



SCATTERING CHAFF: Canadian Air Power and Censorship during the Kosovo War by Bob Bergen

ISBN 978-1-77385-031-3

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY NOT:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.



Acknowledgement: We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher, **re.press**, and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy <http://www.re-press.org>

Afterword

Much has changed in the world since the 1999 Kosovo air war. The war ended when Serb president Slobodan Milosevic allowed United Nations peacekeepers into Kosovo and the United Nations to govern it. Kosovo eventually declared independence in 2008, which the Serbian government doesn't recognize but which a large majority of the international community does. Canada's strategic goal of seeing an independent Kosovo within Yugoslavia was sheer folly, but its use of military force alongside its NATO allies contributed to bringing a cessation to the brutal and bloody ethnic cleansing.

Also, since then, Canadian soldiers fought in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2011 after the terrorist incidents in the United States on 11 September 2001. Hundreds of Canadian journalists were embedded with them over the years, most for short periods of time. One hundred and fifty-eight Canadian soldiers along with seven civilians died, including *Calgary Herald* journalist Michelle Lang on 30 December 2009. Lang died with four Canadian soldiers when the armoured vehicle they were travelling in was struck by an improvised explosive device or bomb. In the context of her death, the notion that journalists travel to war zones and use military members merely to provide entertainment for their readers or audiences is appalling. Thousands of news stories were published and broadcast about Afghanistan, but the most authoritative source of information about that war comes from books written by journalists and academics, not the news.¹

As a society, Canada in the late twentieth century and in the early twenty-first century will be judged by how it supported civil liberties and

the democratic guarantees enshrined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, including freedom of the press and other media of communication, subject only to such reasonable limits as prescribed by law. In the case of Kosovo, the Canadian Forces failed to meet those *Charter* guarantees. Afghanistan was a much different war because it was a ground war, and journalists could go on patrol with the troops if their editors would let them leave the relative safety of the Kandahar Airfield so as not to miss the next Canadian soldier body bag story. There is, however, one parallel that can be made with Afghanistan: Kosovo. Canada had a squadron of Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians) tanks in Afghanistan continuously since the fall of 2006 until 2010, when they were withdrawn. They were making history because it was the first time since the Korean War that Canadian tanks were sent to fight in an active war zone. There was nothing reported about them. Much as with the CF-18s, there is no room for journalists to ride along in tanks. The tanks in Afghanistan were even less visible in the media to Canadians than were the CF-18s in Kosovo. The Canadian air force participated in the Libya bombing campaign 2011 in Operation Mobile and in Operation Impact against the Islamic State (also known variously as Daesh, ISIL, and ISIS) in Iraq and Syria from October 2014 to February 2016. The stories of Operation Mobile and of Operation Impact have yet to be told.

Two shocking and tragic events involving Canadian soldiers provide ample reason to think there will be even greater media restrictions than those imposed by the Canadian military to date. On 20 October 2014, two Canadian soldiers were injured in a hit-and-run accident in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec, that was thought to be a terrorist attack. There was a vehicle chase by police, and the driver was shot dead after his car crashed and he emerged brandishing a knife. One of the soldiers, Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent, died of his injuries. That terrorist-attack speculation was cemented in Parliamentary history by the prime minister later that day in the House of Commons when Member of Parliament Randy Hoback, of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, rose in the House and asked a planted question. He said: "Mr. Speaker, there are unconfirmed reports of a possible terror attack against two members of the Canadian Armed Forces near Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu. Can the Prime Minister please update the House on this matter?"² Prime Minister Stephen Harper replied:

Mr. Speaker, we are aware of these reports and they are obviously extremely troubling. First and foremost, our thoughts and prayers are with the victims and their families. We are closely monitoring the situation, and we will make available all of the resources of the federal government.³

The attacker, Martin Couture-Rouleau, was identified as a Canadian-born radicalized Muslim convert. Couture-Rouleau had been stripped of his passport by Canadian authorities to prevent him from travelling abroad to join Islamic State fighters. Two days later, Canadian Forces Cpl. Nathan Cirillo was shot dead on 22 October 2014, while he stood on ceremonial guard at the National War Memorial in Ottawa. His killer, Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, who stormed into Parliament's Centre Block after he shot Cpl. Cirillo, was also a Canadian-born radicalized Muslim convert. After a fierce gunfight in the Centre Block's hallways, he was shot and killed by House of Commons security and the Parliamentary Sergeant-at-Arms, Kevin Vickers. Some ninety-three radicalized Canadians were said to be known to the RCMP as high-risk travellers, but Zehaf-Bibeau was not thought to be one of them. The son of a Libyan immigrant, he had attempted to renew his Libyan passport on 2 October 2014 but was turned down by Libyan embassy officials wary of his demeanour. Canadian officials were in the midst of processing his Canadian passport application, but it became delayed when the application was forwarded to the RCMP for a background check.⁴ Following Zehaf-Bibeau's death, Prime Minister Harper spoke in a nationally televised address from his home at 24 Sussex Drive, calling the shooting a terrorist act. "In the days to come, we will learn more about the terrorist and any accomplices he may have had, but this week's events are a grim reminder that Canada is not immune to the types of terrorist attacks we have seen elsewhere around the world."⁵

It didn't take long for the Canadian Armed Forces to react. Within hours of the Ottawa shooting, military bases and armouries were locked down. Military members were told not to wear their uniforms in public unless they were driving to work. They were told to not gas up in uniform. A military police officer in Saint-Hubert asked the media not to publish pictures of soldiers' faces. The wife of a Montreal soldier feared military families could be targeted.⁶ Military members feared their spouses were

targets in their own country. Permission to wear their uniforms was restored a day later, and the honour guard resumed at the National War Memorial in Ottawa on October 25.⁷ In the weeks following, Canadian Armed Forces members were advised to be vigilant and not to wear their uniforms when not on duty.

On 7 December 2014, Canadian television news ran a vitriolic video of Canadian John Maguire, a reported Islam convert. Maguire urged Canadian Muslims to either pack their bags and join ISIL or prepare explosive devices and carry out independent attacks on Canadian soil like those that killed Warrant Officer Vincent and Cpl. Cirillo.⁸ Some in the Arab world dismissed the video as trumped-up Western propaganda aimed at bolstering public opinion for Prime Minister Harper's war agenda in the Middle East. It doesn't really matter. History is a teacher here. On 2 October 1924, the Canadian representative to the League of Nations, Raoul Dandurand, famously said of Canadians: "We live in a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials."⁹ The killings of Warrant Officer Vincent and Cpl. Cirillo on Canadian soil amply demonstrate that Canadians no longer live in a fire-proof house far from inflammable materials. The flames set and fanned by Muslim extremists threaten the houses of not just Canadian military families but potentially any Canadian. The events in the United States on 11 September 2001 showed how domestic airplanes hijacked by Muslim extremists could be turned into weapons of mass destruction. Couture-Rouleau showed how easily a car could be weaponized when he killed Warrant Officer Vincent. The problem is that there are far more cars in Canada than there are airplanes and people who know how to fly them. In other words, there are far more potential weapons readily available to those determined to use them.

It doesn't matter if Couture-Rouleau or Zehaf-Bibeau were acting as jihadi-wannabees; lone-wolf terrorists; micro-terrorists; were acting in concert with others in Canada or with terrorists abroad; were following a commander's intent; or, rather, were just deranged, heartless killers who just happened to be Muslim converts. What matters is that Canadian soldiers were deliberately killed on Canadian soil by homegrown radicalized Muslims. The Canadian Armed Forces themselves inextricably linked the fight against ISIL's Islamic extremists to Warrant Officer Vincent and Cpl. Cirillo by naming their Task Force Iraq facilities in Kuwait Camp Patrice

Vincent and Patrol Base Cirillo. The military public affairs specialists at National Defence Headquarters, this author argues, will surely conflate the tragic killings of Warrant Officer Vincent and Cpl. Cirillo and potential acts of retribution by those opposed to Canada's contribution to the war against ISIL, egged on by the likes of John Maguire. Out of an abundance of caution, they will build contingencies for direct and indirect terrorist threats to Canada, Canadians, and the Canadian Armed Forces and their families into their communications strategies. It is inconceivable to think they won't.

Clearly there was tension between the democratic need for open public discussion about the military's activities over Iraq and the secrecy and censorship needed to conduct dangerous operations. But within the discussion is a Russian nesting doll of moral equivalents and dilemmas. Writing comfortably in Canada, it is easy to call for more openness in military-media relations in keeping with *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. For example, US president Barack Obama said Sony Pictures Entertainment Inc. let down Americans when it censored itself and decided against releasing the movie *The Interview* on 25 December 2014. There had been threats of grave consequences regarding its release from North Korean leaders, which included terrorist attacks against movie theatres. Sony had been an earlier target of cyber-attacks by North Koreans upset with the comedy based on the mock assassination of North Korea's leader. The president said in part:

We cannot have a society where some dictator someplace can start imposing censorship here in the United States. That's not what America's about. Again, I'm sympathetic that Sony, as a private company, was worried about liabilities and this and that and the other. I wish they'd spoken to me first. I would have told them, "Do not get into a pattern in which you're intimidated by these kinds of criminal attacks."¹⁰

The president also drew a parallel to the Boston Marathon bombing in April 2013 in which two radical Muslim brothers set off two pressure cooker bombs that killed three and injured hundreds of others. But that didn't stop Boston from running the marathon the next year. Even worse,

the president said, would be a situation in which others began self-censoring themselves to ward off possible retribution. Yet the threats of ISIL against Canadians present precisely that self-censorship dilemma. ISIL is not North Korea, but it is a new enemy the likes of which Canadians have never faced. ISIL's threats have caused self-censorship and military censorship in Canada. This book on the Kosovo air war will surely offend many military sensibilities with its provocative censorship criticisms. Those who disagree will have their say and that is their right. But which author, journalist, or news organization is going to identify a Canadian pilot who dropped bombs on ISIL targets in Iraq and run the risk of potentially being personally responsible for a relative's or relatives' death at the hand of a radicalized Muslim extremist in Canada?

In the history of Canadian journalism, the Canadian government has only invoked military censorship twice, during the First and Second World Wars. Voluntary press censorship was set up early during the First World War under the Department of Militia and Defence with a deputy chief censor. Canada's communications facilities were meshed with a nationwide cable, radio-telegraph, telegraph, and telephone censorship. That network was tied in with Empire Cable and wireless censorship headed by the chief censor in London, England. A 12 September 1914 directive set out information useful to the enemy, and dealt with prevention of espionage, security of the armed forces, and the welfare of the Canadian people. In June 1915, regulations made press censorship mandatory, set out what matter was acceptable or unacceptable, and authorized censors who had the power to enter printing and press establishments.¹¹ This is how it worked: Far removed from the European theatres of war, Canadians were largely informed of the overseas events of the First World War by news reports from the front, which were heavily censored by British military authorities. Most of the news reports received were not about the more than 15,600 Canadians dying horribly in less than a month in the mud of Passchendaele, but of ridiculously upbeat versions of battle.¹² From the news media's perspective, apart from socialist, anti-imperialist, rural, and certain French-Canadian publications, partisanship was the norm among the nation's major daily newspapers. Typically, the *Manitoba Free Press* proclaimed upon the news that 6,000 Canadians had died at the second battle of Ypres: "above the tears . . . there rose steady and clear the voice of

thankfulness to God . . . that they were permitted in their death to make so splendid a sacrifice.”¹³

Censorship of the news media was set up during the Second World War under the *Defence of Canada Regulations*, which derived their authority from the *War Measures Act* as set out in Chapter 206 of the 1927 *Revised Statutes of Canada*. The censors were advisors only and could not prohibit the publication of articles. Newspapers’ guilt or non-guilt for violations could only be decided upon by the court. The sole power possessed by the chief censor was to say that information was in non-violation, meaning that a newspaper could not be prosecuted if it had obtained censorship clearance. Possible penalties included fines, imprisonment, and suspension.¹⁴ Legendary Canadian Press war correspondent Ross Munro’s coverage of the Dieppe Raid illustrates how Canadian journalists who witnessed the carnage on 19 August 1942 reported the news under such censorship. Nearly 5,000 Canadian soldiers made up the vast majority of 6,000 Allied troops who stormed the heavily defended beach at Dieppe that day in a raid on the German-held French coast. By historical accounts, the action was a tactical disaster that some suggest should never have taken place. Of 4,963 Canadians embarking on their first live action in Europe, only 2,210 returned. Of them, 807 were killed in action, 100 died of wounds, 586 were wounded, and 1,874 were taken prisoner.¹⁵

Munro was among four Canadian journalists who accompanied the Canadian troops as they powered toward the beaches at Dieppe. From his vantage point on the landing craft, Munro could see sandbagged German positions from the top of the cliff at Puys, in houses, and in the cliffs’ clefts raining machine gun fire down on the hapless Canadians. To his horror, he had to look no farther than his own craft to see its bottom covered with dead troops who had been machine-gunned. Later, from an escaping vessel, he watched a furious air battle overhead as landing craft after Allied landing craft was blown out of the water.¹⁶ After the war, he wrote in retrospect that “on no other front have I witnessed such carnage. It was brutal and terrible and shocked you almost to insensibility to see the piles of dead and feel the hopelessness of the attack at this point.”¹⁷ But what did he write after his story cleared military censorship in England?

There was heroism at sea and in the skies in those hours, but the hottest spot was ashore, where the Canadians fought at close quarters with the Nazis. They fought to the end, where they had to, and showed courage and daring. They attacked the Dieppe arsenal of coastal defence. They left Dieppe silent and afire, its ruins and its dead under a shroud of smoke.¹⁸

Munro knew that was malarkey, but he wrote it anyway. He wrote after the war: "I watched those boats in the warm sunshine going back to England empty when they should have been filled with the thousands of soldiers they'd taken to France."¹⁹

One might ask: What is worse, the war correspondents' drivel during the First and Second World Wars under government censorship or nothing at all during the Kosovo air war under military censorship? In reality, that is an entirely immoral choice and an insult to the concept of Canada's democracy and democratic institutions. This is not an abstract problem. If there is to be censorship in future wars, the censorship and operational security issues raised in this book on the Kosovo air war should be debated in the House of Commons by parliamentarians. They could, in their wisdom, exercise leadership in legislating censorship if they find it necessary. They should not leave it to the military to impose its own restrictions, which this work has shown it is more than ready, willing, and able to do in policy and in practice. If legislated, that parliamentary leadership could amount to a reasonable limit on press freedom and other media of communication by law, as envisioned by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Canadian democracy deserves that debate at the very least.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 250.
- 2 Janice Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 19.
- 3 Robert W. Bergen, "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats" (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 2005), 396–99.
- 4 Canada, *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1981), 30.
- 5 Bergen, "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats," 48–50.
- 6 Murray Edelman, *Political Language: Words that Succeed and Policies that Fail* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 11.
- 7 Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence* (Chicago: Markham, 1971), 10.
- 8 Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 102.
- 9 Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, 103–4.
- 10 Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, 104; Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action*, 4.
- 11 Daniel C. Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 60–63.
- 12 W. Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States," *Journal of Communications* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 106; W. Lance Bennett, "The News about Foreign Policy," in *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, ed. W. Lance Bennett, and David L. Paletz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 24.
- 13 Bennett, "The News about Foreign Policy," 26.

