

## Why a Second World War? The Failure of Peace

#### Overview

Students will study various agreements between American and European countries to ensure peace after World War I and evaluate their effectiveness. Students begin by studying a political cartoon of the Versailles treaty and learn how the treaty was viewed as a threat to world peace and stability shortly after it was signed. Students then examine various attempts by the United States and Europe at avoiding another world war. Students will demonstrate what they have learned and teach their classmates through a "living political cartoon" activity.

## North Carolina Essential Standards for World History

- WH.7.1 -Evaluate key turning points of the modern era in terms of their lasting impact
- WH.7.2 -Analyze the increase in economic and military competition among nations in terms of
- the influences of nationalism, imperialism, militarism, and industrialization
- WH.7.3 -Analyze economic and political rivalries, ethnic and regional conflicts, and nationalism and imperialism as underlying causes of war
- WH.8.1 -Evaluate global wars in terms of how they challenged political and economic power structures and gave rise to new balances of power
- WH.8.2 -Explain how international crisis has impacted international politics

#### **Materials**

- Image of Treaty of Versailles Political Cartoon (attached).
  - Online version can be found here:
    <a href="http://www.schoolhistory.co.uk/year9links/riseofhitler/versailles-cannonfodder.jpg">http://www.schoolhistory.co.uk/year9links/riseofhitler/versailles-cannonfodder.jpg</a>
- Items for the Living Political Cartoon Demo
  - o 2' x 1' piece of paper with "Peace and Future Cannon Fodder" written on it
  - o 2' x 1' piece of paper with "The Tiger: Curious I seem to hear a child weeping!" written on it
  - o A piece of computer paper with the words "Peace Treaty" written on them
  - o A piece of computer paper with the words "1940 Class" written on them
- Attempts at Peace Handouts (attached)
  - o League of Nations
  - o Washington Naval Conference
  - o Dawes Plan
  - o Treaty of Locarno
  - o Kellogg-Briand Pact
  - o Appeasement
- Materials to create props for living cartoon: paper, construction paper, markers, pens, colored pencils.
- Costume pieces such as suit jackets, ties, hats, canes, etc. (optional)
- Camera (optional)
- Textbook (optional)
- Books about the interwar period (optional)

## **Essential Questions:**

- How was the Versailles Treaty viewed at the time of its signing?
- What steps did Europe and the United States take to ensure peace?
- Why did these attempts at peace ultimately fail?

### Duration

One 90 minute class period (This lesson can be extended to a second day in order to give students time to gather props for the "Living Political Cartoon" activity if desired by the teacher.)

### **Student Preparation**

Students should be familiar with World War I, the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on European relations, and the rise of fascism in Europe.

## Procedure

### Warm Up: Treaty of Versailles

- 1. As a warm up, write "Treaty of Versailles" at the top of a piece of chart paper or on the board. Ask a student to act as the scribe. Solicit information from the class about the Treaty of Versailles (What do they remember? Who did it involve? What were its effects etc.?) while the scribe records student responses on the paper.
- 2. Next, project the attached political cartoon "Peace and Future Cannon Fodder" about the Treaty of Versailles and instruct students to spend a few minutes silently viewing it, while making note of anything that jumps out at them. After the allotted time, pose the following questions to the class:
  - What is the purpose of a political cartoon?
    - o To convey an idea or event using people, symbols and images rather than words.
  - Can you identify any of the figures in the image?
    - o David Lloyd George, Vittorio Orlando, Woodrow Wilson, and Georges Clemenceau "The Big Four" that signed the Treaty of Versailles and an unknown baby.
  - What objects can you identify?
    - o Peace Treaty
  - What do you notice about the figures? Are they leaving or entering the building? What does that tell you about them?
    - They're leaving the building because they think their work on the peace treaty is done.
  - What does the title imply?
    - o That the leaders have made a peace that will eventually lead to another war.
  - What does the caption say and what is it referring to? Who is the "tiger"? Do you think they notice the baby?
    - o "Curious I seem to hear a child weeping." It is referring to the crying baby off to the side.
    - o The Tiger refers to Georges Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister.
- 3. At this point, inform students that this cartoon was drawn in 1920, two years after the end of World War I and one year after the signing of the Versailles Treaty, which officially ended the war and determined the fate of post-war Germany.
  - What does it say above the baby? When someone says you're the "class of...", what does that usually refer to?

