

74 In general, many historians who attempt to discuss the Allied bomber offensive do so without an adequate understanding of the acute operational difficulties – which haunted bomber crews throughout the war – of placing bombs on specific targets in light of weather conditions in northern Europe. Ignorance of these terribly important technological issues was characteristic, too, of the wartime debates over aerial bombing. On this point see Webster and Frankland, *SAOG*, vol. 3, p. 114.

### Chapter 6: *The Post-War Debate*

- 1 H. Blix, 'Area Bombardment: Rules and Reasons', *British Yearbook of International Law*, 49 (1978), p. 57. See too H. McCoubrey and N. White, *International Law and Armed Conflict* (Aldershot, Hants, 1992), pp. 230–4.
- 2 See M. Bothe, K.J. Partsch and W.A. Solf (eds), *New Rules for Victims of Armed Conflicts: Commentary on the Two 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949* (The Hague, 1982); M.A. Meyer (ed.), *Armed Conflict and the New Law: Aspects of the 1977 Geneva Protocols and the 1981 Weapons Convention* (London, 1989); A. Roberts and R. Guelff (eds), *Documents on the Laws of War* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Oxford, 2000), pp. 419–21.
- 3 Bothe, *et al.*, *New Rules*, pp. 280–1.
- 4 Blix, 'Area Bombardment', pp. 37, 54. Blix observed in a footnote that new estimates suggested a death-toll of only 35,000, but that in his view this did not alter the nature of the argument.
- 5 Bombing Restriction Committee, *The End of Dresden* (London, 1945), pp. 3–5.
- 6 G. Best, *War and Law Since 1945* (Oxford, 1994), p. 204. See too R.J. Overy, *Interrogations: The Nazi Elite in Allied Hands, 1945* (London, 2001), p. 433, where Franz von Papen under interrogation compared the bombing of Dresden with the horrors of the concentration camps.
- 7 See E.C. Corwin, 'The Dresden Bombing as Portrayed in German Accounts, East and West', *UCLA Historical Journal*, 8 (1987), pp. 74–5.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 84, citing a book by Karl Dietrich Erdmann and an article by Bernd von Kügelgen.
- 9 *The Irving Judgment: David Irving v. Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt* (London, 2000), p. 271.
- 10 J. Friedrich, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1943–1945* (Munich, 2002), p. 362.

- 11 Introduction to D. Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (London, 1963), pp. 5–6.
- 12 A. McKee, *Dresden 1945: The Devil's Tinderbox* (London, 1982), pp. 10, 13.
- 13 G. Bergander, *Dresden im Luftkrieg: Vorgeschichte – Zerstörung – Folgen* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Munich, 1985), p. 412.
- 14 C. Crane, *Bombs, Cities and Civilians: American Airpower Strategy in World War II* (Lawrence, KS, 1993), p. 117.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 114–17; M.S. Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (New Haven, CT, 1997), pp. 262–3.
- 16 Harris papers, RAF Museum, Hendon, Folder H 9, letter from Harris to Air Vice Marshal Bottomley, 29 March 1945.
- 17 D.D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (London, 1948), p. 73.
- 18 Harris papers, Misc. files, Box A, Folder 4, '100 German Towns of leading economic importance with their key point ratings'.
- 19 A. Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (London, 1947), p. 242.
- 20 S. Cox (ed.), *Despatch on War Operations, 23 February 1942 to 8 May 1945* (London, 1995), p. 31.
- 21 Harris papers, Folder H 136, 'Notes on Bomber Command' (n.d.), pp. 1, 6.
- 22 Maxwell Air Force Base [hereafter cited as Maxwell AFB], USAF HRC K239.046-38, letter from Joseph Angell to Albert Simpson, 3 April 1953, p. 2.
- 23 Maxwell AFB, K239.046-38, 'Historical Analysis of the 14–15 February 1945 Bombings of Dresden', p. 1. I am very grateful to Dr Tami Biddle for supplying me with a copy of this material.
- 24 *Ibid.*, Angell Report, p. 17.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6.
- 26 W.F. Craven and J.L. Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 3, *Europe* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 726–31.
- 27 R.G. Davis, *Carl A. Spatz and the Air War in Europe* (Washington DC, 1992), p. 564.
- 28 C. Webster and N. Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany*, vol. 3 (London, 1961), pp. 107, 113, 117.
- 29 The details of the instructions in the Angell Report, Maxwell AFB, K239.046-38, pp. 9–10, 13.
- 30 Harris, *Bomber Offensive*, p. 242.
- 31 H. Probert, *Bomber Harris: His Life and Times* (London, 2001), pp. 317–19; Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive*, vol. 3, pp. 101–4; Friedrich, *Der Brand*, pp. 74–7.
- 32 F.C. Iklé, *The Social Impact of Bomb Destruction* (Norman, OK, 1958), p. 201.
- 33 Crane, *Bombs, Cities and Civilians*, p. 114.