- 14 Jay Rosen, *What Are Journalists for?* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 299.
- 15 “How confidential sources help keep us free,” *Globe and Mail*. 23 January 2004, A19.
- 16 David Akin, “In China, Trudeau said journalism that informs, challenges is vital. Bravo.” Global News, online: <https://globalnews.ca/news/3903127/trudeau-journalism-vital-china/>.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Denis Stairs, “The Media and the Military in Canada,” *International Journal* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 544–53.
- 19 See Ross Munro, *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1946); Dick Malone, *Missing from the Record* (Toronto: Collins, 1946); Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975); Richard S. Malone, *A Portrait of War: 1939–1946* (Toronto: Collins, 1983); Richard S. Malone, *A World in Flames: 1944–1945* (Toronto: Collins, 1984); Jack Donoghue, *The Edge of War* (Calgary: Detselig, 1988); Jack Chahill, *Words of War* (Toronto: Deneau, 1987); Peter Stursburg, *The Sound of War: Memoirs of a CBC Correspondent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Robert A. Hackett, *News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1995); Michael Benedict, ed., *Canada at War* (Toronto: Viking, 1997); Kathy Gannon, *I Is For Infidel: From Holy War To Holy Terror: 18 Years inside Afghanistan* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2005); Christie Blatchford, *Fifteen Days: Stories of Bravery, Friendship, Life and Death from inside the New Canadian Army* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2007); Adam Day, *Witness to War: Reporting on Afghanistan 2004–2009* (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2010); Murray Brewster, *The Savage War: The Untold Battles of Afghanistan* (Mississauga, ON: Wiley, 2011); Graeme Smith, *The Dogs are Eating Them Now: Our War in Afghanistan* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2013).
- 20 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 203 (25 March 1999), 13510 (hereafter *Debates*).
- 21 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 203 (25 March 1999), 13443.
- 22 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 134 (7 October 1998), 8914.
- 23 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 87.
- 24 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 134 (7 October 1998), 8914.
- 25 Roy Remple, *The Chatter Box: An Insider’s Account of the Irrelevance of Parliament in the Making of Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2002), 56.
- 26 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 205A (12 April 1999), 13594.
- 27 Paul Koring, “Canadian war planes upgraded to launch precision weapons,” *Globe and Mail*, 25 March 1999, A16.
- 28 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 216 (27 April 1999), 14386.

- 29 *Access to Information Act*, R.S.C. 1985, c. A-1, s. 15.
- 30 *Ibid.*, s. 23.
- 31 *Debates*, vol. 275 (30 June 1950), 4459; J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 335.
- 32 Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 335.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 203 (24 March 1999), 13445.
- 35 Michael Ignatieff, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2000).
- 36 Canada, House of Commons, "Resolution Following Public Hearings On Canada's Role in the Kosovo Conflict and its Aftermath," *Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade*, June 2000, ii.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 38 Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), xxxvii.
- 39 Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 787–854, 855–60.
- 40 John Shy, "Jominy," in *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed., Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 143.
- 41 Baron de Jomini, *The Art of War*, trans. G. H. Mendell, and W. P. Craighill (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1862), 11. As it will be seen, during the Kosovo air war, politicians from many nations meddled with the manner in which the NATO commander, Gen. Wesley Clark, achieved the war's objective—including becoming involved, at the highest political levels, in the selection of targets—much to Clark's chagrin.
- 42 Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, trans. Dino Ferrari (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 23.
- 43 Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, 51. Like Jomini's principle of command, Douhet's major principle of inflicting the greatest damage in the shortest time possible would be abandoned during the Kosovo air war.
- 44 Douhet, *Command of the Air*, 140.
- 45 Peter W. W. Wijninga and Richard Szafranski, "Beyond Utility Targeting: Toward Axiological Air Operations," *Aerospace Power Journal* 14, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 45–59.
- 46 Paul Rexton Kan, "What Should We bomb? Axiological Targeting and the Abiding Limits of Airpower Theory," *Air & Space Power Journal* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 25–32.
- 47 Brereton Greenhous et al., *The Crucible of War 1939–1945: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*, vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 15, online: <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/popular/crucible-war-1939-1945-1.pdf>.

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Maj. Alain Pelletier, telephone interview by author, 16 July 2003.
- 2 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 3 Lt. Col. Sylvain Faucher, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 29 October 2003.
- 4 Faucher, interview.
- 5 Faucher, interview.
- 6 Confidential interview by author. In accordance with an ethical agreement, names were withheld by mutual agreement if requested, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 7 Maj. Mike Barker, interview with author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 8 Maj. Alain Pelletier, email message to author, 15 October 2003.
- 9 A sortie is one flight by one plane. One mission involving four CF-18s would count as four sorties.
- 10 Robert Hewson et al., "Operation Allied Force: The First 30 Days," *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999): 16–29.
- 11 Lt. Col. Kirk Soroka, telephone interview by author, 2 October 2012.
- 12 Soroka, telephone interview.
- 13 Soroka, telephone interview.
- 14 Soroka, telephone interview.
- 15 Soroka, email message to author, 28 October 2012.
- 16 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 17 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 18 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 19 "Dutch/Belgian Allied Force," *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999): 23.
- 20 The AWACS had told the Dutch flying four F-16s in two pairs that three MiG-29s had taken off from Batajnica air base near Belgrade. The pilot who engaged the MiG fired one AMRAAM missile at it from a distance of eleven miles. He watched the missile detonate thirty seconds after launch. United States Air Force F-15s downed two others that night. "Dutch/Belgian Allied Force," *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999): 16, 23.
- 21 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 22 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 23 Faucher, interview.
- 24 Faucher, interview.
- 25 Faucher, interview.
- 26 Confidential interview.

- 27 Confidential interview.
- 28 Confidential interview. Chaff is a countermeasure to distract radar-guided missiles from their targets. It can be strips of aluminum foil or aluminum-coated glass fibres scattered by pilots to form an electromagnetic cloud that temporarily hides aircraft from missiles' radars. See online: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/aircraft/systems/chaff.htm>.
- 29 Confidential interview.
- 30 Confidential interview.
- 31 David L. Bashow et al., "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55–61.
- 32 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 33 Faucher, interview.
- 34 Confidential interview.
- 35 Faucher, interview.
- 36 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, author telephone interview, 9 April 2003.
- 37 Capt. Kirk Soroka, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 38 By ship, the pilots mean the CF-18. Ship is a derivative of airship.
- 39 Soroka, interview.
- 40 "Tubs," interview with author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 41 Capt. Brett Glaeser, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 42 Glaeser, interview.
- 43 Capt. Travis Brassington, interview with author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 44 Brassington, interview.
- 45 Glaeser, interview.
- 46 Capt. Kirk Soroka, telephone interview by author, 10 October 2003.
- 47 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003.
- 48 Those Nomex flight suits can be ordered online for US\$175 Online: <http://aureusinternational.com> (accessed October 11, 2003).
- 49 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003.
- 50 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003.
- 51 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003. The original manufacturer of the PRC-112 was Motorola, but General Dynamics has taken over as contractor. Online: <http://www.pacificsites.com/~brooke/Survival.s/html> (accessed 18 March 2004).
- 52 Brig. Gen. (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.

- 53 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003.
- 54 Soroka, telephone interview, 10 October 2003.
- 55 Confidential interview by author, Canadian Force Base Bagotville, Quebec, 21 October 2003.
- 56 Confidential interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 David Bercuson, *Significant Incident: Canada's Army, the Airborne, and the Murder in Somalia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1996); Peter Desbarats, *Somalia Cover-Up: A Commissioner's Journal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997).
- 2 Col. (ret.) Benoît Marcotte, telephone interview by author, 9 January 2004; Marcotte, email correspondence to author, 11 January 2004; Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 120.
- 3 Operation Mirador was Canada's contribution to NATO's enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 4 Marcotte, telephone interview.
- 5 Marcotte, telephone interview.
- 6 Marcotte, telephone interview; email correspondence.
- 7 Canadian pilots did drop bombs during the 1991 Persian Gulf War but they were not engaged in protracted combat, as will be seen in Chapter 6.
- 8 Canada, Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the House of Commons, April 1998, chap. 3, 3–10.
- 9 The auditor general uses the term "strategic" in the same manner as the *Access to Information Act* guidelines, which involves intercontinental war plans, as opposed to the Clausewitzian purist Colin S. Gray, who would argue that terms like "strategic airlift" and "strategic tankers" are misnomers. Gray says such terms confuse capabilities with results, that is to say the achievement of policy goals. *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17. Similarly, Clausewitz might argue that the heavy lift function of an air-to-air refuelling tanker is the modern-day air force equivalent of the march, which, even though it is linked to the engagement, is only a means to carry out a strategic plan. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 29. Nonetheless, for the sake of consistency in terms of the Canadian government's phraseology, the Canadian terms when used in such fashion have been left intact.
- 10 Canada, Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the House of Commons, April, 1998, chap. 3, 3-11 to 3-12.
- 11 Canada, Department of National Defence, Directorate of Air Public Affairs, CF-18 backgrounder, 31 October 2002.

- 12 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive, Annex A, 12 Jan. 2000, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team1.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Canada, Department National Defence, online: http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca/equip1k_e.htm (accessed 17 February 2004).
- 15 See online: http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca/equip1k_e.htm (accessed 17 February 2004).
- 16 Confidential interview by author, names were withheld by mutual agreement, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003. A strategic tanker is a jet aircraft.
- 17 Confidential interview by author. A “snag” is a piece of broken equipment like a radar or hydraulic system.
- 18 For a detailed history of the Permanent Joint Board of Defence and its workings, see C. P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945* (Ottawa: Minister of National Defence, 1974), 338–95.
- 19 Brig. Gen. (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 20 Col. (ret.) Benoît Marcotte, telephone interview by author, 9 January 2004.
- 21 Col. (ret.) Benoît Marcotte, email message to author, 11 January 2004.
- 22 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive, Annex A, 12 Jan. 2000, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team1.
- 23 Cpl. Patrick Savoie, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 21 October 2003.
- 24 Savoie, interview.
- 25 Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive, Annex A.
- 26 Marcotte, email message.
- 27 Marcotte, email message.
- 28 Col. (ret.) J. M. Donihee, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 22 April 2003.
- 29 Savoie, interview.
- 30 Savoie, interview.
- 31 Savoie, interview.
- 32 Savoie, interview.
- 33 Savoie, interview.
- 34 Jurkowski, interview.
- 35 Donihee, interview. This was Donihee’s recollection and argument, which won the day. The author’s personal experience in Bosnia in 1994 was that the soldiers were allowed two beers in the mess per day maximum. This doesn’t obviate Donihee’s recollection and argument. Also, from the author’s personal experience, they weren’t allowed to

- drink at all at the Kandahar Air Field or at Forward Operating Base Nathan Smith in Afghanistan in 2007.
- 36 Donihee, interview.
- 37 Donihee, interview.
- 38 Jurkowski, interview.
- 39 Military Analysis Network, Operation Deliberate Force, online: http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/deliberate_force.htm (accessed 26 February 2004).
- 40 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Regional Headquarters Allied Forces Southern Europe: SFOR Air Component, online: <http://www.afsouth.nato.int/factsheets/sforaircomponent.htm> (accessed 26 February 2004).
- 41 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Secret System High Generated/Mediated Message, Message ID: 199827000147, 27 September 1998, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2. The precise quantities of munitions were exempted from release on the grounds the information could be injurious to international affairs and on advice or recommendations developed by or for a government institution or a minister of the Crown.
- 42 Allied Forces Southern Europe, "Operation Allied Force," online: <http://www.afsouth.nato.int/operations/detforce/Force.htm>; Canada, Department of National Defence, "Kosovo," online: http://www.dnd.ca/eng/archive/1999/apr99/Kosovo1_b_e.htm (both accessed 26 February 2004).
- 43 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual agreement, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 44 Benjamin Lambeth, *The Transformation of America Airpower* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 182.
- 45 United Kingdom, House of Commons Library, "Kosovo: NATO and Military Action." Research Paper 99/34, 24 March 1999, online: researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP99-34/RP99-34.pdf.
- 46 Lambeth, *The Transformation of America Airpower*, 182–83.
- 47 Savoie, interview.
- 48 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Message ID 199827000147, 27 September 1998, 5 RXFGDFD.0394 Secret, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 49 Message ID 199827000147, 27 September 1998.
- 50 Clark, *Waging Modern War*, 164.
- 51 Maj. Stéphane Hébert, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 52 Marie-Janine Calic, "Kosovo in the Twentieth Century: A Historical Account," in *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, ed. Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur (New York: United Nations University Press, 2000), 28.

- 53 Ibid., 29. For a personal account of the back and forth negotiations between NATO and Slobodan Milosevic, see Clark, *Waging Modern War*, 131–89.
- 54 Maj. Alain Pelletier, telephone interview by author, 6 July 2003.
- 55 Savoie, interview.
- 56 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual agreement, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 57 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 58 David L. Bashow et al., “Mission Ready: Canada’s Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign.” *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55–61.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 A Cold-War era successor exercise that practised air attacks against ground targets, defences, communications, and jamming personnel and defence against surface-to-air missiles. See online: “Mallet Blow Strikes Again,” <https://www.flightglobal.com/FlightPDFArchive/1986/1986%20-%200892.PDF>
- 2 Semi-confidential interview with author, full names were withheld by mutual consent if requested and call signs used instead.
- 3 “Cookie,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 4 “Cookie,” interview.
- 5 Maj. Mike Barker, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 6 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 7 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 8 Barker, interview.
- 9 Barker, interview.
- 10 Interview by author, Canadian Force Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 11 Interview by author, Canadian Force Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 12 “Cookie,” interview.
- 13 Capt. John Edelman, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 14 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 15 Brig. Gen. (ret.) James Cox, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 16 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual consent if requested, Canadian Force Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 17 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 18 MJ loaders are forklift-like tractors that lift bombs hydraulically for loading on the CF-18s.
- 19 Edelman, interview.
- 20 “Cookie,” interview.

- 21 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 22 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 23 Interview by author, Canadian Force Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 24 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 25 The CF-18's empty weight is 10455 kg, or nearly 12 tons. Fully loaded with fuel and armaments for an attack mission, the CF-18 weighs about 23,400. Online: <https://www.airforce-technology.com/projects/boeingcf18hornetmult/>.
- 26 Confidential interview.
- 27 Edelman, interview.
- 28 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 29 Interview by author, Canadian Force Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 30 Barker, interview.
- 31 Barker, interview.
- 32 Barker, interview.
- 33 G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy 1943–1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957), 534; David Dancocks, *The D-Day Dodgers: The Canadians in Italy, 1943–1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 327–29; W.A.B. Douglas and Brereton Greenhous, *Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995), 141.
- 34 Edelman, interview.
- 35 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 36 G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914–1919: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), 27.
- 37 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 38 Confidential interview.
- 39 Barker, interview.
- 40 Confidential interview.
- 41 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 42 Barker, interview.
- 43 Confidential interview.
- 44 Edelman, interview.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Capt. Kirk Soroka, unpublished notes for a Geoff Bennett painting "On a date with the Iron Maiden," from Canadian Airpower for Peace and Freedom Collection, unveiled 1 February 2001, at 4 Wing, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.

