intercept and see what it was all about. And that radar was excellent. They could pick up, without secondary transponders, you know, IFF, just the skin paint, pick up airplanes.[357]

No. 61 AC & W was stood down at the end of 1962 as it was not required to support the CF-104 Starfighter's low level flying operations.

FLYING THE F-86

Once Yellow Jack was prepared to provide target intercepts, the Air Division was fully equipped to complete its mission. Of course, F-86 Sabre flying operations were the raison d'être for the RCAF in Europe so having well-trained, competent pilots was critical. Journalist George Bain reported that the average age of pilots in the Air Division was "about 23 years, and is brought up to this only by the fact that squadron commanders

---

[354] No. 1 Air Division SOPR Staff, "The Fightin' Sixty-First," *The Roundel* 12, No. 6 (1960): 14.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Edward McKeogh (Retired RCAF Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 9, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

and flight commanders continue mostly to be of Second World War age."[358] The RCAF was fortunate to have many of the initial leadership positions filled by Second World War veterans, many of whom had received the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC) or other awards, especially with the challenges experienced in the early years.

As with any new aircraft, the first few years of operations are usually the most dangerous as mechanical or design problems come to light and as pilots test the limits of their machines. Grant Nichols said,

> it was great flying in England. We flew the airplane to the maximum. […] We were pushing it and this is why we had a lot of accidents. We just pushed it too far at times. But we came into the English Operation area, closest headquarters […] was Ottawa. Air Division hadn't formed then, so we wrote our own rules […].[359]

Tom Ledwell, another pilot, said it was a

> [D]ogfight, every trip. And we weren't supposed to. Technically they were called curves of pursuit. But there had been some unfortunate fatalities caused by dogfighting, somebody pulling up under somebody else and colliding, mid-air collisions and stuff, so the Air Force frowned on it. But they didn't stop it."[360]

Fern Villeneuve said that in North Luffenham, the typical day started "about eight o'clock when you assembled again for briefing and the day's training program. And then you would have your squadron exercises, go up and practise, you know, what we called quarter attacks which was the maneuver you do against a bomber."[361] Much of the training was done with the U.S. Air Force as the RAF was still re-building their fighter and bomber forces.

---

[358] George Bain, "Europe 10 Years Later: Canadians Live Well at German Bases," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jul 4, 1955, 1, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[359] Nichols Interview.
[360] Thomas Ledwell (Retired RCAF Flying Officer), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 14, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[361] Villeneuve Interview.

Glen Younghusband suggested that Canadians "could always beat the Americans because I think our training was better and we had the better airplane, and we could always beat the British because they had pretty old airplanes and they were flying mostly Meteors and Vampires and things, and the French didn't show up too much, so most of the really challenging air fighting was against other Canadian squadrons because they had the equivalent airplanes […]."[362] Younghusband also pointed out that "the training was very realistic, which it had to be, because I think the time from the Iron Curtain was only 15 minutes so, you know, you didn't have time to get into a bunch of training if you were going to be involved. And at that time of course they had the Hungarian Revolution and the Czech Revolution and so there was some fairly tense... tense times, so we trained very realistically and as a result they had quite a few accidents."[363]

The squadrons in North Luffenham held alert status on a rotational basis. Fern Villeneuve recalled how they "had to have four aircraft armed and ready to go a half hour before sunrise. We would do cockpit alert for the first hour, 'cause we were on what they called two minutes, because if you got the go order, or scramble, you had to be in the air in two minutes."[364] After the first hour was up, "you went on five minute (alert) until a half hour before sunset. So that last hour, again, you were on two minutes."[365] As F-86 Sabres were day fighters, "the RAF night fighters would go on status a half hour before sunset […] and they would take over the alert then for the night."[366] Even though the

---

[362] Younghusband Interview.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Villeneuve Interview.
[365] Ibid.
[366] Ibid.

Sabres did not have an all-weather capability, the threat in the early 1950s was considered to be so great that the aircraft would be launched even when conditions were poor. Villeneuve remembered one occasion when

> it was fogged in to the extent that you had four airplanes side by side, you could only see one beside you and the other, by the next one, the fog was so thick you couldn't see it. And if the scramble order came, you had to go. Even in conditions where there was nowhere else in England you could go (to land), you were going. I think there was a serious anxiety about the Russians starting a front with the Korean War on.[367]

After 416, 421 and 430 Squadrons settled in at 2 (F) Wing in GrosTenquin, they quickly proved their worth. Ken Roberts wrote that, "[I]n practice scrambles they bounced their American allies unmercifully and the USAF pilots had to admit the Canadians were good."[368] Their efforts made such an impression that not long after replacing General Dwight Eisenhower as SACEUR, "Gen Matthew B. Ridgeway, Supreme Commander of NATO forces at the time, said that the Canadian airmen had been given the aerial post of honor covering the vital communications highway that runs from Germany through Metz and Verdun to Paris."[369] It was pointed out that he did this as "a tribute to the high morale and efficiency of the Canadian pilots and the modernity of their equipment, supplied by the Canadian government."[370]

Once 61 AC & W Squadron became operational, every Wing held 'Zulu' alert on a rotational basis. Gord Brennand said that four Sabres at each Wing would be stationed at the end of the runway, "ready to take off within two minutes at the highest state of

---

[367] Ibid.
[368] Roberts, "Early Days At Air Div," 22.
[369] O'Doherty, "The Maple Leaf in NATO," 8.
[370] DND, "The RCAF's Air Division in Europe," 2.

alert. At that stage we would be in the cockpit ready to start up and take off."[371] Once again, standby would only be held from sunrise to sunset. According to Brennand, if a section was scrambled,

> [I]mmediately after takeoff the leader would contact Yellow Jack for vectors and altitude information to the target. Once the target was sighted visually, no further assistance was required; the leader would manoeuvre the formation into the best position for the dog fight which was sure to follow. After a few minutes of simulated air-to-air combat, with fuel running low, the leader would contact Yellow Jack control for the latest weather at base and request a steer and miles to home plate.[372]

Although many aircraft would be 'scrambled' during the Sabre era, whether for actual or simulated intercept missions, there was a lot of boredom too. Peter Davis recalled some of the quirkier requirements for holding standby. He said, "[O]n 444, if you didn't play Bridge, you didn't get to go on Zulu, because there's only four pilots out there and if one guy doesn't play bridge, nobody plays Bridge."[373]

After USAF General Lauris Norstad was named Commander of Allied Air Forces Central Europe (AAFCE), he directed that his air assets would be used to "gain and maintain air superiority over Central Europe and the continental approaches to it if attack should come; give full and continued support to Allied Land Forces in the field; and constitute from NATO-allocated forces a "single integrated force.""[374] If there was a situation where SACEUR needed to issue a General Alert, Canadian aircraft would be used to conduct

(a) "Fighter Sweeps in support of Atomic Strike Forces.

---

[371] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 86.
[372] Ibid, 86-87.
[373] Peter Davis (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 12, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[374] Roberts, "Early Days At Air Div," 21.

(b) Package Missions as directed by the Commander, 4 ATAF.
(c) Visual Reconnaissance of assigned targets."[375]

Air-to-air combat, "curves of pursuit," or 'dogfighting', was the main focus of Canadian air operations and it was practiced at every opportunity. John Ink said he had "great respect for the air fighting phase of it. Because when somebody "bounced" you in play, before you got into that scissors motion, […] sometimes you'd try to yank up and […] maybe you could drop down behind him."[376] Ink noted that rarely took place though. He explained that with someone coming up on you from behind,

> one of the defensive tactics was pull into the sun. So you're - at least I was - partially blinded by the sun, and my eyes didn't recapture in time to see what was behind. Which one of us is going to stall out first? If it's me that's going to stall out first, […] I could fall back, and we'd have a mid-air and that would be the end of both of us.[377]

There were numerous air training activities for squadron pilots to help improve their skills. Missions included high altitude battle, close formation, tactics, rendezvous at high level (emphasizing bomber rendezvous above cloud and contrails), rendezvous at low level, night flying, spins, air fighting, and practice forced landings. Pilots also attended lectures on subjects such as gunnery patterns, flight safety, intelligence, aircraft recognition, safety equipment, current affairs, and Russian fighter development.

While flying was the key activity in the Air Division, it could not be accomplished without a massive support organization. According to an article about the air base in Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, it took

---

[375] *1 Air Division Data Book, Third edition*, 3.1.
[376] John Ink (Retired RCAF Flying Officer), interview with Kevin Anderson, August 8, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[377] Ibid.

> the co-operative effort of roughly 13 men for every aircraft on the station: the flight-line, maintenance and repair crews who keep the aircraft serviceable; the construction engineering people who maintain the runways; the vehicle and marine men who, after a December blizzard, keep them clear […]; the flying control personnel who, on a busy day, can have as many as 1,100 take-offs and landings to control; the fire hall crews, the medical and dental personnel, mess staffs and many others […]. It must suffice to say that these personnel are fully appreciated by the aircrew they support.[378]

While there were would have been subtle differences in Europe, the support elements were essentially the same.

Unlike air traffic control in Canada, where most air bases had few hazards and little traffic, Tom Ledwell said that air traffic control in Europe "was extremely busy because there were all the air forces' stuff, and if one air base was closed down for anything like an air crash, or bad weather, and that kind of thing, they had to move everybody over from another base. And it was incredible how the air traffic controllers were able to manage a hundred landings in an hour."[379] Brennand was also impressed by the skill of ground control operators. He said,

> [I]f the approach was properly flown, the last transmission from the final controller would be: you are passing through GCA limits take over visually and land. If you had followed the GCA operators instructions you could bet your bottom dollar that the centre line of the runway would be straight ahead. I always had a feeling of intense pride and satisfaction when making a landing after going through GCA limits. I'm sure the controllers felt the same, having completed their very important part in the exercise.[380]

---

[378] Flying Officer G.D. Savage, "Stations of the RCAF: RCAF Station Portage La Prairie," *The Roundel* 12, No. 2 (1960): 15.
[379] Ledwell Interview.
[380] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 87.

EXERCISES AND COMPETITIONS

Being prepared for aerial battle was the sole purpose of peace time operations in Europe so numerous exercises and competitions were held to train NATO air forces. While some of the exercises were specific to the Air Division, most of them involved multiple NATO countries. One of the largest of the early exercises was named "*Carte Blanche*."

Exercise *Carte Blanche* – June 20-28, 1955

General E.L.M. Burns wrote that roughly "six months after the decision to arm NATO forces with nuclear weapons had been taken, a tactical exercise was carried out by the allied air forces in western Europe, under the enigmatic code-name of "Carte Blanche." The general purpose was to study what might happen if command of the air over a theatre of operations were fought for by hitting opposing airfields with nuclear weapons."[381] According to Henry Kissinger, a well-known American diplomat, *Carte Blanche* "was conducted in a north-south direction, partly because of political considerations but mainly to afford sufficient space for maneuver by high-speed jet aircraft. True to the British and American doctrine, the exercise began with a surprise attack by "Northland" (northwest Germany, Holland and Belgium) on air bases and other installations in "Southland" (southern Germany and eastern France)."[382]

This was the first time that Germany saw the implications of NATO's nuclear doctrine. Kissinger wrote, "[T]he impact of "Carte Blanche" was all the greater because it

---

[381] Burns, *Megamurder*, 131.
[382] Henry Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, Council on Foreign Relations, Publications (New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1957), 292-293.

was witnessed by a large number of German journalists who, as observers, had been flown throughout the exercise area in allied military aircraft. By this arrangement, the full realization of the meaning of nuclear war was brought home to a psychologically unprepared population."[383] While German reporters noted how realistic the exercise was, they pointed out "the grim prospects posed by atomic warfare for Europe and its peoples. All accounts stressed that in a nuclear war it would make little or no difference whether it was fought with tactical or strategic weapons."[384] While the exercise was supposed "to reassure Germany that NATO, by using tactical nuclear weapons, would be able to protect its territory", it proved "that the power of nuclear weapons inhibits their use unless there exists a doctrine which poses alternatives less stark than total devastation."[385]

While the Air Division represented approximately 20% of the strength of 4 ATAF, during Exercise *Carte Blanche*, "the Air Division's four wings flew 2,500 of the 6,000 sorties credited to Southland. This is an impressive figure when it is considered that the French and American elements of Southland had approximately 14 wings at their disposal and operated correspondingly greater numbers of aircraft than the Air Division."[386] Unfortunately, one Canadian pilot, F/O A.G. McCallum, lost his life in a Sabre crash during the exercise, leaving a wife and one year old daughter behind.[387]

John Farnham was one of the RCAF pilots taking part in the exercise. He recalled

---

[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Ibid.
[386] DND, "The RCAF's Air Division in Europe," 8.
[387] "Canadian Virtual War Memorial," Veterans Affairs Canada, accessed July 27, 2024. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/en/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/4510078?Allan%20Gerald%20McCallum.

how "the Sabres were acting as enemy bombers, bombing England. We were heading up towards England and we had 96 Sabres flying in one huge mass formation […]."[388] To identify aircraft in the exercise, Farnham said, "the airplanes were painted, they had distinctive yellow sort of markings on the tail, X's, and things like that."[389]

Carte Blanche was a full-scale exercise which meant that in addition to the pilots and ground crew involved, "the entire female complement at Air Division headquarters moved into the field to live for ten days under simulated wartime conditions. They worked twelve hours a day at normal duty; they pulled security guard and police detail; they ate "C" rations and slept on canvas cots."[390] TSgt John K. O'Doherty, writing about *Carte Blanche* in the Twelfth Air Force magazine, praised the airwomen stating that "[A]t the end of the exercise they were perhaps a bit less glamorous in coiffure and costume, but nonetheless game."[391]

Other Exercises

In order to be ready to fight a real war, NATO forces were constantly running exercises. While the majority were for pilots and radar operators, others involved headquarters elements. One of the early exercises the Air Division took part in was called "*Grand Alliance II*" and it took place between 18 and 23 January 1953. It "was a command and control exercise for the Allied Sea, Land and Air Forces in Central Europe."[392] This exercise clearly demonstrated that the RCAF needed aircraft control and

---

[388] Farnham Interview.
[389] Ibid.
[390] O'Doherty, "The Maple Leaf in NATO," 10.
[391] Ibid.
[392] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 28 Feb. 53, 6-7.

warning facilities "for the effective employment of RCAF aircraft in their role of the air defence for 4th Allied Tactical Air Force."[393]

Both 2 and 3 (F) Wings participated in "*Operation Momentum*", which was "a test of RAF defensive forces against high altitude invaders."[394] During the exercise, "416 (F) Sqn was deployed to North Luffenham to bolster the RAF defenses and play the role of an interceptor force. 3 (F) Wing and the remaining squadrons of 2 (F) Wing took part in the exercise as invader forces."[395] Another exercise, used to help train "squadrons in ground controlled interceptions, which has been more or less limited in the past to large scale exercises, will be expanded into a regular day-to-day training programme. This programme, which will be known as exercise "Snowball", will start during October and will be continued with the aim of bringing all squadrons and controllers to operational standards."[396] This exercise was remembered by everyone. Even family members recalled "*Snowball*" as it involved personnel being called in at any time, day or night.

In addition to NATO exercises, the Air Division and AAFCE ran several exercises of their own. Exercise "*Magnaflux*" was conducted in March 1954 and was "designed to test the defence of the U.K. against aerial penetration."[397] Gord Brennand wrote that, "[A] squadron from each wing deployed to Cambrai, a French Air Force base to take part in Operation Magnaflux. […] The RAF air defence system reacted with considerable vigour, and many dogfights took place between the RAF and our

---

[393] Ibid.
[394] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 14 Sep. 53, 2.
[395] Ibid.
[396] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 13 Oct. 53, 2.
[397] "Status Report – February 1954," 2.

aircraft."[398] Another exercise pilots knew well was "*Squadron Rotation*" as it "involves the exchange of one Air Division squadron with a squadron of the FAF, USAF, RNAF, or RAF for a period of one week each month."[399] This exercise was also valuable for ground crew personnel as it gave them the opportunity to service other NATO aircraft.

Rabat Sale Gunnery Range

While exercises helped pilots master dogfighting tactics, the Air Division soon realized there was also need for aerial gunnery training. After "meetings with the French Air Force, arrangements were made to use FAF facilities at Rabat Sale, French Morocco so that RCAF squadrons could conduct air-to-air firing at the Port Lyautey Range."[400] In order to support the training missions, a detachment was established with the RCAF renting "a single hangar and a small amount of barrack space from the French Air Force".[401] The gunnery exercise was called "*Weapons Fire*" and in January 1954, 434 Squadron became "the first unit to make use of the firing range."[402]

Syd "Cyclops" Burrows was a member of 434 at the time and he recalled that, "we flew to Marseilles to an airfield, […] then we flew from there to Oran, Algeria, which was still run by the French, and across the Atlas Mountains into Rabat in French Morocco, which was run by the French. […] So, we'd get into Rabat, and we were set up in the French quarters and they were pretty crummy."[403] When they began the exercise,

---

[398] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 71.
[399] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 10 Nov. 54, 1-2.
[400] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 13 Oct. 53, 2.
[401] Arthur Brydon, "RCAF to Move Range From Rabat to Sardinia," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Sep. 12, 1956, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[402] LAC, "Status Report – January 1954," *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Feb. 54, 2.
[403] Syd Burrows (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, September 5, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

one Sabre towed "the flag behind it and it was impregnated with lead or tin so we could see it. We had a little ranging sight on our Sabres that would track, and you'd roll in and ping on the tow plane and then flip a switch on your stick and the pipper would fall back on to the flag and then you could shoot, but you only had a couple of seconds to line up and shoot and then you'd roll across the flag and go back up and around again."[404]

Despite "the fact that the majority of the pilots had not participated in air firing exercises for at least one year prior to exercise "*Weapon Fire*", the overall results of the initial round were very promising. Percentage average scores for squadrons ranged from 10% - 30%."[405] After extending the gunnery camp to three weeks had helped to improve scores, with "the introduction of the Sabre V and the A-4 gunsight, scores took a definite jump of approximately 10%."[406] It was believed that "[T]he second round of air firing training with all squadrons equipped with the Mk V Sabre should show consistently high results and it is expected that there will be very little difficulty in attaining the Air Division standard of 22.5% per pilot."[407]

Brennand noted that "[T]he gunnery trips were short, usually between twenty five and forty minutes. [...] A flight of four aircraft would take off, locate the tow plane, do one dry run, then go in live until all the ammo was expended, land and wait until the tow plane dropped the flag: the ground crew would retrieve the flag and hang it up outside the flight room where a group of anxious pilots would be waiting to count the hits." [408] In

---

[404] Ibid.
[405] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 18 Aug. 54, 4.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.
[408] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 76.

order to determine individual scores, ammunition was coated with different coloured wax which left distinguishable markings on the mesh target.

One of the things Peter Russell remembered from his time in Rabat was that "as squadron pilots, we had to wear uniforms all the time, so we weren't mistaken for somebody that the Arabs didn't like. We had a little piece of paper and one gold sovereign that we carried that if we were forced down into the desert, we were to hand this to whoever came to get us."[409] According to Russell, pilots "called it a 'blood chip' and it said that the Queen would take care of them if they turned us back into the proper authorities in one piece."[410]

As Canadian pilots were highly competitive, the Air Division felt it would be worthwhile to develop "a system of competition between squadrons to be awarded by a suitable trophy."[411] It was decided that starting on July 28, 1954, "with the second round of air firing exercises squadrons will compete for the Lloyd Chadburn Air Firing Trophy. After completing 15 firing sorties per pilot the squadron will fire four completed sorties per pilot which will provide the basis for assessing the squadron average score in the competition."[412] A small change was later implemented so that it was the Wing, not the squadron, that received the trophy.

By the mid-1950s, eroding colonial relations between the French and the Moroccans were creating issues when squadrons went to Rabat. Jim Holt said,

---

[409] Peter Russell (Retired RCAF Major), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 12, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[410] Ibid.
[411] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 18 Aug. 54, 4.
[412] Ibid.

> when you went downtown you were told to go in uniform so that you would not be mistaken for a French person. And some people went in civvies and there were some people got beaten up. But if you went in uniform and they recognized you as a Canadian they generally left you alone. The relationship then between the natives and the French was pretty tense."[413]

AEROBATICS

Pilots knew that tactics and weapons firing were critical elements to their war-fighting capabilities, however, with the speed and manoeuvrability of the F-86 Sabre, it didn't take long for pilots to become interested in performing aerobatics. As 410 was the first squadron in England to be equipped with F-86 Sabres, they began a "tradition of excellence" that culminated with the 1959 establishment of the RCAF *Golden Hawks* aerobatic team at RCAF Station Chatham, N.B.[414] Grant Nichols recalled how someone on the squadron suggested "we should have an aerobatic team before someone else does."[415] As a Flight Lieutenant at the time, Nichols became the leader of the squadron team. He said he would choose someone he "wanted to fly with or wanted to try out and we'd do whatever we were supposed to do and at the end of a mission we'd do some loops and rolls and things. And eventually I went to the Squadron Commander, who was Duke Warren at the time, and said we should have an aerobatic team and he said, oh it might be a good idea and I said as a matter of fact we already have one, we've been practicing."[416] After flying alongside the group to see what they could do, Warren authorized the first Canadian Sabre aerobatic team.

---

[413] Holt Interview.
[414] To learn more about Air Division (and other Canadian) aerobatic teams, see Daniel V. Dempsey, *A Tradition of Excellence: Canada's Airshow Team Heritage* (Victoria, BC, High Flight Enterprises, 2002).
[415] Nichols Interview.
[416] Ibid.

Not to be outdone, the members of 441 Squadron also created their own aerobatic team. Two members of the group, Fern Villeneuve and Ralph Annis, became so adept at performing aerobatics that they would later go on to form the *Golden Hawks*. Villeneuve said, "when we were on squadron in England, […] you're doing formation take-offs and landings, day in and day out so you get a desire to maybe get into aerobatics. So, a couple of us bothered the squadron CO and said we would like, you know, to authorize us."[417] In those days, according to Villeneuve, a squadron commander had the ability to authorize formation aerobatics, "[S]o, we were authorized to do a little experimenting."[418]

While many of the other squadrons also had their own teams, the first aerobatic team formed by the Air Division in 1954 was called the '*Fireballs'*. Syd Burrows was one of the pilots chosen for the team and he shared an interesting story. He said,

> [W]e were led by Chuck Keating and I was number two, Jack Frazer was three and Alger Mace was number four. And we started doing air shows all around Europe and one night we decided maybe we should paint these airplanes something. And the ground crew said "okay" and they painted them fire engine red and we had these-- We didn't tell the big bosses and they were a little upset when they found out we were flying around in the bright red Sabres."[419]

The *Fireballs* only lasted the one year, but they were replaced in 1955 by another team known as the '*Sky Lancers*.' The team did well that year, but all of the members were replaced in 1956. On March 2, 1956, tragedy struck at 4 Wing as the *Sky Lancers*, consisting of Flying Officers Dale McLarty, Ed Welters, Fred Axtell and Jake Adams, crashed while practicing, killing all four pilots. Alexander "Dan" Danyluk had flown that day and he said,

---

[417] Villeneuve Interview.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Burrows Interview.

