CHAPTER 27
WAR AND PEACE

Carnes/Garraty
THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR

- Attempt to resolve American differences with Japan in the spring of 1941 was defeated by Cordell Hull’s unwillingness to lift American trade restrictions in exchange for Japanese withdrawal from China and promise not to invade French and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia.

- After Germany invaded the USSR, Japan decided to occupy French Indochina.
  - July 1941: FDR froze Japanese assets in the United States and embargoed oil.

- Led to assumption of power in Japan by ultranationalist war party.
  - Japan would halt expansion if U.S. and Britain agreed to cut off all aid to China and lift economic blockade.
  - Japan would pull out of Indochina upon establishment of “just peace”
THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR

- When U.S. rejected the demands, Japan prepared to assault the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, and the Philippines
  - Planned surprise aerial raid on U.S. Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor
  - Japanese diplomatic code had been broken, and it was clear that Japan was making plans to attack in early December
    - Military and civilian authorities failed to pay attention to information in hectic rush
    - Expected blow to fall in Southeast Asia, maybe the Philippines
THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR

- Warned to prepare for a Japanese aggressive move, the commanders of Pearl Harbor, convinced they were invulnerable to attack, only took precautions against sabotage.

- Japanese planes, launched from aircraft carriers attacked on the morning of December 7, 1941.

PEARL HARBOR, HAWAII: A small boat rescues a seaman from the burning 31,800-ton USS West Virginia.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [reproduction number LC-USW33-018433-C DLC (b&w film neg.)]
THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR

In less than two hours
- Destroyed two battleships
- Heavily damaged six others
- Put nearly a dozen smaller vessels out of action
- Wrecked more than 150 planes
- Killed over 2,300 soldiers and sailors
- Wounded 1,100
- December 8: Congress declared war on Japan
  - December 11: Germany and Italy declared war on U.S.

PEARL HARBOR BOMBING: California hit
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection
[reproduction number LC-USE6-D-007400 DLC (b&w film neg.)]
MOBILIZING THE HOME FRONT

- WWII put immense strains on the American economy and produced immense results
  - 15 million men and women entered the armed services
  - Congress granted the president wide emergency powers
  - Democrats retained slim margins of control in both houses of Congress, and a conservative coalition from both parties often prevented the president from getting his way
MOBILIZING THE HOME FRONT

- FDR chose to pay for a large part of the war by collecting taxes rather than borrowing
  - Based taxes on ability to pay
- Rationed scarce raw materials and consumer goods
- Regulated prices and wages
- Inspired industrialists, workers, and farmers with a sense of national purpose
MOBILIZING THE HOME FRONT

Comparative statistics

- GNP: 1939—$91.3 billion; 1945—$166.6 billion
- Manufacturing output doubled, and agricultural output rose 22 percent
- In 1939 the U.S. turned out fewer than 6,000 planes but by 1944 produced more than 96,000
- In 1939 shipyards produced 237,000 tons but produced 10 million tons by 1943

Longing Won`t Bring Him Back Sooner . . . Get a War Job!
by Lawrence Wilbur, 1944

Printed by the Government Printing Office for the War Manpower Commission NARA Still Picture Branch (NWDNS-44-PA-389)
MOBILIZING THE HOME FRONT

- Growth was especially notable in South and Southwest
  - Got a preponderance of new army camps and large share of new defense plants
  - Southern productive capacity increased by 50 percent
  - Southern per capita output crept near national average

- Keynesian economics work
  - 8 million people were unemployed in June 1940 but there was practically no unemployment after Pearl Harbor
  - By 1945 civilian workforce had increased by 7 million
  - By December 1941, 1.6 million men were already in arms
THE WAR ECONOMY

By early 1943 nation’s economic machinery had been converted to wartime footing

- Justice James F. Byrnes headed the Office of War Mobilization with complete control over priorities and prices
- Rents, food, prices, and wages were strictly controlled
- Items in short supply were rationed