- 4 Capt. Brett Glaeser, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 5 Maj. Alain Pelletier, telephone interview with author, 16 July 2002.
- 6 Glaeser, interview.
- 7 Glaeser, interview.
- 8 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 9 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive. Annex A, 12 January 2000. Released under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team1.
- 10 Lt. Col. (ret.) Don Matthews, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 21 November 2003; telephone interview by author, 30 March 2004; Richard P. Hallion, *Storm over Iraq: Air Power and the Gulf War* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 289–90.
- 11 Canada, Department of National Defence, Historical and Comparative Overview of Canadian Defence Spending, online: http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/cds_report/english/anxc_e.htm (accessed 29 December 2004).
- 12 Canada, Department of National Defence, 1994 White Paper on Defence, 48.
- 13 1994 White Paper on Defence, 48.
- 14 Matthews, interview.
- 15 “Canadian Contribution,” *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999): 26.
- 16 Online: <http://www.raytheon.com/products/paveway> (accessed 14 October 2003).
- 17 Bob Bergen, “Calgary Salutes 75th Anniversary of the RCAF,” *Calgary Herald*, 9 May 1999, D1.
- 18 Matthews, interview.
- 19 Col. (ret.) J. M. Donihee, interview with author, Calgary, Alberta, 22 April 2003; David L. Bashow et al., “Mission Ready: Canada’s Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign,” *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 60.
- 20 Donihee, interview.
- 21 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 22 Bashow et al., “Mission Ready,” 55–61.
- 23 “Tubs,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 24 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual agreement if requested, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 21 October 2003.
- 25 Confidential interview.
- 26 Confidential interview.
- 27 Canada, Evidence of Proceedings, House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs, 28 April 1999, online: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoCom/Doc/36/1/NDVA/Meetings/Evidence/ndvaev106-e.htm> (accessed 10 August 2003).

- 28 Canada, Department of National Defence Daily Technical Briefing, 25 March 1999, online: <http://dgpa-dgap.mil.ca/Transcr/1999Mar/99033007.htm>, p. 8 of 11 (accessed 16 January 2003), provided by the National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary (Prairie Region & Northern Area). Henault’s remarks were published the next day in the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Sun*, the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Windsor Star*. See Brian Laghi, “Canada now waging high-tech warfare,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 March 1999, A19; Anne Dawson and Stephanie Rubec, “Brass on Cloud 9 over hi-tech bomb; Laser-guided GBU-12 deadly,” *Toronto Sun*, 26 March 1999; Mike Blanchfield, “Top weaponry puts Canada at front line: The state-of-the-art GBU-12 missiles—each with a \$25,000 price tag—keep country ‘in the club,’” *Vancouver Sun*, 26 March 1999, A13; Mike Blanchfield, “Canada’s ‘Top Guns’: CF-18s launch missiles, rejoining NATO ‘club,’” *Windsor Star*, 26 March 1999, A1.
- 29 Patrick Martin, “Balkan Rats,” *Air Forces Monthly* (November 1999): 56–61.
- 30 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Secret Memo DAEPMMFT028, CF-18 Weapons Augmentation Request, 5 October 1998, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 31 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 32 During the 1991 Gulf War, the Americans dropped 1,181 of the US\$55,600 GBU-24s. See online: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/munitions/gbu-24.htm>.
- 33 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 34 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 35 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 36 “Mur,” interview with author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 25 April 2003.
- 37 Flynn, telephone interview. A second consideration is collateral damage, which will be more fully explored later in the chapter. Flynn, telephone interview by author, 5 July 2005.
- 38 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive. Annex A, 12 January 2000, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.
- 39 It was not possible to obtain records regarding 1 Canadian Air Division requests for war stocks for the years 1997 and 1998 that quantified anticipated war stock requirements in precise numbers using the *Access to Information Act*. The records were exempt from disclosure on the grounds the information could be injurious to the conduct of international affairs. From declassified secret documents obtained under the Act, however, it appears there were requirements for 30-day basis and 30-day additional sustained stocks of GBU-12 and GBU-24s. Canada, Department of National Defence, 1 CAD HQ Winnipeg, Secret A3 OPS RDNS 226, September 1997. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00606/Team 1.
- 40 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 41 Martin, “Balkan Rats.”
- 42 Brig. Gen. (ret.) James Cox, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 43 Cox interview.

- 44 Canada, Public Works and Government Services Canada, Eugene B. Rizok, Letter from Public Works and Government Services Canada in Canadian Embassy in Washington to the Deputy Under-Secretary of the Air Force in the Pentagon, 8 April 1999, PWGSC file number W8484-6-WA09, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 45 Brig. Gen (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 46 Confidential interview.
- 47 Evidence of Proceedings, House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs, Canada, 28 April 1999, online: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoCom/Doc/36/1/NDVA/Meetings/Evidence/ndvae106-e.htm> (accessed 10 August 2003).
- 48 Confidential interview.
- 49 Confidential interview.
- 50 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 51 Bashow et al., "Mission Ready."
- 52 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 53 Martin, "Balkan Rats."
- 54 Martin, "Balkan Rats."
- 55 Author's observation made during a tour of Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake's CF-18 hangars.
- 56 Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 193–96.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 198.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 224.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 201.
- 60 Steven Lee Myers, "All in Favor of This Target, Say Yes, Si, Qui, Ja." *New York Times*, 25 April 1999, Wk. 4.
- 61 David G. Haglund, ed., *New NATO, New Century: Canada, the U.S., and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance* (Kingston, ON: Centre for International Relations, 2000), viii.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 425.
- 63 Lt. Col. Sylvain Faucher, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 29 October 2003.
- 64 Ivan H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 117.
- 65 Benjamin Lambeth, "Lessons from the War in Kosovo," *Joint Force Quarterly* (Spring 2002): 12–19.
- 66 Canada, Department of National Defence, Lt. Gen. R. R. Henault, National Targeting Process for OP Echo, Letter by then-Deputy Chief of Defence Staff to the Chief of Defence Staff et al., 6 July 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.

- 67 Canada, Department of National Defence, Lt. Gen. R. R. Henault, Operation Echo Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive, Annex A 3453-20 (DILLS), 12 January 2000, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 The precision required in modern aerial warfare is a far cry from the indiscriminate bombing discussed by one of the first aerial theorists, Giulio Douhet, who wrote in 1942 that civilian centres should be deliberately targeted in order to spread terror though the nation, advocating “ten, twenty, fifty cities,” aiming at the “breakdown of social structure.” See Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air* (North Stratford, UK: Ayer, 2002), 58–59.
- 70 “Chimp,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 71 “Midas.” Semi-confidential interview by author, full names were withheld by mutual consent if requested and call signs used instead, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, April 14, 2003.
- 72 “Mur,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 73 “Willie,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 74 Capt. Kirk Soroka, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 75 Confidential interview.
- 76 Confidential interview.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 181.
- 2 Benjamin S. Lambeth, “Lessons from the War in Kosovo,” *Joint Force Quarterly* (Spring 2002): 12–19.
- 3 Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 851.
- 4 For eyewitness testimony of the Serbian military’s continued ethnic cleansing after the bombing campaign began on 24 March 1999, see Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 2002): 227–64.
- 5 Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge*, 229.
- 6 Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 221, citing Baron De Jomini, *The Art of War*, trans. G. H. Mendell, and W. P. Craighill (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1862), 63.
- 7 Ibid., 221; Michael Russell Rip and James M. Hasik, *The Precision Revolution: GPS and the Future of Aerial Warfare* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003), 391.
- 8 Capt. Travis Brassington, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 9 Rip and Hasik, *The Precision Revolution*, 393–99.

- 10 Capt. Todd Sinclair, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 11 “Chimp,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 12 “Tubs,” interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 13 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 14 David L. Bashow et al., “Mission Ready: Canada’s Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign,” *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55–61.
- 15 Dense cloud cover over Serbia and Kosovo for much of the war would have resulted in the Paveway III guided bombs missing their targets and the pilots not knowing where they would have landed. That would have greatly increased the risk of unacceptable collateral damage.
- 16 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Secret Memo, Message ID 199827000147, CF-18 Weapons Augmentation Request, 27 September 1998, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2. The relevant declassified secret Canadian Forces documents are heavily vetted, and major portions are exempt on the grounds they could be injurious to the defence of Canada or its allies.
- 17 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters. Secret Memo DAEPMFT028, Weapons Augmentation Request, 20 October 98, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 18 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 19 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Jim Judd, Letter to the Defence Minister, 20 April 99, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 20 Canada, Department of National Defence, National Defence Headquarters, Synopsis Sheet: Ammo Requirement OP Echo – Guided Bomb Unit (GBU) bombs, 20 April 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 21 Bombs don’t come fully assembled. The tail fins, for example, come in a can, the guidance system comes in a box or “coffin,” and the bomb itself comes on a pallet.
- 22 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual consent if requested, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 23 Canada, Supply and Services Canada, Contract with the government of the U.S. of America, DSS file No. W8484-9-WA01 PT.2, 3 June 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- 24 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 25 Bashow et al., “Mission Ready,” 58.
- 26 Maj. Kirk Soroka, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 27 Maj. Alain Pelletier, telephone interview by author, 13 August 2003.
- 28 Brig. Gen. (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.

- 29 Gen. Raymond Henault, telephone interview by author, 22 September 2003.
- 30 Flynn, telephone interview. Night-vision capability was added to the CF-18s between 2003 and 2009.
- 31 Canada, Department of National Defence, Concepts of Operations for the Use of Night-vision Goggles in the CF-18, 441 TFS, 20 November 1997, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- 32 Canada, Department of National Defence, Minute to Wing Commander from Wing Operations officer Lt. Col. J. M. Ouellet, 6 October 1997, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- 33 Canada, Department of National Defence, Col. R. W. Guidinger, Wing Commander, 4 Wing Cold Lake, letter to National Defence Headquarters, 27 October 1997, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- 34 Canada, Department of National Defence, Concepts of Operations for the Use of Night-vision Goggles in the CF-18, 441 TFS, 20 November 1997, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- 35 Canada, Department of National Defence, Minutes of the CF-18 NVG Project Committee Meeting, 28 April 1998, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3. Details of cockpit light issues to be addressed at that time in order to accommodate the use of night-vision goggles were exempted from disclosure under the *Access to Information Act*, citing trade secrets, confidentiality, and potential for loss of material gain provisions.
- 36 Canada, Department of National Defence, 441 OT&E Proposal, undated, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- 37 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 38 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 39 Soroka, interview.
- 40 Confidential telephone interview by author, names were withheld by mutual consent if requested, 10 October 2003.
- 41 Capt. Brett Glaeser, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 42 Glaeser, interview.
- 43 Glaeser, interview.
- 44 "Hooker," telephone interview by author, 24 April 2003.
- 45 "Hooker," telephone interview.
- 46 "Hooker," telephone interview.
- 47 Soroka, interview.
- 48 Brassington, interview.
- 49 Capt. Neil McRury, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 50 Confidential interview.

- 51 Glaeser, interview.
- 52 Soroka, interview
- 53 McRury, interview.
- 54 Brassington, interview.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Justine Hunter, "Harassment: Navy wife finds body bag on her lawn in a series of incidents in Victoria area," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 January 1991, B1.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 "Gulf's cruelties here and there," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 January 1991, A10.
- 4 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 13 (22 January 1991), 17567-17568.
- 5 Vietnam is often thought to be the first "television war" because its film showed audiences worldwide war's brutality. Daniel C. Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). But most of its footage was shown days or weeks after it was taken because it had to be physically transported to the United States, as opposed to the real time television that satellite technology enabled.
- 6 W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, eds., *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); John J. Fialka, *Hotel Warriors: Covering the Gulf War* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1992).
- 7 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Friction: Canadian Forces Operations in the Persian Gulf Communications Plan, 15 August 1990, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 8 Operation Friction: Canadian Forces Operations in the Persian Gulf Communications Plan.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report, Operation Friction: Director General Public Affairs, 24 July 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Operation Friction: Canadian Forces Operations in the Persian Gulf Communications Plan.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.

- 17 Canada, Department National Defence, Communications Plan: Rotation of Ships' Companies CTG 302.3, 4 December 1990, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 18 Communications Plan: Rotation of Ships' Companies.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Canada, Department of National Defence, Briefing Note Concerning Agenda Item X, CDS meeting with Group Principals, 0900 Hrs., 2 January 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 21 Canada, Department of National Defence, Canadian Forces Headquarters Middle East Public Affairs War Operations Plan, 14 January 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Canada, National Defence Headquarters, Priority Message from NDHQ Ottawa// CDS//, Op Friction MSN and Roles/Official Spokespersons, 15 January 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act*: request A-2003-00394.
- 24 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 13 (16 January 1991), 17164 (Mr. Mulroney, Prime Minister).
- 25 Online: <http://members.lycos.co.uk/Hornet/index-20> (accessed 8 March 2004).
- 26 Brig. Gen. (ret.) Ed McGillivray, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 12 August 2003.
- 27 Pat Brennan, "I'm heading out,' pilot tells mom," *Toronto Star*, 18 January 1991, A20; Anna-Maria Galante, "Kentville parents worried about son in Gulf," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 21 January 1991, A3; Janice Tibbetts, "Peace protests upset families of Gulf troops," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 21 January 1991, A3; Anna-Maria Galante, "Kentville native tapped for first CF-18 mission," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 22 January 1991, A4; Kelly Shiers, "War bonds women across the miles," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 22 January 1991, A1.
- 28 McGillivray, interview. Also see: "Pilot's wife faced with helping children cope," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 19 January 1991, A2; George Oake, "Cold Lake supports its fliers," *Toronto Star*, 24 January 1991, A20; Sylvia Lee and Terry Johnson, "A town at war," *Report*, 28 January 1991, online: <http://report.ca/classics/01281991/p12i910128f.html> (accessed 10 August 2003).
- 29 "Persian Gulf war recreates spirit of simple soldier," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, reprinted in the *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 21 January 1991, A7.
- 30 "Canadian soldiers watch deadline pass, 'waiting for war,'" *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 17 January 1991, A3; Jim Gowen, "Field hospital posting frightening - N.S. technician," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 19 January 1991, D21; Stephen Ward, "Bad weather scrubs CF-18s' first mission," *Gazette* (Montreal), 21 January 1991, A5; "Weather scrubs two Canadian jet sorties," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 January 1991, A6; Michael Hanlon, "Weather delays combat by Canadian fighters," *Toronto Star*, 21 January 1991, A14; Stephen Ward, "Bad weather keeps CF-18s out of the danger zone," *Gazette* (Montreal), 22 January 1991, A9; Stephen Ward, "Cloud keeps Canadians grounded," *Calgary Herald*, 23