> I was on Zulu Patrol. We scrambled early so we were just landing when the team, we recognized them from their call sign, they asked to takeoff so they could practice their aerobatics […]. We just finished landing and that was pretty hairy, ceiling was at about 150 to 200 feet. I let my 3 and 4 land and I did a tight circuit around, a tight turn, almost a dumbbell and landed on the taxi strip, the weather was that bad. So, when I heard Dale call for taxi clearance, I got on and said, "Dale it is pretty hairy out there, low clouds […] are touching the ground." He said, "Ha, this is a 4 Wing aerobatic team". That's the last I heard of them, the next thing I know four of them went in the ground. Shame it was.[420]

Brennand wrote, "Fred and Helen Axtell had a two year old son, Michael: Jake and his wife had children as well."[421] Following the funeral service on the Wing, the deceased were taken to the Choloy military cemetery in France for burial. Brennand stated that "[I]f the officer had a wife in Germany, she and the ladies supporting her were provided with a staff car and driver. […] There were rarely any family members in attendance as they were required to pay their own way, and with Trans-Atlantic commercial air transport in its infancy, it simply wasn't possible in most cases."[422] This tragedy put an end to Air Division aerobatic teams, although aircraft would still participate in air shows and fly pasts. Robert McKay noted that he arrived in Europe several months after the accident and at that time, "low level aerobatics were *verboten*."[423] He "never saw anyone perform low level aerobatics and that's just the way it was."[424]

---

[420] Alexander Danyluk (Retired RCAF Captain), interview with Kevin Anderson, August 8, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[421] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 89.
[422] Ibid.
[423] Robert McKay (Retired RCAF Squadron Leader), Interview with Kevin Anderson, June 25, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[424] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The formative years of the Air Division were arguably the most challenging as the RCAF worked with their NATO allies to construct four air bases, a suitable headquarters, and a supply depot. With recruiting and training establishments in Canada working hard to meet the demand for pilots and ground crew, new squadrons were being formed and sent over as soon as their air bases were ready, or, in the case of GrosTenquin, even before they were ready.

Leap Frog operations were very successful and proved the value of the North Atlantic staging route. Bertram Frandsen wrote, "[T]he deployment of RCAF squadrons overseas was a milestone that created the third largest "European" air force after the United States Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) and RAF Germany."[425] Although having such a large post-war force was impressive, when it came to quality, "the RCAF No. 1 Air Division, with twelve squadrons equipped with the Canadair Sabre, represented the zenith of advanced air power in the early 1950s, and was essential for Western European defence."[426] In addition, "[A]s pointed out by General Lauris Norstad, former Commander-in-Chief of Allied Air Forces, Central Europe, the mass flights of the squadrons was an accomplishment of its own, representing meticulous planning and organization and calling for skillful and determined flying by the Sabre pilots."[427]

The information captured in this chapter barely scratches the surface of what took place in the Air Division between 1951 and 1956. Flying a jet that was as sleek as a

---

[425] Frandsen, "The Rise and Fall of Canada 's Cold War Air Force," 113.
[426] Ibid., 113-114.
[427] DND, "The RCAF's Air Division in Europe," 5.

sports car made the young, brash pilots want to test it to its limits, and they did. While this led to several accidents and some fatalities, there were numerous lessons learned that would help them go on to become some of the best pilots in NATO in the years to come. Due to space limitations, some of the information for this period, especially regarding families and the challenges they went through, will be covered in the next chapter. In addition, it will look at how things changed with the introduction of the CF-100 Canuck.

CHAPTER 4 - BRING ON THE 'CANUCKS' (1956-1963)

While the Canadian F-86 Sabres had been serving NATO admirably for five years, Minister of National Defence, Ralph Campney told the House of Commons that "the Military Committee of NATO has been continually stressing for some time past the need for increased air defence in Europe – particularly in the field of all-weather fighters. We have been pressed for some time past to assist in this regard in view of the fact that we in Canada are producing in the CF-100 what is generally regarded as one of the very best all-weather fighters in NATO."[428]

Campney said that once Canadian-based air defence squadrons were fully equipped, "we are prepared to replace the aircraft in four of the day fighter squadrons in the air division in Europe with CF-100 all-weather fighters. This step will very materially strengthen the all-weather defence capabilities of the NATO forces and thus help to meet one of NATO's most urgent needs."[429] After the four CF-100 squadrons had been embedded in each Wing, Harold Greer wrote in the *Globe and Mail* that the "air division in Europe -275 aircraft, 6,000 men – is not only acknowledged to be the best and most effective air interceptor force in NATO, it is the mainstay of NATO's air defenses."[430]

This chapter will look at the introduction of the CF-100 Canuck into the Air Division and provide more details on F-86 Sabre operations, including the outstanding results in international gunnery competitions. In addition, this chapter will touch on the

---

[428] DND, Campney Speech, 5-6.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Harold Greer, "Integration Not New For Army and Navy; RCAF Case Different," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jan 15, 1959, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

challenges families faced as they worked to build Canadian communities in the heart of Europe.

GETTING TO EUROPE

As CF-100 production had finally reached the point where aircraft could now be sent to Europe, the RCAF decided to send individual squadrons overseas in an operation known as "*Nimble Bat*."

Operation *Nimble Bat*

The first CF-100 squadron sent to Europe was 445 (All Weather) Fighter Squadron. On October 30, 1956, the squadron "was given a ceremonial send-off from R.C.A.F Station Uplands, Ottawa. Two days later No. 445 Squadron left for Marville, France, via Goose Bay and Keflavik, in a move designated "Operation Nimble Bat"."[431] The other three squadrons would follow over the next few months. Once the squadrons left Canada, they were "replaced by new CF-100 squadrons bearing the designations of the *Sabre* squadrons disbanded in Europe."[432] As with *Leap Frog* operations, 426 (Transport) Squadron flew support personnel to the transit bases on the venerable North Star in order to service the CF-100s when they landed. The *Nimble Bat* operations took place as follows:

Nimble Bat I: 445 Squadron, November 1956 (replacing 410 Squadron);

Nimble Bat II: 423 Squadron, February 1957 (replacing 416 Squadron);

Nimble Bat III: 440 Squadron, May 1957 (replacing 413 Squadron); and,

---

[431] "Nimble Bat," *The Roundel* 8, No. 10 (1956): 22.
[432] Ibid.

Nimble Bat IV: 419 Squadron, August 1957 (replacing 414 Squadron). [433]

The CF-100 had a longer range than the F-86 Sabre so pilots were able to go from Goose Bay direct to Keflavik and then to their respective Wings, bypassing Bluie I West, Greenland and a stop in either Scotland or the U.K. Unfortunately, interviews were not conducted with former CF-100 pilots who flew on *Nimble Bat* operations.

The Golden Age of Sailing Comes to An End

Ocean liners continued to be used to move members and their families throughout the 1950s, however these days of travelling in style would soon come to an end. The acquisition of long range transport aircraft would not only alter the way that personnel were moved, but it would also lead to the eventual closure of 30 Air Material Base in Langar as re-supply could now be done directly from Canada. In January 1962, the RCAF began operating the Canadair CC-106 Yukon. The Yukon provided a non-stop trans-Atlantic service from Ottawa or Trenton to Marville, France in ten hours and could carry up to 134 passengers. After it was retired in 1971, the larger and more capable Boeing 707 took over and remained in service until after the Air Division stood down.

FLYING THE CF-100 CANUCK

As the CF-100 squadrons arrived in Europe, it was their turn to learn how to operate in the new environment. General Paul Manson began his career as a CF-100 pilot. Although the aircraft was a source of pride as the first Canadian designed and built aircraft, he said Sabre pilots "used to mock the CF-100 airplane because it wasn't a

[433] "Operation NIMBLE BAT," Government of Canada/National Defence, accessed Apr. 4, 2024, www.canada.ca/en/ department-national-defence/services/military-history/history-heritage/past-operations/europe/leap-frog.html

typical fighter aircraft that would be engaged in dogfighting, that was not it's intent. It was an interceptor and a night interceptor primarily, with an excellent radar, an excellent fire control system, the guy in the back who told you where to go, where the enemy target was, and so on."[434]

When it came to training missions, General Manson said "we did a lot of practicing of air intercepts because the CF-100 was designed to attack enemy aircraft coming over from the other side of the Iron Curtain. It was what we called a lead collision course."[435] He explained that CF-100 pilots

> would approach the flight path of the target at 90 degrees, and we would intercept them. So, we crunched over at 90 degrees but just before the cross over we would fire a huge load of some 58 rockets and so the target would fly through this pattern of rockets and presumably get shot down. They were not guide rockets at all, they were purely ballistic rockets, but all this was controlled from the back seat. The radar operator picking up the target making sure the pilot flew a lead collision course and the automatic system took over and fired the rockets automatically at the right time. It was a very impressive system for it's day.[436]

During these training flights, Manson said, "we had very little restriction although we could not go over the Iron Curtain".[437] Switzerland was also off-limits, "but basically, we would fly everywhere else in Europe."[438] Most of their flying was done "over West Germany, over the lowlands and a lot of flying in France. We did quite a bit of flying up close to the Iron Curtain and patrols up there."[439]

---

[434] Paul Manson (Retired RCAF General), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 16, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.

Squadrons also "did a lot of stand by alerts, particularly at night in the CF-100's where we would be out in an alert hangar all night long. We had cots there, we would wear our flight suits and our flying boots, ready to go if the siren went on a scramble."[440] According to Manson, pilots "would have to be in the air in 10 minutes and that is pretty fast from a deep sleep, I'll tell you. But we did a lot of that so the CF-100 pilots and air crew would spend quite a bit of time at night in the hangar playing bridge and having a nap, having a snack, expecting there would be a practice scramble or maybe a real scramble because our aircraft were armed and loaded during those alerts."[441] When the Air Division Commander at the time, Air Vice Marshal (AVM) Larry Wray, was asked if the constant state of alert was hard on the nerves of his pilots, he replied that he didn't think so as no one had gone AWOL in a very long time and they had "a re-enlistment rate of over eighty percent – double the American figure. We've built up a really professional team here, the envy of most of the other air forces."[442]

DECIMOMANNU AIR WEAPONS UNIT

While the Cold War focus was to prevent a nuclear war, many countries in the 1950s, including Morocco, were rising up to end colonial rule. This led the French to give up control of Morocco in 1956 so Canada had to find a new location for gunnery training. The chosen site was an Italian air base in Decimomannu, Sardinia. Canada decided to open a detachment there and an "Air Weapons Unit was activated on 1 March 1957 as a

---

[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Leslie F. Hannon, "The cold war is still cool for Canada's NATO force," *Maclean's,* September 23, 1961, 77, https://archive. macleans.ca/ article/19610923xxx/print.

replacement for the range at Rabat, French Morocco."[443] According to Flying Officer D. Sharp, "Decimomannu has somewhat frontier accommodations. Two concrete buildings serve as station HQ and armament stores while an assortment of tents, brought from Germany, are utilized for operations, engineering, photo assessment, and canteens." RCAF members posted to the detachment in Decimomannu "are housed and fed at "barrack village", a former Italian Air Force camp approximately six miles from the airfield, and are shuttled to and from work by bus. Movies twice a week provide one source of entertainment but the miles of white sandy beaches and turquoise-coloured water are the island's greatest attractions."[444]

As for the operational side, Sharp reported that, "[T]he airstrip itself is a 10,000 foot runway situated on a hot, semi-arid plain."[445] While the unit was created in March, it wasn't until June 26, 1957, that "the first *Sabre* squadron (No. 439) arrived to begin live-firing exercises and, on 23 November 1957, the first CF-100 squadron (No. 445) flew in from the Air Division."[446] In order to maintain their proficiency, every one "of the 12 squadrons based in Europe goes to Sardinia twice a year for gunnery practice, the *Sabre* squadrons for two-week sessions and the *CF-100* squadrons for three-week periods. For the *CF-100* crews Sardinia provides a new experience, since they get an opportunity to fire machine guns."[447]

General Manson noted that, "[T]he weapons range itself was over the water for

---

[443] Flying Officer D.E Sharp, "Sardinian Sojourn," *The Roundel* 11, No. 3 (1959): 4.
[444] Ibid., 7.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid., 4.
[447] Ibid. 4-5.

firing guns and we had land-based target areas where we could drop bombs, fire rockets, that was in the *Sabre* era. The CF-100s only fired guns on ground targets and even that was later on in the CF-100 era."[448] Manson said, "when the four CF-100 squadrons went to Europe, although the airplane had a gun pack built into it, CF-100's had not done any real gunnery training at all. We were considered a night fighter, rocket firing airplane but somebody at that time, this was about in early '59, said we have got this airplane with the capability of an excellent gun pack, it is a very stable gun platform, why don't we resurrect the gunnery capabilities in the CF-100s and train our people to use those guns?"[449] In order to get the process started, they sent "one pilot from each of the four CF-100 squadrons […] back to the Fighter Weapons Instructor Course at CFB Chatham."[450] As there were no CF-100s in Chatham, *Canuck* pilots practiced gunnery on the F-86 *Sabre*.

The Lloyd Chadburn trophy continued to be awarded after the move to 'Deci' and it went to "the Wing whose squadrons have registered the high marks in two successive shoots […]. One days scoring during each squadron's stay at the live practice firing unit is counted in the competition, and the trophy is awarded each 16 months." Air Commodore Peter Gilchrist, the Chief of Staff for the Air Division, presented the 1959 trophy to 4 Fighter Wing in Baden-Soellingen and told the crowd that "while it was won on the basis of aerial marksmanship, all members of the Wing, technical and administrative ground crew personnel as well as aircrew, shared in the credit."[451] In

---

[448] Manson Interview.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Ibid.
[451] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1, *PR 842*, 20 Nov. 1959.

addition, a Rocketry trophy was created in 1959 and awarded to the CF-100 squadron that achieved the best scores.[452]

THE GUYNEMER TROPHY

While the Lloyd Chadburn trophy was for intra-RCAF gunnery competitions, the Guynemer Trophy was awarded to the team that won the Allied Air Forces Central Europe (Aircent) gunnery competition. Although the competition began in 1958, the name was first suggested in 1955 when "the Chief of Staff of the French Air Force wrote to SACEUR and offered on behalf of his Government to present a cup, to be called the GUYNEMER Cup, for competition between fighter squadrons of the NATO nations."[453] The trophy, a silver aircraft, was named after Captain Georges Guynemer, the famous French fighter ace of the First World War. This annual event was designed "to test the air firing capabilities of units responsible for the air defence of Europe and to promote inter-allied spirit amongst pilots and crews."[454]

J. Douglas Harvey wrote that "[A]ll of the NATO airforces were eligible to compete for the trophy but not all of them rose to the challenge each year."[455] He said, "[T]he French always indicated they would enter but only showed up the first year when they came dead last. […] The Royal Air Force usually entered but the United States Air Force only once when they came last in a six nation event in 1959."[456] While the U.S. and

---

[452] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 2 *PR 301*, 16 Dec. 1960.
[453] Lieutenant General C.V.R. Schuyler, *SACEUR'S PERIODIC REPORT TO THE STANDING GROUP, JANUARY-MARCH 1955*, NUMBER 44, (SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS EUROPE, PARIS, FRANCE), SHAPE/264/55, 23 May 1955, 14.
[454] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1, *PR 667*, 28 Aug. 59.
[455] J. Douglas Harvey, "They Didn't Train For This," *Airforce* 6, No. 4 (1982): 17.
[456] Ibid.

France chose not to participate after suffering embarrassing defeats, Air Division pilots were eager to prove their mettle against the rest of their NATO allies year after year. Harvey noted that,

> [T]he Canadian attitude toward winning didn't appear to rub off on some of the other nationalities. The Italians spent most of their time arguing vociferously with everyone about the rules. […] The Germans, with their newly approved military trade unions downed tools whenever possible, while the Norwegians looked upon the competition as a holiday and made the most of it."[457]

While the pilots received the glory, in order to win the competition, they needed "the most reliable aircraft and the RCAF groundcrews worked like demons to harmonize the six .5 machine guns in the nose of each Sabre and to keep each radar gun sight tuned to perfection."[458] The forty technicians assigned to the Air Division team needed to work "with speed and efficiency under conditions alien to their everyday surroundings."[459] The ground crew were operating from "a strange airdrome, and with unfamiliar equipment, but every pilot on the team knows that when he needs his aircraft for another run at the elusive targets, it will be ready and waiting for him. He knows, as he taxies his Sabre into its parking place after each sortie, that the men in coveralls will take over their vital tasks as soon as he shuts down his engine."[460]

The way the competition was set up, every team required "a squad of 36 officers and airmen. Five of these are pilots, the remainder forming a supporting ground crew element."[461] Four pilots from each team would fly three cine-gun sorties followed by "a

---

[457] Harvey, "They Didn't Train For This," 17.
[458] Ibid.
[459] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 1, *PR 641*, 13 Aug. 59.
[460] Ibid.
[461] "Three In A Row," *The Roundel* 12, No. 9 (1960): 9.

similar number of live gunnery exercises."[462] During the cine-gun trips, pilots would track "another aircraft, keeping it in their sights during a stipulated interval - not as easy as it sounds with the target plane weaving at near the speed of sound at 35,000 feet. The resultant films are screened bv the judges, who accord a score depending on what shows in the cine footage."[463] The live gunnery events were carried out the same way as air firing exercises in Decimomannu where pilots would fire on "targets, known as banners, towed behind another jet aircraft at 25,000 feet. Measuring 30 x 6 feet, the targets are woven plastic mesh, and bullets passing through them leave holes which are later counted by the judges."[464] The spare "pilot does not sit about, waiting for one of his teammates to come down with mumps. Every time that a team's four-man pilot squad taxis to the runway's end to take off on a point-scoring sortie the alternate pilot is alongside in his aircraft, ready to take off himself should a sudden unserviceability develop."[465]

The first three competitions were held at Cazaux, France but moved to Leeuwarden, Holland for the 1961 and 1962 events. The Canadians would dominate, winning the first four competitions and placing second in 1962. In addition, Canadian pilots would take the top three individual scoring titles in 1959 and the top two in 1960. The RCAF had actually enjoyed success in 1957 too, as, prior to the establishment of the Guynemer Trophy, Canada competed against French and American teams of 4 ATAF at

[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid., 10.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Ibid.

an aerial gunnery competition in France.[466] While the team "won a decisive victory over the Americans (F-100s) and French (F-84s)", the top score went to "Flying Officer C.J. Henry of the RCAF, whose 95 hits out of a possible 100 constitute, as far as it is known, the top score ever tallied in a competition of this nature."[467]

According to Burnell Reid, a two-time member of the Canadian team, in order to be selected, "you have competitions, and we had twelve squadrons in Europe, so they picked the top six fighter pilots in the scores of those twelve squadrons, so that is…like that's 240 pilots. So, the top six go and have a shoot-off and the top four make the team."[468] Once the pilots were chosen, they would fly down to Decimomannu. Reid said, "[T]here was five of us on the team and we spent over a month there just practicing, three times a day. Shooting. It was great."[469] Prior to the 1962 event, *Maclean's* reporter Leslie Hannon wrote that "at this kind of old-fashioned stand-up-and-scrap war, we are very good indeed. In each of the four years that the Guynemer Trophy has been presented to the best marksmen in all the NATO air forces, the RCAF has won it hands down."[470]

A DANGEROUS OCCUPATION

While aircraft accidents often occurred over the ocean or in unpopulated areas, on certain occasions, an aircraft would crash into a populated area. After one such incident in 1960, RCAF members in France raised money to give "to the Alsace villager who lost

---

[466] "Air Firing Record," *The Roundel* 9, No. 6 (1957): 30.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Burnell Reid (Retired RCAF Captain), interview with Kevin Anderson, May 12, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Leslie F. Hannon, "Tactical report: our pilots are champs with yesterday's weapons," *Maclean's*, May 19, 1962, 77, https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19620519/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Darwin#p78.

home and family when an RCAF Air Division jet fighter crashed into the village of Lichtenberg, Bas-Rhin, […]."[471] Retired Colonel Gerry Morrison recalled the crash and said the pilot "bailed out with frozen controls and he actually brought the airplane over top of the air field. […]."[472] Unfortunately, the *Sabre* "flew around for a little while and eventually crashed in the Vosges Mountains, killing a lady and her child. That was a pretty horrific thing that happened."[473]

Grant Nichols had mentioned earlier how pilots pushed their Sabres to the limit in North Luffenham. He also acknowledged that they

> had a lot of accidents in those days. Things were very casual. […] 410 was my first squadron and I was on it nearly four years, but we had five killed. Squadron Commander was killed doing low level aerobatics right over the airfield.[474]

Nichols mentioned that for most accidents, "it was attributed to pilot error, which is a good thing, you know, if you thought the airplane was bad, you'd be frightened of it, but if you figured the guy screwed up, well he screwed up, I won't screw up."[475]

There were nine flying accidents on Sabres in May 1954 with two fatalities. One pilot had crashed into the sea and another was killed by an inadvertent ejection.[476] Gord Brennand remembered how a new pilot had arrived on 422 Squadron in late November 1954 and on the 29th, after doing some aerobatic and approach training, his Sabre crashed a short distance away from the runway and he was killed. His fuel gauge was broken but,

---

[471] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 2, *PR 296*, 14 Dec. 1960.
[472] Gerald Morrison (Retired RCAF Colonel), interview with Kevin Anderson, August 14, 2014, Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Nichols Interview.
[475] Ibid.
[476] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116 Vol. 2, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 16 Jun. 54, 3.

as he was still a relatively inexperienced pilot, he didn't recognize that his fuel level was too high based on the amount of flying he had done that day. Brennand said that "[A]fter this accident and following similar situations at the other wings, Air Div HQ decided to introduce a phase training syllabus of twenty five hours for each new pilot as an introduction to flying in the European environment."[477]

A lot of pilots had close calls when flying or knew someone that did. John Farnham recalled one incident that was too close for comfort. He said,

> I had to bail out once, a mid-air collision. And the other guy didn't make it. I don't exactly know what happened. I just felt a jar and my airplane went into a spin and I tried everything to get out of the spin […]. Finally had to eject, about 10,000 feet. […] I'd never bailed out before, and it was very relaxing. […] Didn't seem to be any wind or anything and I suddenly realized I was gaining on the airplane.[478]

Farnham "pulled the ripcord," but when the aircraft exploded, he said, "it singed my eyebrows. It was that close. I landed about 50 feet from the fireball."[479]

Peter Rusell remembered an incident at 4 (F) Wing in Baden when "Wing Commander Frank Darrah was appointed our squadron commander. He was, I think four months into his tour and he lost his engine."[480] Russell said it was

> [S]imilar to the problem that I had, the bearing froze, oil starvation. He was coming in on GCA by Hügelsheim, I guess it's a town. And they say he steered it away from the town but went in with the aircraft. And then there was one, two, I think there was three more we lost before they got a fix on the bearing. So, it ate up a few of us…[481]

Russell also remembers pilots going to the "crash site and searching the site, and the hole,

---

[477] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 79.
[478] Farnham Interview.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Russell Interview.
[481] Ibid.

the impact site for the pilot, looking for his remains. They took us out and, like falling off a bicycle, they got us all back into the air afterwards and (we would) get over it."[482] Due to the number of crashes, an ejection seat demonstration unit was created "[T]o instruct RCAF personnel, civilian police, fire and defence organizations in the correct method of removing pilots from crashed F86 aircraft".[483] The mobile unit "was manufactured from salvaged materials by the salvage unit at 2 (F) Wing."[484]

The rising number of fatalities became a cause for concern as Canada had a policy of not repatriating the remains of fallen RCAF personnel or deceased family members. In 1953, the RCAF investigated "the establishment of a permanent cemetery plot for deceased RCAF personnel of 1 Air Division."[485] Meetings were held "with the Imperial War Graves Commission concerning a suitable plot adjacent to their cemetery at Choloy, France. French authorities have made the land available and it is anticipated that the War Graves Commission will provide perpetual maintenance subject to financial adjustment by the Canadian Government and the Commission."[486] Meanwhile family members, mainly children, were laid to rest at local cemeteries throughout Europe.