- Labor shortage increased bargaining power of workers
  - FDR created National War Labor Board (NWLB) to arbitrate disputes and stabilize wage rates
  - Banned all changes in wages without NWLB approval
THE WAR ECONOMY

- War had more to do with institutionalizing collective bargaining than New Deal
  - Workers flocked to unions
- No strikes but some crippling work stoppages occurred
  - May 1943 when mine workers walked out, government seized coal mines
  - Congress passed, over FDR veto, Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, which gave the president power to take over any war plant threatened by a strike and outlawed strikes in seized plants
  - Loss of hours of labor zoomed to 38 million in 1945
THE WAR ECONOMY

- Wages and prices remained in fair balance
- Overtime work fattened paychecks
- New stress in labor contracts on paid vacations, premium pay for night work and various forms of employer subsidized health insurance
- War effort had almost no effect on standard of living of average American
  - Manufacture of automobiles ceased and pleasure driving became next to impossible

*When You Ride Alone You Ride With Hitler!*
by Weimer Pursell, 1943
Printed by the Government Printing Office for the Office of Price Administration
NARA Still Picture Branch
(NWDNS-188-PP-42)
THE WAR ECONOMY

- Because of the need to conserve cloth, skirts were shortened, cuffs disappeared from men’s trousers, and vests passed out of style.
- Plastics replaced metals in toys, containers, and other products.
- Rationed goods, such as meat, sugar, and shoes, were doled out in amounts adequate for needs of most persons.
- Federal government spent twice as much money between 1941 and 1945 as in its entire previous history.
  - National debt was less than $49 billion in 1941 but increased by that amount every year between 1942 and 1945, totaling nearly $260 billion at the end of the war.
  - More than 40 percent of the total was met by taxation—larger percent than in any earlier war.
THE WAR ECONOMY

- Taxation helped prevent inflation
  - Heavy excise taxes on amusements and luxuries further discouraged spending, as did war bond campaigns
  - High taxes on incomes (up to 94 percent) and on excess profits (95 percent) together with a limit of $25,000 a year after taxes on salaries convinced people that no one was profiting inordinately from the war
THE WAR ECONOMY

- Income tax extended down to nearly everyone
  - To collect small sums, Congress adopted payroll deduction
- Taxes combined with increase in incomes of farmers and workers resulted in a substantial shift in the distribution of wealth in the U.S.
  - Wealthiest 1 percent had received 13.4 percent of national income in 1935 and 11.5 percent in 1941 but only 6.7 percent in 1944
WAR AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Never was the population more fluid

- Millions in uniforms found themselves transported to training camps in every section of country and then overseas
- Burgeoning new defense plants, usually located in uncongested areas
- Trend was from east to west and from rural south to northern cities
  - Population in California increased 50 percent in the 1940s
- Marriage rate rose steeply from 75 women per thousand in 1939 to 118 per thousand in 1946
  - Population had increased by only 3 million during the 1930s but increased by 6.5 million in next 5 years
Several factors helped improve the lots of African Americans

- Own growing tendency to demand fair treatment
- Reaction by Americans to Nazi treatment of Jews
- How could treat African Americans as second class citizens and expect them to fight for democracy?

Blacks in armed forces were treated more fairly than they had been in WWI

- Enlisted for first time in air force and marines
- Given more responsible positions
- Army commissioned first black general
- 600 black pilots earned their wings
- About a million blacks served, about half of them overseas
MINORITIES IN TIME OF WAR: Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians

- Segregation in the armed services was maintained
  - Led to rioting and even local mutinies among black recruits
  - Navy continued to confine black and Hispanic sailors to demeaning, noncombat jobs
  - Black soldiers were often provided with inferior recreation facilities
Economic realities operated significantly to the advantage of black civilians
- More had been unemployed in proportion to their numbers than any other group
- More than 5 million blacks moved from rural areas to cities between 1940 and 1945 in search of work
- At least one million found defense jobs in the North and on the west coast
- Black population of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and half a dozen other large industrial cities more than doubled in size
  - Forced to leave in dreadful urban ghettos
  - But concentration and ability of blacks to vote outside the South made these districts politically important
MINORITIES IN TIME OF WAR:
Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians

- NAACP increased membership from 50,000 in 1940 to almost 405,000 in 1946
  - Became more militant
  - Marched on Washington in 1941 to demand equal opportunity for black workers
  - Roosevelt issued an order prohibiting discrimination in plants with defense contracts
- In areas around defense plants white resentment of black “invasion” increased
  - By 1943, 50,000 new blacks had arrived in Detroit
  - Wave of strikes struck as white workers protested hiring of blacks
  - JUNE: race riot marked by looting, and bloody fighting raged for three days, cost 25 blacks and 9 whites their lives and had to be stopped by federal troops
  - Rioting erupted in New York and other cities
MINORITIES IN TIME OF WAR: Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians

- In Los Angeles, attacks were aimed at Hispanic residents
  - Larger proportion of Mexican American men served in the armed forces than the national average
  - Some young Hispanics had adopted civilian dress known as “zoot suits”
  - 1943: rioting between sailors on shore leave and Zoot suiters erupted
- Willingness of white leaders to tolerate attacks on blacks and Hispanics angered many
  - FDR felt militants should shelve their demands until after the war
- War sparked a move against encouraging Indians to preserve their ancient cultures and develop self-government
- 24,000 Indians served in armed forces and thousands more left reservations to work in defense industries
THE TREATMENT OF GERMAN AND ITALIAN AMERICANS

- WWII produced less intolerance and fewer examples of the repression of individual freedom of opinion than WWI
- Few Italian Americans or German Americans supported Mussolini and Hitler
  - Both groups were well organized and prepared to use their considerable political power if necessary to protect themselves from abuse
- U.S. government did arrest 14,000 Germans and Italians as security risks
- Nation’s 100,000 conscientious objectors met with little hostility
INTERNMENT OF THE JAPANESE

- General DeWitt, in charge of the west coast, declared the Japanese race to be an enemy race
- 112,000 Americans of Japanese descent, the majority of them native born citizens, were told to relocate to internment camps
  - Gordon Hirabayashi, who refused to report to internment center, was arrested and convicted
  - Supreme Court upheld the conviction in June 1943
  - December 1944 in *Ex parte Endo*, court forbade the internment of loyal Japanese American citizens

Santa Anita reception center, Los Angeles, California
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection [reproduction number LC-USF33-013300-M5 DLC (b&w film neg.)]
Japanese Relocation from the West Coast, 1942–1945
WOMEN’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

- By 1944, 6.5 million additional women had entered the work force
  - At peak of war production in 1945, more than 19 million women were employed, many in well paying industrial jobs
  - 100,000 were serving in Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps while others were in navy, marine and air corps auxiliaries
- Initially, one husband in three objected in principle to his wife taking a job
- Many employers in traditionally male dominated industries doubted women could handle the work
- Usually unions had the same views
WOMEN’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

- Demand for labor, cheaper pay to women, and fact they were not subject to the draft increasingly helped employers overcome their objections

- Why take jobs?
  - Patriotism
  - Excitement
  - Desire for independence
  - Loneliness
WOMEN’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

- Black women had a harder time finding jobs but, as demand for labor grew, even they wound up on assembly lines
- Women still had to do housework
  - Detroit defense plants figured they lost 100,000 woman hours a month when women took a day off to do family laundry
  - Never enough day care facilities, which limited the number of women with small children who could work
- Women who did not work were still affected
  - Often moved so husbands could be near war work
  - Encountered cramped quarters, new surroundings and other challenges
WOMEN’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

- Newly married wives of soldiers and sailors often followed their husbands to training camps
  - Double standard for sexual infidelity
  - Rise in divorce rate from 170 per thousand in 1941 to 310 per thousand in 1945
- Regular housewives also had burdens
  - Victory gardens
  - Public transportation
  - Mending and patching old clothes
  - Salvage drives
  - Volunteer work
ALLIED STRATEGY: Europe First