- 34 Davis, *Carl A. Spatz*, pp. 546–56.  
 35 Maxwell AFB, USAF HRC K239.046-38, letter from Angell to Simpson, p. 2.  
 36 Maxwell AFB, K239.046-38, Angell Report, p. 12.  
 37 Maxwell AFB, letter from Angell to Simpson, p. 2.  
 38 Maxwell AFB, K239.046-38, Angell Report, p. 34.  
 39 Webster and Frankland, *Strategic Air Offensive*, vol. 3, pp. 104–5. It was noted that it was the British representatives who had in fact raised Dresden in discussion with the Russians in the autumn of 1944 in an attempt to persuade the Soviet air force to bomb the city.
- 40 Harris papers, H 136, p. 7.  
 41 Probert, *Bomber Harris*, pp. 319, 327.  
 42 Corwin, 'The Dresden Bombing', p. 75.  
 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 76–7.  
 44 I. Volynsky, *Seven Days* (Moscow, 1979), p. 25.  
 45 Corwin, 'The Dresden Bombing', p. 78.  
 46 *Ibid.*, p. 81.  
 47 Hans Lindemann, 'Das Inferno von Dresden: Vor 40 Jahren ist "Elbflorenz" nicht gestorben', *Deutsche Welle*, 14 Jan. 1985, p. 8.  
 48 McKee, *Dresden, 1945*, p. 321.  
 49 O. Groehler, *Bomberkrieg gegen Deutschland* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 401–2.  
 50 *Ibid.*, p. 404.  
 51 Bergander, *Dresden im Luftkrieg*, pp. 247, 256; this was the figure that von Papen claimed in his interrogation at Nuremberg had been 'killed in one day'. See Overy, *Interrogations*, p. 433.  
 52 *The Irving Judgment*, pp. 272–6.  
 53 Groehler, *Bomberkrieg*, p. 412; Bergander, *Dresden im Luftkrieg*, pp. 256–7; R.J. Evans, *Telling Lies about Hitler: The Holocaust, History, and the David Irving Trial* (London, 2002), p. 184.  
 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 159ff.; *The Irving Judgment*, pp. 272–8; F. Taylor, *Dresden: Tuesday 13 February 1945* (London, 2004), pp. 447–8. However, in a recent set of studies published by the Hamburg Office for Political Education, an article on Dresden simply records that estimates vary between 30,000 and 400,000 without critical comment. See Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Hamburg, *Hamburg und Dresden im Dritten Reich: Bomberkrieg und Kriegsende* (Hamburg, 2000), p. 97.  
 55 Evans, *Telling Lies about Hitler*, pp. 159–60; Blix, 'Area Bombardment', p. 37; see, for example, P. Johnson, *The Withered Garland: Reflections and Doubts of a Bomber* (London, 1995), pp. 232–3.  
 56 *The Irving Judgment*, pp. 270–3.

- 57 Cited in F. Kurowski, *Das Massaker von Dresden und der anglo-amerikanische Bombenterror 1944/1945* (Berg, 1995), p. 124.  
 58 *Ibid.*, pp. 120–1.  
 59 *Ibid.*, p. 156.  
 60 *The Irving Judgment*, p. 271.  
 61 Evans, *Telling Lies about Hitler*, p. 187.  
 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 188–90.  
 63 Blix, 'Area Bombardment', p. 50.  
 64 *Ibid.*, p. 68.  
 65 Meyer, *Armed Conflict and the New Law*, app. 1; G.I. Draper, 'The Implementation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977', in M.A. Meyer and H. McCoubrey (eds), *Reflections on Law and Conflicts: The Selected Works on the Law of War by the late Professor G.I.A.D. Draper* (The Hague, 1998), p. 109.

#### Chapter 7: The Reconstruction of the City's Historic Monuments

- Recent accounts of architectural war damage and reconstruction in Dresden include Anthony Clayton and Alan Russell (eds), *Dresden: A City Reborn* (Oxford, 1999) and W. Jäger and C.A. Brebbia (eds), *The Revival of Dresden* (Southampton and Boston, MA, 2000); earlier studies of what was lost in the 1945 raid include Kurt Schaarschuch, *Bilddokument Dresden 1933–1945* (Dresden, 1947) and Fritz Löffler, *Das Alte Dresden: Geschichte seiner Bauten* (Dresden, 1955).
- Herbert Wagner in the Foreword to Jäger and Brebbia, *The Revival of Dresden*, p. ix. The idea has also been used in connection with Coventry: for instance, in architect Basil Spence's book *Phoenix at Coventry: The Building of a Cathedral* (London, 1962).
- The official line on area bombing is detailed in the four-volume HMSO account by Sir Charles Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany 1939–1945* (London, 1961). On the resulting architectural damage see Nicola Lambourne, *War Damage in Western Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments During the Second World War* (Edinburgh, 2001).
- This is the recent view of F. Reichert in 'The Destruction of Dresden', in Jäger and Brebbia, *The Revival of Dresden*, pp. 3–17. Reichert lists the military and industrial targets in Dresden and points out that the raid of 13–14 February 1945 was not the only significant bombardment of the city – industrial targets and