- o In this case, 1940 Class.
- o Usually it refers to a high school or college graduation year.
- How old will the baby be in 1940? Why is this significant?
  - o The baby will be approximately 20 years old in 1940, which is old enough to fight a war.
- Why is the baby weeping? How is the weeping baby connected to the title?
  - The baby just read the peace treaty (at his feet) and is weeping because he knows that it will not prevent war and he'll be fighting in that war when he's older.
- What is the purpose of the cartoon? Do you think it's effective at conveying its message?
- 4. Before moving onto the next activity, write the following quote about the Versailles Treaty from David Lloyd George the British Prime Minister who negotiated the Treaty and discuss the questions below:

"We shall have to fight another war again in 25 years time."

- Coupled with the cartoon, what does this tell you about the Treaty?
- If people knew at the time that the treaty was ineffective or would lead to another war, why do you think no one changed it?
- Do you think some countries took any other steps to try to ensure peace after World War I?

## What Steps Did the World Take to Prevent War?

- 5. Inform students that Europe and the United States did take steps after World War I to prevent another horrible world war. Unfortunately, those steps were not successful. Inform students that they are going to be assigned a topic related to peace keeping after World War I and they're going to have to teach their classmates about the attempt at peace and why it failed by creating a living political cartoon.
- 6. Divide students into groups of 3 5 and then provide each group one of the following attached topic sheets Appeasement, Kellogg-Briand Pact, League of Nations, Locarno Pact, Dawes Plan, and Washington Naval Conference. A topic may be assigned to more than one group; however, the groups with the same topic may not work together.
- 7. Once groups are seated together, hand out the attached instructions and assign each student in the group one of the following roles (if necessary, assign the same role to more than one student or combine roles for smaller groups.)
  - **Scribe** The scribe writes down the answers to the groups' questions and writes any captions that are included in the living cartoon.
  - **Cartoonist** The cartoonist draws the political cartoon.
  - **Prop master** The prop master creates any props that are used in the living cartoon. For example, if your cartoon includes someone holding a hammer, create one out of paper or use other objects from the classroom to mimic a hammer.
  - **Project Director** The project director assures that everyone is on task, keeps track of time remaining, and assists the other members of the group in completing their tasks.

Continue through the assignment details with the class, allowing students to ask questions.

- 8. To demonstrate what a living political cartoon looks like, invite 5 students up to the front of the room and project the warm up cartoon. Assign each student a figure from the cartoon and instruct them to mimic their assigned figure. For added realism, provide a student with a prop (yard stick as a cane, etc.). Place the pieces of paper with the cartoon captions in the appropriate places so it reflects the original cartoon. The students should hold their places for a few minutes while the rest of the class can view and discuss the living, 3-dimensional political cartoon in front of them. Point out to students that the presentations are silent; all they have to do is get into position, post the captions, and (hopefully) let their living political cartoon speak for itself. Also, proactively discuss a few issues that may come up as students work on their cartoons:
  - What are the differences between the political cartoon and the living version?
  - Do you think you would be able to determine the message of the living political cartoon if you hadn't seen the original cartoon?
  - How might you reconcile the fact that your classmates don't look like any of the "Big Four" leaders?
    - Create a nametag; create a prop that is associated with a particular person (e.g. Stars and Stripes hat for Uncle Sam).
  - None of you are babies (although you may act like them sometimes!), so how would you convey to the audience that insert student's name is playing a baby?
    - o Give him a rattle to hold, write a sign that says "baby", etc.
- 9. Thank the volunteer students for their time and allow them to return to their seats.
- 10. Provide students with markers, pens, pencils, construction paper, computer paper and any other items that they can use to create props for their cartoons. Students may also use their textbooks for additional information.
- 11. Allow students approximately 20-30 minutes to work on their projects. Circulate throughout the room to ensure students are on task and to answer any questions that may arise. To keep track of the remaining time, project an online timer a free timer is available at <a href="http://www.online-stopwatch.com/">http://www.online-stopwatch.com/</a>.