- January 1991, A6; Michael Hanlon, "Canadian jet pilots 'psyched up' for war," *Toronto Star*, 23 January 1991, A19.
- 31 Charles H. Brown, *Informing the People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), 73.
- 32 *Stylebook: A Guide for Writers and Editors* (Toronto: Canadian Press, 1983), 156. Canadian university textbooks on news writing and reporting are silent on military coverage. See Carmen Cumming and Catherine McKercher, *The Canadian Reporter: News Writing and Reporting* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994); Maxine Ruvinsky, *Investigative Reporting in Canada* (Don Mills, On: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- 33 Mary Gooderham, "Noisy crowd blocks traffic: Protestors angry over Gulf attack," *Globe and Mail*, 17 January 1991, A10; Rosie DiManno, "Political agendas on the march as wartime hits the peace front," *Toronto Star*, 18 January 1991, A7; David Shoalts and Mary Gooderham, "Sanctions given no time to work, protestors say," *Globe and Mail*, 18 January 1991, A10.
- 34 Shoalts and Gooderham, "Sanctions"; Paul Moloney, "Marchers burn flags in protest," *Toronto Star*, 20 January 1991, C7; Keith Damsell and Susan Chung, "Anti-war demonstrations build," *Toronto Star*, 21 January 1991, A4; "Halifax, Amherst sites of anti-war protests," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 21 January 1991, A1.
- 35 "Ottawa tightens water plant security," *Toronto Star*, 22 January 1991, A16.
- 36 "Police disrupt Ottawa protest," *Toronto Star*, 22 January 1991, A16.
- 37 Robert MacLeod, "Police increase security against terrorist attacks," *Globe and Mail*, 18 January 1991, A7.
- 38 Bruce Erskine, "Local authorities increase vigilance," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 18 January 1991, A4; Tom Peters and Barry Dorey, "Security beefed up at Halifax airport," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 23 January 1991, A5.
- 39 Andre Picard, "Quebec preparing to increase security," *Globe and Mail*, 19 January 1991, A9.
- 40 Maureen Murray and Bob Brent, "Police issue nationwide security alert," *Toronto Star*, 17 January 1991, A17.
- 41 Keith Damsell and Susan Chung, "Anti-war demonstrations build," *Toronto Star*, 21 January 1991.
- 42 "Censorship guidelines to restrict war reporting," *Globe and Mail*, 19 January 1991, A10.
- 43 Sally Ritchie, "News censorship follows a pattern: Rules similar to Second World War," *Globe and Mail*, 21 January 1991, 9.
- 44 Ritchie, "News censorship follows a pattern."
- 45 House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 13 (21 January 1991), 1750 (Mr. Mulroney, Prime Minister).
- 46 *Ibid.* (Mr. McKnight, Minister of Defence).
- 47 Hunter, "Harassment: Navy wife finds body bag on her lawn in a series of incidents in Victoria area."

- 48 Tim Harper, "Military sure of public support despite harassing calls to wives," *Toronto Star*, 24 January 1991, A20.
- 49 William Walker, "Police probing threats to military families," *Toronto Star*, 25 January 1991, A18.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Don MacDonald, "Forces families harassed," *Chronicle-Herald*, 25 January 1991, A3.
- 52 "CF-18s to 'sweep and escort,'" *Vancouver Sun*, 23 January 1991, A4; William Walker, "Canadian pilots sent into combat," *Toronto Star*, 20 January 1991, A1; as an aside, pilots often refer to their formations as "four-ship" formations, as opposed to "four-jet" formations.
- 53 Galante, "Kentville native tapped for first CF-18 mission."
- 54 Michael Hanlon, "Canadian jet pilots 'psyched up' for war," *Toronto Star*, 23 January 1991, A19.
- 55 Michael Hanlon, "Canadian pilots join first bombing mission," *Toronto Star*, 25 January 1991, A16.
- 56 Tony Wong, "Canadian fighter pilot a 'bit of a daredevil,'" *Toronto Star*, 26 January 1991, A10.
- 57 Hanlon, "Canadian pilots join first bombing mission."
- 58 Lt. Col. (ret.) Dave Matthews, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta. 21 November 2003.
- 59 Scott White, "Canadian troops fear harassment of families back home," *Gazette* (Montreal), 28 January 1991, A7.
- 60 Alan Ferguson, "CF-18 pilots shun limelight: Crank threats to families may have turned pilots shy," *Toronto Star*, 28 January 1991, A12.
- 61 Hugh Winsor and Ross Howard, "Ottawa moves to gain support for Gulf role, boost troop morale," *Globe and Mail*, 5 February 1991, A9.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Geoffrey York, "Weaponry on CF-18s not changing, military says," *Globe and Mail*, 30 January 1991, A12.
- 64 "Crank calls lead military to request media help," *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax). 28 January 1991, A5.
- 65 Terrance Wills, "Canadian Forces brass put zipper on information about the war," *Gazette* (Montreal), 23 January 1991, A5.
- 66 "Censors: Shh . . . there's a war on," *Calgary Herald*, 24 January 1991, A5; "Canadian journalists say they are frustrated by censorship," *Vancouver Sun*, 24 January 1991, A6.
- 67 "Canadian journalists say they are frustrated by censorship," *Vancouver Sun*, 24 January 1991, A6. Also see: "CF-18 mission reports under strict censorship," *Vancouver Sun*, 23 January 1991, A8; Tim Harper, "Military puts new restrictions on information," *Toronto Star*, 23 January 1991, A19; "Canadian reporters blocked from media pools, editors say," *Toronto Star*, 23 January 1991, A20; Allan McRae, "Canadian journalists want access to front," *Gazette* (Montreal), 24 January 1991, A6; "Canadian media

- protest exclusion,” *Globe and Mail*, 24 January 1991, A14; Evans Lipton, “Military censorship has become an issue in Persian Gulf,” *Toronto Star*, 28 January 1991, A18.
- 68 Paul Koring, “Media army covers wars from hotels,” *Globe and Mail*, 24 January 1991, A1.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Linda Hossie, “All quiet on the news front: Lack of war information ‘very undemocratic,’” *Globe and Mail*, 24 January 1991, A15.
- 71 William Walker, “Does Ottawa get news of Gulf war from TV?” *Toronto Star*, 25 January 1991, A16.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Geoffrey York, “U.S. only source of war details, MPs told,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 January 1991, A10.
- 74 Canada, Department of National Defence, Directorate of Public Affairs Operations, Media Guidelines, 20 February 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Matthew Fisher, “Pilots glad to switch to bombing,” *Globe and Mail*, 22 February 1991, A12.
- 77 Matthew Fisher, “Canada launches bombing,” *Globe and Mail*, 25 February 1991, A11.
- 78 Alan Ferguson, “CF-18s pilots shun limelight,” *Toronto Star*, 28 January 1991, A12.
- 79 Robert Mason Lee, “First shots: CF-18 pilots asked to join attack on Iraqi boats,” *Gazette* (Montreal), 31 January 1991, A8.
- 80 Ross Howard, “Pilots reprimanded for firing at Iraqi ship,” *Globe and Mail*, 6 February 1991, A11.
- 81 “Canadian pilots commended,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 7 February 1991, A4.
- 82 “Servicewomen in Gulf coping in male-dominated environment,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 4 February 1991, A3.
- 83 “Huron wives’ trek worth it,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 16 February 1991, A4.
- 84 “CF-18s to assume offensive in ground attacks,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 21 February 1991, A1.
- 85 Fisher, “Pilots glad to switch to bombing.”
- 86 Fisher, “Canada launches bombing.”
- 87 Alan Ferguson, “Owen Sound pilot leads CF-18s jets on first bombing run,” *Toronto Star*, 25 February 1991, A14.
- 88 Brian Kennedy, “CF-18s carry out bombing missions,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax), 25 February 1991, A1.
- 89 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs, Director General Public Affairs. 23 April 1991, obtained by author under the *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.

- 90 Online: <http://members.lycos.co.uk/Hornet/index-20> (accessed 8 March 2004).
- 91 Matthews, interview.
- 92 Alan Ferguson, "Owen Sound pilot leads CF-18 jets," *Toronto Star*, 25 February 1991, A14.
- 93 Online: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_iraq_timeline/html/ground_war.stm.
- 94 Matthews, interview.
- 95 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs, Director General Public Affairs, 23 April 1991, obtained by author under the *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 96 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs, Director General Public Affairs, 23 April 1991, obtained by author under the *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Terrance Wills, "Female soldiers told to wear civilian clothes," *Gazette* (Montreal), 25 January 1997, A7.
- 100 William Walker, "Police probing threats to military families," *Toronto Star*, 25 January 1991, A18.
- 101 Deborah Wilson, "Military wives harassed: Phone calls, letters say husbands killed," *Globe and Mail*, 22 January 1991, A10.
- 102 The author was a journalist at the *Calgary Herald* writing about events and issues in Canada involving the war effort. I called the civilian police in Victoria and the civilian and military police in Esquimalt after the *Globe and Mail's* story was published. The same information was received from the police: they had no evidence that the incidents took place.
- 103 Canada, Department of National Defence, Judith A. Mooney, Director of Access to Information and Privacy, letter to author, 7 October 2003, in response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00704/Team 3-6.
- 104 Lt. Cmdr. (N) Paul Seguna, telephone interview by author, 16 October 2003; telephone calls by author to 11 Medical Company, 16 October and 5 November 2003.
- 105 Wilson, "Military wives harassed."
- 106 Tim Harper, "Military sure of public support despite harassing calls to wives," *Toronto Star*, 24 January 1991, A20.
- 107 Wilson, "Military wives harassed."
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 CHEK 6 was bought by CanWest Global in 2000 and became for a time CH TV in Victoria. Its news archives were searched for stories relating to the 1991 harassment of Esquimalt military families for this study by CH TV journalist Hudson Mack on 3 October 2003. Mack had worked at the television station since 1985. His archive search failed to discover any such stories.

- 110 Seguna, telephone interview.
- 111 McGillivray, interview.
- 112 Matthews, interview.
- 113 Bill Cleverley, "Armbands to protest 'glorifying' of Gulf War," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 2 January 1991, A1.
- 114 "Here are the crewmembers of Gulf bound HMCS *Huron*," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 4 January 1991, A10. The headline writer got it wrong. It was the crew that was bound for the Gulf, not the ship.
- 115 Judith Lavoie, "Military wives march to back husbands," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 16 January 1991, B1.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Bill Cleverley, "Esquimalt base tightens checks," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 18 January 1991, A7.
- 118 "Hoax bomb call at HMC Dockyard sparks evacuation," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 18 January 1991, A7.
- 119 Judith Lavoie, "Victoria peace activists being harassed, says woman," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 19 January 1991, A6.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Judith Lavoie, "Service wives 'reluctant' to report harassment to police," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 27 January 1991, A6.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence* (Chicago: Markham, 1971), 14.
- 126 Ibid., 157.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 Joy Malbon, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 28 October 2003.
- 2 Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 12–13.
- 3 Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 31–32.
- 4 W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 210.
- 5 Robert Bergen, "Censorship; The Canadian News Media and Afghanistan: A Historical Comparison with Case Studies," *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies*, Occasional Paper no. 3 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 6–10.

- 6 Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada*, 214.
- 7 *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Guide for Canadians* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983), 3.
- 8 The origins of the characterization of the news media as the “fourth estate,” the guardians of democracy serving the public interest in its oversight of the workings of government, are widely misunderstood. The most common reference to the press as the “fourth estate” is found in the nineteenth-century works of author Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle wrote on the business of government, saying that far more comprehensive debate about the government’s business took place outside Parliament thanks to the fourth estate that sat in the reporters’ gallery. Carlyle wrote: “Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder, there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important far than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact, – very momentous to us in these times. Literature is our Parliament too. Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable. Writing brings Printing; bring universal every-day extempore Printing, as we see present. Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law making, in all acts of authority.” Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus; On Heroes and Hero Worship* (London: Dent Dutton, 1965), 392. It has been widely accepted that Burke penned all those words. In fact, the term “fourth estate” appears in none of Burke’s published works. See Paul Langford, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, vols. 1–12 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). The term “Fourth Estate” is actually found in an essay by Lord Macaulay published in the *Edinburg Review* in 1828 and reprinted in Hallam’s *Constitutional History of England*. Macaulay wrote: “The gallery in which the reporters sit has become the fourth estate of the realm. The publication of debates, a practice which seemed to the most liberal statesmen of the old school full of danger to the great safeguards or public liberty, is now regarded by many persons as a safeguard tantamount, and more than tantamount, to all the rest together.” “Lord Macaulay on Hallam’s Constitutional History of England,” in Henry Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. 2 (London: Alex Murray & Co., 1872), 930.
- 9 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report, Operation Friction, Director General Public Affairs, Memorandum (Draft) 1350-3350 (DGPA), 24 July 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394/Team 3.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Canada, Department of National Defence, After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs. Lt. Col. R. C. Coleman, Memorandum 3350-OF-3 (DND PA), 25 April 1991, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394/Team 3.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Canada, Department of National Defence, *Adjusting Course: A Naval Strategy for Canada*, April 1997, 7.
- 15 Canada, Department of National Defence, Army Lessons Learned Centre, “Media Relations,” *Dispatches*, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1997), 6.

- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Bob Bergen, "Soldiers offer journalists a true taste of war," *Calgary Herald*, 2 June 1997, B2.
- 18 Canada, Department of National Defence, The Land Force Strategic Guidance and Direction. pt. 1, chap. 2, 1–16. Online: http://army.dwan.dnd.ca/dlsp/LFSDG_e/Part1/Chapter_2.htm (accessed 16 September 1998).
- 19 Canada, Department of National Defence, DAOD 2008-4, Public Affairs, Military Doctrine and Canadian Forces Operations, online: http://admfincs.forces.gc.ca/admfincs/subjects/daod/2008/4_e.asp (accessed 23 June 2005).
- 20 Ibid. Due to changes in titles, the 2005 website document makes the Assistant Deputy Minister for Public Affairs ADM (PA) responsible for the development of a national public affairs plan, but in 1999 the person responsible for the plan was the Director General Public Affairs (DGPA).
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Malbon, interview.
- 24 Malbon, interview.
- 25 Malbon, interview.
- 26 "Gagging the Media," *National Post*, 25 March 1999, A13.
- 27 Mark Henderson and Carol Midgley, "Belgrade steps up expulsion of press 'spies,'" *Times* (London), 26 March 1999, 2.
- 28 Juliette Terzieff, "Journalists threatened, beaten in Kosovo," *National Post*, 26 March 1999, A13.
- 29 Olivia Ward, "Bombs spark Serb fury: Western journalists expelled at gunpoint in capital," *Toronto Star*, 26 March 1999, A1.
- 30 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 234 (31 May 1999), 15501.
- 31 Canada, Evidence of Proceedings, House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs, 31 March 1999, online: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoCom/Doc/36/1/NDVA/Meetings/Evidence/ndvae99-e.htm> (accessed 10 August 2003).
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Lt. Cmdr. Jeff Agnew, telephone interview by author, 30 June 2005.
- 34 Canada, Department of National Defence, Transcript of briefing by DCDS – Media Q, 24 March 99, obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary (hereafter Transcript of briefing by DCDS), online: <http://dgpa-dgpa.mil.ca/Transcr/1999Mar/99032409.htm> (accessed 8 July 2003).
- 35 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 24 March 1999.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.