Pilots learned early on how dangerous flying could be, so they developed their own ways of coping with these tragedies. Peter Russell said, "There were no counsellors or other personnel to talk to squadron members after a crash. Other than the squadron got together and talked about it." When it came to his own experience he said, "I got

---

[482] Ibid.
[483] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 7 Aug 53, 4.
[484] Ibid.
[485] LAC, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 9 Nov 53, 6.
[486] Ibid.

hardened to it after awhile. But you just accepted that it came with the possibility of that happening."[487] Grant Nichols said, "We had a black arm band and you'd hear someone would go in we'd all go up to the mess that night and get pissed and say too bad about poor old George, and we'd all get pissed and go out and have the ceremony and that was it."[488] In a 1955 article in the 1 (F) Wing base magazine, the author called out "the shattering effect that wives have on each other and their husbands in time of disaster, say when one of their husbands is killed. The entreaties made to aircrew have had to give up their careers because of a distressed wife. All such happenings damage spirit."[489]

LOSING A FAMILY MEMBER – A CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE

Lynn Laide's father, Corporal William Cochrane, an RCAF technician and Second World War veteran, was killed in a car accident while stationed in GrosTenquin in 1959. Laide said, "[I]t was almost surreal. He and the gentleman who lived on the first floor of our building--and that gentleman was killed as well--they had gone to Holland for a Remembrance Day parade."[490] Lynn's father had a few friends who were killed in action during the war and Lynn knew that her "dad was really keen to go because they were going to be at the cemetery where his friends were".[491] When the news came in about the accident, she "was just getting ready for bed, it must have been around nine o'clock at night and the Base Commander, and padre, and a doctor were at the door. I

---

[487] Russell Interview.
[488] Nichols Interview.
[489] "Service Wives," *Talepipe* (Marville base news magazine) V, No. 3 (Nov. 1955): 14.
[490] Lynn Laide (Daughter of RCAF Technician), telephone interview with Kevin Anderson, September 29, 2020, RCAF Families Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.
[491] Ibid.

remember my mom collapsing. It sort of just tore the heart out of all of us."[492] In the days that followed,

> a lot of the wives showed up at our house, at our apartment, a lot of meals. I believe my mother had been given some sedatives by the doctor, and my uncle came down from Zweibrucken. Gail (Lynn's younger sister) and I were taken shopping in St. Avold because my mom thought we didn't have anything appropriate to wear to the funeral. It was a very strange week. My sister was taken by a family whose daughter was in the same class […] and she spent a lot of time with them. I spent a lot of time on my own. It was a rough week because the accident happened at the beginning of the week and by the end of the week, we were getting ready to come back to Canada."[493]

The family of an RCAF member who was killed in Europe was not given much time to get their affairs in order before they were sent back home to Canada.

While losing a loved one was difficult enough, the rush to send families back to Canada deprived them of the support they could gain from their adopted community with people who knew and understood what they were going through. They were also forced to leave their loved one behind at the cemetery in Choloy (for serving members), or at one of the other many local cemeteries in the event of a family member death. This meant that unless they paid their own way back to Europe, they could never again visit their loved one's grave.

'CANUCK' FAMILIES

In spite of the "shattering effect" wives could have, the young soldiers and airmen in Europe were keen to get married. Members of 27 Brigade were seeking permission to marry German women before the middle of January 1952, even though they only arrived

---

[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid.

in Germany between November and December of 1951. Meanwhile at North Luffenham, there were many activities that brought together single RCAF men with local women, a sure recipe for marriage. McKenzie Porter wrote in *Maclean's* that the Wing welfare officer "enrolled in his Hostess Club more than a hundred English girls who, after getting character references from their employers and a minister, are regularly brought out in buses to dance with the single men. More than sixty marriages have resulted from this arrangement."[494]

Army leadership was never in favour of having families stationed in Europe. Brigadier Walsh held a meeting where there was a "discussion about the position of relatives now in Germany of members of the 27th Brigade (he declined to use the term "dependents"). The Brigadier's emphatic view was that the Brigade could not take any action to recognize their existence in Germany."[495] General Simonds agreed with his position and wrote,

> The presence of large numbers of dependents with units and formations that are supposed to be training for and ready to execute operational duties in the defence of Western Europe cannot be regarded as anything but a *deplorable handicap*. In the emergency of a sudden aggression, officers and men would be distracted by worries concerning the safety of their own families, when they should be completely absorbed in their military duties.[496]

According to Simonds, the Army tried to avoid the situation "by limiting the overseas service of a married man to one year and a single man to two years," and he believed "these periods will pass pretty quickly if troops are actively engaged in training as I know

---

[494] Porter, "THE JET-PROPELLED SQUIRE," 28.
[495] DND, DHH, 112.1 (D97), "AJA/MN File 71-1," *27 CIB – Nov 51/Feb 52*, January 22, 1952, 1.
[496] DND, DHH, 112.1 (D97), "HQ 2001-1931/0 TD 1 (CGS)," *27 CIB – Nov 51/Feb 52*, 3 Jan. 52, 2.
*Author's emphasis in italics.

they will be. I consider we must give this system a really fair trial before we bow to all the disadvantages which must accrue from encouraging the presence of families and dependents with the troops in Europe.[497]

According to Army Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, "[I]n September 1952, the Chief of the Air staff recommended at a Chiefs of Staff Committee meeting that the dependents of Canadian servicemen be moved to Europe at public expense, subject to certain conditions of which the availability of accommodation was the most important. The Chief of the Air Staff claimed that the separation of families in peacetime was causing a morale problem, that it had a derogatory effect on recruiting, and that it adversely affected the efficiency of the Air Division in Europe."[498]

Nicholson also noted that "[D]uring the course of 1953 the arguments of the Chief of Air Staff concerning the poor morale of Canadian servicemen in Germany began to be repeated in the Canadian press and in at least one national magazine, although the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade rather than the Air Division was usually the target of the criticism. Adverse comments were made in the press concerning the failure to provide "a complete program involving the establishment of Canadian communities near the troop camps", married quarters, and Canadian schools."[499] Despite Simonds' concerns, "the Air Force view ultimately prevailed, and with the annual rotation of personnel late in 1953, the dependents of Canadian servicemen were moved to Europe at public expense."[500]

---

[497] Ibid.
[498] Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, "The Canadian Army. 1950-55 Part I: Canadian Defence Policy," *Report No. 93,* Historical Section, Army Headquarters, Jun. 1961, 28, accessed Jan. 12, 2024, www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/reports/ahq-reports/ahq093.pdf.
[499] Nicholson, "The Canadian Army. 1950-55," 28-29.
[500] Ibid.

The U.S. Air Force (USAF) had a much different view on families than the Canadian Army did. An article in the *Twelfth Air Force Review* magazine noted how the USAF believed that "[T]he wives and families of Air Force personnel are as vitally necessary to the successful accomplishment of our mission as airmen, aircraft and ammunition."[501] It went on to say that "[T]here was a time when wives and children were "tolerated" on the fringe of the military structure as an incidental part of the bargain in securing the services of the man. But that concept has been tossed out the window, and is now in the scrap-heap along with muzzle-loading rifles and bi-wing airplanes."[502] According to the article, "the Twelfth Air Force has abandoned the use of the word "dependents," conveying as it does a hint of patronage, handicap or "all gimme and no give," as if women and kids merely served to clutter up the situation."[503] While the RCAF take on the importance of family was more in line with that of their American counterparts, the RCAF view did not go quite as far, as the word "dependents" is still used today to describe family members.

In 1953, Minister of National Defence, Brooke Claxton, spoke to the House of Commons about "the provision of transportation for the dependents of service personnel in England and Europe."[504] He said, "[W]e had hoped that by the principle of rotation it might be possible to rotate married personnel so they would only be separated from their wives and children for a year. Despite that, however, a number have taken their wives

---

[501] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1., *TAF Review (The Twelfth Air Force Magazine)*, 12.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid.
[504] LOP, House of Commons Debates, 21st Parliament, 7th Session: Vol. 4, 4063. Hon. Brooke Claxton, accessed Jan. 12, 2024, https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC2107_04/773.

and children overseas without government assistance, and it is now proposed that regulations shall be introduced under which the ordinary rules regarding postings shall be applied if the commanding officer of the unit is satisfied that a service officer or man has secured proper accommodation for his wife and family."[505]

Finding accommodations proved challenging in many communities but that wouldn't stop families from being together. In Claxton's address to the House of Commons, he also informed his colleagues that for service members heading overseas, "[T]ransportation will be paid and they will be treated as married persons abroad on the condition that the posting is for a minimum of two years. This will be of major importance to the welfare of our troops abroad."[506] Dorothy Harley wrote in the *Globe and Mail* that, "[W]hile some RCAF families have found homes in villages and towns near the various stations, the accommodation available never meets the demand. As a result, the majority of these Canadians have turned gypsies and have made their homes in caravans located not too far from the runway."[507] She went on to say that "as a result of the Canadian Government's recent decision to pay transportation of servicemen's families overseas provided that they find their own accommodation, these communities inside RCAF grounds will experience mushroom growth."[508] Ken Roberts recalled that at 2 (F) Wing,

> wives were turning up, for Goodness Sake! looking for housing in the villages. There wasn't any. A trailer camp grew on one of the marguerites. Children were imminent, which meant hospital facilities, housing, schools. The concept of a

---

[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Dorothy Harley, "Families of RCAF Personnel Abroad Living in Caravan Colonies at Bases," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Jun. 18, 1953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[508] Ibid.

lean, male tactical division was changing fast, and it looked as though we were in for a long stay in Europe."[509]

Accommodations would remain an issue for many years while families waited for Permanent Married Quarters (PMQs) to be built. Gord Brennand wrote, "[S]ince the married quarters on the station were still under construction, everyone had to live on the economy, finding accommodation in the various towns and villages close to the airdrome. Accommodation was scarce, and what was available would be considered sub-standard in today's world, but we were all happy to find a place to live before moving to married quarters."[510] Some air force wives were known to complain about living conditions early on, especially regarding housing issues. In an article in *Talepipe*, the Marville base magazine, the author did not seem to sympathize with their plight writing, "[O]ne would imagine, to hear them, that "they", those impersonal and furry dreamers at AFHQ, were personally responsible for the housing shortages, the poor housing and the absence of conveniences in the areas around many air force stations."[511]

According to journalist George Bain, while the fighter Wings at Zweibrucken and Baden-Soellingen were "about on equal footing so far as accommodation and facilities are concerned," their counterparts located at GrosTenquin and Marville in France were "not so far advanced."[512] In his article, Bain argued that "Grostenquin, the first station which the RCAF occupied when it returned to Europe as part of the NATO force in late 1952 is undeniably the ugly duckling of the air division. The area in which it is located is

---

[509] Roberts, "Early Days At Air Div," 22.
[510] Brennand, *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*, 70.
[511] "Service Wives," 4.
[512] Bain, "Europe 10 Years Later," 1.

one of unprosperous farm villages, remarkable for the size and number of manure piles located immediately outside front doors, and the close proximity in which livestock and owners live."[513] Lynn Laide was a child when her family moved to Europe and she said, "all I remember is driving from the train station into GrosTenquin. It seemed like a very long drive and we passed all of the manure piles on the way and I just kept hoping we wouldn't be living next door to one of those."[514]

Having Canadian families in Europe meant that much more support was needed, not the least of which was medical care. In North Luffenham, Harley said that "[S]pecial medical services have also been arranged. A number of children have been born in the maternity ward set up in the 23-bed hospital and a visiting district nurse conducts a baby clinic at the hospital once a week."[515] The need for maternity care was evident at the other Wings as well. A December 1953 Status Report noted that "[A]n Obstetric Ward was opened at 3 (F) Wing early in the month. 4 (F) Wing are awaiting delivery of obstetrical equipment which should arrive by airlift in January."[516]

While a large portion of service members were married, many of them were just starting their families. A public relations report in 1960 discussed how "Air Division members, although thousands of miles from home, feel they're doing at least their share in building up Canada's future population. Births to Air Division families last year hit an all-time high of 882, according to Division officials, an increase of 50 over figures for

---

[513] Ibid.
[514] Laide Interview.
[515] Harley, "Families of RCAF Personnel Abroad," 18.
[516] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, "Status Report – December 1953," *S22-25-1 (AOC)* 12 Jan. 1954, 5.

1958."[517] While maternity care was provided at the Wing, "hospital and other associated costs are recovered from the individual."[518]

To ensure RCAF personnel and their families stayed active, recreational facilities were built at each Wing including "gymnasium, bowling alley, squash courts, swimming pool, cinema, games room; canteens or clubs as they are more frequently called now, sports field, tennis courts, running track, store and snack bar. […] The way the air force looks at it – and the army view is the same – is that Canadians who are asked to serve outside their own country for two or three years, should have the use of the sort of facilities they would find at home."[519]

There has been increased interest on military families in recent years as their experiences are very different from other Canadian families. Anne Rowan-Legg wrote, "[R]elocating is challenging because it impacts so many of the elements essential to a stable family life, including access to and continuity of health care, quality child care or schooling and the establishment of social circles. Family members are often required to be away from their immediate and extended families for long periods of time, resulting in de facto single-parenting for the at-home partner, often without extended family support."[520] These issues were magnified in the Air Division, especially in the early years, as the majority of people were not only away from their homes and extended families for the first time, they were also away from Canada and all the conveniences

---

[517] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1, *PR 924*, 1 Feb. 1960.
[518] Ibid.
[519] Bain, "Europe 10 Years Later," 1.
[520] Anne Rowan-Legg, "Caring for Children and Youth from Canadian Military Families: Special Considerations," *Paediatrics & Child Health* 22, no. 2 (2017): 6, https://doi.org/10.1093/ pch/pxx021.

they were used to.

Rowan-Legg also noted that "[T]he risks to safety, including the possibility of permanent injury, illness or death, are accepted as integral to the military profession. The demanding combination of high mobility, prolonged separations and acceptance of risk is inherent to family life in the CF."[521] One notable difference for families in the Air Division was that being away from Canada meant they had to rely on other RCAF families for support as their extended support network at home was not available. This created a bond that still exists today, more than 30 years after the Air Division closed. For many, time spent in the Air Division was the best part of their lives.

EDUCATION

With medical and dental treatment for families straightened out, the requirement to provide for the education needs of the rising number of children living in the Air Division also grew. Rene Morin, who became heavily involved in the DND school program, reported that at 2 (F) Wing GrosTenquin in 1952, "[W]ithin four months after the base opened, there were 53 children of school age living in a big trailer camp next to the Base with no education facilities available to them and the nearest French town with schools was 10 miles away. DND was not concerned because officially there were no Canadian families overseas."[522] While this may have been an acceptable stance for the government, it did not address the needs of the military communities, especially at GrosTenquin. Morin said that "[T]he Base Commander became concerned about the

---

[521] Ibid.

[522] Rene Morin, *DND Dependants' Schools 1921-1983* (Ottawa, ON, Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, 1986), 35, accessed 07 Sep 2020,www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/general/book-1986-dependants-schools-en.pdf.

morale of this trailer community and made unofficial arrangements to provide schooling for those children."[523] The situation changed in late 1953 when the Department authorized the creation of "temporary service schools at Air Div HQ, 2 and 3 (F) Wings, teachers and text books to be provided at public expense."[524]

In a 1954 report, it was pointed out that all schools in the Air Division "will move into permanent school quarters when these become available."[525] In addition to those at the four fighter Wings, Canadian schools for children of RCAF members were eventually set up at Metz, France; Ramstein, Germany; Langar, England; and, Decimomannu, Sardinia. In order to properly staff the schools, the Department of National Defence hired Canadian teachers "on leave of absence from various school boards across Canada."[526] The Department also hired teachers from Canada to serve "on the staffs of international schools at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe and American Air Force Central European Headquarters near Paris. Five D.N.D. schools are maintained in Germany and Belgium for children of Canadian Army personnel."[527]

FEAR

Although being on the front lines of the Cold War, Lynn Laide said, "I don't think I was smart enough to be afraid. I remember doing those silly drills, where you had to bend over and put your head between your legs, and I kept thinking, how's that going to

---

[523] Ibid.
[524] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, "Status Report – November 1953," *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 11 Dec. 1953, 6.
[525] LAC, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2, *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 8 Oct. 54, 6.
[526] "School No Problem For R.C.A.F. Children In Europe," *The Roundel* 10, No. 9 (1958): 19.
[527] Ibid.

help?"[528] She went on to note that she'd "never got a satisfactory answer as to how that would save us from an atomic bomb. I guess it would just keep the ceiling from falling on your head."[529] Anne Pennington recalled how "we worried about the bomb and there was whispering and people talking about it too. The Communists were bad people, the Russians were bad people."[530]

The "*Snowball*" exercises affected Pennington too. She would get scared "because I was aware of the situation of the world and the Cold War and all the rest of it, wondering were they coming back or how long would they be gone, or were they -- I had a sense of what an exercise was, that it was pretend and practice but we always wondered whether this was not a practice this time, whether it was the real thing. I had enough information that I was aware of exercises, but there was a lot of fear back then."[531]

GETTING OUT OF HARM'S WAY

One of the first questions that came to mind when conducting interviews with former Air Division pilots was what plans were in place to evacuate families and civilian personnel in the event of increased tension. Surprisingly, many had no idea what, if any, plans existed. A few mentioned Operation *Mayflower* while others just assumed the air force had a plan. The RCAF, under Air Marshal Hugh Campbell, the first Commander of No. 1 Air Division, did have formal plans to evacuate families. The Army brigade, on the other hand, had no evacuation plan at all. Families and civilians were expected to gather

---

[528] Laide interview.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Anne Pennington (Daughter of RCAF Technician, telephone interview with Kevin Anderson, September 28, 2020, RCAF Families Oral History Collection, New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

[531] Ibid.

in a barrack block on the Army base, despite being on the front lines of any potential East-West conflict.

The RCAF created Op Plan 2-54 and it was "designed to alert, assemble and evacuate by air the dependents of 1 Air Division, RCAF, and integrated staffs, to meet a situation in which there is an imminent threat of war. Personnel to be evacuated will include all dependents, visiting friends and relatives of RCAF personnel and non-European civilian employees."[532] When the Op Plan was drafted, a number of assumptions were made. First of all, it was expected that the Air Division would receive "sufficient warning of the outbreak of hostilities for this plan to be efficiently implemented."[533] Secondly, "[T]ransport aircraft of ATC and TCA will be used to augment the evacuation airlift from the continent to the U.K."[534] The third assumption was that "[A]ircraft will be operated on a 24-hour basis."[535]

The evacuation plan was set up to move RCAF families by air from each of the four Wings to 30 AMB in Langar. They would remain there until Air Force Headquarters (AFHQ) arranged flights back to Canada, which was expected to take up to fifteen days depending on the availability of transport aircraft. According to the Op Plan, this evacuation would "be given top priority involving all 1 Air Division transport aircraft" as well as other commercial aircraft.[536] It was recognized that the arrival of several thousand spouses and family members would be overwhelming for the RCAF personnel working

---

[532] DND, DHH, 181.009 (D 5813), RCAF Binder 20-3-1—No. 1 Air Division (RCAF), Metz, France Op Plans 2-54 and 3-54, Evac of RCAF Dependents Operations Plan 2-54, File: S7-2-3 (AOC), Feb. 1954, 1.
[533] Ibid., 1-2.
[534] Ibid., 2
[535] Ibid.
[536] Ibid.

in Langar, especially as they would already be at a high operational tempo in preparation for war. In order to alleviate some of this pressure, families were "to be self-sufficient where possible. However, additional personnel will be required to assist the CO, 30 AMB in the administration and welfare of the dependents during their stay at Langar."[537] Assistance would also be provided by the RCAF members from each Wing who were selected to accompany family members to Langar. Once the CO of 30 AMB had no further need of assistance, they would be sent back to their Wings.[538]

In addition to assigning an officer above the rank of Flight Lieutenant to supervise the evacuation on each Wing, the Plan directed that "dependents are to be organized in complements of 20 and given a group designation. Family integrity is to be maintained. Mothers with children, or who are in the last two months of pregnancy, are to be given priority and allocated among the first aircraft despatched."[539] Other family members who required medical attention would be treated in Langar. While extra medical staff were to be provided to 30 AMB to support these efforts, the RCAF also planned to "assign" family members with medical training to help out.[540] Anyone who was medically unfit to fly to Langar would "be admitted to U.S. Military hospitals for evacuation through American facilities. […] Dependents of families where one or more are hospitalized may elect to be evacuated through the same means or they may accompany the air evacuated dependents."[541]

---

[537] Ibid.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid., Appendix 'A'.
[540] Ibid., 2.
[541] Ibid.

A lot of time and energy went into the creation of the Op Plan, however, as no one seemed to know anything about it, the Plan may not have been distributed to the Wings or squadrons. Peter Davis remembered that during a general alert, "families that were in the PMQ's, the married quarters, were told to go to the basement."[542] He also noted that there was

> a funny expression in the military. It was, "when the balloon goes up here's what's going to happen." And all the wives would get a briefing. Well, it was months later that one of the wives said, "Where is the balloon? Which direction do we look to see the balloon?"[543]

Davis said after a couple of general alerts, "getting kids up out of bed, dressed and in the bunker, a lot of the women said they were just going to ignore it and die like a man."[544]

CONCLUSION

The early years of the Air Division were Canada's finest because, for the only time in aviation history, Canada had the best fighter aircraft in the world, with highly skilled pilots and technicians that routinely proved they were second to none. As Europe was still recovering from the war, Canada's contribution significantly enhanced NATO's defensive capabilities and gave other Allies the time to rebuild their own air forces. However, as the air defence of Europe became more of a territorial responsibility, the role being performed by the *Sabres* and *Canucks* became "an increasingly uncomfortable one for the Canadian air division."[545] Naturally, with the rapid improvements in aircraft and missile technology, the *Sabres* and *Canucks* would soon be overshadowed by much better

---

[542] Davis Interview.
[543] Ibid.
[544] Ibid.
[545] McLin, *Canada's Changing Defense Policy,* 115.

aircraft.

Unfortunately, with new technology came increased costs and that made replacing the aircraft more of a challenge for the Canadian government. In 1960, Peter C. Newman wrote, "Canada has spent twenty billion dollars on defense since the end of World War II, but like other minor powers we have been left behind by the galloping weapons evolution of the missile age. Some 120,000 Canadians are in uniform (supported by 55,000 department of national defence civilians), yet we are now capable of fielding a total of only twenty-one squadrons of aircraft made up of either the eight-year-old subsonic CF-100 or the even more ancient Sabre."[546] The speed of technological advance during the 1950s and 1960s, where aircraft were considered obsolete after ten years (or less), is a stark contrast to aircraft of today, especially considering the CF-18 Hornet is still in service after forty years.

After John Diefenbaker was elected Prime Minister in June 1957, he was tasked with finding replacement aircraft for the Air Division.[547] Of the options available to Canada, "complete withdrawal was opposed by SACEUR's General Norstad, who valued not only the direct military contribution of the air division (whose performance was consistently ranked among the highest of the units under his command) but also the example it set for the smaller European nations as the kind of efficient military contribution that was within the capacity of small countries to make."[548] During this time,

---

[546] Peter C. Newman, "Inside The Defense Department: Why the U.S. protects us - temporarily," *Maclean's*, May 7, 1960, 2, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19600507007/print.
[547] Op. Cit., 106.
[548] McLin, *Canada's Changing Defense Policy,* 115. **Quote partially attributed to Halpenny Committee *Proceedings* (June 24, 1960), 351.

the F-104 *Starfighter* in a nuclear strike role was being strongly considered, however there was a lot of controversy surrounding it. The delays in choosing a new aircraft meant Canada's contribution to NATO was becoming increasingly irrelevant, even though the pilots who were flying these "sadly antiquated Sabres and CF-100s" displayed "a courage and enthusiasm that makes light of the handicap."[549]

Peter Davis, who never flew jets again after his days on the Sabre, reflected on the changes that were to come. He said, "[W]e were well paid, we had good equipment, and the Avro Arrow was on its way, and it was going to be the best aircraft ever built, and it still would be. So, yeah, it was a proud organization, but you could see the writing on the wall." Davis believed that as time went on and memories of the war began to fade,

> what was of interest to Canadian policy had started to widen and everybody was looking for more money to do other things. And you knew the eventual response was going to be a degraded military. And once it starts to degrade it doesn't come back. And neither should it. We should be looking at peace, not war.[550]

Canada would go on to select the F-104, which would serve in the Air Division from 1963 until 1985 before it was eventually replaced by the CF-18 *Hornet*, however, the "Golden Age" of the Air Division came to an inglorious end as *Sabres* were shipped off to Prestwick, Scotland to be cut up for scrap. It would take another thirty years before the end of the Cold War and a changing world situation finally allowed Canadian forces to return home.

