military, worked in war industries and also worked as government employees, which made them, as I said, legitimate military targets. (29)

Airmen were aware that the deaths of workers, combined with the destruction of their workplace and homes, lessened the odds of their own deaths. Bruce Brittain, DFC, Director of the Normandy Foundation and a squadron leader with 6 Group, stated that when "bombing the Krupps works at Essen... I was conscious of the fact that we were engaged in total war and were fighting for our lives... Down below were huge factories producing guns and bombs with which to kill me. There were no civilians in my consciousness." (30)

The bombing of Hamburg, which *Death by Moonlight* holds up as the ultimate example of Bomber Command's brutal tactics, must ultimately be seen in this context. The film neglects to tell its viewers that Hamburg was a shipbuilding centre where much of the German submarine fleet was being constructed. As a major industrial city, it was a legitimate target. The Americans bombed the submarine factories and heavy industry south of the River Elbe, while Bomber Command went after the residential area north of the river where many workers lived and some factories were located. The aim of both air forces was the same: to destroy the city's contribution to the German war effort. Albert Speer, Hitler's Minister of Armaments and Munitions, was astounded by the devastation, but as it turned out, the damage caused by the raid was quickly repaired by gangs of labourers drawn from the thousands of workers diverted from offensive operations. (32)

THE BOMBER OFFENSIVE AS FAILURE?

In *Death by Moonlight*, the viewer is informed that the contribution of the bomber offensive to Allied victory was negligible. Civilian morale never cracked and German war production continued to rise well into 1944. The bombing of Germany, the film-makers insist, was an utter failure.

To be sure, Bomber Command, which sapped 25% of Britain's war effort, "never achieved the grand goals subscribed to by its authors." (33) If one judges the bomber offensive solely by Arthur Harris' standards - that it alone would win the war - then indeed it was a

⁽²⁹⁾ Proceedings, 3:14.

⁽³⁰⁾ Proceedings, 9:100.

⁽³¹⁾ See the testimony of John Bates, Proceedings, 4:22.

⁽³²⁾ See the testimony of Robert Maxwell, DFC, Proceedings, 7:96.

⁽³³⁾ C.G. Gifford, Proceedings, 9:106.