- 38 Brig. Gen. (ret.) James Cox, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 39 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 24 March 1999.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 195.
- 42 NATO, NATO's role in Kosovo, Press conference transcript, 25 March 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/press/p990325a.htm>.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 "War with Yugoslavia" *Vancouver Sun*, 25 March 1999, A19; "NATO blasts Yugoslavia." *Calgary Herald*, 25 March 1999, A1; John Ward, "Canada's CF-18s given baptism of fire," *Calgary Herald*, 25 March 1999, D4; "Yugoslavia pounded by NATO," *Province* (Vancouver), 25 March 1999, A2; Aileen McCabe and John Nadler, "The bombing begins," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 March 1999, A1; Aileen McCabe and John Nadler, "Serbs under fire," *Gazette* (Montreal) 25 March 1999, A1; Tim Naumetz, "PM says report proves he's clean on 'Shawinigate,'" *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 March 1999, A9; William Walker, "Canadian jets attack targets," *Toronto Star*, 25 March 1999, A11; John Ward, "CF-18s strike at Kosovo: Planes return safe from raid," *Hamilton Spectator*, 25 March 1999, C1; "NATO pounds Serb targets," *Daily News* (Halifax), 25 March 1999, 8; "NATO missiles pummel Yugoslavia," *Toronto Sun*, 25 March 1999, 2; Joel-Denis Belleavance, "Canadian fighters join risky battle against Yugoslavia," *National Post* (Toronto), 25 March 1999, A14; John Ward, "Canadian jets join NATO onslaught," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 25 March 1999, A3; "Canadian jets safe after NATO strikes," *Guardian* (Charlottetown), 25 March 1999, B7; Graham Fraser, "Canadians in first wave of strikes on Serbia," *Globe and Mail*, 25 March 1999, A1.
- 45 Bob Gilmore, "Canadian fighter pilots in good spirits after raid," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 March 1999, A6; John Ward, "CF-18 pilots return safely," *Gazette* (Montreal), 25 March 1999, B1.
- 46 Kate Jaimet, "Home base proud of Canadian crews," *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 March 1999, A4.
- 47 "Canadian warplanes in action," The National, CBC-TV, 25 March 1999, Broadcast transcript, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 48 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 25 March 99. online: <http://dgpa-dgpa.mil.ca/Transcr/1999Mar/99032509.htm> (accessed 7 July 2003).
- 49 Clark, *Waging Modern War*, 442.
- 50 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 25 March 99.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Joy Malbon, email correspondence to author, 24 June 1999.
- 55 Malbon, email correspondence.
- 56 Malbon, email correspondence.

- 57 James Landale and John Phillips, "Two Serb Jets shot down over no-fly zone," *Times* (London), 27 March 1999, 2.
- 58 Malbon, interview.
- 59 Neil Macdonald, telephone interview by author, 5 September 2003.
- 60 Macdonald, telephone interview.
- 61 Macdonald, telephone interview.
- 62 Malbon, interview.
- 63 Canada, Department of National Defence, Capt. Mietzner, email correspondence with Lt. Col. S. Wills, Director of Air Force Public Affairs, 19 March 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- 64 Canada, Department of National Defence, Lt. L. Wilson, email correspondence with Lt. Col. S. Wills, Director of Air Force Public Affairs, 25 March 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- 65 Canada, Department of National Defence, Lt. Cmdr. Jeff Agnew, email correspondence, Distribution list, 26 March 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- 66 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 26 March 1999.
- 67 Confidential interview with author, names were withheld by mutual agreement if requested, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, 16 April 2003.
- 68 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 26 March 1999.
- 69 Col. (ret.) Jim Donihee, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 22 April 2003.
- 70 Capt. Travis Brassington, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 71 Vicki Hall, "Cold Lake pilots head for conflict; Families watch as loved ones thunder into sky," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 March 1999, A8.
- 72 Ibid.; Kenny Eoin, "Families bid farewell to pilots," *Calgary Herald*, 27 March 1999, D1; "A tearful farewell to Canadian pilots," *Ottawa Citizen*, 27 March 1999, A10; "4 Wing Command prepares for mission over Yugoslavia: 4 jets take off for Italy," *National Post* (Toronto), 27 March 1999, A13.
- 73 Brassington, interview.
- 74 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 27 March 1999.
- 75 William Walker, "Canadian pilots miss military targets," *Toronto Star*, 27 March 1999, A15.
- 76 Rosie DiManno, "Canadian jets change targets: Serb troops now in the line of fire in NATO attacks," *Toronto Star*, 30 March 1999, A9.
- 77 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 28 March 1999.
- 78 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 31 March 1999.
- 79 Canada, Department of National Defence, Briefing Note prepared for CAS: Op Echo – Communications Approach Issue by Lt. (N) John D. Coppard, D Air PA 2-2. 31 March 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.

- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Lt. Cmdr. Jeff Agnew, telephone interview by author, 30 June 2005.
- 85 Confidential telephone interview with author, names were withheld by mutual agreement if requested, 8 September 2003.
- 86 Confidential telephone interview.
- 87 Confidential telephone interview.
- 88 Confidential telephone interview.
- 89 "In this country, most MPs on the Commons Defence and Foreign Affairs committees endorsed Canada's role in the NATO air campaign," CTV National News, CTV, 31 March 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 Neil Macdonald, telephone interview by author, 5 September 2003.
- 2 Macdonald, telephone interview.
- 3 "A Canadian pilot's story," *The National*, CBC-TV, 2 April 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 4 Canada, Department of National Defence, Transcript of briefing by DCDS – Media Q, 2 April 1999, obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary (hereafter Transcript of briefing by DCDS). online: <http://dgpa-dgpa.mil.ca/Transcr/1999Apr/99040207.htm> (accessed 16 July 2003).
- 5 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 2 April 1999.
- 6 "Canadian pilots based in Aviano, Italy, have been flying combat missions into Yugoslavia and now we have a Canadian pilot's eyewitness account," CTV National News, CTV, 2 April 1999, Canadian NewsDisc; Tim Harper, "Canadian pilot tells of mission into enemy skies," *Toronto Star*, 3 April 1999, A23; "NATO cruise missile attack shakes Yugoslavia's capital," *Vancouver Sun*, 3 April 1999, A1; Joan Bryden, "Canadian pilot nervous and proud," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 April 1999, A1; Joan Bryden, "I admit, sometimes I wanted to cry," *Ottawa Citizen*, 3 April 1999, A5; Joan Bryden, "For CF-18 pilots, fear, excitement and pride," *Gazette* (Montreal), 3 April 1999, A19; Joan Bryden, "People are going to shoot at you," *Daily News* (Halifax), 3 April 1999, 10; Stephanie Rubec, "Missiles and MiGs all in a day's work," *Toronto Sun*, 3 April 1999, 5; Leanne Yohemas-Hayes, "Sometimes I wanted to cry," *Hamilton Spectator*, 3 April 1999, B1; Geoffrey York, "Human factor never in my mind," *Globe and Mail*, 3 April 1999, A1.
- 7 Lt. Cmdr. Jeff Agnew, telephone interview by author, 30 June 2005.
- 8 Lt. Col. Sylvain Faucher, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 29 October 2003.
- 9 Geoffrey York, email correspondence to author, 11 August 2003.
- 10 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 4 April 1999.

- 11 United States, Department of Defence, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), DoD News briefing, 6 April 1999 (hereafter DoD News briefing). Online: http://www.pentagon.mil/transcripts/1999/t04061999_t0406asd.html (accessed 4 July 2005).
- 12 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 6 April 1999.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Rosie DiManno, "Aviano: The counterpoint to chaos," *Toronto Star*, 8 April 1999, A9.
- 16 Geoffrey York, "Canadian operations kept under wraps," *Globe and Mail*, 9 April 1999, A18.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Geoffrey York, email correspondence to author, 11 August 2003.
- 19 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 14 April 1999.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 17 April 99.
- 23 "My first combat mission," *Maple Leaf*, vol. 2, no. 7, 15 April 1999. Online: <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/community/mapleleaf/html> (accessed 9 September 2003).
- 24 "Pilots tell of combat stress," *Gazette* (Montreal), 26 April 1999, A12; "CF-18 pilot recounts first combat mission," *Daily News* (Halifax), 6 April 1999; "Military journal reveals pilot's brush with Serbs," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 26 April 1999, A3; "Canadian pilot details harrowing mission," *Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1999, A12.
- 25 Faucher, interview.
- 26 DoD News briefing, 16 April 1999.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 DoD News briefing, 2 April 1999.
- 30 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 17 April 1999.
- 31 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 18 April 1999.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975).
- 34 Robert Bergen, "Censorship; the Canadian News Media and Afghanistan: A Historical Comparison with Case Studies," *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies*, Occasional Paper no. 3 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009).
- 35 "Canada on the attack," CBC News, online: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indepth/canadaattack/military.html> (accessed 17 June 2003).
- 36 Gen. (ret.) Maurice Baril, telephone interview by author, 3 November 2003.

- 37 Baril, telephone interview.
- 38 Joe Warmington, telephone interview with author, 15 September 2003.
- 39 Robert W. Bergen, "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats" (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 2005), 312
- 40 NATO, NATO's role in Kosovo, Press conference transcript, 31 March 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/all-frce.htm>.
- 41 Joy Malbon, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 28 October 2003.
- 42 Malbon, interview.
- 43 Malbon, interview.
- 44 Lt. Cmdr. (N) John Larsen, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 19 June 2003.
- 45 Larsen, interview.
- 46 Larsen, interview.
- 47 Larsen, interview.
- 48 "A Canadian pilot's view of Canada's role in the NATO bombing raid," CTV National News, CTV, 18 April 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 49 Malbon, interview.
- 50 "In their own words, Canada's troops describe their mission," CTV National News, CTV, 24 April 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 51 Malbon, interview.
- 52 Larsen, interview.
- 53 The story didn't explain the difference between the two types of computers or what might be the problem with a 1980s-vintage computer technology. The Commodore 64 was originally developed as a video game engine that could be programmed for a different game when the previously installed one became old hat. See online: <http://www.old-computers.com/museum/computer.asp?c=98>. The main problem with the 1980s technology was that it was both difficult to find software for and was so limited in what it could do in terms of multi-tasking that some of the CF-18s' capabilities were lost when modified to accommodate precision-guided munitions.
- 54 Joe Warmington, "CF-18s showing their age; Canadian pilots urge spending on new warplanes," *Toronto Sun*, 18 April 1999, 4.
- 55 Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.
- 56 Joe Warmington, telephone interview by author, 15 September 2003.
- 57 Warmington, telephone interview.
- 58 Warmington, telephone interview.
- 59 Warmington, telephone interview.
- 60 Sean Durkan, "DND says CF-18s OK; but pilot quips they're like 'Commodore 64,'" *Toronto Sun*, 19 April 1999, 34.
- 61 Transcript of briefing by DCDS, 18 April 1999.

- 62 Ibid.
- 63 “B roll” is additional footage shot by a television cameraman or woman that is secondary and augments the main video of a story.
- 64 Larsen, interview.
- 65 Larsen, interview.
- 66 Malbon, interview.
- 67 Malbon, interview.
- 68 DoD News briefing, 19 April 1999.
- 69 NATO, NATO’s role in Kosovo Press Conference, 25 March; 1 April; 13 April 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/press/p990325a.htm>; <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/press/p990401c.htm>; <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/press/p990413a.htm>.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 Lt. Col. Sylvain Faucher, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 19 October 2003.
- 2 Faucher, interview.
- 3 Faucher, interview.
- 4 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 5 Confidential interview by author, names were withheld by mutual consent if requested, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 6 Confidential interview.
- 7 Confidential interview.
- 8 “Midas,” Semi-confidential interview with author, full names were withheld by mutual consent if requested and call signs used instead, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 9 Maj. Kirk Soroka, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, 14 Alberta, April 2003.
- 10 Soroka, interview.
- 11 Confidential interview.
- 12 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 13 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 14 Col. (ret.) J. M. Donihee, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 22 April 2003.
- 15 Defence spending accounted for 2.2 per cent of the Canadian Gross Domestic Product in 1985–1987. By 1994, defence spending was 1.7 per cent of the GDP. By 2003 it had dropped to about 1.1 per cent, representing a 50 per cent drop since the 1980s. See Douglas Bland, ed., *Canada without Armed Forces* (Kingston: Queen’s University School of Policy Studies, 2003), 105–6.
- 16 Bob Bergen, “Trouble in the marriage: Man and machine need to bridge trust and fear,” *Calgary Herald*, 29 April 1990, C2.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Donihee, interview.
- 21 Donihee, interview.
- 22 “Hooker,” telephone interview by author, 24 April 2003.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 26 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 27 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 28 Flynn, telephone interview.
- 29 Bob Bergen, “Cause of recent crashes still up in the air,” *Calgary Herald*, 29 April 1990, C2; Bergen, “Trouble in the marriage.”
- 30 Capt. Neil McRury, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 16 April 2003.
- 31 Donihee, interview.
- 32 “Hooker,” telephone interview.
- 33 Donihee, interview.
- 34 Canada, Department of National Defence, Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive. Annex A, 12 January 2000, Released informally to author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2001-00308 and formally to author under request A-2003-00305/Team1.
- 35 Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 259.
- 36 Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO’s War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 144–45.
- 37 Daalder and O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, 103.
- 38 Daalder and O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, 103. It has been observed that the Kosovo air war shocked western Europeans into a grim realization of just how much they and NATO were completely dependent on the United States military. As a result, European leaders announced on 3 June 1999 that they would build their own self-sufficient military. David Fromkin, *Kosovo Crossing: American Ideals Meet Reality on the Balkan Battlefields* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 185.
- 39 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed., Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 119.