- War going badly at end of 1941
  - Japanese were advancing in East Asia
  - Hitler’s troops were preparing to attack Stalingrad
  - German divisions under General Rommel were driving across North Africa toward the Suez Canal
  - U-Boats were taking a heavy toll in the North Atlantic
- Decided to concentrate on Germans first
  - Japan’s conquests were in remote and relatively unimportant regions
  - If Soviet Union surrendered, Germany might become invincible
- Debate over tactics
  - U.S. wanted second front in France
  - Soviets wanted it even sooner
  - British were more concerned with protecting their overseas possessions and advocated air bombardment of German industry combined with attempt to drive Germans out of North Africa
ALLIED STRATEGY: Europe First

- Summer 1942: Allied planes began bombing German cities in a crescendo that escalated through 1944
  - Did not destroy German army’s capacity to fight but did hamper war production
  - Brought the war home to the German people

- November 1942: Allied army under General Dwight Eisenhower attacked North Africa
  - Vichy French collaborationist government under Admiral Jean Darlan made a deal with Eisenhower to surrender
  - Angered Free French leader Charles DeGaulle
  - Darlan deal allowed Eisenhower to press forward against Nazis
ALLIED STRATEGY: Europe First

- February 1943: standoff between American and German troops at Kasserine Pass
  - British closed from east
  - Germans surrendered in May after Rommel had been recalled
- July 1943 Allies invaded Sicily
  - Air attacks against Germany continued
  - Russians pushed Germans back from Stalingrad
- September: Allies advanced to Italian mainland
  - Mussolini had fallen from power and successor surrendered
  - Germans continued to resist with Monte Cassino, halfway between Naples and Rome, not falling until May 1944
  - Rome fell in June
GERMANY OVERWHELMED

- June 6, 1944: D-Day—Allied forces hit the beaches of Normandy at five points, supported by planes and paratroopers
  - Within a few weeks, a million Allied troops were on French soil
- August 1944: American Third Army under General Patton moved southward into Brittany and then toward Paris
- Another Allied army invaded France from the Mediterranean in mid-August and advanced north
- August 25: Free French troops liberated Paris
  - British and Canadian troops cleared Belgium a few days later
GERMANY OVERWHELMED

- Mid-September: Allies on edge of Germany
  - Allies had complete control of air and 20 times more tanks
  - Pressure of advancing Russians made it difficult for Germans to reinforce their troops in the West
- Germans launched a counterattack on December 16 against the Allied forces in the Ardennes Forest
  - Germans hoped to split Allied armies in two
  - Drove a 50 mile bulge into Belgium
  - By January 1945 line had been reestablished
  - Cost U.S. 77,000 in casualties and delayed Eisenhower’s offensive but also exhausted German reserves
- Allies pressed forward to the Rhine
  - Won a bridgehead on the far bank of the river on March 7, 1945
  - Thereafter a German city fell almost every day
GERMANY OVERWHELMED

- April 1945: Americans and Soviets met at the Elbe River
  - A few days later Hitler committed suicide
  - May 8: Germans surrendered
- As Americans drove forward, began to liberate concentration camps
  - Americans were horrified, even though word of deaths of Jews had reached Americans much earlier
  - Originally discounted as propaganda, by 1943 the truth could not be denied
- Nonetheless, U.S. did nothing
  - FDR refused to bomb Auschwitz or the rail lines to it
  - Destruction of German soldiers and equipment took precedence
  - Journalist reports resulted in a storm of protest in U.S.
THE NAVAL WAR IN THE PACIFIC

- While preparing for European struggle, Americans worked to maintain vital communications in East Asia and to prevent further Japanese expansion
  - Navy’s aircraft carriers were not destroyed at Pearl Harbor
  - Important because air power from ships was the most effective weapon against other ships

- May 1942: Battle of the Coral Sea
  - Japanese attempt to cut off Australia
  - While an American carrier and two other ships were lost, Japanese were forced to turn back due to air attacks
Admiral Yamamoto decided to force American fleet into a showdown at Midway Islands, west of Hawaii.