---

[549] Hannon, "The cold war is still cool," 77.
[550] Davis Interview.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

Historian Sarah Maza stated that a "central agenda of social history has always been to recover the lives, voices, and struggles of society's disempowered groups."[551] RCAF veterans of the Cold War fit the bill as their stories have not been told to any great extent, especially for those who served in the Air Division. Renowned Canadian Army historian, Colonel (Retired) Charles P. Stacey, noted that,

> after the Korean War and the advent of NATO, Canada possessed a respectable military establishment. This was the period when Canadian diplomatic influence was at its height. It was backed by a strong force in Europe – an air division of 12 squadrons, equipped with the best fighter aircraft of the day, and an army brigade group which some people said was the equal of any of NATO's divisions.[552]

Canada became a major player on the world stage during the early years of NATO, however, according to Sean Maloney, "Canada would not have had such influence if it weren't for the military, which was backed by an advanced aerospace industry that designed, built and sold F-86 Sabre fighter-jet aircraft to practically every member of NATO."[553] Canada's influence diminished over the years though as Canada's commitment of forces to NATO was substantially reduced under the Trudeau regime. Stacey explained how (Prime Minister Pierre) Trudeau's "systematic emasculation of the forces"[554] led to the failure of his 1983 "peace initiative." The drastic cuts Trudeau made to Canada's NATO forces, which saw the army brigade "reduced to a token force" and

---

[551] Sarah C. Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 28
[552] C P. Stacey, "PM's power base small for peace bid," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ont.), Nov 26, 1983, 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.
[553] Sean M. Maloney, "Canada's glory days," *Maclean's*, 21 Jan 2002, 17, Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.
[554] Stacey, "PM's power base small for peace bid," 7.

"[T]he formidable air division passed into history", meant he did not have the political capital he needed to influence other world leaders, unlike his predecessors.[555]

While the initial size of the Air Division contributed greatly to Canada's reputation, the quality of the pilots and ground crew helped maintain that reputation. John Harris wrote, "[T]he fighter pilots of the Great War (or World War I) were young men who quickly developed a new art of warfare to a high state of perfection. Most of them faced their first combat with very little flying training, and what training they had would be considered inadequate by today's standards."[556] When the Cold War began, despite having closed many of the wartime training establishments and drastically reducing the number of personnel at the end of the Second World War, the RCAF did an excellent job in a brief period to re-establish a comprehensive flying training program for both RCAF and NATO air forces. LGen (retired) Fred Sutherland believed that this "training produced a most impressive legacy of successive generations of outstanding fighter pilots – from the brash young pilots of the early years, manning twelve F-86 Sabre and CF-100 squadrons and 'ruling the skies' of Europe, to those who flew the venerable CF-104 Starfighter – first, in the Strike and Reconnaissance roles, and subsequently, in the conventional ground attack role and, finally, to those who flew the CF-18 – in both air to air and air to ground roles.[557]

In addition to high-quality training, improvements in science and technology

---

[555] Ibid.
[556] Harris, *Knights of the Air*, 11.
[557] Sutherland, "The Cold War – An Aviator's Retrospective" 5.

played a major role in Canada's success in NATO evaluations and competitions as advancements in aircraft design (slatted wings); propulsion (Orenda engines); missile and bomb capability; as well as radar and navigation aids; all led to changes in operations and, eventually, the roles of RCAF units. For instance, the F-86 *Sabre*, equipped with the Canadian built Orenda engine, far surpassed its American built counterpart.

In his book, *Rethinking Military History,* Jeremy Black spoke about "the specific role and impact of chivalry and its relationship with other Western developments, such as the character of professionalism."[558] These are inherent characteristics of RCAF pilots, especially those who flew *Sabres*. Their mission was to fly head-to-head against Iron Curtain fighters, carrying on the tradition of the 'knights' of the First World War. Their role was especially critical in the early years of the Cold War as European countries in NATO did not have the military strength or the aircraft necessary to do the job.

The pride and professionalism of both pilots and ground crew was evident both in individual and squadron exploits. Canadian *Sabre* pilots won the coveted Guynemer trophy in aerial gunnery competitions four years in a row between 1958 and 1961 and came in second in 1962, their final year in the competition. They continued to demonstrate their aerial skills in a variety of other competitions during the CF-104 era, which was quite remarkable considering how a large percentage of initial CF-104 pilots had been *Sabre* pilots, making the transition from high-level dogfighting to low level nuclear strike without missing a beat.

---

[558] Jeremy Black, *Rethinking Military History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 55, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203337462.

In 1972, Colin Gray argued that "[A]t the most basic level, deterrence, no doubt, is good for people. However, deterrent forces, and particularly those contributed to an alliance of enormous collective might, are well-nigh invisible."[559] This was definitely true in Canada's case as, according to General Manson, "[S]everal hundred thousand Canadian military members served in the vital cause of deterring Soviet aggression, thereby joining Canada's allies in preventing the outbreak of a third world war and the nuclear holocaust that would have ensued."[560] This 'invisibility,' or lack of awareness of the sacrifices made by Canadian military members (and their families), during the Cold War led General Manson to argue that some people in Canada look upon those who did not fight in a shooting war as second-class veterans. […] The Cold War, however, was not a shooting war. […] Our job was deterrence, and deterrence worked. We trained for war so that we wouldn't have to fight a war."[561]

In Gray's opinion, "[C]asualty lists, or at least action, are needed before a general public will take a particular pride in its armed forces, that is in the absence of a great and glorious tradition of successful aggression/defence. In the absence of headlines proclaiming that Canadians are dying for their country, and in the absence of any very disturbing perceived threat, Canadians are more likely to be puzzled at what the Armed Forces do, than proud of the body of distinctively Canadian guardians of the peace."[562]

A very similar opinion regarding casualties was shared by Beverley Baxter in a *Maclean's* magazine article written the year before the Second World War began. Baxter

---

[559] Gray, *Canadian Defence Priorities,* 196.
[560] Manson, "Canada's Forgotten Cold Warriors," 15.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Gray, *Canadian Defence Priorities,* 196.

wrote, “[T]here never is glory in keeping the peace, but only in tearing the limbs from young bodies and blinding the eyes of youth that have not yet looked upon the glory of life.”[563] As noted in the preceding chapters though, Canadians did suffer a large number of casualties in the Air Division. However, as General Manson pointed out, “whenever a Canadian airman was killed in Europe (as more than 100 were), he was invariably buried in a small military cemetery in Choloy-Ménillot, France; no ramp ceremony, no funerary procession along the Highway of Heroes, no headlines.”[564]

Although it might be tempting to consider Air Division personnel to be "peacekeepers", as they helped prevent a major war between the two superpowers for more than forty years, members of the Air Division would be the first to disagree. They trained for war, and all knew that in the event of hostilities, they would be among the first to risk their lives. To put it in perspective, Manson said, “Cold War operations resulted in more fatalities due to military service than in the Korean War, the Balkan conflicts, the Gulf Wars, Afghanistan and peacekeeping – combined. For aircrew deaths alone, the number was 926.”[565] When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney wrote to the Commander of the Air Division when the CF-104 was retired, he said, “I speak with special respect for those who gave their lives, during the era of the CF-104, in the service of their country. They died in time of peace; nevertheless *their sacrifice and their honour is no less than those who gave their lives in time of conflict*.”[566]

---

[563] A. Beverley Baxter, “London Letter – Britain’s Gamble for Peace,” *Maclean’s*, Jan. 15, 1938, 22, https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19380115/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Maclean%27s#p24.
[564] Manson, “Canada's Forgotten Cold Warriors,” 15.
[565] Ibid.
[566] Mulroney to Wightman. *Author’s emphasis in italics.

In addition to the loss of military personnel in Europe, research for this thesis also exposed a number of civilian deaths, the majority of them being children (see Appendix B). It has raised the questions of what happened to them and how their families remember them when they are buried overseas. According to Norman Avery, "[T]here are at least 1,370 Canadians buried in post-war Europe. […] They were post-war service personnel as well as their wives and children who died during postings to 1 Air Division and army units."[567] Avery explained that "[F]rom 1919 to 1970 Canadian government policy prohibited the return of human remains – military or civilian – to Canada, even at the expense of next of kin. In stark contrast, the American forces have gone to extremes returning bodies to their native land."[568] This policy would have a long-lasting effect on Canadian military families as the graves of many loved ones ceased to exist due to European regulations regarding the re-use of cemetery plots. In 2002, the Canadian government tried to minimize the impact of its earlier policy by establishing memorial cairns in the European cemeteries where Canadians were buried. For many, these cairns are the only indication their loved ones were ever there.[569]

When Canada joined NATO in 1949, and then established the Air Division in 1951, all political parties were in support. It would prove to be the only time in the Air Division's history that one could say that. From the time that Canada agreed to the CF-104 and the nuclear role, there were calls to withdraw all forces from Europe and pull out of NATO. When the Cold War ended and Canada was deciding what to do, NDP defence

---

[567] Avery, "The Forgotten Canadians," 50.
[568] Ibid., 49.
[569] Ibid., 50.

critic John Brewin believed the government was ignoring "the massive changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" and "continuing its commitment to NATO, […] an obsolete organization".[570] To Brewin, "Canada has no business being involved in the remaining security questions in Europe."[571] Sean Maloney reflected that, "Canadians were part of a colossal effort to win the Cold War, yet who has heard of these events or the people at the forefront? […] One of the legacies of this wilful ignorance of 50 years of history is the confusion that prevails today, the uncertainty over where Canada fits into the world, and the possibility that it is becoming a backwater nation. Influence, and its benefits, means effective involvement and sacrifice, nothing less."[572]

In 1972, Gray wrote, "there is something to be said for the retention of a small, serious and sophisticated war-fighting capability."[573] The interaction between Canadian forces stationed in Europe and their NATO allies enabled Canada to generate this "war-fighting capability," which would prove beneficial after the Cold War ended as Canada sent an air element to the Gulf War and participated in numerous other air-fighting missions in the years that followed. LGen Sutherland believed, "that the contribution of Canada's fighter community during the Cold War has yielded a legacy of operational excellence, a legacy which continues to this day, as exemplified during more recent fighter operations – in the first Gulf War, Kosovo, the post 9/11 Operation Noble Eagle and, most recently, in Libya."[574] This legacy was cemented in September 2023 when No.

---

[570] York, "Canada to close bases in Germany," A1.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Maloney, "Canada's glory days," 18.
[573] Gray, *Canadian Defence Priorities*, 104.
[574] Sutherland, "The Cold War – An Aviator's Retrospective" 6.

1 Air Division was inducted into Canada's Aviation Hall of Fame. In the citation on the Hall's website, it states, "[C]ollectively these pilots won numerous air fighting competitions and set such a high operational standard of military aviation that they earned the respect and admiration of many – excellence that was testament time and again to the quality of Canada's post-1945 air force leadership and personnel."[575]

A number of critics have suggested that Canada's contribution to NATO, especially in the latter Sabre/Canuck and CF-104 eras, was insignificant and not of much military value. To the men who flew those aircraft though, they believed that they were an integral part of the NATO deterrent force. For this reason, many Cold War veterans feel they have been unappreciated. In John Bagshaw's opinion, Canadian "politicians took far too long to recognize the contribution the Korean War Vets made towards world peace and the safety of our nation. I can only hope they will not make the same mistake with our Cold War Veterans."[576] LGen DeQuetteville said, "I think when the history of the Cold War is written, we'll be able to say we made a very meaningful and proud contribution to it."[577] Fern Villeneuve summed it up best when he said, "[O]ur record in World War One and World War Two is outstanding as a country, but our record in the Cold War was also outstanding. I'm proud I was part of it. I'm proud I served there."[578]

---

[575] "No. 1 Air Division," Canada's Aviation Hall of Fame, Accessed July 22, 2024. https://cahf.ca/no-1-air-division/.
[576] See Appendix A.
[577] DeQuetteville Interview.
[578] Villeneuve Interview.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Government Records and Manuscript Collection

Library and Archives Canada:

LAC *1 Air Division Data Book, Third edition*,1 Sep. 59. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 3.

LAC *1 Air Division RCAF Semi-Annual Review Operational Effectiveness period ending 30 Jun 56*. RG 24 Vol 17,742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *Cabinet Conclusions*, June 19, 1959. RG 2, Vol. 2745, RG 2A5a.

LAC *Cabinet Conclusions*, June 30, 1959. RG 2, Vol. 2745, RG 2A5a.

LAC O'Doherty, TSgt John K. "The Maple Leaf in NATO," *TAF Review (The Twelfth Air Force Magazine)*. RG 24 Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 1.

LAC *PR 641*, 13 Aug. 1959. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 1.

LAC *PR 667*, 28 Aug. 1959. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1.

LAC *PR 842*, 20 Nov. 1959. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1.

LAC *PR 885*, 22 Dec. 1959. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1,

LAC *PR 924*, 1 Feb. 1960. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1.

LAC *PR 296*, 14 Dec. 1960. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 2.

LAC *PR 301*, 16 Dec. 1960. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 2.

LAC *Public Relations Monthly Reports*, 02 Apr 1957. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16 Vol. 1.

LAC *R.C.A.F. (Women's Division) Plan For Organization and Suggestions Concerning Employment*, 30 Oct. 46. RG 24, Vol. 20683, 181.009 (D 1190).

LAC *Report on Public Relations Program, 1 Air Division, 1955*. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 21 Jan. 53. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1,

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 28 Feb. 53. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 5 May 53. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 6 Jul. 53. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 7 Aug. 53. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 14 Sep. 53. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 13 Oct. 53. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 9 Nov. 53. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116 Vol. 1.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 16 Jun. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116 Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Jul. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 18 Aug. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Sep. 54. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 8 Oct. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 10 Nov. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 10 Jan. 55. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116 Vol. 2.

LAC "Status Report – November 1953*," S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 11 Dec. 1953. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC "Status Report – December 1953," *S22-25-1 (AOC),* 12 Jan. 1954. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2,

LAC "Status Report – January 1954," *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 15 Feb. 54. RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC "Status Report – February 1954," *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, RG 24, Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC "Status Report - February 1955," *S22-25-1 (AOC)*, 11 Mar. 55. RG 24 Vol. 17, 742, 810-116, Vol. 2.

LAC *TAF Review (The Twelfth Air Force Magazine)*. RG 24, Vol. 17, 929, 905- 2/16, Vol. 1.

Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage:

DHH "AJA/MN File 71-1," *27 CIB – Nov 51/Feb 52*, January 22, 1952. 112.1 (D97).

DHH Edwards, Air Marshal H. "Message to Chief of Air Staff." S.2-1-2, 22/01/1943. 181.009 (D774, Box 34).

DHH "HQ 2001-1931/0 TD 1 (CGS)," *27 CIB – Nov 51/Feb 52*, 3 Jan. 52. 112.1 (D97).

DHH *Manning the R.C.A.F.: A Short History of the Directorate of Manning*. 181.009 (D 1182-D1214 Box 49).

DHH, *Operation "Nimble Bat" Movement of Squadrons to No. 1 Air Division*, "NATO The RCAF's Air Division in Europe, Release No. 8694." 181.003 (D5417).

DHH RCAF Binder 20-3-1—No. 1 Air Division (RCAF), Metz, France Op Plans 2-54 and 3-54, Evac of RCAF Dependents Operations Plan 2-54, File: S7-2-3 (AOC), Feb. 1954. 181.009 (D 5813).

DHH *Speech by the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence to House of Commons*, 6 Nov 64. 101.009 (D5).

Library of Parliament, Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources (https://parl.canadiana.ca/browse?show=eng_c_debates_22):

House of Commons Debates:

LOP, House of Commons Debates, 21st Parliament, 7th Session: Vol. 4.

LOP, House of Commons *Debates*, 24th Parliament, 2nd Session: Vol. 5.

Halpenny Committee *Proceedings:*

LOP, Halpenny Committee *Proceedings,* (June 17, 1960).

Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence:*

LOP, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Defence, Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (October 29, 1963).

LOP, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Defence, Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (October 31, 1963).

LOP, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Defence, Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (November 5, 1963).

LOP, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Defence, Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (November 12-16, 1963).

LOP, Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Defence, Sauve Committee *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* (December 17-18, 1963).

Government Publications

Canada, Paul Hellyer, and Lucien Cardin. *White Paper on Defence*, 1964.

Canada and Donald S. Macdonald. *Defence in the 1970s: White Paper on Defence*, 1971.

Interviews

Arthurs, William (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 14, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Bain, William (Retired RCAF Major). Interview with Kevin Anderson. July 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Bentham, Leonard (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 28, 2013. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Boyle, Jean (Retired RCAF General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. February 4, 2023. RCAF Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Burrows, Syd (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 5, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Campbell, Lloyd (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. October 13, 2021. RCAF Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Cavett, Arnold (Retired RCAF Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. June 24, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Danyluk, Alexander (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. August 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Davis, Peter (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 12, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

DeQuetteville, Allan (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 27, 2021. RCAF Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Edwards, James F. (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 6, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Farnham, John (Retired RCAF Major). Interview with Kevin Anderson. August 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Hamilton, J. Laurie (Retired RCAF Captain). Telephone interview with Kevin Anderson. February 2, 2021. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Holt, James (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 2, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Ink, John (Retired RCAF Flying Officer). Interview with Kevin Anderson. August 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

King, Gerry (Retired RCAF Major). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 7, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Kiser, Richard (Retired RCAF Flying Officer). Interview with Kevin Anderson. August 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Laide, Lynn (Daughter of RCAF Technician). Telephone Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 29, 2020. RCAF Families Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Ledwell, Thomas (Retired RCAF Flying Officer). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 14, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Manson, Paul (Retired RCAF General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 16, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

McKay, Robert (Retired RCAF Squadron Leader). Interview with Kevin Anderson. June 25, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

McKeogh, Edward (Retired RCAF Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 9, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

McKeogh, Edward (Retired RCAF Colonel). Follow-up Interview with Kevin Anderson. November 25, 2020. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

McEwen, Wesley (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 14, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Miller, George (Retired RCAF Colonel). Follow-up Interview with Kevin Anderson. December 3, 2020. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Morgan, Robert (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. July 8, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Morrison, Gerald (Retired RCAF Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. August 14, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Nichols, Grant (Retired RCAF Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 5, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Pennington, Anne (Daughter of RCAF Technician). Telephone Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 28, 2020. RCAF Families Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Reid, Burnell (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 12, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Russell, Peter (Retired RCAF Major). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 12, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Sullivan, Charles “Duff” (Retired RCAF Major-General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 24, 2021. RCAF Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Thorneycroft, Ken (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 13, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Villeneuve, Fern (Retired RCAF Lieutenant-Colonel). Interview with Kevin Anderson. May 12, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Violette, Rod (Retired RCAF Captain). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 12, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Younghusband, Glen (Retired RCAF Major-General). Interview with Kevin Anderson. September 10, 2014. Sabre Legacy Project Oral History Collection. New Brunswick Aviation Museum.

Secondary Sources

“30 Air Material Base, Langar, England.” *Aircraft* (1957). Communications and Electronics Museum. Accessed Apr. 7, 2024. www.c-and-e-museum.org/Pinetreeline/metz/otherm1/otherm1-14.html.

Aikman, LCol Bill. “Open doors in the Soviet.” *Sentinel* 26, No. 5 (1990): 10-13.

“Airman’s Happening.” *Sentinel* 9, No. 6 (1973): 15-17.

“Air Firing Record.” *Roundel* 9, No. 6 (Jul.-Aug. 1957): 30.

“Air Power Canada's Weapon," *The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 30, 1946. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Airwomen’s Association. *50 Years: RCAF Airwomen, 1951-2001*. Kingston, NS: T & S Office Essentials and Printing, 2001.

Allen, Ralph. "THE ATOM BOMBERS SPEAK." *Maclean's*, Jun 30, 1962. https://login.proxy.hil.unb.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/atom-bombers-speak/docview/1437754871/se-2.

Alton, Squadron Leader D.R. “Supporting Mutual Aid in Greece and Turkey.” *The Roundel* 13, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1961): 2-6.

Alvah, Donna. “American Military Families Overseas and Early Cold War Foreign Relations,” *MINERVA: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* 18, No. 1, (Spring 2000): 19-33.

Alvah, Donna. *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946-1965*. New York: New York University Press, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Anderson, Jennifer. *Propaganda and Persuasion: The Cold War and the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2017.

Annis, Clare. “Dilemma of Air Power.” Address delivered before the Canadian Club of Montreal by Air Commodore Clare L. Annis. Re-printed in *Canadian Air Force Journal* 1, No. 3 (Fall 2008): 33-39. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00003.

Annis, C.L. “The Party Line: Organizational Trends in Air Power,” *The Roundel*.5, No. 3 (March 1953): 3-7.

Archer, T C. “Problems of handicapped children in military communities overseas: general considerations.” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 62, 7 (1969): 646-649. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1815558/.

"Armed Forces Agree Women Necessary." *The Globe and Mail*, Jul. 06, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"Army Not Blamed for Failing to Probe Thalidomide Cases." *The Globe and Mail*, Sep. 22, 1987. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"A Sad, Sad Story." *The Globe and Mail*, Oct 13, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Avery, Norman. “Get Some Mud on Your Boots.” Communications and Electronics Museum. Accessed Apr. 21, 2024. http://c-and-e-museum.org/grostenquin/other/earlydays-11.html.

Avery, Norman. “Grostenquin Revisited.” *The Roundel* 16, No. 10 (Dec. 1964): 23-25.

Avery, Norman. “The Forgotten Canadians,” *Airforce* 26, No. 1 (Spring 2002): 49-51.

Babcock, Alexander Angus. "The Making of a Cold War Air Force: Planning and Professionalism in the Postwar Royal Canadian Air Force, 1944–1950." Unpublished PhD Thesis. Carleton University (Canada), 2009. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

"Baden Bags Broadhurst." *Sentinel* 12, No. 6 (1976): 27.

Bain, George. "Claxton Claims Canada Meeting Defense Quota Pearkes Not Satisfied," *The Globe and Mail*, Apr. 04, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Bain, George. "Europe 10 Years Later: Canadians Live Well at German Bases." *The Globe and Mail*, Jul 4, 1955. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Bain, George. "Life in Europe Bases Mixture Good, Bad, Families Discover." *The Globe and Mail*, Jul 8, 1959. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Bain, George. "Dyspepsia oriented." *The Globe and Mail*, Jul 22, 1966. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Bain, George. "When the balloon goes up." *The Globe and Mail*, Dec. 14, 1972. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Baldwin, Warren. "Liberals See no Need for Forced Training." *The Globe and Mail*, Feb 01, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Baldwin, Warren. "Canada's 3-Year Plan: $5 Billion For Defense Build RCAF to 40 Sqdns., 11 for Europe." *The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 06, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Barnes, Bruce P. "'Fighters First': The Transition of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1945 – 1952." Unpublished MA Thesis. Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 2007. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Bashow, Lieutenant-Colonel David L., Colonel Dwight Davies, Colonel André Viens, Lieutenant-Colonel John Rotteau, Major Norman Balfe, Major Ray Stouffer, Captain James Pickett, and Dr. Steve Harris. "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 55-61. http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo1/no2/indexeng.asp.

Bashow, Major David. "CF-104 Love Affair." *Airforce* 10, No. 3 (Oct.-Dec. 1986): 2-4.

Bashow, Major David. "CF-104 Love Affair, Part Two." *Airforce* 10, No. 4 (Jan.-Mar. 1987): 26-29.

Baxter, A. Beverley. "London Letter – Britain's Gamble for Peace." *Maclean's*, Jan 15, 1938. Retrieved from Maclean's Online Archive on 18/05/2024.

Bercuson, David J. “Deterrence Theory: Canada needs to rebuild its military might.” *Legion* 97, No. 6 (Nov/Dec 2022): 16-17.

Berg, Glen. "Scrambling for Dollars: Resource Allocation and the Politics of Canadian Fighter Aircraft Procurement, 1943-1983." Unpublished MA Thesis. Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 1994. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Bergen, Robert W. “Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats: The Art of Managing Canada’s News Media During the Kosovo Air War,” Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Calgary, 2005. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Bezant, Ron. “I REMEMBER: PAT RYAN.” *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 14, 2006. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Black, J. L. and Martin Rudner. *The Gouzenko Affair: Canada and the Beginnings of Cold War Counter-Espionage*. Canada/Russia Series. Vol. 8. Manotick, Ont.: Penumbra Press, 2006.

Bland, Douglas. “Canadian Forces in Europe: The End-Game?.” In *Command in NATO After the Cold War Alliance, National, and Multinational Considerations*, edited by Thomas-Durell Young, 79-91. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 1997. www.jstor.com/stable/resrep12031.11.