CHAPTER 10

- 1 Canada, Department of National Defence, Transcript briefing by DCDS – Media Q, 20 April 1999, obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary (hereafter Transcript briefing by DCDS). online: <http://dgp-a-dgpa.mil.ca/Transcr/1999April/99042006.htm> (accessed 16 July 2003).
- 2 Lt. Cmdr. Jeff Agnew, telephone interview by author, 30 June 2005.
- 3 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 22 April 1999.
- 4 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 22 April 1999.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Department of National Defence, Col. D. A. Davies, Commander, Task Force Aviano, Letter to the Chief of Staff J3, Mislabeled Video Purporting to be a CF-18 Mission, 22 April 1999, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00396/ Team 3-5.
- 7 NATO Meeting, The National, CBC TV, 22 April 1999; “Canadian fighter pilots received some unwelcome praise and publicity from Washington today,” CTV National News, CTV, 22 April 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 8 Julian Beltrame, “Ottawa says war video is plane-ly wrong: Attack on Yugoslavia,” *Edmonton Journal*, 23 April 1999, A1; Julian Beltrame, “DND officials in a flap over release of bomb video,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1999, A8; “Milosevic sites hit by NATO,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 April 1999, C4; “Sometimes even praise can be an unwelcome thing,” *National Post* (Toronto), 23 April 1999, A5; “UN solution unlikely, Chrétien says,” *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 23 April 1999, A4; Brian Laghi and Murray Campbell, “Ottawa tops up Kosovo relief,” *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1999, A15; Sean Durkan, “Canada beefs over NATO bombing video,” *Toronto Sun*, 23 April 1999, 51. On 23 April 1999, US Assistant Secretary of Defence (Public Affairs) Kenneth Bacon told journalists attending the Pentagon’s press briefing that the previous day’s identification of the F-18 in the Pentagon video as Canadian was a mistake.
- 9 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 23 April 1999.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid. It was not possible to learn the names of the journalists attending the briefing that day from transcripts. Unlike in the transcripts from some other days, no journalists were identified.
- 12 NATO, NATO’s role in Kosovo, Press conference transcript, 15 May 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/all-frce.htm>.
- 13 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 6 May 1999.
- 14 Eric Schmitt, “More Anti-U.S. Protests in Beijing as Officials Study Bombing,” *New York Times*, 10 May 1999, 1.
- 15 NATO, NATO’s role in Kosovo, Press conference transcript, 15 May 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/all-frce.htm>.
- 16 Michael R. Gordon, “NATO Admits Village Attack and Casualties,” *New York Times International*, 16 May 1999, 1.

- 17 Felicity Barringer, "Editors Seek More Information on the Air War," *New York Times*, 16 April 1999, 11.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Gen. Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 444–45.
- 20 Ibid., 444.
- 21 R. W. Apple, Jr., "Clinton Tailors Legacy but Kosovo Isn't Fabric," *New York Times International*, 10 June 1999, A20. On 12 June 1999, two days after the bombing campaign ended, a *New York Times* journalist eventually was able to get aboard an American Jstars surveillance aircraft on a flight over Albania and report on the difficulties in flying such missions. But from a journalistic perspective, by the time the story was published two days after that, its timeliness and, in the process, its relevance were compromised.
- 22 Maj. Stéphane Hébert, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 22 October 2003.
- 23 Hébert, interview.
- 24 Hébert, interview.
- 25 Paul Workman, telephone interview by author, 13 August 2003.
- 26 Workman, telephone interview.
- 27 "Canadians in combat," *The National*, CBC-TV, 13 May 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 28 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 14 May 1999.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.

CHAPTER 11

- 1 Allan Thompson, "Canada earns air stripes in Kosovo, but our top soldier fears the strain of a ground war," *Toronto Star*, 29 May 1999, A1.
- 2 "Canadian planes led missions," *Daily News* (Halifax), 17 June 1999, 8; Eileen McCabe, "Chretien thanks air crews in Italy," *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 June 1999, A6.
- 3 "Most Canadian CF-18s begin long journey home," *Toronto Star*, 26 June 1999, A24; "Most of Canada's CF-18 crews about to begin journey home," *Calgary Herald*, 26 June 1999, A17.
- 4 Maj. Alain Pelletier, telephone interview by author, 16 July 2003.
- 5 Pelletier, telephone interview.
- 6 Cpl. Patrick Savoie, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec, 21 October 2003.
- 7 "Chimp," interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 8 Ibid.

- 9 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 10 Gen. Raymond Henault, telephone interview by author, 22 September 2003.
- 11 Lt. Cmdr. (N) John Larsen, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 19 June 2003.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Telephone interview by author, 8 September 2003.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 The parliamentary press gallery was initially composed only of newspaper journalists and remained that way until 1959, when broadcasters were admitted. Television camera and sound crews were admitted in 1982. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1998–1999*, ed. Kathryn O’Handy (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group Inc., 1999), 547–51.
- 18 Telephone interview by author, 8 September 2003.
- 19 Peter W. W. Wijninga and Richard Szafranski, “Beyond Utility Targeting: Toward Axiological Air Operations,” *Aerospace Power Journal* 14, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 45–59.
- 20 Paul Rexton Kan, “What Should We bomb? Axiological Targeting and the Abiding Limits of Airpower Theory,” *Air & Space Power Journal* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 25–32.
- 21 James Kitfield, “Lessons from Kosovo: Bad Things Happen When the Media and the Military Butt Heads Yet Again,” *Media Studies Journal* 15, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 34–39.
- 22 NATO, NATO’s role in Kosovo, Press conference transcript, 22 May 1999, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/all-frce.htm>.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Department of National Defence, Transcript briefing by DCDS – Media Q, 22 May 1999, obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary (hereafter Transcript briefing by DCDS), online: <http://dgpa-dgpa.mil.ca/Transcr/1999Jun/99052204.htm> (accessed 16 July 2003).
- 25 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 1 June 1999.
- 26 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 1 June 1999.
- 27 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 2 June 1999.
- 28 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 2 June 1999.
- 29 Dean Beeby, “Error forces CF-18 repairs,” *Toronto Star*, 2 June 1999, A11.
- 30 Dean Beeby, “Maintenance mistake weakened engine blades on all CF-18s,” *Gazette* (Montreal), 2 June 1999, A13.
- 31 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 4 June 1999.
- 32 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 4 June 1999.
- 33 Allan Thompson, “Fighting defended Canadian values, Chrétien says; but some say peacekeeping image is sullied,” *Toronto Star*, 11 June 1999, A10.

- 34 John Ward, "Canadian crews happy air war is over," *Hamilton Spectator*, 16 June 1999, D2; "Canadian crews grateful," *Daily News* (Halifax), 16 June 1999, 11; "Weary air crews ready to celebrate," *Times Colonist* (Victoria), 16 June 1999, A5.
- 35 Transcript briefing by DCDS, 16 June 1999.
- 36 "Canadian planes led missions," *Daily News* (Halifax), 17 June 1999, 8.
- 37 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, in Bob Bergen, "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats: The Untold Story Of Canada's Air Force during the Kosovo Air War," Paper presented at the Conference of Defence Associations Institute 6th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, Kingston, ON, October 2003.
- 38 Paul Workman, telephone interview by author, 13 August 2003.
- 39 "Twelve Canadian Fighter Pilots Return Home from War," Canada AM, CTV, 29 June 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 40 "View from the jets," The National, CBC-TV, 29 June 1999, Canadian NewsDisc.
- 41 Canada, National Defence Headquarters, Defence Ethics Program, "Ethics and Operations Project: Project Report," 9 March 2000, p. 8, online: http://www.dnd.ca/ethics/pages/kdocs_e.htm (accessed 25 September 2003).
- 42 Brig. Gen. (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 43 Larsen, interview.

CHAPTER 12

- 1 See NATO, NATO's role in Kosovo, online: <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/u990610a.htm>.
- 2 Duska Anastasijevic, "The Closing of the Kosovo Cycle: Victimization versus Responsibility," in *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, ed. Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur (New York: United Nations University Press, 2000), 57.
- 3 Lt. Col. (ret.) William Allen Flynn, telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 4 Canada. National Defence. News Release, 25 June 1999, online: http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=706 (accessed 12 April 2004).
- 5 Confidential interview by author, names were withheld by mutual consent if requested, Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec. 22 October 2003.
- 6 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta. 15 April 2003.
- 7 Confidential interview.
- 8 Capt. Travis Brassington, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 9 Maj. Kirk Soroka, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 14 April 2003.
- 10 David L. Bashow et al., "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 59.

- 11 Bashow et al., "Mission Ready."
- 12 Patrick Martin, "Balkan Rats," *Air Forces Monthly* (November 1999): 56–59.
- 13 David Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 11.
- 14 Canada, Governor General of Canada, Meritorious Service decorations, online: <https://www.gg.ca/honour.aspx?id=221&t=16&ln=Davies>.
- 15 Canada, Governor General of Canada, Meritorious Service decorations, online: <https://www.gg.ca/honour.aspx?id=222&t=16&ln=Parker>.
- 16 Soroka, interview.
- 17 For a complete list of the Canadian orders, decorations, medals, and their precedence, see the Governor General of Canada's website at: <https://www.gg.ca/document.aspx?id=5&lan=eng>.
- 18 Soroka, interview.
- 19 Soroka, interview.
- 20 Capt. John Edelman, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 21 Capt. Brett Glaeser, interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta, 15 April 2003.
- 22 Interview by author, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta. 15 April 2003.
- 23 Col. (ret.) Jim Donihee, interview by author, Calgary, Alberta, 22 April 2003.
- 24 Lt. Col. Sylvain Faucher, interview with author, Ottawa, Ontario, 29 October 2003.
- 25 "Hooker," telephone interview by author, 9 April 2003.
- 26 Flynn, telephone interview, 5 July 2005.
- 27 Brig. Gen. (ret.) David Jurkowski, interview by author, Ottawa, Ontario, 27 October 2003.
- 28 Gen. Raymond Henault, telephone interview by author, 22 September 2003.
- 29 Canada, National Defence Headquarters, Judith A, Mooney, Director of Access to Information and Privacy, letter on behalf of to author, 30 September 2003, in response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00486/Team 1.
- 30 *Access to Information Act*, s. 21.
- 31 Canada, Rideau Hall, The Chancellery, Mary de Bellefeuille-Percy, letter to author, 31 October 2003, in response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00486/Team 1.
- 32 Bob Bergen, "Air Force men and women deserve more than a better than nothing medal," 6 March 2007, online: <http://www.cdfai.org/bergenarticles/Air%20force%20men%20and%20women%20deserve%20more%20than%20a%20better%20than%20nothing%20medal.pdf> (accessed 6 March 2007).
- 33 Telephone interview by author, 27 March 2007.
- 34 Flynn, telephone interview, 5 July 2005.

- 35 Maj. Kirk Soroka, telephone interview by author.
- 36 Confidential telephone interview by author.
- 37 Bob Bergen, "New Historic Battle Honour for Canadian Fighter Jet Squadrons Bittersweet," 12 December 2007, online: <http://www.cdfai.org/bergenarticles/New%20historic%20Battle%20Honour%20for%20Canadian%20jet%20fighter%20squadrons%20bittersweet.pdf> (accessed 12 December 2007).
- 38 Government of Canada. Order Awarding of the General Campaign Star with the ALLIED FORCE RIBBON. online: <http://gazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p2/2010-03-31/html/si-tr19-eng.htm> (accessed 9 September 2012).

AFTERWORD

- 1 Canada, *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1981), 21.
- 2 Ibid.
- 1 Robert W. Bergen, "Censorship; the Canadian News Media and Afghanistan: A Historical Comparison with Case Studies," *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies*, Occasional Paper no. 3 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009).
- 2 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. 147, no. 128 (20 October 2014), 8583.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Michael Friscolanti, "Uncovering a Killer," *Macleans*, 10 November 2014, 36–42.
- 5 Stephen Harper, Prime Minister of Canada, "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada in Ottawa," online: <https://cija.ca/prime-minister-ottawa/>.
- 6 Graeme Hamilton, "No uniforms in public for Quebec troops," *National Post*, 23 October 2014, A11.
- 7 Erin Anderson, "Canadian Forces uniform 'is not a costume,'" *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 2014, A4.
- 8 John McGuire, online: <https://nationalpost.com/news/world/israel-middle-east/john-maguire-an-isis-fighter-from-ottawa-appears-on-video-warning-canada-of-attacks-where-it-hurts-you-the-most>.
- 9 Raoul Dandurand, in *Historical Documents of Canada, vol. 5: The Arts of War and Peace*, ed. C. P. Stacey (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 511.
- 10 Barack Obama, President of the United States, online: <https://www.rollingstone.com/movies/movie-news/barack-obama-sony-made-a-mistake-canceling-the-interview-241123/>.
- 11 W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 246.
- 12 Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), xiii.
- 13 Ibid., 12–13.

- 14 Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada*, 248.
- 15 David J. Bercuson, *Maple Leaf against the Axis: Canada's Second World War* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1995), 61.
- 16 Ross Munro, *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army* (Toronto: Macmillian Canada, 1946), 326–37.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 326.
- 18 Ross Munro, “I saw Canadian Heroes Die at Dieppe,” *Vancouver Sun*, 21 August 1942.
- 19 Munro, *Gauntlet to Overlord*, 337.

Bibliography

Primary Sources—Unpublished

- Canada. Department of National Defence. 1 CAD HQ Winnipeg, Secret A3 OPS RDNS 226, September 1997. Obtained by author under Access to Information Act request A-2003-00606/Team 1.
- . 441 OT&E Proposal, Undated, obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- . After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs. Director General Public Affairs. 23 April 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- . After Action Report: Gulf War Public Affairs. Lt. Col. R. C. Coleman. Memorandum 3350-OF-3 (DND PA). 25 April 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394/Team 3.
- . After Action Report, Operation Friction. Director General Public Affairs. Memorandum (Draft) 1350-3350 (DGPA). 24 July 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394/Team 3.
- . After Action Report. Operation Friction: Director General Public Affairs, 24 July 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- . Agnew, Jeff, Lt. Cmdr. (N). Email correspondence, Distribution list, 26 March 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- . Assistant Deputy Minister of Public Affairs. J5PA, Instruction 0301. 12 November 2003. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act*: request A-2003-00394.
- . Briefing Note Concerning Agenda Item X, CDS meeting with Group Principals 0900Hrs. 2 January 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-0394.
- . Briefing Note prepared for CAS: Op Echo – Communications Approach Issue by Lt. (N) John Coppard, D Air PA 2-2. 31 March 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.

- . Canadian Forces Headquarters Middle East Public Affairs War Operations Plan. 14 January 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- . Communications Plan: Rotation of Ships' Companies CTG 302.3. 4 December 1990. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- . Concepts of Operations for the Use of Night Vision Goggles in the CF-18. 441 TFS, 20 November 1997. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- . Davies, D. A., Col. Commander, Task Force Aviano. Letter to the Chief of Staff J3, Mislabeled Video Purporting to be a CF-18 Mission. 22 April 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00396/Team 3-5.
- . Directorate of Public Affairs Operations. Media Guidelines. 20 February 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
- . Guidinger, R. W., Col. Wing Commander, 4 Wing Cold Lake. Letter to National Defence Headquarters. 27 October 1997. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- . Henault, Lt. Gen. R. R. National Targeting Process for OP Echo. Letter to the Chief of Defence Staff et al. 6 July 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.
- . Henault, Lt. Gen. R. R. Operation Echo Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive. Annex A 3453-20 (DLLS). 12 January 2000. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.
- . Mietzner, Capt. E-mail correspondence to Lt. Col. S. Wills, Director of Air Force Public Affairs. 19 March 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- . Minute to Wing Commander from Wing Operations officer Lt. Col. J. M. Ouellet. 6 October 1997. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- . Minutes of the CF-18 NVG Project Committee Meeting. 28 April 1998. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00139/Team 2-3.
- . Mooney, Judith A. Director of Access to Information and Privacy. Letter on behalf of to author. 30 September 2003. In response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00486/Team 1.
- . Mooney, Judith A. Director of Access to Information and Privacy. Letter on behalf of to author. 4 July 2003. In response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00372/Team 1.
- . Mooney, Judith A. Director of Access to Information and Privacy. Letter to author. 21 July 2003. In response to *Access to Information Act* request A-003 00434/Team 1.
- . Mooney, Judith A. Director of Access to Information and Privacy. Letter to author. 7 October 2003. In response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00704/Team 3-6.