- Between June 4 and June 7, 1942, American dive bombers sank four Japanese carriers.
- 300 Japanese planes were destroyed.
- U.S. lost only one carrier and a destroyer.
- Initiative in the Pacific shifted to the Americans.
THE NAVAL WAR IN THE PACIFIC

- General Douglas MacArthur was in command of American troops in the Philippines when the Japanese attacked in December 1941
  - While MacArthur was evacuated after attempting to defend Manila and Bataan Peninsula, much of his army was captured and endured horrific conditions
- MacArthur was determined to retake the Philippines
  - MacArthur led a drive from New Guinea toward the Philippines
  - Admiral Nimitz led a second drive through the Central Pacific toward Tokyo
Before Americans could begin island hopping strategy, had to remove Japanese from Solomon Islands

- August 1942: series of air, land, and sea battles raged around Guadalcanal Island
- Airpower was decisive, though ground troops who took the island were vital
  - American pilots were better trained
  - U.S. planes were tougher
  - Inflicted losses five to six times heavier than sustained
- Guadalcanal secured by February 1943
ISLAND HOPPING

- Autumn 1943: American drives toward Japan and Philippines began
  - Guadalcanal action was repeated on smaller but equally bloodier scale from Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands to Kwajelein and Eniwetok in the Marshalls
    - Japanese soldiers had dug in and they fought for every inch of ground
  - By midsummer 1944, Americans had taken Saipan and Guam in the Marianas
    - Land based bombers were now within range of Tokyo
ISLAND HOPPING

- October 1944: MacArthur landed on Leyte, south of Luzon, in the Philippines
- Two great naval battles completed the destruction of Japan’s sea and air power
  - June 1944: Battle of Philippine Sea
  - October 1944: Battle for Leyte Gulf
- Japanese air force reduced to use of kamikaze suicide pilots
- February 1945: MacArthur liberated Manila
- B-29 bombers rained high explosives and fire bombs on Japan
  - March 1945: Iwo Jima fell
  - June 1945: Okinawa fell
BUILDING THE ATOM BOMB

- November 1944, FDR had been elected to fourth term, defeating Thomas E. Dewey
  - Running mate was not Henry Wallace but Senator Harry S Truman of Missouri
- April 1945: Franklin Delano Roosevelt died
- July: scientists informed Truman that the atomic bomb worked
BUILDING THE ATOM BOMB

- May 1943: Manhattan project had been started
  - Hanford, Washington: plutonium
  - Oak Ridge, Tennessee: uranium 235
  - Los Alamos, New Mexico: construction of bomb under direction of Robert J. Oppenheimer
- July 16, 1945: bomb, with a destructive force of 20,000 tons of TNT, successfully exploded at Alamogordo, New Mexico

- Should the bomb be used against Japan?
  - Could end the war sooner and save American lives
August 6, 1945: *Enola Gay* dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, population 344,000
- 78,000 killed (including 20 American prisoners of war)
- 100,000 injured
- 96 percent of buildings were destroyed or damaged

August 9, 1945: second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki

August 15, 1945: Japan surrendered
BUILDING THE ATOM BOMB

- About 20 million people died
  - American casualties were smaller than others
    - 291,000 battle deaths
    - 671,000 wounded
  - Soviets: 7.5 million died in battle
  - Germans: 3.5 million
  - Japanese: 1.2 million
  - Chinese: 2.2 million
  - Britain and France, with much smaller populations, suffered casualties similar to those of U.S.

- U.S. isolationism was over
- Technological developments seemed to herald a good future
  - Advances in planes and development of radar
  - Improvements in surgery and medicine
  - Development of antibiotics
  - Power of the atom

- June 1945: United Nations charter signed in San Francisco
WARTIME DIPLOMACY

- During the war, American propaganda aimed to persuade Americans that Soviets were fighting America’s battle as well as their own.
  - Communist leaders were described as “able, strong men” with “honest convictions and integrity of purposes” who were “devoted to peace.”
  - Many American leaders took strong pro-Soviet views.
  - American newspapers and magazines published laudatory articles about Russia.
WARTIME DIPLOMACY