Bland, Douglas L. *Chiefs of Defence: Government and the Unified Command of the Canadian Armed Forces*, Toronto: Brown Book Company Limited, 1995.

Bourdon, Buzz. “MURRAY LISTER, RCAF AIR VICE-MARSHAL 1912-2006.” *The Globe and Mail*, Apr 10, 2006. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Bowdery, S/L R.M.L. “Operation Rho Delta.” *The Roundel* 15, No. 6 (Jul.-Aug. 1963): 2-3.

Bower, Eli M. “American Children and Families in Overseas Communities.” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 37 (4): 787–796. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1967.tb00521.x

Bowie, C. J. “How the West Would Have Won: A Top Airpower Analyst Looks Back at the Greatest Air War That Never Was.” *Air Force Magazine* 90, no. 7 (2007): 60–65. https://www.airandspaceforces.com/article/0707west/.

Brennand, Col (Ret) G. *Farm Boy to Fly Boy*. Victoria, BC: FriesenPress, 2017.

Brookfield, Tarah. *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity, 1945-1975*. Studies in Childhood and Family in Canada. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.

Bryce, Glad. *First In, Last Out: The RCAF, Women's Division and Nursing Sisters in World War II*. University Women's Club of Toronto. Kitchener: Cober Printing Limited, 2010.

Buch, Mary Hawkins, and Carolyn Gossage. *Props on Her Sleeve: The Wartime Letters of a Canadian Airwoman*. Toronto Ont.: Dundurn Press, 1997.

Buck, Stephanie. "Fear of nuclear annihilation scarred children growing up in the Cold War, studies later showed." *Timeline*. August 29, 2017. https://timeline.com/nuclear-war-child-psychology-d1ff491b5fe0.

Buckley, Brian. *Canada's Early Nuclear Policy: Fate, Chance, and Character*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

Burns, E. L. M. *Defence in the Nuclear Age: An Introduction for Canadians*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1976.

Burns, E. L. M. *Megamurder*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1966.

Burns, John. "Donald Macdonald's views on Canada's military role." *The Globe and Mail*, Feb 1, 1971. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Burtch, A. "Armageddon on Tour: The 'on Guard, Canada!" Civil Defence Convoy and Responsible Citizenship in the Early Cold War." *International Journal - Toronto* 61, no. 3 (2006): 735–756. International Bibliography of the Social Sciences.

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

Byers, R.B. "Defence and Foreign Policy in the 1970s: The Demise of the Trudeau Doctrine." *International Journal* 33, No. 2 (Spring 1978): 312-38. https://doi.org/10.2307/40201616.

Campbell, Isabel. "Exemplary Canadians? How Two Canadian Women Remember Their Roles in a Cold War." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 27, Issue 1, (2016): 61-93. https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/jcha/ 2016-v27-n1-jcha03132/1040525ar/.

Campbell, Isabel. *Unlikely Diplomats: The Canadian Brigade in Germany, 1951-64*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.

Campbell, Murray. “CF-18 fighter jet still praised for its dexterity despite mounting toll.” *The Globe and Mail*, Apr 24, 1990. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"Canada Boosts Jet Squadrons to 12 for Europe." *The Globe and Mail*, Feb 27, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Canadair. “Communism and Twisted Education.” Advertisement. *Maclean’s*, May 14, 1955. https://archive.macleans. ca/article/ 19550514013/print.

Canada, Paul Hellyer, and Lucien Cardin. *White Paper on Defence*, 1964.

Canada. Royal Canadian Air Force. *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944.

Canada. Royal Canadian Air Force. *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Fifth Year*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1945.

Canada. Royal Canadian Air Force. *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The Sixth Year*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1949

“Canada's new fighter aircraft.” *The Globe and Mail*, Sep 22, 1978. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

“Canada Strengthens N.A.T.O.” *The Roundel* 10, No. 5 (Jun.-Jul. 1958): 30.

"Canadian Fighter Crashes in England: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Oct 21, 1987. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

“Canadian Virtual War Memorial.” Veterans Affairs Canada. Accessed July 27, 2024. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/en/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/ 4510078?Allan%20Gerald%20McCallum.

"Canadian Youths Shun Training Under RCAF Plan," *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 04, 1948. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

“Caution Urged On Unification in 3 Services.” *The Globe and Mail*, Sep. 5, 1964. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Cavell, Richard, ed. *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*. Green College Thematic Lecture Series. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2004. https://www-deslibris-ca.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ID/418541.

Cernetig, Miro. “Fatal collision raises fresh doubts about CF-18s: Crash rate for fighter jets higher than predicted.” *The Globe and Mail*, Apr 18, 1990. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Cernetig, Miro. ”Crashes prompt military to ponder withdrawing CF-18s from Europe.” *The Globe and Mail*, Apr 30, 1990. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Childerhose, Flight Lieutenant R.J. “Reflections On The Random Route.” *The Roundel* 10, No. 8. (Oct. 1958): 16-19.

Chorley, Desmond M. “Lahr’s Weekend Fliers.” *Airforce* 8, No. 1 (Mar-Apr-May 1984): 6-7, 21.

Christie, Carl A. *Ocean Bridge: The History of RAF Ferry Command*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press: Midland Publishing, 1995.

Cillessen, Bret J. “Embracing the bomb: Ethics, morality, and nuclear deterrence in the US air force, 1945–1955.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 21, no. 1 (1998): 96–134.

Claxton, The Honourable Brooke. “$31.50,” (from a speech delivered on C.B.C.), *The Roundel* 2, No. 9 (Jul-Aug 1950): 4-6.

Claxton, The Honourable Brooke. “Excerpt from a speech delivered at the First National Convention of the RCAF Association,” *The Roundel* 2, No. 9 (Jul.-Aug. 1950): 17-21.

Clearwater, John. *Canadian Nuclear Weapons: The Untold Story of Canada's Cold War Arsenal*. Toronto.: Dundurn Press, 1998.

Clearwater, John. *U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Canada*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999.

Colbourn, Susan. “’Cruising toward nuclear danger’: Canadian anti-nuclear activism, Pierre Trudeau’s peace mission, and the transatlantic partnership.” *Cold War History* 18, No. 1 (2018): 19-36. https:doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2017.1370456.

"Collective Action Defense Essential, Martin Stresses," *The Globe and Mail*, Sep. 06, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Collier, Dianne. *Hurry Up and Wait: An Inside Look at Life as a Canadian Military Wife*, Carp, ON: Creative Bound, 1994.

“Community Services.” *Sentinel* 8, No. 2 (Feb. 1972): 13-14.

Conn, Kenneth B. “The Royal Canadian Air Force Historical Section.” *The Canadian Historical Review* 26, No. 3 (September 1945): 246-54. https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ article/624316.

Cox, David, and Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament. *Canada and NORAD, 1958-1978: A Cautionary Retrospective*. Aurora Papers, 1. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, 1985.

CP-AP. "Families Celebrate Return of Canadians: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Mar 06, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

CP. "Canada Still Europe's Ally McDougall Says: [ONT Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Mar 26, 1992. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

CP. "News Blackout Angers our Battle Pilots: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Feb 27, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Crapol, Edward. "Some Reflections on the Historiography of the Cold War." *The History Teacher* 20, no. 2 (1987): 251-62. https//doi:10.2307/493031.

Crosby, Ann Denholm. *Dilemmas in Defence Decision-Making: Constructing Canada's Role in NORAD, 1958-96.* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998.

Cross, L. D. *Spies in Our Midst : The Incredible Story of Igor Gouzenko, Cold War Spy*. True Canadian Amazing Stories. Canmore, Alta.: Altitude Pub., 2005.

Curtis, Air Marshal W.A. “Excerpt from a speech delivered at the First National Convention of the RCAF Association.” *The Roundel* 2, No. 9 (Jul.-Aug. 1950): 21-25.

Deacon, James. "DEFENCE: "the CF-18 Wins Rave Reviews from Returning Gulf Pilots." *Maclean's*, Mar 18, 1991. Periodicals Archive Online.

Deere, David N. *Desert Cats: The Canadian Fighter Squadron in the Gulf War*. Stoney Creek, Ontario: Fortress Publications, 1991.

Dempsey, Lotta. "Person to Person: Styles for WD's Main Air Force Topic." *The Globe and Mail*, Apr. 26, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

DiManno, Rosie. "Spectre of War Hasn't Scared Off Fresh Recruits: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jan 09, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

DiManno, Rosie. "CF-18 Pilot Left Widow a Legacy of Love: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Feb 18, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Dodds, Ronald Victor "CANADA'S AIR FORCE YESTERDAY AND TODAY." *Aerospace Historian* 17. no. 2/3 (1970): 97-103. www.jstor.org/stable/44522394.

Dodds, R.V. “R.C.A.F. Aircraft Procurement Policy,” *The Roundel* 2, No. 1 (Nov. 1949): 34-36.

Dodds, Wing Commander R. V. “The Maple Leaf and the Maltese Cross.” *The Roundel* 12, No. 7 (Sep. 1960): 12-15.

Donaghy, Greg. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. *Canada and the Early Cold War, 1943-1957: Canada Au Début De La Guerre Froide, 1943-1957*. Ottawa: Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1998.

Douglas, Stacey. "Building Base Home: The Department of National Defence and Military Families, 1945–1965." Unpublished MA Thesis. Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 2003. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Douglas, W.A.B. *The Creation of a National Air Force, The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force – Volume II.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

Douglas, W. A. B. “Filling Gaps in the Military Past: Recent Developments in Canadian Official History.” *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Études Canadiennes,* 19 no. 3 (1984): 112-124. Periodicals Archive Online.

Dudley-Mathiesen, Vi and Chris Buffett. *Sweet ‘N’ Sour - My Nine Years in the Wartime and Peacetime Royal Canadian Air Force*. Sidney, B.C: Family Compact, 1985.

Dundas, Barbara. Department of National Defence. *A History of Women in the Canadian Military*. Montréal: Art Global and Dept. of National Defense in co-operation with the Dept. of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000.

Dunlap, Air Marshal C.R. “Statement To All RCAF Personnel.” *The Roundel* 16, No. 4 (May 1964): 2-3.

Durston, Squadron Leader A.R. “The Party Line: Organization of the R.C.A.F.,” *The Roundel* 5, No. 9, (October 1953): 20-28.

Eaton, Cyrus. "For the Sake of Argument: We Must Come to Terms With Russia - Or Perish." *Maclean's*, Mar 29, 1958. Periodicals Archive Online.

Eayrs, James. *In Defence of Canada, Volume 4 – Growing Up Allied.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Ehrlich, Robert. *Waging Nuclear Peace: The Technology and Politics of Nuclear Weapons*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.

Eisenhower, President Dwight D. “January 17, 1961: Farewell Address.” Presidential Speeches. University of Virginia, Miller Center. Accessed April 20, 2024. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-17-1961-farewell-address.

Ellis, Frank H. *In Canadian Skies: 50 Years of Adventure and Progress*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959.

Embry, Air Marshal Sir Basil (RAF). “A Tribute to No. 421 Squadron.” *The Roundel* 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1952): 21.

"Expand, Train Fighter Force for any Front." *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 16, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Ferguson, Alan. "Bases Face Uncertain Future: Budget Cuts Leave Canada's German Bases Under Cloud." *Toronto Star* (Index-Only), Jun 18, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferguson, Alan. "Canada's 'Zoomies' Escape Unscathed: [SU2 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Mar. 10, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferguson, Alan. "CF-18 Pilots Shun the Limelight Crank Threats to Families may have Turned Pilots Shy: [ME2 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jan 28, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferguson, Alan. "Commander Picks Who Goes, Who Won't: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jan. 18, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferguson, Alan. "Suggestions of 'Safe Role' Irk Canadian Forces Chief: [SU2 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Feb 17, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferguson, Alan. "Tension Grows for Families at Lahr Base: [ME1 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jan 16, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Ferrabee, James. "Low-Level Military Flying has Become a High-Blown... ." CanWest News, Feb 22, 1989. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Fisher, Matthew. “New CF-18 fighters strengthen Canadian presence in Europe.” *The Globe and Mail*, Jul 18, 1985. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Flaherty, Frank. "War Scare Slackens, Claxton Tells House." *The Globe and Mail (1936-Current),* Nov 12, 1949. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Fortier, Captain J.M. “Filling up at 26,000 Feet.” *Sentinel* 9, No. 3 (Mar. 1973): 1-4.

"For Want of Incentive." *The Globe and Mail,* Apr 18, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Frandsen, Bertram C. “The Rise and Fall of Canada's Cold War Air Force, 1948-1968.” Unpublished PhD Thesis. Wilfred Laurier University. *Theses and Dissertations* (Comprehensive). 1754. http://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/1754.

Fraser, Blair. “A New (and Better?) 27th Brigade.” *Maclean’s,* 15 Nov 1953. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19531115011/print

Fraser, Blair. “Conscription!,” *Maclean’s*, March 15, 1951, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19510315016/print.

Fraser, Blair. “How Wide is the Split over NATO.” *Maclean’s*. Apr. 15, 1952. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19520415xxx/print.

Fry, Flight Lieutenant D.G. “Mu Sigma.” *The Roundel* 16, No. 4 (May 1964): 28-29.

Gellner, John. “Canadian Air Power – at the beginning of a new era”, *Canadian Aviation* 41, No. 2 (Feb. 1968): 14-16, 43.

Gellner, John. “INSTANT ARMS TO KEEP THE PEACE.” *The Globe and Mail,* Feb 4, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Gellner, John. “military/aerospace.” *Canadian Aviation* 43, No. 12 (Dec. 1970): 6.

Gellner, John. “NATO: the change is only skin deep.” *The Globe and Mail,* Mar 31, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Gellner, John. “Ottawa regains faith in NATO.” *The Globe and Mail,* Oct 24, 1975. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Gellner, John. “Peek into the crystal ball on the RCAF’s future NATO role.” *Canadian Aviation* 39, No. 2 (Feb. 1966): 14-15.

+Gellner, John. “RCAF leads 104 safety tally.” *Canadian Aviation* 40, No. 2 (Feb. 1967): 33.

Gellner, John. “Strategic Analysis in Canada.” *International Journal* 33, No. 3 (Summer 1978): 493-505. https://doi.org/10.2307/40201652.

Gellner, John. “The Starfighter Affair.” *Canadian Aviation* 49, No. 12 (Dec. 1976): 16, 53.

Gellner, Wing Commander John. “The Era Of Competitive Co-existence.” *The Roundel* 9, No. 8 (Oct. 1957): 6-10.

Goedde, Petra. *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Goette, Richard. “Canadian Armed Forces Unification and Canadian Air Power.” *Airforce* 42, No. 3 (Dec. 4, 2018): 16-23.

Goette, Richard. *Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental Air Defence, 1940-57*. Studies in Canadian Military History. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

Goforth, Wallace, “We DO NOT Stand On Guard,” *Maclean’s*, June 15, 1948, https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19480615022/print.

Goodspeed, D. J, and Canada. Canadian Forces Headquarters. *The Armed Forces of Canada, 1867-1967: A Century of Achievement*. Ottawa: Directorate of History, Canadian Forces Headquarters, 1967. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ themes/defence/caf/ militaryhistory/dhh/ commemorative/book-armed-forces-en.pdf.

Gossage, Carolyn. *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War (1939-1945)*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.

Gouzenko, Igor. *The Iron Curtain*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1948.

Grande, G.K. Canadian Mutual Aid to Greece, LETTER NO. 236 from Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy in Greece to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Accessed Nov. 22, 2023. https://webarchiveweb.wayback.bac-lac.canada.ca/web/ 20060208114349/http://www.maeci.gc.ca/ department/history/dcer/details-en.asp?intRefId=250, Volume #20 – 244, CHAPTER III, NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION PART 1, ANNUAL REVIEW AND MUTUAL AID POLICY (site no longer available).

Gray, Colin S. *Canadian Defence Priorities: A Question of Relevance*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1972.

Greenhous, Brereton et al. *The Crucible of War, 1939-1945, The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force – Volume III.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Greer, Harold. “Integration Not New For Army and Navy; RCAF Case Different.” *The Globe and Mail*, Jan 15, 1959. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Gowing, Capt. Ron. “The Sharp End.” *Sentinel* 18, No. 5 (1980): 30.

Halliday, Hugh. “The Air Historian Part I.” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, No. 3 (Summer 2011): 34-39. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00014.

Halliday, Hugh. “The Air Historian Part II.” *Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, No. 4 (Fall 2011): 22-30. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068185/00015.

Hannon, Leslie F. “Tactical report: our pilots are champs with yesterday’s weapons.” *Maclean’s*, May 19, 1962. https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19620519/ index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_ source=Maclean% 27s&utm_medium=Darwin#p78.

Hannon, Leslie F. “The cold war is still cool for Canada’s NATO force.” *Maclean’s*, September 23, 1961. https://archive. macleans.ca/ article/19610923xxx/print.

Harbron, Lieutenant Commander John D. “Unification in Canada Fait Accompli.” *Proceedings* 93, no.8 (August 1967). https://www.usni.org/ magazines/proceedings/1967/august/ unification-canada-fait-accompli.

Harley, Dorothy. “Families of RCAF Personnel Abroad Living in Caravan Colonies at Bases.” *The Globe and Mail*, Jun.18, 1953. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Harris, John Norman. *Knights of the Air: Canadian Aces of World War I*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1958.

Harrison, Deborah and Lucie Laliberte. *No Life Like It: Canada’s Military Wives.* Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1994.

Harrison, Eric. "Picked Lot: Red Indians Putting on Fine Show." *The Globe and Mail*, Sep. 15, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Harvey, J. Douglas. “They Didn’t Train For This.” *Airforce* 6, No. 4 (December 1982): 17, 19.

Hasic, Albinko. “‘The Gates in the Wall Stand Open Wide’ What Happened the Day the Berlin Wall Fell.” *Time*, November 7, 2019. https://time.com/5720386/ berlin-wall-fall/.

Healey, Denis. "The Future of NATO." *Commentary* 31, no. 5 (May 01, 1961): 369-378. Periodicals Archive Online.

Hellyer, Paul. “Military clock turned back to the past.” *Toronto Star*, Aug. 18, 2011. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Hepburn, Bob. "Our Desert Troops Try to Forget Fear: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Oct 11, 1990. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Herodotus. *The Histories*, Trans. by George Rawlinson. Roman Roads Media, LLC. 2013. https://files.romanroadsstatic.com/materials/herodotus.pdf.

Hilton, Major General Richard. “The Soviet Armed Forces.” *The RUSI Journal* 94, no. 576 (1949): 552-566. Periodicals Archive Online.

Hogenbirk, Sarah. “Women Inside the Canadian Military,1938-1966.” Unpublished PhD Thesis. Carleton University. 2017. https://curve.carleton.ca/70a52935-02dc-4a82-b7e6-b82511d846c9.

Höhn, Maria H. *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany*. Chapel Hill (N.C.): University of North Carolina Press. 2002.

Hornick, James. "Order 400 Fighters for RCAF Expansion." *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 29, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Hornick, James. "Forges Ahead as Air Power: RCAF Expansion Rate Triples in Year." *The Globe and Mail*, Apr. 25, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Hornick, James. “First RCAF Group May Join Ike This Weekend.” *The Globe and Mail*, Oct 25, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Hornick, James. “Leap Frog II: RCAF to Fly Entire Wing To Europe.” *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 14, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Hornick, James. “Tall, Dark and Handsome: Canadian Pilot Amazes U.S. Airmen in Korea.” *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 15, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

How, Douglas. “27th Canadian Brigade May Be in Europe Dec. 1.” *The Globe and Mail*, Sep 12, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Howell, Wing Commander Edward. “Cold War Problems.” *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 96 (Feb. 1, 1951): 29-33. Periodicals Archive Online.

Hunt, Wing Commander G.R.M. “The Party Line: Planning the Air Force Structure.” *The Roundel* 5, No. 4 (April 1953): 15-18.

Hunter, Jennifer Lynn. "“Is it Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?”: Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945–1963." Unpublished PhD Thesis. McGill University (Canada), 2005. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Hutchison, Bruce. "Why We Are Losing the Cold War." *Maclean's*, Apr. 15, 1962. Periodicals Archive Online.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Gatekeepers : Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.

"It's Getting very Late," *The Globe and Mail*, Nov 19, 1948. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Jacob, Major General Sir Ian. "Principles of British Military Thought (Lecture)." *Foreign Affairs* 29, no. 2, (Jan. 1951): 219-228. Politics Collection.

Jervis, Sue. *Relocation, Gender and Emotion: A Psycho-Social Perspective on the Experiences of Military Wives*. London: Karnac Books, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Jockel, Joseph T. and Joel J. Sokolsky. “Canada and NATO: Keeping Ottawa in, Expenses down, Criticism out… and the Country Secure.” *International Journal* 64, No. 2 (Spring 2009): 315-36. https://doi.org/10.1177/002070200906400202.

Jockel, Joseph T. and Queen's University (Kingston, Ont.). *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History*. Centre for International Relations. Queen's Policy Studies. Montreal: Published for Queen's Centre for International Relations & the Queen's Defence Management Program by McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.

Johnson, Sara E. *To Spread Their Wings: on the 50th Anniversary of the RCAF (WD) 1941-1991*. Spruce Grove, AB.: Saraband Publisher, 1990.

Johnson, WO Vic. “GLASNOST in the air.” *Sentinel* 26, No. 6 (1990): 12-13.

Jones, Howard and Randall B. Woods. "Origins of the Cold War in Europe and the Near East: Recent Historiography and the National Security Imperative." *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 2 (1993): 251-76. www.jstor.org/stable/24912197.

Katz, Sidney. "HOW NUCLEAR FEARS AFFECT CHILDREN." *Maclean's*. Jun 15, 1963, 22. Periodicals Archive Online.

Kealey, Gregory S. *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Keating, Thomas F. and Larry Pratt. *Canada, NATO, and the Bomb: The Western Alliance in Crisis.* Edmonton, Alta.: Hurtig, 1988.

Kenna, Kathleen. "CF-18 Pilots Called Highly Stressed: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Apr 26, 1990. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Kennedy, Flying Officer Joyce. "Airwomen are everywhere." *The Roundel* 12, No. 2 (Mar. 1960): 16-19.

King-Hall, Stephen. "The Alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-Violent Resistance (Lecture)." *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 103 (Feb 01, 1958): 4-20. Periodicals Archive Online.

Kissinger, Henry. *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*. Council on Foreign Relations. Publications. New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1957.

Knight, Amy. *How the Cold War Began - The Gouzenko Affair and the Hunt for Soviet Spies.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2005.

Kopvillem, Peeter, Peter Lewis and Brue Wallace. "A Collision Over West Germany Claims a Canadian Fighter Pilot's Life," *Maclean's*, Apr 30, 1990. Periodicals Archive Online.

Lambert, Andrew. "Military History." Making History. Institute of Historical Research. Accessed December 9, 2019. https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/military_history.html.

Langille, Howard Peter. *Changing the Guard: Canada's Defence in a World in Transition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

"Let This Be Our Last Year In NATO." *Maclean's*, February 1969. https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19690201/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Darwin#p6.

London Bureau of the Globe and Mail. "RCAF says air division to be out of France by March 31 deadline." *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 27, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Lowman, Ron. "Deferring to our Allies must Stop: [SU2 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Mar 15, 1987. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

MacKenzie, David Clark, Fabien Saint-Jacques, and Canadian Historical Association. *Canada's Red Scare: 1945-1957*. Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet, No. 61. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2001.

Macklin, W. H. S. "The Case for Nuclear Arms." *The Globe and Mail*, Dec. 21, 1961. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Maloney, Sean M. *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*. St. Catharines, Ont.: Vanwell Pub, 2002.

Maloney, Sean M. "Canada's glory days." *Maclean's*, Jan. 21, 2002. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Maloney, Sean M. *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War* (version 1st ed.). Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007.

Maloney, Sean M. *War Without Battles: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1997.

Manson, Major-General Paul D. "Today and Tomorrow in the Canadian Forces." *Airforce* 6, No. 4 (December 1982): 10-11, 29.