- . National Defence Headquarters. Jim Judd. Letter to the Defence Minister. 20 April 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
 - . National Defence Headquarters. Memo. Message ID. 199827000147. Secret. CF-18 Weapons Augmentation Request. 27 September 1998. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
 - . National Defence Headquarters. Secret Memo DAEPMMFT028. CF-18 Weapons Augmentation Request. 5 October 1998. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
 - . National Defence Headquarters. Synopsis Sheet: Ammo Requirement OP Echo – Guided Bomb Unit (GBU) bombs. 20 April 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
 - . Operation Echo – Lessons Learned Staff Action Directive. Annex A. 12 January 2000. Released informally to author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00305/Team 1.
 - . Operation Friction: Canadian Forces Operations in the Persian Gulf Communications Plan. 15 August 1990. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
 - . Operation Friction: Canadian Forces Operations in the Persian Gulf Communications Plan. 9 November 1990. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
 - . Priority Message from NDHQ Ottawa//CDS//. Op Friction MSN and Roles/Official Spokespersons. 15 January 1991. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00394.
 - . Secret System High Generated/Mediated Message. Message ID: 199827000147. 27 September 1998. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3.
 - . Transcripts of briefings by DCDS – Media Q, March–June 1999, obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary.
 - . Wilson, L., Lt. E-mail correspondence to S. Wills, Lt.-Col., Director of Air Force Public Affairs. 25 March 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01184/Team 2.
- Canada. Public Works and Government Services Canada. Eugene B. Rizok, Letter from Public Works and Government Services Canada in the Canadian Embassy in Washington to the Deputy Under-Secretary of the Air Force in the Pentagon. 8 April 1999. PWGSC file number W8484-6-WA09. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.
- Canada. Rideau Hall. The Chancellor. Mary de Bellefeuille-Percy. Letter to author. 31 October 2003. In response to *Access to Information Act* request A-2003-00486/Team 1.

Canada. Supply and Services Canada. Contract with the government of the U.S. of America, DSS file No. W8484-9-WA01 PT.2. 3 June 1999. Obtained by author under *Access to Information Act* request A-2002-01182/Team 3-2.

Soroka, Kirk. Unpublished notes for a Geoff Bennett painting “On a date with the Iron Maiden,” from Canadian Airpower for Peace and Freedom Collection, unveiled 1 February 2001, at 4 Wing, Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.

Primary Sources—Published

Canada, Auditor General. Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the House of Commons. April 1998. Chapter 3.

Canada, Department of National Defence. *Adjusting Course: A Naval Strategy for Canada*. April 1997.

———. Department of National Defence. *A Role of Pride and Influence in the World—Defence*. Canada’s International Policy Statement, 2005.

———. Army Lessons Learned Centre. “Media Relations.” *Dispatches*, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1997).

———. Atkinson, Peter, Brig. Gen. ADM(PA) Transcript, “Government Officials hold technical briefing to provide an update on Canada’s activities in Afghanistan.” Media Q, 14 February 2008. Obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office, Prairies and NWT, 15 February 2008.

———. Bland, Douglas L. “National Defence Headquarters Centre for Decision.” A study prepared for the Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia. 1997.

———. *Canada’s Soldiers: Military Ethos and Canadian Values in the 21st Century*

Army. Report to the Commander Land Force Command. January 2005.

———. Canadian Expeditionary Force Command. *Canadian Forces Media Embedding Program, Guidelines, Ground Rules and Documentation for Her Majesty’s Canadian Ships*.

———. Directorate of Air Public Affairs. CF-18 backgrounder. 31 October 2002.

———. *Transcripts of Daily Kosovo Technical Briefings*. 24 March 1999 to 16 June 1999.

Obtained by author from National Defence Public Affairs Office – Calgary.

———. 1994 White Paper on Defence.

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Debates*, vol. 275, 1950.

———. *Debates*, vol. 13, 1991.

———. *Debates*, vol. 135, no. 134, 1998, and nos. 203, 204, 205A, and 234, 1999.

———. *Debates*, vol. 147, no. 128, 2014.

- . “Resolution Following Public Hearings On Canada’s Role in the Kosovo Conflict and its Aftermath.” Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. June 2000.
- . The Senate. The New NATO and the Evolution of Peacekeeping: Implications for Canada. Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. April 2000.
- . Treasury Board of Canada. Interim Policy Guide, Access to Information and Privacy Acts. Circular No. 1983-35.

NATO Handbook. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001.

Newspapers and Magazines

Calgary Herald

National Post (Toronto)

Ottawa Citizen

Daily News (Halifax)

Edmonton Journal

Gazette (Montreal)

Globe and Mail

Hamilton Spectator

New York Times

New York Times Magazine.

Telegram (St. John’s)

Times (London, England)

Toronto Star

Toronto Sun

Vancouver Sun

Times Colonist (Victoria)

Personal Interviews

All interviews were conducted by the author. Those listed below are directly cited in notes. Confidential interviewees have not been listed. Some interviewees are identified by their military call signs only.

- Barker, Mike, Maj., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Brassington, Travis (“Brass”), Capt., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Cox, James, retired Brig. Gen., Ottawa, Ontario.
Donihee, Jim, retired Col., Calgary, Alberta.
Edelman, John, Capt., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Faucher, Sylvian, Lt. Col., Ottawa, Ontario.
Glaeser, Brett (“Laser”), Capt., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Hébert, Stéphane, Maj., Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec.
Jurkowski, David, retired Brig. Gen., Ottawa, Ontario.
Larsen, John, Lt. Cmdr., Calgary, Alberta.
Malbon, Joy, CTV News, Ottawa, Ontario.
Matthews, Don, retired Lt. Col., Calgary, Alberta.
McGillivray, Ed, retired Brig. Gen., Calgary, Alberta.
McRury, Neil (“Hoss”), Capt., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Savoie, Patrick, Cpl., Canadian Forces Base Bagotville, Quebec.
Soroka, Kirk, (“Rambo”) Maj., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.

Telephone Interviews

- Agnew, Jeff, Cmdr., from Ottawa, Ontario.
Baril, Maurice, retired Gen., from Ottawa, Ontario.
Flynn, William Allen (“Billie”), retired Lt. Col., from Toronto, Ontario.
Henault, Ray, Gen., from Ottawa, Ontario.
Macdonald, Neil, CBC TV, from Washington, D.C., United States of America.
Marcotte, Benoît, retired Col., from Longueuil, Quebec.
Pelletier, Alain, Maj., from Ottawa, Ontario.
Seguna, Paul, Lt. Cmdr., from Vancouver, British Columbia.
Soroka, Kirk (“Rambo”), Maj., from Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
Warmington, Joe, *Toronto Sun*, from Toronto, Ontario.
Workman, Paul, CBC TV, from Paris, France.

Email Correspondence

- Baril, Maurice, retired Gen., Ottawa, Ontario.
Marcotte, Benoît, retired Col., Longueuil, Quebec.
Malbon, Joy, CTV News, Aviano, Italy.
Soroka, Kirk (“Rambo”), Maj., Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake, Alberta.
York, Geoffrey, *Globe and Mail*, Beijing, China.

Books, Articles, and Theses

- Anastasijevic, Duska. "The Closing of the Kosovo Cycle: Victimization versus Responsibility." In *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur, 44–63. New York: United Nations University Press, 2000.
- Bain, George. *Gotcha*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1994.
- Bashow, David L. "Reconciling the Irreconcilable? Canada's Foreign and Defence Policy Linkage." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 17–26.
- , et al. "Mission Ready: Canada's Role in the Kosovo Air Campaign." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55–61.
- Benedict, Michael, ed. *Canada at War*. Toronto: Viking, 1997.
- Bennett, W. Lance. "The News about Foreign Policy." In *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, edited by W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, 12–40. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- . "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communications* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 103–26.
- . and David L. Paletz, eds. *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Bercuson, David. *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- . *Maple Leaf against the Axis: Canada's Second World War*. Toronto: Stoddart, 1995.
- . *Significant Incident: Canada's Army, the Airborne, and the Murder in Somalia*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1996.
- Bergen, Robert W. "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats." PhD diss., University of Calgary, 2005.
- . "Balkan Rats and Balkan Bats: The Untold Story of Canada's Air Force during the Kosovo Air War." Paper presented at the Conference of Defence Associations Institute 6th Annual Graduate Student Symposium. Kingston, ON, October 2003.
- . "Censorship; the Canadian News Media and Afghanistan: A Historical Comparison with Case Studies." *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies*, Occasional Paper no. 3. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009.
- Bland, Douglas L. "The Government of Canada and the Armed Forces: A Troubled Relationship." In *The Soldier and the Canadian State: A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations?*, edited by David A. Charters and Brent J. Wilson, 27–45. Proceedings of the Second Annual Conflict Studies Workshop. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, October 1995.
- . "Parliament's Duty to Defend Canada." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 4 (Winter 2000–2001): 35–43.
- , ed. *Canada without Armed Forces*. Kingston: Queen's University School of Policy Studies, 2003.

- Blatchford, Christie. *Fifteen Days: Stories of Bravery, Friendship, Life and Death from inside the New Canadian Army*. Toronto: Doubleday, 2007.
- Brewster, Murray. *The Savage War: The Untold Battles of Afghanistan*. Mississauga, ON: Wiley, 2011.
- Brown, Charles H. *Informing the People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957.
- Calic, Marie-Janine. "Kosovo in the Twentieth Century: A Historical Account." In *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur, 19–31. New York: United Nations University Press, 2000.
- Canada. *Dishonored Legacy: The Lessons of the Somalia Affair: The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of the Canadian Forces to Somalia*, vol. 5. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997.
- Canada. *Royal Commission on Newspapers*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1981.
- . *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Guide for Canadians* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983).
- "Canadian contribution." *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999).
- Canadian Press. *Stylebook: A Guide for Writers and Editors*. Toronto: Canadian Press, 1983.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Sartor Resartus; On Heroes and Hero Worship*. London: Dent Dutton, 1965.
- Chahill, Jack. *Words of War*. Toronto: Deneau, 1987.
- Clark, Gen. Wesley K. *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2002.
- Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Translated and edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Clinton, Bill. *My Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.
- Cumming, Carmen, and Catherine McKercher. *The Canadian Reporter: News Writing and Reporting*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994.
- Daalder, Ivan H., and Michael E. O'Hanlon. *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Dancocks, David. *The D-Day Dodgers: The Canadians in Italy, 1943–1945*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.
- Day, Adam. *Witness to War: Reporting on Afghanistan 2004–2009*. Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2010.
- Desbarats, Peter. *Somalia Cover-Up: A Commissioner's Journal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997.
- Donoghue, Jack. *The Edge of War*. Calgary, Detselig, 1988.
- Douglas, W.A.B., and Brereton Greenhous. *Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995.

- Douhet, Giulio. *The Command of the Air*. Translated by Dino Ferrari. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- . *The Command of the Air*. North Stratford, UK: Ayer, 2002.
- Edelman, Murray. *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- . *Political Language: Words that Succeed and Policies that Fail*. New York: Academic Press, 1977.
- . *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence*. Chicago: Markham, 1971.
- Fialka, John J. *Hotel Warriors: Covering the Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1992.
- Fromkin, David. *Kosovo Crossing: American Ideals Meet Reality on the Balkan Battlefields*. New York: The Free Press, 1999.
- Gannon, Kathy. *I Is For Infidel: From Holy War To Holy Terror: 18 Years inside Afghanistan*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2005.
- Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Granatstein, J. L. *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Gray, Colin S. *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Greenhouse, Brereton, et al. *The Crucible of War: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*, vol. 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Hackett, Robert A. *News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1995.
- Haglund, David G., ed. *New NATO, New Century: Canada, the U.S., and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance*. Kingston, ON: Centre for International Relations, 2000.
- Hallam, Henry. *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. 2. London: Alex Murray & Co., 1872.
- Hallin, Daniel C. *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Hallion, Richard P. *Storm over Iraq: Air Power and the Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Haydon, Peter. "The Changing Nature of Canadian Civil Military Relations in the Aftermath of the Cold War." In *The Soldier and the Canadian State: A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations?*, edited by David A. Charters and Brent J. Wilson, 46–64. Proceedings of the Second Annual Conflict Studies Workshop. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, October 1995.
- Hewson, Robert, et al. "Operation Allied Force: The First 30 Days." *World Air Power Journal* 38 (Autumn 1999): 16–29.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. Toronto: Viking Canada, 2000.

- Jomini, Baron de. *The Art of War*. Translated by G. H. Mendell, and W. P. Craighill. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1862.
- Judah, Tim. *Kosovo: War and Revenge*, 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Kan, Paul Rexton. "What Should We Bomb? Axiological Targeting and the Abiding Limits of Airpower Theory." *Air & Space Power Journal* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 25–32.
- Keshen, Jeffrey A. *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996.
- Kesterton, W. H. *A History of Journalism in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.
- Kitfield, James. "Lessons from Kosovo: Bad Things Happen When the Media and the Military Butt Heads Yet Again." *Media Studies Journal* 15, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 34–39.
- Knightley, Phillip, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.
- Lambeth, Benjamin. "Lessons from the War in Kosovo." *Joint Force Quarterly* (Spring 2002): 12–19.
- . *The Transformation of America Airpower*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Liddell Hart, B. H. *Strategy*. 2nd ed. New York: Meridian, 1991.
- Malone, Richard S. *Missing from the Record*. Toronto: Collins, 1946.
- . *A Portrait of War: 1939–1946*. Toronto: Collins, 1983.
- . *A World in Flames: 1944–1945*. Toronto: Collins, 1984.
- Martin, Patrick. "Balkan Rats." *Air Forces Monthly* (November 1999): 56–61.
- McKercher, Catherine. *The Canadian Reporter: News Writing and Reporting*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994.
- Morton, Desmond. *A Military History of Canada*. 3rd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992.
- Munro, Ross. *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army*. Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1946.
- Nicholson, G.W.L. *The Canadians in Italy 1943–1945*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957.
- . *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914–1919: Official History or the Canadian Army in the First World War*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962.
- O'Handy, Kathryn, ed. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1998–1999*. Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group, 1999.
- Remple, Roy. *The Chatter Box: An Insider's Account of the Irrelevance of Parliament in the Making of Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2002.