- Soviets repeatedly expressed a willingness to cooperate with the Allies in dealing with postwar problems
  - Signed the Declaration of the United Nations (January 1942) in which Allies promised to eschew territorial aggrandizements after the war, to respect the right of all peoples to determine their own form of government, to work for freer trade and international economic cooperation and to force the disarmament of aggressor nations
- May 1943 Soviet Union dissolved the Comintern
- October 1943 at Moscow conference, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov helped set up the European Advisory Commission to divide Germany into occupation zones after the war
WARTIME DIPLOMACY

- Between August and October 1944, Allied representatives met at Dumbarton Oaks
  - Soviets opposed limiting use of veto by great powers in UN but did not take a constructionist position
- February 1945: at Yalta Conference, Stalin joined FDR and Churchill in their call for a meeting in April to draft UN charter
  - Every nation got seat in General Assembly
  - Real power was in Security Council composed of five permanent members (U.S., U.S.S.R., France, Britain and China) and six others elected for two-years
ALLIED SUSPICION OF STALIN

- How does one interpret Soviet system?
  - Was it bent on world domination?
  - Having suffered severe damage during the war, was it only interested in self-protection?

- Soviets clearly resented British-American delay in opening a second front

- Stalin was always clear that intended to protect the U.S.S.R. post-war by extending its western border
  - Warned Allies repeatedly that would not accept unfriendly governments along his border
Most Allied leaders admitted during the war, at least privately, that Soviet Union would annex territory and have a preponderance of power in Eastern Europe after Germany’s defeat.

Believed free governments could somehow be created in countries like Poland and Bulgaria that Soviets would trust and leave alone.

Polish question was difficult.

British felt obligated to restore pre-war independence.

Polish government in exile was in London and was determined not to make concessions to Soviets.

Public opinion in Poland was anti-Russian.
YALTA AND POTSDAM

- At the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to Soviet annexation of large sections of eastern Poland
  - Demanded free elections be held in Poland itself
  - Elections were never held
  - Stalin could not see why Americans and British were upset, especially as Americans dominated many Latin American nations and supported unpopular regimes there
YALTA AND POTS DAM

July 1945: Potsdam Conference—Harry Truman, Stalin, Churchill

- Agreed to try Nazi leaders as war criminals
- Made plans for exacting reparations from Germany
- Confirmed the division of the country into four zones to be occupied separately by American, Soviet, British, and French troops
  - Berlin, deep in Soviet zone, was also divided
- Stalin rejected all arguments that he loosen his grip on Eastern Europe
  - Truman, who had received news of successful atomic test, refused to make any concessions
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Roosevelt prohibits discrimination in defense plants (Fair Employment Practices Committee)</td>
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<td>Japan attacks Pearl Harbor</td>
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<td>Roosevelt and Churchill draft Atlantic Charter</td>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>Executive Order 9066 sends Japanese Americans to relocation camps</td>
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<td>Japanese take Philippines</td>
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<td>Carrier-based planes dominate Battle of Coral Sea</td>
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<td>U.S. firepower takes control of central Pacific at Battle of Midway</td>
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<td>U.S. troops invade North Africa</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Oppenheimer directs Manhattan Project to make atom bomb</td>
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<td>Race riots rage in Detroit and Los Angeles</td>
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<td>Allies invade Italy</td>
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<td>Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin meet at Tehran, Iran</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Allies invade Normandy, France (D-Day)</td>
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<td>Battle of the Bulge exhausts German reserves</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Big Three meet at Yalta Conference</td>
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<td>Fifty nations draft UN Charter at San Francisco</td>
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<td>Roosevelt dies; Truman becomes president</td>
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<td>Germany surrenders (V-E Day)</td>
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<td>United States tests atom bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico</td>
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<td>Truman, Churchill, Stalin meet at Potsdam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>United States drops atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan</td>
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<td>Japan surrenders (V-J Day)</td>
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WEBSITES

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt
  http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/fdroosevelt.html
- America from the Great Depression to World War II: Photographs from the FSA and OWI, c. 1935-1945
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