Manson, Paul. "Canada's Forgotten Cold Warriors." *The Globe and Mail (index-Only)*, Nov. 11, 2015, www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/canadas-forgotten-cold-warriors/article27200333/.

Markham, James. "West Germans' ire raised by screaming NATO jets." *The Globe and Mail*, Aug 11, 1988. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Matthews, Roy A. "A New Atlantic Role For Canada." *Foreign Affairs* 47, No. 2 (Jan. 1969): 334-47. https://doi.org/10.2307/20039377.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. Rev. and updated ed. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Maza, Sarah C. *Thinking About History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017.

McKay, Don. *My Dream and Beyond: A Pilot's Journey*. Renfrew, Ontario. Canada: General Store Publishing House, 2012.

McLin, Jon B. *Canada's Changing Defense Policy, 1957-1963: The Problems of a Middle Power in Alliance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

McMahon, Patricia I. "The Politics of Canada's Nuclear Policy, 1957--1963." Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Toronto (Canada), 1999. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

McWilliams, Bill. “Ode to a Starfighter.” *Airforce* 18, No. 2 (July 1994): 17-19.

Meilinger, Phillip S. *Airmen and Air Theory: A Review of the Sources*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 2001.

Middlemiss, Danford William, and Joel J. Sokolsky. *Canadian Defence: Decisions and Determinants*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Canada, 1989.

Milberry, Larry. “3 (F) Wing Zweibrucken.” The Background of 1 Air Division, Wing Communications and Electronics Museum. Accessed Apr. 21, 2024. https://www.candemuseum.org/sites/default/ files/archives/marville/leapfrog/leapfrog3-1.html.

Milberry, Larry. *Aviation in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979.

Milberry, Larry. *Canada’s Air Force at War and Peace, Volume 3*, Toronto: CANAV Books, 2000.

Milberry, Larry. *Fighter Squadron: 441 Squadron From Hurricanes To Hornets*, Toronto: CANAV Books, 2004.

Milberry, Larry. *Sixty Years: The RCAF and the CF Air Command 1924-1984*, Toronto: CANAV Books, 1984.

Milberry, Larry. *The Avro CF-100*. Toronto: CANAV Books, 1981.

Milberry, Larry. *The Canadair North Star*. Toronto: CANAV Books, 1982.

Milberry, Larry. *The Canadair Sabre*, Toronto: CANAV Books, 1986.

Moore, Captain Richard. “Flaming Bogies Over the Fiords.” *Sentinel* 18, No. 3 (1982): 28-31.

Morchain, Maj. Guy. “How to Tackle Housing.” *Sentinel* 7, No. 1 (Jan. 1971): 12-14.

Morfee, AVM A.L. “Excerpt from response to *Ottawa Journal* article published on 13 Sep 1950.” *The Roundel* 2, No. 12 (Nov. 1950): 32.

Morin, Rene. *DND Dependants’ Schools 1921-1983.* Ottawa, ON. Directorate of History, National Defence Headquarters, 1986. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/general/book-1986-dependants-schools-en.pdf.

"Moselle Control." *The Roundel* 12, No. 9, .2 (November 1960): 28-29.

Mulroney, Prime Minister Brian. "Letter to Major General D.P. Wightman." Cold War. Air Force Museum of Alberta. 27 Feb 1986. https://rcaf.museum/history/cold-war/pm-letter.

Nagy, George. "Eighteen Months After: Hungarian Refugees made Good in Canada." *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 14, 1958. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Newman, Peter C. "Canadians in NATO: the puzzling free-riders." *The Globe and Mail*, Oct 24, 1983. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Newman, Peter C. "Inside The Defense Department: Why the U.S. protects us – temporarily." *Maclean's,* May 7, 1960. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19600507007/print.

Newman, Peter C. "Killing Time In NATO." *Maclean's*, Oct. 1, 1972. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19721001039/print.

Newman, Peter C. "The call to arms is clear today for all of Canada's tomorrows." *Maclean's,* Feb 15, 1982. https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19820215/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Darwin#p4.

Nicholson, Colonel G.W.L. "The Canadian Army. 1950-55 Part I: Canadian Defence Policy." *Report No. 93*, Historical Section, Army Headquarters, Jun. 1961, 28. Accessed Jan. 12, 2024. www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/reports/ahq-reports/ahq093.pdf.

Nickles, Myrann. "Crash Course in Survival: A wife's primer on living with the CF." *Sentinel* 14, No. 4 (1978): 21-24.

"Nimble Bat." *The Roundel* 8, No. 10 (December 1956): 22.

"No. 1 Air Division." Canada's Aviation Hall of Fame. Accessed July 22, 2024. https://cahf.ca/no-1-air-division/.

No. 1 Air Division SOPR Staff. "The Fightin' Sixty-First." *The Roundel* 12, No. 6 (Jul.-Aug. 1960): 14-15.

"No Thalidomide Alert." *The Globe and Mail,* Jun 11, 1987. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"Nuclear War, Children Spock's Latest Fight." *The Globe and Mail*, May 20, 1964. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Obrist, Urs. “An Essential Endeavour: Canada and West Germany, 1946–1957.” Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Toronto (Canada), 2006. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Onusko, James A. "Growing Up in Postwar Suburbia: Childhood, Children and Adolescents in Canada, 1950-1970." Unpublished PhD Thesis.Theses Trent University (Canada), 2014. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

“Operation NIMBLE BAT,” Government of Canada/National Defence. Accessed Apr. 4, 2024. www.canada.ca/en/ department-national-defence/services/ military-history/history-heritage/past-operations/europe/leap-frog.html.

Ørvik, Nils. *Canadian Defence Policy: Choices and Directions*. of *National Security Series, No. 2/80*. Kingston, Ont.: Centre for International Relations, Queen’s University, 1980.

“Other ways to serve.” *The Globe and Mail*, Feb 18, 1985; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"Penalties of Unpreparedness," *The Globe and Mail*, Jul. 20, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Phillips, Andrew. "Auf Wiedersehen, Goodbye." *Maclean's*, Jul 19, 1993. Periodicals Archive Online.

Picard, Andre. "Compensation is Fair, Though Long Overdue." *The Globe and Mail*, May 25, 2015. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Pickler, Ronald and Larry Milberry. *Canadair: The First 50 Years.* Toronto: CANAV Books Ltd, 1995.

Pierson, Ruth Roach, National Film Board of Canada, National Museums of Canada, and National Museum of Man (Canada). *Canadian Women and the Second World War: Les Canadiennes Et La Seconde Guerre Mondiale*. Canada's Visual History, V. 66. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1984.

Pierson, Ruth Roach. *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. The Canadian Social History Series. Toronto, Ont.: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

Porter, Mackenzie. “THE JET-PROPELLED SQUIRE OF TOLETHORPE HALL.” *Maclean's*, Oct. 1, 1953. Periodicals Archive Online.

Potvin, Capt. Bob. “Baden’s Oompah Ambassadors.” *Sentinel* 11, No. 7 (1975): 17-18.

Potvin, Capt. Robert. “1 CAG.” *Sentinel* 11, No. 7 (1975): 10-13.

Power, Patricia A. ““With Their Feet on the Ground”: Women’s Lives and Work in the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1951-1966.” Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Ottawa, 1998. https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/4173/1/MQ36734.PDF.

Radice, Shirley. "A Study of Children's Conceptions of Nuclear War and Peace." Unpublished MA Thesis. Kean University, 1963. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

"RCAF 'Pitifully Small'; Wartime Chief Takes Unpreparedness Blame," *The Globe and Mail*, Nov. 15, 1948. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

RCAF. “RCAF – A Man To Look Up To.” Advertisement. *Maclean’s*, Sept. 1, 1949. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/19490901xxx/print.

“RCAF, RCN and army to fade out on Feb. 1.” *The Globe and Mail*, Jan 1, 1968. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

RCAF. *No. 1 Wing Marville, France, Welcome Booklet*. 1965.

RCAF. “Which Type of Work Appeals to You?.” Advertisement. *Maclean’s*, May 1, 1953. https://archive. macleans.ca/article/19530501032/print.

Richter, Andrew. *Avoiding Armageddon: Canadian Military Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1950-1963*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.

Richler, Mordecai. “THE SOCIAL SIDE OF THE COLD WAR.” *Maclean's*, Nov. 16, 1963. Periodicals Archive Online.

Ripley, Air Commodore R.C. “How The Air Force Spends Its Money,” *The Roundel* 1, No. 8 (Jun. 1949): 43-46.

Roberts, Ken. “Early Days At Air Div – A Personal Perspective.” *Airforce* 12, No. 3 (Oct.-Dec. 1988): 20-22.

Roberts, Leslie. *There Shall Be Wings: A History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, Limited, 1959.

Robertson, Scot. “What Direction? The Future of Aerospace Power and the Canadian Air Force – Part I.” *Canadian Military Journal* 8, No. 4 (Winter 2007-2008): 5-13. http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo8/no4/robertso-eng.asp.

Rockey, Ron. “SS Atlantic.” 1 Air Division: SS Atlantic – Ron Rockey, Communications and Electronics Museum. Accessed Apr. 20, 2024. www.c-and-e-museum.org/marville/other/maother-42.html.

Rosenthal, A. M. "33 UN Members Declare Support for South Korea," *The Globe and Mail*, Jul. 01, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Rowan-Legg, Anne. “Caring for Children and Youth from Canadian Military Families: Special Considerations.” *Paediatrics & Child Health* 22, no. 2 (May 2017): e1-e6. https:// doi.org/10.1093/pch/pxx021.

Russell, Jeannette (Shetler). *We’re Moving Where? The Life of a Military Wife*. Renfrew, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 2003.

Sanger, Clyde. “Canada to cut NATO forces to 5,000 men.” *The Globe and Mail*, Sep 20, 1969. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Savage, Flying Officer G.D. “Stations of the RCAF: RCAF Station Portage La Prairie.” *The Roundel* 12, No. 2 (Mar. 1960): 12-15.

“School No Problem For R.C.A.F. Children In Europe.” *The Roundel* 10, No. 9 (Nov. 1958): 19.

Schuyler, Lieutenant General C.V.R. *SACEUR’S PERIODIC REPORT TO THE STANDING GROUP, JANUARY-MARCH 1955*. NUMBER 44, (SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS EUROPE, PARIS, FRANCE). SHAPE/264/55, 23 May 1955.

Sclanders, Ian. "Is the U. S. Talking Itself Into Hot War?" *Maclean's*. Jul 30, 1960. Periodicals Archive Online.

Scott, Sarah. "Canadian Troops in Europe Restless Over Uncertain Role: [SU2 Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jul 08, 1990. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Sebestyen, Victor. *Revolution 1989: The Fall of the Soviet Empire*. First Vintage books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010.

“Service Wives,” *Talepipe* (Marville base news magazine) V, No. 3 (Nov. 1955): 4, 14. Accessed 22 July 2024. www.c-and-e-museum.org/marville/articles/tailpipe/tp4-3.html.

Sethna, Christabelle, and Steve Hewitt. 2018. *Just Watch Us: RCMP Surveillance of the Women’s Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018. https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/454274.

Shapiro, Lionel. “Lionel Shapiro Examines the Failure of the 27th.” *Maclean’s*, Aug. 15, 1953. https://archive.macleans.ca/ article/19530815014/print.

Shapiro, Lionel. “What the West thinks Russia will Do.” *Maclean’s,* Mar 1, 1952. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19520301018/print.

Sharp, Flying Officer D.E. “Sardinian Sojourn.” *The Roundel* 11, No. 3 (April 1959): 4-7.

Shiner, Nancy Power. “‘In the Best Interest of the Service’: RCAF Flight Nurses as the ’New Woman’, 1945-1959.” Unpublished MA Thesis. *Masters Abstracts International*. 1999. http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ login.aspx?direct=true&db=fyh&AN=MRB-WRI0279840&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

Simonds, Lt-Gen. Guy. “We’re wasting millions on an obsolete air force,” *Maclean’s*, August 4, 1956. https://reader.macleans.ca/macleans/19560804/index.html?utm_content=library&utm_campaign=Macleans_Archive_Pgm&utm_source=Maclean%27s&utm_medium=Darwin#p16 on 21/03/2020.

Simpson, Erika. *NATO and the Bomb: Canadian Defenders Confront Critics.* Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001.

Skaarup, Major Harold. “Glasnost in the Air.” *Airforce* 32, No. 2 (Summer 2008): 34-38.

Sokolsky, Joel J. "A Seat at the Table: Canada and its Alliances." *Armed Forces and Society* 16, no. 1 (October 1989): 11-35. Politics Collection.

Special to the New York Times. “Canada Defers Cut in NATO Air Division.” *New York Times*, Nov 19, 1968. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times.

Special to The New York Times. "TORTURE' CASE IN NATO WEIGHED: DATA ON TRAINING ABUSE ARE BEFORE BELGIAN TRIBUNAL." New York Times, Nov 05, 1972. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times.

Spofford, Charles M. 1952. "(Lecture) Towards Atlantic Security." *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 97 (Feb 01): 42-56. Periodicals Archive Online.

Stacey, C P. “PM's power base small for peace bid.” *The Globe and Mail*, Nov 26, 1983; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Stacey, C.P. "The Life and Hard Times of an Official Historian." *Canadian Historical Review* 51. (March 1970): 21-47. https://doi.org/10.3138/CHR-051-01-03.

(Staff). "Close Bases, Germans Tell Mulroney: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Jun 17, 1991. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

Stevenson, John A. “Canada, Free and Dependent,” *Foreign Affairs*. 29, No. 3 (Apr. 1951): 456-467. Periodicals Archive Online.

Stouffer, Ray. “Air Chief Marshal Frank Miller: A Civilian and Military Leader,” *Sic Itur Ad Astra: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies Volume 1 - Historical Aspects of Air Force Leadership* 2009. Re-printed in the *Royal Canadian Air Force Journal* 4, No. 3 (2015): 116-126. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00068182/00014?search= royal+%3dcanadian+% 3dair+%3djournal.

Stouffer, Ray. *Swords, Clunks and Widowmakers: The Tumultuous Life of the RCAF's Original 1 Canadian Air Division*. Ottawa, ON: Royal Canadian Air Force, 2015.

Sura, Capt. Anthony. “Friendly Skies.” *Sentinel* 29, No. 4 (Aug/Sep 1993): 27.

Sutherland, Lieutenant-General Fred. “An Air Force in Transition: From the Cold War to Operation DESERT STORM.” *Airforce* 44, No. 2 (Sep. 30, 2020): 5- 8.

Sutherland, Lieutenant-General Fred. “The Cold War – An Aviator’s Retrospective.” *Airforce* 37, No. 2 (Sep. 9, 2013): 5-6.

Swafford, Emily Lockett. "Democracy's Proving Ground: U.S. Military Families in West Germany, 1946-1961." Unpublished PhD Thesis. The University of Chicago, 22014. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Taussig, Helen B., M.D. “Phocomelia and Thalidomide.” *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 84, No. 7 (Oct. 1, 1962): 979. https://www.ajog.org/article/ 0002-9378(62)90079-0/pdf.

Taylor, Charles. “NATO role by Canada called vital.” *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 22, 1969. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Teigrob, Robert Verdun. "Selling the Cold War in Canada? National Identities, Cultural Transfer, and Canada -United States Relations at the Dawn of the Cold War." Unpublished PhD Thesis. The University of New Mexico, 2005. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

“Their Classroom is Europe.” *Sentinel* 8, No. 2 (Feb 1972): 15-17.

“The North Atlantic Treaty.” *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 94 (Feb 1, 1949): 273-276. Periodicals Archive Online.

The Ottawa Bureau of The Globe and Mail. “Unification natural continuation: Let integration prove itself Miller appeals.” *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 22, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

"The R.C.A.F. Today." *The Roundel* 11, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1959): 22-31.

"The tolerable limits of pilot death." *The Globe and Mail*, Apr 9, 1990. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Thomas, Ryan. "American Fears and Mindsets of the Early Cold War." Owlcation. October 12, 2017. https://owlcation.com/humanities/American-Fears-and-Mindsets-of-the-Early-Cold-War.

Thompson, Dorothy. *Over Our Dead Bodies: Women against the Bomb*. London: Virago, 1983.

"Three In A Row." *The Roundel* 12, No. 9 (Nov. 1960): 9-11.

Tobin, Colonel P.A. "Trench Gascoigne Prize Essay, 1951," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, 97 (Feb 1, 1952): 364-377. Politics Collection.

Todd, Paula. "Fighter Jet Tragedies Horrify Pilots' Families: [FIN Edition]." *Toronto Star*, Apr 25, 1990. Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database.

"Triple NATO force, Canada urged." *The Globe and Mail*, Sep 20, 1984. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott and C. David Crenna. *Lifting the Shadow of War*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987.

"TWM and TAM." International F-104 Society. Accessed 03 March 2024. https://www.i-f-s.nl/twm-and-tam/.

Valiquet, Squadron Leader L.P. "N.A.T.O Training at London." *The Roundel* 2, No. 12 (Nov. 1950): 9-13.

Veterans Affairs Canada, "Location Details: Canadians buried in Zweibrücken Cemetery," Veterans Affairs Canada. Accessed March 22, 2020. https://www.veterans. gc.ca/ eng/remembrance/memorials/canadian-armed-forces/canadian-post-war-military-dependant-graves/city/.

Villeneuve, Susan Ann. "Cold Actions, Cold Methods, Cold War: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Prague Coup of 1948." Unpublished MA Thesis. Carleton University (Canada), 1995. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Wakelam, Randall T. *Cold War Fighters: Canadian Aircraft Procurement, 1945-54*. Studies in Canadian Military History. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

Walker, Ray. “Additional detail from Ray Walker.” 1 Air Division: SS Columbia – Assorted Sources. Communications and Electronics Museum. Accessed Apr. 20, 2024.www.c-and-e-museum.org/marville/other/maother-44.html.

Warnock, John W. *Partner to Behemoth: The Military Policy of a Satellite Canada*. Toronto: New Press, 1970.

Welles, Benjamin, “U.S. Officially Contacts W. Europe Air Forces; Role for Canada Later,” *The Globe and Mail*, Dec 4, 1948. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Wentzell, Brian K. “The Rise and Fall of Civil-Military Relations in Canada, 1946-1960.” Unpublished MA Thesis. Royal Military College of Canada (Canada), 2006. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Westell, Anthony. “Canada is firmly committed to NATO despite home critics, Martin asserts.” *The Globe and Mail*, Dec 9, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Westell, Anthony. “Stretching resources to limit, Cadieux says: Canada pushes rearming of NATO force.” *The Globe and Mail*, Dec 4, 1968. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Wetzel, David. “Troops Wanted: NATO Nations' Soldiers Retention Levels Fall As Russia Threat Looms.” Knewz, Mar. 19, 2024. https://knewz.com/some-nato-nations-having-trouble-troop-retention/.

Wetzel, David. “NATO Deploying 90,000 Troops In Largest Drill Conducted Since Cold War.” Knewz, Jan. 18, 2024. https://knewz.com/nato-deploying-90000-troops-steadfast-defender-drill/.

"Where is the Airpower." *The Globe and Mail*, May 08, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Whitaker, Reginald and Gary Marcuse. *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. https://www-deslibris-ca.proxy.hil.unb.ca/ID/ 420782.

White, Timothy J. "Cold War Historiography: New Evidence Behind Traditional Typographies." *International Social Science Review* 75, no. 3/4 (2000): 35-46. www.jstor.org/stable/41887039.

“Who cuts the grass?: RCAF sets up tents for families at Lahr.” *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 9, 1967. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Wight, Quintin. “When The Canadians Took French Leave.” *Maclean’s,* Aug. 1967. https://archive.macleans.ca/article/ 19670801069/print.

Windsor, Maj. Ray. “Sardinian Shootout.” *Sentinel*19, No. 1 (1983): 24.

Wolf, James M. "Education of the Overseas Handicapped Child." *The Elementary School Journal* 67, no. 1 (1966): 28-33. www.jstor.org/stable/999875.

“Works and Bricks in Europe Still Booming.” *Sentinel* 8, No. 2 (Feb. 1972): 10.

York, Geoffrey. “CF-18s 'within spirit' of rules: Attack on Iraqi ship draws official debate.” *The Globe and Mail*, Jan 31, 1991. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

York, Geoffrey. “Canada switches CF-18s to offensive role in gulf: McKnight defends decision as 'logical evolution'.” *The Globe and Mail*, Feb 21, 1991. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

York, Geoffrey. “Canada urged to keep troops in Europe: NATO allies warn federal officials that pullout could threaten viability of alliance.” *The Globe and Mail*, May 20, 1991. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

York, Geoffrey. “Canada to close bases in Germany: Defence spending to increase over next five years. Masse says.” *The Globe and Mail*, Sep 18, 1991. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Young, Scott. “Air marshal leads group opposing forces' merger.” *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 17, 1966. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Young, Scott and David Slocombe. “DEFENSE: THE NEW LOOK: ONE BY ONE, THE FRIENDS OF INTEGRATION TOOK OVER.” *The Globe and Mail*, Oct 5, 1966. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail.

Ziegler, Mary. *We Serve That Men May Fly*. 2d ed., R.C.A.F. (W.D.) Association (Hamilton, Ont.: J.H. French & Co. Ltd.,1974).

Appendix A: Air Division Questionnaire –LCol John Bagshaw

My name is John Bagshaw. I am perhaps a bit too young to fit the mold for some of your questions, but I did fly for 1 Canadian Air Division for a bit. While I was there, the name was changed to 1 Canadian Air Group with the reduction solely to 4 Wing, the last remaining Canadian Wing in Germany and in NATO. I was on the first CF 104 course to be trained in the Strike, Recce, and Conventional roles. By the time I arrived, all nuclear weapons had been removed from 4 Wing. Accordingly, my role on the CF 104 was strictly conventional and specifically air to ground. Later on the CF 18, we were still solely conventional, but combat ready in both the Air to Air and the Air to Surface roles.

I spent one tour on 421 Squadron as a young Captain flying the CF 104 in Germany from 1972 to 1975 and another tour as the Commanding Officer of 421 Squadron flying the CF 18 in Germany from 1987 to 1989. I then became the 4Wing Operations Officer from 1989 until all aircraft and operations moved back to Canada in 1991. 4 Wing formally closed in 1992. I witnessed the end of the Cold War when our pilots began reporting the collapse of the Berlin Wall on a Friday afternoon in November 1989.

From the foregoing you may find the answers I can provide following each que stion to be of limited use to your cause. Notwithstanding, I shall try.

1. Did you lose family members or friends during the Second World War? If so, how did you feel about living in Germany or working with Germans?

- Family members of friends only. I found the Germans largely to be grateful we were there with the exception of former SS members who were still very cold. Members of the then current Luftwaffe were very helpful.

2. What was the reaction of the French and German people to having Canadians living among them to help ensure their security? Did anyone harbour ill feelings towards Canadians due to Canadian participation in Bomber Command?

- See above. I do not recall any Germans even mentioning Bomber Command.

3. Were sports or other activities conducted with local civilians?

- My family and I did a lot of socializing with Germans. They were largely kind. Some became life long friends.

4. What did you think about Russia or the spread of Communism before joining the RCAF?

- I knew little about it except I had no respect for Communism.

5. Did it impact your decision to join?

- No. I just needed a job.

6. What were you taught about Russia during initial and further pilot training?

- Part of my training included intelligence reports about the Communist regimes in Russia and other states.

7. Were you briefed on what the danger was when you got to Europe? Was the threat identified as land forces, air forces, or both?

- We studied the Soviet Air, Land, and Sea forces during our training and kept abreast of all their developments throughout our tours in NATO. Most specifically we concentrated on the Air threat.

8. Did you believe the threat was as real as what you were told?

- We weren't "told" anything. We developed our own sense of reality and developed our own counters to those threats. And we trained hard to perfect those counters.

9. Was there a time when you expected the Russians to attack?

- Every day it was a distinct possibility until late 1988. We began to realize we were winning the battle in 1989.

10. Were you kept up-to-date on advances in Soviet aircraft design and combat capabilities?

- Absolutely

11. For anyone who was there in 1956, did issues in the Suez or Hungary affect NATO airpower?

- N/A to me.