- Rip, Michael Russell, and James M. Hasik. *The Precision Revolution: GPS and the Future of Aerial Warfare*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003.
- Rosen, Jay. *What Are Journalists for?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Ruvinsky, Maxine. *Investigative Reporting in Canada*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Shy, John. "Jominy." In *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, edited by Peter Paret, 143–85. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Smith, Graeme. *The Dogs are Eating Them Now: Our War in Afghanistan*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2013.
- Stacey, C. P. *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945*. Ottawa: Minister of National Defence, 1974.
- , ed. *Historical Documents of Canada, vol. 5: The Arts of War and Peace*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Stairs, Denis. "The Media and the Military in Canada." *International Journal* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 544–53.
- Stein, Janice Gross, and Eugene Lang. *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*. Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007.
- Stursburg, Peter. *The Sound of War: Memoirs of a CBC Correspondent*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- van Crevald, Martin. *The Transformation of War*. New York: The Free Press, 1991.
- Wijninga, Peter W.W., and Richard Szafranski. "Beyond Utility Targeting: Toward Axiological Air Operations." *Aerospace Power Journal* 14, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 45–59.
- Winter, James. *Democracy's Oxygen: How Corporations Control the News*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1997.

Index

A

Air Force. *See* Royal Canadian Air Force

B

Bagotville, QC. *See* Canadian Forces bases, Bagotville

body bag incidents, 119-20, 128, 130-31, 137-43, 140, 211, 224-25, 235, 254, 255, 258, 266

Britain, 16, 18, 38, 41, 90, 125, 132, 134, 135, 137, 151, 155, 158, 167, 233, 250, 270. *See also* news media outlets, *Times* of London

C

Canada. *See* Canadian Forces bases; Canadian Forces personnel; Canadian news media personnel; *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*; Government of Canada; news media outlets; operational security; Patrol Base Cirillo; public affairs (Canada); Royal Canadian Air Force; Royal Canadian Navy

Canadian Forces bases.

Bagotville, xv, 16, 27, 28, 32, 42-47, 54-55, 57, 59-60, 67, 82, 85, 98-99, 105, 107, 110, 113, 116, 125, 155, 159, 195, 198, 199, 206, 216-17, 221, 222, 238-39, 243-44, 250

Cold Lake, xv, 7, 14, 16, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 41, 48, 57, 59-61, 66-67, 71, 88, 106, 115, 125-26, 133, 139, 159-62, 195, 199, 204, 206, 217, 221, 224, 235, 238, 240, 250, 262

Edmonton, 230

Esquimalt, 138-41

Canadian Forces. *See* Canadian Forces bases; Canadian Forces personnel; operational security; Patrol Base Cirillo; Royal Canadian Air Force; Royal Canadian Navy

Canadian Forces personnel, 6, 118, 152

Baril, Gen. Maurice, 46, 86, 96, 165, 179-80, 238

Barker, Capt. Mike, 16, 60, 62-63, 71-72, 75-76

Brassington, Capt. Travis, iv, 30-31, 61, 64, 80, 103, 114, 118, 161-63, 240

Cirillo, Cpl. Nathan, 267, 268, 269

Davies, Col. Dwight, 151, 154, 156, 159, 163, 165, 172, 182, 218-19, 222, 240-41, 259

Donihee, Lt. Col. Jim, 48-51, 84, 191, 200, 206-7, 244, 249n35

Edelman, Master Cpl John, 67, 70, 73, 75, 77, 243

Faucher, Lt. Col. Sylvain, 14-15, 23-27, 95, 170-71, 180, 191-92, 232, 244

- Flynn, Lt. Col. William Allen, ix, 27-28, 30, 87-89, 105-6, 109-11, 202-4, 224, 237-38, 245, 249
- Glaeser, Capt. Brett, 29-31, 79-82, 112-13, 116-17, 243
- Hébert, Maj. Stéphane, 54, 216-17
- Henault, Lt. Gen. Raymond, xvi, 46, 86, 91, 108, 152-56, 161, 163-65, 176, 179, 224, 230-32, 238, 246, 257-59, 284
- Jurkowski, Brig. Gen. David, 33, 46, 50-52, 91, 108, 164, 179, 188, 200, 211-14, 219, 221, 227, 230, 235, 245, 258-59, 262
- Kendall, Maj. Dave, 126, 133, 224
- Marcotte, Col. Benoît, 40-43, 47-48
- Matthews, Lt. Col. Don, 82-84, 129, 135-36, 139
- McGillivray, Brig. Gen. Ed, 125-26, 139
- McRury, Capt. Neil, 115-16, 117, 206
- Pelletier, Maj./Col. Alain, 13-16, 20-26, 29, 55-56, 81, 106-7, 222
- Savoie, Cpl. Patrick, 47, 49-50, 53, 55, 222
- Sinclair, Capt. Todd, 104
- Soroka, Capt./Lt. Col. Kirk, 18-19, 28, 31-35, 59, 99, 106, 111, 114, 117, 197-98, 240-41, 242-43, 249
- Vincent, WO Patrice, 266, 268-69
- Canadian news media. *See* Canadian news media personnel; news media outlets
- Canadian news media personnel.
- Macdonald, Neil, xvi, 158-59, 169-70, 218
- Malbon, Joy, xvi, 145-46, 150-51, 156-59, 167, 181-87, 189, 236
- Warmington, Joe, 180, 186-88
- Workman, Paul, xvi, 218, 233-34
- York, Geoffrey, xvi, 171, 173-75
- CFB. *See* Canadian Forces bases
- Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, 146, 257-58, 266, 269, 272
- Chrétien, Jean, 2, 7-8, 39, 200, 237-38, 257-58
- Clark, Gen. Wesley, 8, 54, 90-91, 94-95, 103, 154, 156, 176, 178, 187, 190, 216-17, 248, 254-55
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 6, 209, 278n9
- Clinton, Bill, 9, 38, 41, 94, 103
- Cold Lake, AB. *See* Canadian Forces bases, Cold Lake
- D**
- Dandurand, Raoul, 268
- E**
- Edelman, Murray, 3, 142, 257
- Eggleton, Art, 5-8, 59, 71, 105, 152, 155, 160-61, 165, 173, 178-79, 204, 237
- Esquimalt, BC, 119, 124, 128, 130, 134, 138-42, 294n102, 294n109
- G**
- Government of Canada, 247-48
- House of Commons, 5, 42, 54, 86, 122, 125, 128, 152, 266, 267, 272
- Ministers of National Defence. *See* Eggleton, Art; McKnight, William
- official censorship, 5, 11, 123-24, 127, 131-33, 254, 262, 269-72
- Official Opposition, 151
- Prime Ministers. *See* Chrétien, Jean; Harper, Stephen; Mulroney, Brian; Trudeau, Justin
- Granatstein, Jack, 8, 127, 127-28, 263
- H**
- Harper, Stephen, 250, 266, 267, 268
- I**
- Internet threat, 217
- Italy.
- Aviano, xvi, 6, 11-12, 13, 16-18, 26-31, 33-34, 42-57, 59-60, 63-67, 69-73, 75, 77, 81-82, 84-85, 88, 90-93, 95-97, 105-6, 108, 110, 145-46, 150-51, 153-56, 158-61, 163-67, 170-83, 187-90, 192, 197-98, 204, 206, 214, 216-19, 222, 225, 227-28, 231-32, 234-35, 237-39, 241-42, 244, 250-51, 253-60
- Piancavallo, 43, 60-66, 106
- Vicenza, 17, 43, 47, 96, 199
- J**
- Korean War, 2, 8, 146, 241, 242

K

Kosovo, xv-xvi, 1-3, 6-12, 17-18, 21-22, 40-42, 44-46, 52-56, 59, 75-76, 79, 81-82, 84-85, 87-88, 95, 105, 108, 112, 116, 118, 120, 143, 146, 151-52, 162, 165, 167, 171, 173, 179, 192, 196, 200-201, 206, 209, 212, 215, 224, 229, 231, 233-35, 237, 239, 241-43, 247, 250-51, 253-60, 262-64, 265-66, 270, 272, 275n41, 275n43, 287n15, 304n38

M

Maguire, John, 268-69
McKnight, William, 127-28, 135
Milosevic, Slobodan, 2, 6, 8, 10, 17, 41, 94-95, 103-4, 196, 208, 228-29, 237, 265, 281n53
Mulroney, Brian, 83, 125-26, 128

N

Navy. *See* Royal Canadian Navy
news media. *See* body bags; Canadian news media personnel; news media outlets
news media outlets.
Calgary Herald, 162, 221, 265, 294n102
Canadian Press, 127, 129, 134, 147, 155, 177, 221, 227-28, 230-31, 271
CBC, xvi, 147, 151, 155, 158-59, 169, 179, 213, 218, 225, 226, 233-34, 254
CTV, Canada AM, 234
CTV, National News, 146-47, 150, 159, 167, 170, 181, 189, 190, 213, 234
Daily News, The (Halifax), 221, 231-32
Edmonton Journal, The, 159, 162
Gazette, The (Montreal), 231
Globe and Mail, The, xvi, 40-41, 127, 130, 133-35, 138-39, 142, 147, 171, 173, 294n102
National Post, 162
New York Times, The, 154, 215, 229, 306n21
Ottawa Citizen, 155, 162, 221
Times Colonist (Victoria), 140-42, 231
Times of London, 151, 157, 215

Toronto Star, The, 129, 134, 139, 142, 147, 163, 173, 221, 231
Toronto Sun, The, 147, 180, 186-87, 213
Vancouver Sun, The, 40, 119, 138, 141

O

operational security, 11, 121-24, 132, 137, 149-50, 152-54

P

Patrol Base Cirillo, 269
Persian Gulf War, 1991, xvi, 2, 10, 82, 118, 120, 146, 174, 211-12, 259, 278n7.
See also Royal Canadian Air Force operations, Desert Storm, Persian Gulf War, and Friction, Persian Gulf War
Personnel. *See* Canadian Forces personnel; Canadian news media personnel
public affairs (Canada), 120-21, 123-24, 127, 132, 135, 137-39, 147-50, 152, 154-55, 159-60, 165, 170, 174, 177-78, 180-83, 189, 212, 218, 222, 225, 234-36, 254-57, 259-60, 269
command prerogative, 149
personnel
Agnew Lt.Cmdr. (Navy) Jeff, 152, 160, 165, 170, 212
Larsen, Lt./Lt.Cmdr. (Navy) John, 182-83, 185, 189, 218, 225-27, 231, 235
Seguna, Lt. (Navy) Paul, 139-42

R

Royal Canadian Air Force.
aircraft.
C-130, Hercules, 16, 30, 44-45, 238
CC-137, Boeing Tanker, 137
CC-150, Polaris, 47
CF-18, McDonnell Douglas Hornet, 6-7, 13, 15-16, 18, 21-22, 24-25, 27, 29-30, 32, 35, 40-46, 48, 51-52, 54, 56, 59-60, 67, 70-73, 77, 79-80, 82-87, 93-94, 96, 106-9, 111-15, 117-18, 120, 125, 129-31, 133-35, 137, 139, 142-43, 150, 153, 155-57, 159, 161-64, 171-72, 174, 176-79, 181, 183,

- 186-88, 193-94, 200-201, 204-6, 208, 212-13, 215-16, 219, 221, 223, 227, 229, 231-32, 234, 237-38, 240-41, 256, 258, 266, 276n9, 282n25; Forward Looking Infrared, 24, 83, 114, 206; mission computers, 84; radios, 56, 117-18, 209, 227
 - bombs.
 - GBU-10, 105-7, 214, 241
 - GBU-12, 34, 80, 87, 89-91, 105-6, 214, 241, 284n39
 - GBU-24, 87-88, 105, 284n32, 284n39
 - total dropped, 208, 230-32, 241
 - bombing, morality of, 6-10, 77, 195
 - squadrons.
 - 409 Tactical Fighter Squadron, 250
 - 425 Tactical Fighter Squadron, 2, 14, 16, 27, 82, 171, 191, 250
 - 433 Tactical Fighter Squadron, 15-16, 28, 85, 105, 216, 250
 - 441 Tactical Fighter Squadron, 16, 27, 67, 88, 90, 104, 109, 114, 224
 - Camp Patrice Vincent, Dubai, 268-69
 - Canadian Airborne Regiment, 37, 50, 148
 - Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians), 230, 233, 266
 - See also* Canadian Forces bases; Royal Canadian Air Force operations.
 - Royal Canadian Air Force operations.
 - Desert Storm, Persian Gulf War, 88, 120
 - media policy, 122, 136, 160, 182
 - Echo, 2, 42, 44, 46, 66, 89, 96, 163, 227, 230, 234, 235-36, 254-55
 - credit card, 33, 60, 91, 106, 161, 227
 - equipment deficiencies, 2, 44-45, 47, 70-71, 75, 86, 90-91, 105-6, 108-12, 188, 206-9, 227, 239
 - pilots performance, 99, 202-4, 206-8, 199-202, 204, 256
 - pilot training, 13, 16, 22-23, 26, 31-34, 48, 50, 53-54, 81, 83-85, 99, 106, 109-12, 154, 161, 170, 177, 192, 199-200, 202, 204, 206-8, 241, 261-62
 - Friction, Persian Gulf War, 1991, xvi, 2, 10, 82, 118, 120, 146, 174, 211-12, 259, 278n7
 - media policy, 120-23, 131-38, 259
 - pilots' families, 119, 126, 128, 130-31, 138-42, 162, 164, 178, 181, 211, 217, 224, 254-57, 267; Forsythe, Reg, 129; Kendall, Marion, 133, 126, 224; McNeil, Gus, 129
 - Royal Canadian Navy.
 - HMCS *Athabaskan*, 120, 140
 - HMCS *Huron*, 119, 124, 134, 139-42, 295n114
 - HMCS *Preserver*, 124
 - HMCS *Protecteur*, 120
 - HMCS *Restigouche*, 124
 - HMCS *Terra Nova*, 120
- S**
- Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, 66, 215
- T**
- Trudeau, Justin, 4-5
- U**
- United Nations, 38-39, 41, 119, 127, 157, 196, 237, 265
 - United Nations Security Council, 41
 - United States. *See* Clark, Gen. Wesley; Clinton, Bill; news media outlets, *New York Times*, *The*; van Creveld, Martin
- V**
- Vickers, Kevin, 267
- Z**
- Zehaf-Bibeau, Michael, 267, 268

Scattering Chaff is well crafted, deeply researched, and a superb read.

—DAVID TARAS, professor and Ralph Klein Chair
in Media Studies, Mount Royal University

Most Canadians know little, if anything at all, about the role of the Canadian Forces in the 1999 Kosovo Air War. Some of Canada's most prominent journalists attempted to report on the war, but came away virtually empty handed. Daily briefings given at the National Defence Headquarters provided so little information most journalists simply stopped going. The decision of the military to choke Canada's news media was deliberate and based on a tactical and strategic rationale.

Scattering Chaff explores the role of the Canadian Air Force in the Kosovo Air War while examining the military's interference with the news media attempting to report to the Canadian public. It explores the ways in which the military has recognized and attempted to control the media's influence on mission security and public opinion. Drawing on interviews with the war's Canadian participants and a treasure-trove of unpublished documents and photographs, this book is an in-depth investigation of a little-known conflict and the forces that prevented it from being better known.

BOB BERGEN is an adjunct assistant professor at the Centre for Military, Security and Strategic Studies at the University of Calgary. He was a staff writer at *The Albertan* from 1976–1980 and the *Calgary Herald* from 1980–2000. He is the author of *Censorship, The Canadian News Media, and Afghanistan*.



UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press

press.ucalgary.ca