12. Was the nuclear testing conducted by Russia widely reported in Europe throughout the 50s and early 60s? Did it have an impact on operations? How did families react?

- N/A to me.

13. Did you receive any training on ``Air Power`` and how it was to be employed in Europe?

- Absolutely. As Canadians, we were very involved in the development and employment of "Air Power" and its training.

14. How would you define your role as a Sabre (or Canuck) pilot in Europe?

- N/A to me.

15. What exercises did you take part in and what was their purpose?

▪ We participated in every small and large scale NATO Exercise. The purpose was to perfect our planned employment and tactics.

16. What role did the Air Div play in Ex. Carte Blanche?

▪ N/A to me.

17. How realistic was the training?

▪ Our training was as realistic as we could make it without actually firing or dropping live ordinance. However, we did drop or fire live ordinance on "canned" ranges throughout Europe in order to confirm everything was working properly.

18. Did Canadians ever play the role of the attacker or just the defender?

▪ In the Air to Air role we continually trained hard against other types of NATO Aircraft. We would play attacker or defender, depending on the scenario.

▪ In the Air to Surface role all our training was in the attacker role, although all our simulated targets were within the NATO sphere.

19. Were any Canadian pilots killed during exercises?

▪ I lost 17 good friends killed on the CF 104 during training exercises. Many others died. I lost only two friends while on the CF 18.

20. In case of an attack on your Wing, what were you supposed to do or where were you supposed to go?

▪ On the CF 104, all pilots went into the Squadron Ops Bunker and came out only to fly. The Groundcrew all lived in the Hardened Aircraft Shelters.

▪ On the CF 18 it was the same except the off duty Groundcrew lived in the "French Sewers", long concrete sewer pipes buried underground and filtered against nuclear/biological fallout.

21. Were Squadron exchanges conducted? If so, why?

▪ Every year we did a Squadron Exchange with another NATO Squadron. The purpose was to learn about their abilities and to show them ours. On the CF 18 we became even more in demand to teach other Squadrons how best to protect themselves against Soviet Threats from their modern aircraft with capabilities similar to that of the CF 18.

22. If you went back on 104s, had your opinion of the Russians or Communism changed any? If so, how?

▪ N/A to me. However, when I went back on the CF 18 my opinion of the Soviet Union had hardened even more so.

23. If you flew Strike missions, did you have any reservations about what you were expected to do?

▪ N/A to me.

24. What exercises were conducted during the 104 years?

▪ Individual training, Mass Attack Training (up to 16 aircraft in formation attacking large targets such as airfields, etc.) all within the Wing, as well as participation in all NATO large scale exercises.

25. How realistic were they?

▪ As realistic as we could make them. Several NATO Observers were shocked at how realistic they actually were.

26. Do you believe it was the correct decision for Canada to accept the nuclear role? What was the reaction of RCAF personnel when the nuclear role was dropped?

- Absolutely.
- We were extremely disappointed. At the time we had very limited conventional Ops Stock of weapons. Also, the CF 104 was an excellent strike aircraft, but was extremely limited in the turning capability necessary to conduct conventional missions. More importantly it had very limited ability to carry sufficient conventional weapons to do the job required of it.

27. Did you expect to survive an attack?

- No.

28. Did you believe your family would survive if war started? Did you ever feel there was a time when families should have been evacuated?

- During both of my operational tours, Operation Mayflower was in effect. When airlift started moving ops stock into Germany for the war, returning aircraft were designated to repatriate all family members.
- We had little confidence in this plan working in time to effect their timely and safe removal. Accordingly, many families had their own contingency plans to utilize their own commercial airline tickets to get their families out in time.

29. What contingency plans were in place in case of an attack on the Wing?

- We all went underground until the “all clear”. Aircraft airborne were diverted. After the “all clear”, the rebuilding process was to begin if we were able.

30. If you were with 104s during the conventional period, were you trained to provide support to the Army?

- In a general sense, yes. Some of our potential targets were amassed Soviet Armour designed to be hit before it could enter the front lines.
- Because of the CF 104's limited turning capability and restricted weapons load, it was not really capable of doing the classic "close air support" mission. Other NATO aircraft more suited to that role were tasked for it.

31. How would you define your role as a 104 pilot in Europe?

- Dedicated, well trained, and determined to preventing the Soviet overthrow of NATO.

32. Were you ever briefed on what the Canadian Army brigade was doing in Germany and that they were prepared to use tactical nuclear weapons almost immediately in the event of hostilities?

- We were well aware of their role and their potential to use tactical nuclear weapons until Canada decided to eliminate all use of nuclear weapons.

33. The brigade had well known disciplinary problems in Germany when they first went over, did the Air Division have similar problems with personnel?

- Nothing I am aware of. As a Commanding Officer in the 1980's I was directly responsible for both military members as well as their dependants. Their problems were no different than those of their civilian counterparts in Canada. If anything, they had less problems.

34. Was the Air Division ever expected to cooperate with NATO Army units?

- See para 21. Above

35. The Salvation Army provided services to the brigade, including Red Shield Service canteen trucks. Did they provide any support to the Air Div?

- Not during my time.

36. Were there any disease outbreaks or epidemics that affected Squadron personnel or families?

- No.

37. Did every Wing have its own band? Was it a volunteer organization?

- 4 Wing had the "Baden Rube Band" during both of my tours. They were primarily dedicated to German music and the local Germans loved them.

38. Besides hockey, what were the other popular sports and recreation activities in the Air Div?

- Golf, Curling, Baseball, and Skiing.

39. Did you and your family have reasonable access to world and Canadian news, and from what sources?

- In the 70's we had short wave radio only. And no telephones.
- In the 80's we had delayed TV (24 hours). A select few had telephones.
- In both cases we had access to the Stars and Stripes Newspaper, but it was largely US News with the occasional Canadian and/or World content.

40. Looking back, do you believe the cost of outfitting 4 Wings and maintaining the Air Division was worth it in respect to the perceived threat? How important was the Air Division to European security at the time?

- It has always been my belief that the Canadian Air contribution to NATO was and always will be judged as packing far more than its' punch. We were amongst

the best trained airmen within NATO. Accordingly we were well respected.

▪ That contribution was not only well respected within NATO. It bought us a significant place at the world diplomatic table as well.

▪ As an example, this was never more evident to me than our acceptance within the Desert Storm Coalition in 1991 when I was tasked to set up and run Canada's CF 18 contribution to that war. We were never refused a request, and we were tasked with missions that were much in keeping with our perceived status within that coalition.

41. Do you believe that deterrence was the right strategy? Why or why not?

▪ Absolutely yes. It worked. We won the Cold War without having to fire a shot in anger.

42. How would you describe 'air power' as it pertained to the Sabre/Canuck versus 104 years?

▪ The Sabre/Canuck era was solely Air t0 Air. And we were very good at it.

▪ The CF104 era was solely air to ground. And we were also very good at it. However for the period of the Strike Role, our "punch" was significantly more potent for our size due to our use of nuclear weapons.

43. Do you think the Canadian government and Canadians in general respect what you did to preserve peace? What argument would you make to prove that your efforts are as deserving of recognition as those who fought during the war?

▪ No I do not.

▪ I had the honour of being the guest speaker at one of our local Remembrance Day Ceremonies. I spoke of my experiences fighting the Cold War. A great

number of people came up to me afterwards to thank me and to tell me they had no idea what that fight had been like. They never knew much about it.

- I suspect this lack of knowledge was primarily due to two factors:
    - The significant amount of secrecy that was involved fighting the Cold War, and;
    - The reluctance of out politicians to discuss military matters particularly with respect to our nuclear contribution to NATO.
- I believe our politicians took far too long to recognize the contribution the Korean War Vets made towards world peace and the safety of our nation. I can only hope they will not make the same mistake with our Cold War Veterans.
- And Kevin I thank you very much for your attempt to tell our story.

APPENDIX B: AIR DIVISION FATALITIES

Belgium

Cemetery	Last Name	First Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death
Florenville, Belgium	Mackin	Margaret	09-Jun-39	26-Feb-61
Saint Mard Belgium	Duff	Bonnie Jean	21-Jul-62	27-Dec-62
Saint Mard Belgium	Jeddrie	Gail Irene Ann	1950	1958
Saint Mard Belgium	Toderian	Wendy Gail	12-Jul-62	12-Jul-62

Denmark

Cemetery	Last Name	First Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Rank
Copenhagen, Denmark	Volfing	J.H.P.	unknown	12-Sep-54	F/O

England

Cemetery	Last Name	First Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Rank
Brockwood, England	Anderson	William Robert	29-Aug-40	14-Feb-56	
Brockwood, England	Bedard	Joseph Jean R.	26 years old	23-Jun-53	F/O
Brockwood, England	Gibson	Mary Cameron	30-Mar-06	23-Sep-64	
Brockwood, England	Gibson	Alan	28-Apr-38	05-Jul-87	
Brockwood, England	Goodman	B.E.	unknown	25-Jul-67	F/Sgt
Brockwood, England	Hampton	R.B.	43 years old	17-Sep-57	WO
Brockwood, England	Holtby	Harold Robert	30 years old	09-May-55	Sgt
Brockwood, England	Jenkins	George Russell	36 years old	03-May-66	F/L
Brockwood, England	Kerr	Joseph Austin Leslie	26 years old	18-Apr-52	F/O

Brockwood, England	Malkin	W.J.	38 years old	24-Nov-71	
Brockwood, England	McNair	Robert Wendell	15-May-19	15-Jan-71	G/C
Brockwood, England	Mills	Kevin Clay	unknown	1963	
Brockwood, England	Nelson	Francis Lester	56 years old	15-Dec-59	
Brockwood, England	O'Rourke	Walter Joseph	24 years old	20-May-56	Cpl
Brockwood, England	O'Rourke	Dolores Marie	unknown	20-May-56	
Brockwood, England	Paradis	Isaac Charles Herman	38 years old	12-Feb-54	
Brockwood, England	Pearce	Harold	53 years old	28-Jan-61	W/C
Brockwood, England	Rath	Ronald Royal	20 years old	04-Sep-54	LAC
Brockwood, England	Roden	R.H.	24 years old	13-Aug-56	F/O
Brockwood, England	Saul	Anthony	Jan-53	Dec-72	
Brockwood, England	Starling	Robert Gordon	26 years old	26-Jun-59	F/O
Brockwood, England	Walsh	George Victor	67 years old	04-Jun-60	AVM
Brockwood, England	Wilson	Arthur	49 years old	25-Feb-70	Maj
Cheadle-Gatley, England	Pigot	Peter	18-Jan-26	03-Dec-55	F/O
Langar, England	MacCullum	Eric Archibald	05-Apr-48	10-Dec-53	
Langar, England	Rennebohm	Margaret J.	24-May-21	27-Jul-57	
North Luffenham, England	Churchill	Ernest Kitchener	38 years old	28-Jan-53	F/Sgt
North Luffenham, England	Dickson	James Donald	32 years old	26-Jul-53	S/L

North Luffenham, England	Elphick	Leonard James	25 years old	11-Sep-54	F/O
North Luffenham, England	Gillies	Arthur Malcolm	24 years old	12-Sep-54	F/O
North Luffenham, England	Laing	Alexander Mitchell	39 years old	27-Dec-54	Sgt
North Luffenham, England	McNeilly	Thomas Arthur	21 years old	24-Jul-52	LAC
North Luffenham, England	Rayner	Arthur Edgar	24 years old	18-Apr-52	F/O
North Luffenham, England	Robinson	Pattee Vernon	27 years old	14-Dec-54	F/O
North Luffenham, England	Rosin	Clarence Harold	20 years old	04-Aug-53	LAC
North Luffenham, England	Tracey	David Gordon	20 years old	16-Dec-53	F/O
North Luffenham, England	Wilkings	Keith Samuel	23 years old	12-Nov-53	LAC
Radcliffe-On-Trent, England	Boyle	Bradley A	unknown	06-May-62	
Radcliffe-On-Trent, England	Deveau	Kenneth Charles	20-May-54	11-Oct-60	
Radcliffe-On-Trent, England	Wright	W.H	unknown	12-Apr-62	
Seaton, England	Lamont	Charles Anthony	52 years old	03-Sep-58	S/L
Wallasey-Wirral, England	Devereux	Daniel	58 years old	03-Jun-60	
Wallasey-Wirral, England	Elliott	Donald George	26 years old	05-Nov-56	F/O

France

Cemetery	Last Name	First Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Rank
Bistroff, France	Maclean	Baby	20-Nov-60	20-Nov-60	
Bistroff, France	Reimer	Brian William	10-Apr-60	10-Apr-60	
Choloy, France	Furois	J.C.A.G.	05-Feb-32	08-May-53	LAC
Choloy, France	Burns	B.C.	22 years old	30-May-53	F/O
Choloy, France	Phillipe	J.G.	22 years old	31-May-53	LAW
Choloy, France	Cloutier	J.G.A.	19-Jul-31	09-Jun-53	F/O
Choloy, France	Foxton	G.D.	13-Jun-32	18-Jun-53	F/O
Choloy, France	Trappitt	S.F.	31 years old	19-Jul-53	Cpl
Choloy, France	Lint	H.D.	19 years old	30-Oct-53	LAC
Choloy, France	Aitchison	G.H.	39 years old	25-Nov-53	S/L
Choloy, France	Latta	K.I.	12-Jan-30	10-Jan-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Darragh	F.H.	17-Apr-20	15-Mar-54	W/C
Choloy, France	Ryan	M.R.	unknown	07-May-54	LAC
Choloy, France	MacDonald	G.D.	28-Aug-30	12-May-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Haskill	K.C.	20 years old	06-Jun-54	LAC
Choloy, France	McConnell	R.E.	25 years old	20-Jun-54	LAC
Choloy, France	Sundstrom	R.E.	25 years old	01-Jul-54	Cpl
Choloy, France	Day	W.M.	06-Jul-30	30-Jul-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Cunningham	P.K.	21-Apr-32	01-Aug-54	F/O
Choloy, France	McCombs	D.W.T.	11-Apr-31	01-Aug-54	F/O

Choloy, France	Beaulac	G.L.	14-May-33	11-Aug-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Robins	F.G.	18-Jul-32	18-Aug-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Baron	P.	13-Mar-33	29-Sep-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Curran	R.H.	23 years old	26-Oct-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Weichel	J.R.	unknown	16-Nov-54	AC1
Choloy, France	Aitken	T.W.	40 years old	20-Nov-54	F/O
Choloy, France	MacEachern	M.L.	08-May-33	29-Nov-54	F/O
Choloy, France	Zygarlicki	V.	24-Aug-35	29-Dec-54	AC1
Choloy, France	Mace	D.A.	25-Mar-30	19-Feb-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Navikenas	A.	18-Jan-28	19-Feb-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Liggett	J.L.G.	16-Feb-18	05-Mar-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Robertson	R.A.	27-Jul-31	17-Mar-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Bell	G.W.	34 years old	18-Mar-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Tait	J.G.	19 years old	08-Apr-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Keymer	D.W.T.	22 years old	24-Apr-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Grant	R.A.	04-Nov-33	17-May-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Kostiuk	R.W.	04-Oct-29	12-Jun-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Lavoie	J.G.M.	22 years old	19-Jun-55	LAC
Choloy, France	McCallum	A.G.	27-Mar-29	25-Jun-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Donald	B.G.	29-Jul-30	21-Jul-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Noel	J.A.E.	10-Aug-29	21-Jul-55	F/O

Choloy, France	Habart	L.F.	19 years old	30-Jul-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Willocks	E.E.	26 years old	19-Aug-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Oliver	E.S.	28-Feb-31	02-Sep-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Schofield	W.H.	21 years old	08-Sep-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Rogers	G.A.	31 years old	10-Sep-55	Sgt
Choloy, France	Green	D.D.	19 years old	03-Oct-55	AC1
Choloy, France	Linklater	R.G.	13-Dec-33	26-Oct-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Lankin	H.S.	43 years old	29-Oct-55	
Choloy, France	Scott	R.G.	19 years old	29-Oct-55	LAC
Choloy, France	Campbell	J.G.H.	20 years old	03-Dec-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Hrenyk	J.P.	22 years old	03-Dec-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Knight	P.G.	28 years old	03-Dec-55	Cpl
Choloy, France	Newman	G.S.J.	07-Jul-17	03-Dec-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Patterson	B.E.	20 years old	03-Dec-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Offerdahl	R.C.	10-Jul-27	04-Dec-55	Cpl
Choloy, France	Redford	R.G.	21 years old	30-Dec-55	F/O
Choloy, France	Horn	R.G.	07-Jul-33	24-Jan-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Lewis	R.F.	30 years old	30-Jan-56	Sgt
Choloy, France	Crosbie	P.H.	21 years old	31-Jan-56	LAC
Choloy, France	MacLaren	I.D.	28 years old	10-Feb-56	LAC
Choloy, France	Adams	J.H.	12-Jan-32	02-Mar-56	F/O

Choloy, France	Axtell	F.K.	11-Sep-31	02-Mar-56	F/O
Choloy, France	McLarty	J.D.	13-Apr-30	02-Mar-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Welters	E.	31-Mar-31	02-Mar-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Ross	J.D.	11-Jun-31	13-Apr-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Bowen	J.L.	21 years old	19-Apr-56	LAC
Choloy, France	Proctor	C.A.	19 years old	16-May-56	LAC
Choloy, France	Griffith	T.R.	17-Apr-35	24-May-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Green	P.J.	21 years old	26-May-56	
Choloy, France	Quiring	R.B.	23 years old	19-Jul-56	
Choloy, France	Lambert	J.R.J.J.	25 years old	09-Aug-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Tothpal	Z.B.	23 years old	13-Aug-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Bradley	D.E.	22 years old	20-Aug-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Lavoie	J.L.C.	21 years old	20-Sep-56	LAC
Choloy, France	Bowland	C.W.	40 years old	27-Sep-56	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Tillotson	M.T.	18-Aug-29	28-Sep-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Ratelle	J.E.Y.	39 years old	21-Nov-56	F/O
Choloy, France	Konrad	F.	35 years old	10-Dec-56	F/L
Choloy, France	Bowes	I.W.	04-Jan-16	06-Jan-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Bergie	D.P.	45 years old	23-Jan-57	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Godin	J.G.H.	40 years old	31-Jan-57	LAC
Choloy, France	Sullivan	W.A.G.	24 years old	11-Feb-57	LAC

Choloy, France	Dent	R.L.	21 years old	02-Mar-57	LAC
Choloy, France	Wilson	W.B.	08-Jul-28	14-Mar-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Korobko	S.	29 years old	17-Mar-57	LAC
Choloy, France	Cushing	A. R.	26-Dec-34	02-Apr-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Davidson	H.A.	15-Oct-28	02-May-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Komar	R.W.	20-Feb-32	14-May-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Crozier	J.P.	24 years old	19-May-57	LAC
Choloy, France	Levere	O.H.	07-Sep-22	29-May-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Stewart	H.C.	24-Jan-19	31-May-57	W/C
Choloy, France	Robinson	J.J.L.	01-May-30	12-Jun-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Donald	R.B.	25-Jan-31	20-Jun-57	F/O
Choloy, France	McLeish	W.A.G.	27-Apr-15	20-Jun-57	W/C
Choloy, France	Brietzke	A.S.L.	29 years old	26-Jun-57	Cpl
Choloy, France	Doucette	G.A.	25 years old	17-Aug-57	Cpl
Choloy, France	Myers	J.S.	19-Apr-28	28-Aug-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Coleman	L.S.	07-Jul-22	02-Sep-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Rolston	R.G.H.	31-Mar-35	08-Nov-57	F/O
Choloy, France	Burns	W.K.	32 years old	28-Nov-57	
Choloy, France	MacDonald	W.V.	46 years old	10-Dec-57	W/C
Choloy, France	Ward	M.H.P.	20 years old	14-Dec-57	LAC
Choloy, France	Field	G.E.	24 years old	15-Dec-57	LAC

Choloy, France	McFall	C.L.	40 years old	23-Dec-57	Sgt
Choloy, France	Ingram	K.H.	27-Jul-22	05-Mar-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Walton	H.E.	35 years old	05-Mar-58	
Choloy, France	Ashmore	R.A.	29-Dec-29	14-Mar-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Grant	F.A.S.	10-Oct-30	14-Mar-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Doyle	J.J.	21 years old	28-Mar-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Fortin	J.M.A.V.	35 years old	11-Apr-58	Cpl
Choloy, France	Polley	F.S.	22 years old	01-May-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Ryan	B.J.L.	22 years old	17-May-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Talbott	J.B.	11-May-32	17-Jul-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Myers	J.R.	26 years old	04-Aug-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Bice	W.J.	09-Oct-21	25-Aug-58	F/L
Choloy, France	Cooling	G.A.	24-Jan-39	25-Aug-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Kirkham	B.	28-May-37	25-Aug-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Rayment	G.R.	14-Oct-32	25-Aug-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Rosart	J.R.	09-Feb-35	03-Sep-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Gibson	W.I.	27 years old	15-Oct-58	Cpl
Choloy, France	Cyr	J.Y.	20 years old	09-Nov-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Arsenault	J.W.P.	20 years old	17-Nov-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Barnes	D.H.G.	10-Aug-34	20-Nov-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Popham	D.E.	35 years old	20-Nov-58	F/L

Choloy, France	Fitt	M.H.P.	11-Jan-37	02-Dec-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Burlock	C.R.	17-May-33	21-Dec-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Gray	S.R.	02-Nov-17	21-Dec-58	LAC
Choloy, France	Haugh	J.H.	30-Sep-23	21-Dec-58	F/L
Choloy, France	Leah	H.	02-Dec-18	21-Dec-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Sullivan	J.M.J.	18-Jul-36	21-Dec-58	F/O
Choloy, France	Carrier	J.R.D.	25 years old	02-Jan-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Kiley	H.L.	24 years old	07-Mar-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Lavigueur	J.M.A.	29 years old	07-Mar-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Shruiff	N.J.	22 years old	12-Apr-59	F/O
Choloy, France	Smith	D.H.	30-Jan-37	15-Apr-59	F/O
Choloy, France	Hirst	D.S.	28-Sep-37	28-Apr-59	F/O
Choloy, France	Walton	J.	17-Nov-36	28-Apr-59	F/O
Choloy, France	Roach	M.T.D.	36 years old	30-Apr-59	Cpl
Choloy, France	McDonald	W.R.B.	24 years old	24-May-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Hobson	G.N.W.	25 years old	27-Jun-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Olson	E.L.	25 years old	27-Jun-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Hallyburton	H.A.	unknown	03-Jul-59	Cpl
Choloy, France	Franko	S.S.	21 years old	10-Jul-59	F/O
Choloy, France	Day	C.J.	31-Aug-24	17-Jul-59	S/L
Choloy, France	Pittman	A.E.	23-Apr-36	17-Aug-59	LAC

Choloy, France	Way	P.M.	27 years old	30-Aug-59	Cpl
Choloy, France	Harquail	T.A.	25 years old	19-Oct-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Kleist	J.R.D.	25 years old	19-Oct-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Lumb	F.E.	22 years old	08-Nov-59	LAC
Choloy, France	Milne	A.H.	unknown	09-Nov-59	F/L
Choloy, France	Cochrane	W.T.	35 years old	11-Nov-59	Cpl
Choloy, France	Gallagher	D.M.	26 years old	11-Nov-59	Cpl
Choloy, France	Brouillette	W.L.	23 years old	02-Dec-59	
Choloy, France	Chalmers	R.J.	21-Sep-36	21-Dec-59	F/O
Choloy, France	White	R.R.	23 years old	14-Feb-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Maheu	J.R.L.	25 years old	28-Feb-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Gagosz	J.E.W.B.	25 years old	20-Mar-60	F/O
Choloy, France	White	R.A.	24 years old	04-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Hurlbert	R.W.	24 years old	07-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Bradley	J.U.	19 years old	22-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Lapointe	J.F.	20 years old	22-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Ravary	J.C.L.	21 years old	22-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Turpin	R.J.	21 years old	22-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Wilson	T.A.	21 years old	22-Apr-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Lafortune	H.G.	06-Oct-18	03-May-60	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Waters	D.R.D.	24 years old	15-May-60	LAC

Choloy, France	Webb	W.A.G.	32 years old	28-May-60	Cpl
Choloy, France	Baxter	J.F.	05-Jun-38	18-Aug-60	
Choloy, France	Buchan	G.F.	41 years old	02-Sep-60	LAC
Choloy, France	McIntyre	W.H.	unknown	18-Sep-60	Civ
Choloy, France	Cass	J.A.	31 years old	25-Sep-60	LAC
Choloy, France	McCoy	E.R.	07-Mar-38	11-Oct-60	F/O
Choloy, France	Plante	J.A.S.	12-Nov-36	11-Oct-60	F/O
Choloy, France	Jones	L.M.	32 years old	31-Oct-60	LAC
Choloy, France	Duffie	R.A.	23-Jun-39	09-Nov-60	F/O
Choloy, France	Dion	A.N.	41 years old	03-Jan-61	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Schelongosky	A.R.	27-Jan-37	27-Jan-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Zimmer	M.J.	22-May-34	27-Jan-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Blackman	G.R.	27 years old	17-Feb-61	LAC
Choloy, France	Payne	E.D.	28-Aug-33	23-Feb-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Smith	R.V.	13-Dec-23	23-Feb-61	W/C
Choloy, France	McNicol	D.C.	41 years old	28-Mar-61	WO1
Choloy, France	Cameron	T.J.	22 years old	26-May-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Kovar	D.J.	23 years old	26-May-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Downey	G.V.	29 years old	18-Jun-61	Cpl
Choloy, France	Partington	K.S.	23-May-33	06-Jul-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Thiessen	H.	15-Jul-35	06-Jul-61	F/O

Choloy, France	Scherr	Catherine P.	unknown	27-Aug-61	
Choloy, France	Conley	F.R.	46 years old	23-Sep-61	LAC
Choloy, France	Dylke	S.R.	24 years old	29-Sep-61	LAC
Choloy, France	Rieberger	E.	28 years old	29-Sep-61	LAC
Choloy, France	Scott	C.R.	26 years old	29-Sep-61	LAC
Choloy, France	McKay	R.C.	17-Apr-37	06-Oct-61	F/O
Choloy, France	Gower	Mary C.	13-Sep-39	23-Nov-61	
Choloy, France	Schultz	H.A.	28 years old	19-Dec-61	LAC
Choloy, France	Whitfield	James W.M	unknown	18-Jan-62	
Choloy, France	Mitchell	G.D.	07-Oct-16	23-Jan-62	Cpl
Choloy, France	McDougall	J.G.	14-Jul-39	02-Feb-62	LAC
Choloy, France	McDonald	H.J.	unknown	24-Feb-62	LAC
Choloy, France	Gibson	Thelma D.	unknown	28-Feb-62	
Choloy, France	Wellman	Robert A.	22-Mar-62	27-Apr-62	
Choloy, France	Nelson	V.S.	36 years old	12-May-62	Sgt
Choloy, France	Bloye	Kimberley D.	09-Aug-60	28-May-62	
Choloy, France	Cook	J.H	23 years old	23-Jun-62	LAC
Choloy, France	Tardif	Beverley A.	12-Jul-31	26-Jun-62	
Choloy, France	Dann	F.A.	23 years old	13-Jul-62	F/O
Choloy, France	Wilson	H.	46 years old	05-Aug-62	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Laliberte	T.S.	20 years old	08-Sep-62	LAC

Choloy, France	Morin	Joseph R.	02-Oct-62	03-Oct-62	
Choloy, France	Balcom	G.R.	41 years old	07-Oct-62	Sgt
Choloy, France	Simard	Joseph Gerald R.	14-Jul-62	11-Nov-62	
Choloy, France	Tutkaluk	Syzon B.	20-Apr-40	13-Nov-62	Civ
Choloy, France	McDonald	Patricia	07-Feb-38	18-Nov-62	
Choloy, France	Wiskin	K.R.	26 years old	27-Nov-62	Cpl
Choloy, France	Robert	Nancy J.	01-Nov-62	06-Dec-62	
Choloy, France	Hall	Joan	16-Jul-30	12-Jan-63	
Choloy, France	Smith	J.T.	36 years old	01-Feb-63	Cpl
Choloy, France	Harvie	Brent C.	29-Jan-63	03-Feb-63	
Choloy, France	Courtemanche	G.J.	31 years old	12-Feb-63	Sgt
Choloy, France	Palmer	P.E.	25 years old	02-Mar-63	LAC
Choloy, France	Forsyth	Robert A.E.	13-May-43	10-Mar-63	Civ
Choloy, France	MacIntrye	Donald A.	24-Jun-44	10-Mar-63	Civ
Choloy, France	Traub	Kenneth A.	unknown	23-Mar-63	
Choloy, France	Northmore	Ronald E.	23-Apr-63	14-May-63	
Choloy, France	Clairmont	J.G.	46 years old	30-May-63	F/Sgt
Choloy, France	Brown	Terri K.	25-May-62	01-Jun-63	
Choloy, France	Carmichael	Susan A.	25-Jan-63	09-Jul-63	
Choloy, France	Leavitt	Gerald I.	09-Jul-63	17-Jul-63	
Choloy, France	Prescott	R.J.	02-Aug-30	23-Jul-63	F/L

Choloy, France	MacBride, DFC	R.E.	05-Aug-19	29-Jul-63	G/C
Choloy, France	Schneider, DFC	D.O.	20-Oct-26	11-Sep-63	F/L
Choloy, France	Epp	W.	20 years old	05-Oct-63	AC1
Choloy, France	Laframboise	J.A.C.	23 years old	05-Oct-63	LAC
Choloy, France	May	C.A.	21 years old	05-Oct-63	LAC
Choloy, France	Myles	Baby	21-Oct-63	21-Oct-63	
Choloy, France	Sheasby	H.B.W.	09-Jan-28	24-Oct-63	F/L
Choloy, France	Mossman	Keith A.	09-Nov-63	09-Nov-63	
Choloy, France	Bach	P.A.G.	13-Mar-22	30-Dec-63	Sgt
Choloy, France	Bach	Donald George	03-Sep-57	30-Dec-63	
Choloy, France	Bach	Hazel Mary	07-Dec-26	30-Dec-63	
Choloy, France	Clouthier	V.I.	12-Nov-24	30-Dec-63	F/L
Choloy, France	Hamlen	J.K.	18-Sep-34	30-Dec-63	F/L
Choloy, France	Johnston	B.L.	05-Jan-25	30-Dec-63	F/L
Choloy, France	Walshe	E.J.	04-Oct-29	30-Dec-63	F/L
Lelling, France	Aucoin	Louise Anne	30-Jan-59	31-Jan-59	
Lelling, France	Belanger	Brian Joseph	05-Aug-55	24-Mar-57	
Lelling, France	Brochu	Marie Catherine	20-Jul-55	21-Jul-55	
Lelling, France	Bunnage	John	10-Jan-61	10-Jan-61	
Lelling, France	Campbell	Larry Stephen	09-Sep-59	15-Jul-60	
Lelling, France	Chartrand	Baby	07-Nov-53	07-Nov-53	
Lelling, France	Coolan	Sandra Jean	21-Feb-59	24-Jun-59	

Lelling, France	Dufour	Joseph Steven Claude	27-Jan-60	27-Jan-60	
Lelling, France	Gallant	Marie	unknown	01-Feb-58	
Lelling, France	Goguen	Jeanette Rose	31-Aug-58	18-May-59	
Lelling, France	Gold	Alice	19-Nov-27	18-Oct-57	
Lelling, France	Hader	Bernard Paul	unknown	28-Dec-60	
Lelling, France	Hampshire	Joseph William	16-Feb-61	17-Feb-61	
Lelling, France	Kay	Baby	09-May-53	09-May-53	
Lelling, France	Lanthier	Mary Lucienne Louise	12-Dec-57	23-Mar-58	
Lelling, France	Lawless	Patricia	26-Sep-57	30-Sep-57	
Lelling, France	Lepine	Albert Alain	unknown	25-Sep-58	
Lelling, France	Lessard	Marie	15-Sep-60	15-Sep-60	
Lelling, France	Leullier	Joseph Pierre Rene	unknown	21-Nov-59	
Lelling, France	Manarin	Dean Joseph	28-Jun-58	28-Jun-58	
Lelling, France	McAleer	David Wayne	04-Jul-57	06-Aug-57	
Lelling, France	McCann	Ronald George	18-Mar-59	19-Mar-59	
Lelling, France	McCann	Donald Stephen	18-Mar-59	20-Mar-59	
Lelling, France	McKeown	Marie Lynn	21-Dec-54	23-Dec-54	
Lelling, France	McNeil	Kimberly Ann Mary	unknown	23-Apr-59	
Lelling, France	Morin	Joseph Sean Leo	unknown	14-Jul-63	
Lelling, France	O'Brien	Christopher Brien	unknown	11-Dec-60	
Lelling, France	Ralph	Raoul	unknown	30-Jun-57	

Lelling, France	Randall	Baby	10-Dec-54	10-Dec-54	
Lelling, France	Skinner	Garry	24-Nov-54	03-Dec-54	
Lelling, France	Thomas	Michael William	unknown	29-Nov-58	
Lelling, France	Tyler	Baby	06-May-61	06-May-61	
Lelling, France	Vandendriessche	Kevin David	16-May-62	16-May-62	
Lelling, France	Williamson	Marie Verna	26-Dec-60	27-Dec-60	
Marville, France	Abbott	Craig William	13-Aug-55	13-Aug-55	
Marville, France	Ackson	Baby	13-Apr-56	13-Apr-56	
Marville, France	Babin	Penelope Sharon	21-Aug-46	23-Jul-56	
Marville, France	Baker	Mary Frances	18-May-30	24-Sep-60	
Marville, France	Bishop	Baby	unknown	28-Jun-62	
Marville, France	Clowater	Joseph	06-Dec-61	06-Dec-61	
Marville, France	Coles	Mary Cathy	24-Jan-61	24-Jan-61	
Marville, France	Constable	Baby	unknown	06-Jun-61	
Marville, France	Dumont	Cindy	30-Mar-59	30-Mar-59	
Marville, France	Fleming	Betty	30-Oct-57	13-Mar-58	
Marville, France	Gervais	Fernand	unknown	10-May-05	
Marville, France	Goodman	Gerald	29-May-60	29-May-60	
Marville, France	Gorman	Marie	28-Mar-62	29-Mar-62	
Marville, France	Hall	Raymond Martyn	05-Jan-60	10-Mar-60	
Marville, France	Hamilton	Timothy Maurice	24-Jul-57	08-Oct-57	

Marville, France	Jenkinson	Wendy Anne	03-Dec-61	16-Jan-62	
Marville, France	Joy	Mark Langford	29-Dec-59	29-Dec-59	
Marville, France	Kempton	David Brian	12-Jul-57	17-Jul-57	
Marville, France	Kenny	Steven Howard	23-Oct-57	31-Jan-58	
Marville, France	Landry	Joseph Andre Francis	18-Dec-59	18-Dec-59	
Marville, France	Lyon	Rodney Erwin	05-Sep-55	07-Jan-56	
Marville, France	MacDonald	Kenneth Malcolm	03-May-48	21-May-60	
Marville, France	MacNeil	Peter	02-Nov-57	02-Nov-57	
Marville, France	McPherson	Debra	03-Feb-60	03-Jul-60	
Marville, France	O'Connor	John	13-May-62	13-May-62	
Marville, France	Phillips	Rodney William	13-Mar-55	28-Jun-55	
Marville, France	Plaster	Julie Anne	02-Apr-61	03-May-61	
Marville, France	Robinson	John	04-May-60	04-May-60	
Marville, France	Rogers	Mark Wallace	02-Jun-57	26-Jun-61	
Marville, France	Rud	Bunny Lynn	16-Mar-59	30-Apr-61	
Marville, France	Smith	Donald	25-Feb-57	25-Feb-57	
Marville, France	Smith	Mary	15-Jul-58	15-Jul-58	
Marville, France	Spray	Margaret Erin	27-Sep-59	15-Jan-60	
Marville, France	Thibodeau	Joseph Pierre	15-Nov-56	21-Nov-56	
Marville, France	Villicourt	Marie	20-Mar-61	20-Mar-61	
Marville, France	Watson	Baby	02-Jan-57	02-Jan-57	

Marville, France	Wilder	Scott Donald	04-Sep-56	06-Nov-56	
Marville, France	Wilson	Jody Leonard	21-Dec-59	12-Mar-60	
Metz, France	Atkinson	Augusta	unknown	08-Dec-63	
Metz, France	Buteau	Marianne	28 years old	08-Mar-56	
Metz, France	Dupont	Marc	7 years old	07-Sep-56	
Metz, France	Kelly	Kimberly Ann	unknown	10-Dec-60	
Metz, France	Lanouette	Charles Richard	unknown	18-Oct-59	
Metz, France	MacDonald	Kathleen Joan	23-Jun-60	24-Dec-60	
Metz, France	Pauls	Keith Albert	20-Sep-57	20-Sep-57	
Metz, France	Pelletier	Allan Joseph	18-Apr-57	17-Mar-58	
Metz, France	Reich	Joseph Brian William	unknown	07-Dec-57	
Piennes, France	Legault	Elise (nee Mancine)	1937	12-May-05	
St. Avold, France	Alstad	Jane Rhonda	29-Jun-57	12-May-59	
St. Avold, France	Avey	Baby	03-Feb-58	03-Feb-58	
St. Avold, France	Clark	Ian Wallace	20-Jan-55	03-Apr-58	
St. Avold, France	Cofield	Baby	03-Mar-58	03-Mar-58	
St. Avold, France	Daye	Baby	19-Jan-61	19-Jan-61	
St. Avold, France	Eisner	Wendy	09-Apr-59	09-May-60	
St. Avold, France	Genest	Claude	unknown	26-Aug-57	
St. Avold, France	Gibson	Carmen Lillian	11-May-59	12-May-60	
St. Avold, France	Hazelwood	Baby	10-Nov-60	10-Nov-60	
St. Avold, France	Hennessy	Clayton John Louis	25-Sep-59	31-Dec-59	

St. Avold, France	McMullen	Baby	19-Jun-58	19-Jun-58	
St. Avold, France	Mills	David Allen	27-Dec-59	30-Dec-60	
St. Avold, France	Morris	Terrance Michael	22-Jul-60	22-Jul-60	
St. Avold, France	Munro	Brian Thomas	27-Oct-57	28-Oct-57	
St. Avold, France	Sawka	Stuart Edward	20-Nov-59	23-Mar-60	
St. Avold, France	Stonham	Beulah May	26-Sep-26	25-Aug-58	Civ
St. Avold, France	Swinamer	Alan Lloyd	21-Oct-59	18-Nov-59	
St. Avold, France	Trick	Kevin John	unknown	27-Jun-58	
St. Avold, France	Wood	Rodney Stuart	unknown	03-Sep-58	
St. Avold, France	Worthington	Wendy Lee	15-Nov-55	13-Jan-58	

Germany

Cemetery	**Last Name**	**First Name**	**Date of Birth**	**Date of Death**	**Rank**
Zweibrucken, Germany	Alcock	William David	15-Nov-58	15-Nov-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Alstad	Infant	17-Mar-60	17-Mar-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Arnold	Joseph Michael	06-Apr-62	09-Apr-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Baiden	Carl Sullivan	19-May-59	19-May-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Baker	Deborah Anne	04-Jun-58	04-Jun-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Barker	David James	24-Feb-61	17-Jun-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Biggar	Lyle Carl	22-Feb-58	22-Feb-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Bonikowsky	Robert Arthur	13-Oct-59	14-Oct-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Boyce	Roland Ludwig	13-May-59	13-May-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Brown	Infant	23-Dec-59	23-Dec-59	

Zweibrucken, Germany	Brown	William Dale	07-Aug-61	08-Aug-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Burridge	John Peter	06-Apr-60	25-Apr-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Caron	Robert Joseph	26-Sep-59	26-Sep-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Charron	Ross Lavin	23-Feb-58	23-Feb-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Clark	Debra Anne Marie	27-Dec-60	26-Jan-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Clarke	David Ward	unknown	14-Feb-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Clowater	Cecil J.A.	13-Feb-58	22-Apr-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Clowater	Bruce Edward	03-Mar-59	05-Mar-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Cooper	Stephen John	03-Dec-60	17-Dec-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Cramer	David William	01-Nov-61	01-Nov-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Cuthbert	Doanld Keith	29-Jun-62	19-Sep-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Davis	Elizabeth Charlene	18-Jun-61	18-Jun-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Dextras	Jeanne	22-Mar-60	22-Mar-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Dolan	Infant	26-Sep-57	26-Sep-57	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Duncan	Corrina Marie	09-Jan-62	16-Jan-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Fisher	Grant John Lea	27-Nov-60	06-Sep-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Fletcher	Ronald Bruce	unknown	26-Nov-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Folk	Blake Emile	22-Nov-62	25-Nov-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Fraser	Infant	08-Dec-57	08-Dec-57	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Goddard	Joseph Edward	30-Dec-60	11-Aug-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Govenlock	Shelley Lee	18-Dec-62	18-Dec-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Graham	Charles Russell	07-Nov-61	08-Nov-61	

Zweibrucken, Germany	Gregory	Louise Ann	21-Jul-59	24-Aug-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Healy	John David	25-Nov-61	26-Nov-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Hepburn	Bruce Robert	unknown	26-Aug-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Hebert	Doria Ann	03-Jan-61	04-Jan-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Hvarregaard	Ruby Mable	10-Apr-61	11-Apr-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Hvarregaard	Scott David	16-Feb-62	16-Feb-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	James	Bernard Edward	11-Dec-58	29-Oct-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Kangas	Janet May	07-Jan-59	08-Jan-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Kassian	Infant	18-Jan-62	18-Jan-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Killens	Infant	unknown	22-Sep-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Kinghorn	David Reid	27-Aug-61	29-Aug-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Ledrew	David Barry	31-Mar-60	31-Mar-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Lowe	Harold John	08-Nov-61	30-Nov-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Lozanski	Kathleen Alison	22-Feb-60	22-Oct-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Lund	Paul Gordon	16-May-62	16-May-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	MacDonald	Malcolm Gerard	18-Dec-60	18-Dec-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	MacKy	William	01-May-57	01-May-57	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Mahoney	Infant	18-May-59	18-May-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Mayne	Infant	23-Oct-58	23-Oct-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	McVicar	Linda Sue	11-Aug-62	11-Aug-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Mercier	Joseph Claude	19-Jun-61	22-Jun-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Moore	Karen Marie	11-Apr-57	30-Jul-58	

Zweibrucken, Germany	Mulrooney	Karen Katherine	22-Feb-58	22-Feb-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Nelson	Infant	14-Feb-59	14-Feb-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Nelson	Raymond Glen	31-Jul-59	31-Jul-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Nelson	Infant	01-May-60	01-May-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	O'Brien	Infant	11-Jan-57	11-Jan-57	
Zweibrucken, Germany	O'Neil	Infant	17-May-62	17-May-62	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Parks	Infant	06-Oct-59	06-Oct-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Pearson	Kathryn Ruth	10-May-58	16-Jun-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Pemberton	Joseph	05-Jan-59	23-Aug-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Pumphrey	Michael Francis	18-Mar-61	18-Mar-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Rippon	Charles	18-Feb-59	18-Feb-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Robinson	Mary	04-Apr-61	04-Apr-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Romanow	Danny Walter	28-Jan-60	26-Feb-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Stefiuk	Gregory Lawerence	unknown	09-May-56	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Stone	Jeffery Peter	28-Aug-58	30-Aug-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Thomsen	Infant	01-Mar-59	01-Mar-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Thwaites	Infant	20-Jan-60	20-Jan-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Tweed	Rodney Eugene	30-May-59	31-May-59	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Vance	Michelle F	unknown	08-Jul-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Warner	William Ronald	11-Aug-58	12-Aug-58	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Watson	Infant	07-Jul-62	07-Jul-62	

Zweibrucken, Germany	Whitney	Infant	26-Dec-61	26-Dec-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Woodruff	Bernard John	31-Aug-61	01-Sep-61	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Woods	Dennis M	08-Sep-60	16-Oct-60	
Zweibrucken, Germany	Wright	Infant	14-Oct-59	14-Oct-59	

Legend:

= Infants 1-2 days old

= Children

CURRICULUM VITAE

Candidate's full name: Kevin Neil Anderson, CD

Universities attended (with dates and degrees obtained):
M.A., Military History (New Brunswick and the Cold War), University of New Brunswick, in progress.

- Thesis Title: *Knights of the Air Division: Flying, Fatalities, Families and Fear*

Certificate, Human Resource Management, University of New Brunswick, 2009

B.A., Psychology/Management, University of Manitoba, 2004.

Publications:
Anderson, Kevin. "Family Visits CF Pilot's Crash Site 45 Years Later", *The Maple Leaf,* 2012

Anderson, Kevin. "Family Finally Visits Father's Crash Site", *Oromocto Post-Gazette*, 2012.

Anderson, Kevin. "Gagetown Commander Takes Historic Trip", *Oromocto Post-Gazette*, 2012.

Anderson, Kevin. "Fixed-Wing Aircraft Return to N.B.", *Oromocto Post-Gazette*, 2010.

Anderson, Kevin. "Fixed-wings Back in New Brunswick", Air Force News online (DND), *The Maple Leaf*, 2010.

Betts, Sarah. "Remembered: NB Pilot Set a Cross-Canada Speed Record", *Saint John Telegraph-Journal*, *Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, 2018

Chalmers, John. "RCAF Golden Hawks Celebrated in Miramichi", *Skies Magazine*, 2017. https://www.skiesmag.com/news/rcaf-golden-hawks-celebrated-miramichi/.

Chalmers, John. "Legacy of the RCAF Golden Hawks Celebrated", *The Maple Leaf*, 2017.

Cochrane, Alan. "N.B. Military Museum Showing Renewed Focus", *Moncton Times and Transcript*, 2010.

Cochrane, Alan. "Military Museum Seeks N.B. Artifacts", *Moncton Times and Transcript*, 2012.

Cochrane, Alan. "Museum Undergoing Renos", *Moncton Times and Transcript*, 2012.

Fox, Chris. “Military Museum Overhaul Underway”, *Oromocto Post-Gazette,* 2010.

James, K. Bryannah. “Monument in City Getting a Face Lift From Local Volunteers”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2016.

James, K. Bryannah. “Chatham 75th Anniversary Celebrations Set for July””, *Miramichi Leader,* 2016.

MacLeod, Shannon. Museum Gets Artifacts Linked to Base”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2012.

McDavid, Kris. “’These Guys Are a Canadian Treasure’; City Welcomes Golden Hawks Home”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2017.

McDavid, Kris. “Aerial Trailblazers, the Golden Hawks, to be Honoured”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2017.

McDavid, Kris. “Efforts of CFB Chatham Personnel Worth Commemorating: Museum Director”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2017.

Merrithew, Shawn. “Museum Wants More Visitors”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2012.

Staples, Michael. “Royal Canadian Air Force Station/Base Chatham Approaches 75th Anniversary”, *Fredericton Daily Gleaner,* 2016.

Staples, Michael. “Museum Looks for Wartime Artifacts”, *Saint John Telegraph-Journal, Fredericton Daily Gleaner,* 2015.

Staples, Michael. “Lithographs Purchased for War Museum”, *Fredericton Daily Gleaner,* 2012.

Sturgeon, Nathalie. “*50 Years of Celebrating New Brunswick’s Golden Hawks*”, CBC news, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/golden-hawks-miramichi-aerobatics-team-1.4293014.

The Military Museums Press Release. “Plaque Commemorates Fallen Golden Hawk Pilot”, *Skies Magazine,* 2017. https://www.skiesmag.com/press-releases/plaque-commemorates-fallen-golden-hawks-pilot/.

Trevors, Jeremy. “Anniversary Celebration of CFB Chatham Taking Place Over This Weekend”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2016.

Trevors, Jeremy. “Former CFB Chatham Airbase Celebrates 75 Years”, *Miramichi Leader,* 2016.

Conference Presentations: Nil.