## Living, Breathing Politics

- 12. After the allotted time, provide each student with a "Keeping the Peace" notes sheet to complete while viewing the living political cartoons. Before students present their drawn cartoons and living cartoons, review expected behavior while viewing the presentations. Sample expectations may include:
  - Do not discuss your presentations while other groups are presenting.
  - No disparaging comments made about a group's cartoon.
  - If something about the cartoon is unclear, ask!
- 13. Instruct the groups to present chronologically League of Nations (1919), Washington Naval Conference (1922), Dawes Plan (1924), Locarno Treaties (1925), Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), Appearement (1930's). The groups should use the following presentation format:
  - First, tell the audience the title of your topic. ("Our group is presenting on the League of Nations...")
  - Then, present the drawn political cartoon to the class.
  - Next, group members should create their "living political cartoon" and stay frozen.

- Allow the audience to view the living political cartoon for a minute. The teachers should then facilitate discussion while the political cartoon is frozen in place. For example:
  - o Can you identify any famous figures in the cartoon? If so, who?
  - o What are some important symbols you notice? What do they mean?
  - o Is there a part of the living cartoon that you find to be unclear?
  - o What do you think the cartoon means?
- After soliciting answers from the audience, allow the presenting group to clarify any information that is confusing to the audience. If there is still confusion, ask the presenting group to give a short summary of their topic to answer any questions.

**Teacher Note:** If you have a camera, take pictures of the "Living Political Cartoons" and attach them to the drawn political cartoons. Post them in the room or a public space in the school to display student work.

## 14. Debrief the lesson by discussing:

- Why were most of the attempts at securing peace thwarted?
- Do you ever hear the word "appeasement" today? If so, in what context?
- Can you think of any recent attempts to keep peace between warring factions? Were they effective?
- Do you think that world peace can ever be achieved? Why or why not?

### **Additional Activities**

- Have students research additional attempts at peace after World War II and gauge their effectiveness.
- Have students write an essay arguing for or against the idea that world peace is possible.

#### Resources

- Interwar Period- <a href="http://www.historytoday.com/20th-century/interwar-period">http://www.historytoday.com/20th-century/interwar-period</a>
- Documents of the Interwar Period- http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/interwar.htm



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### **Living Political Cartoon Instructions**

<b>Assigned Topic:</b>	

### **Group Roles:**

- **Scribe** The scribe writes down the answers to the groups' questions and writes any captions that are included in the living cartoon.
- Cartoonist The cartoonist draws the political cartoon.
- **Prop master** The prop master creates any props that are used in the living cartoon. For example, if your cartoon includes someone holding a hammer, create one out of paper or use other objects from the classroom to mimic a hammer.
- **Project Director** The project director assures that everyone is on task, keeps track of time remaining, and assists the other members of the group in completing their tasks.

#### **Instructions:**

After receiving your topic, your task is to create a political cartoon that describes your attempt at peace between the world wars and/or explains why the attempt failed. Then, your group must create a "living, breathing" version of your cartoon which will be displayed in front of the class.

Begin by reading the assigned handout as a group and answering the attached questions. The scribe should record the group's responses on a separate sheet of paper; this will be turned in at the end of class.

Next, the project director should lead the group in a brainstorming session for cartoon ideas. Use the following questions as a starting point:

- What is the main idea that you're trying to convey to your audience?
- What people (if any) should be included in your cartoon?
- What symbols (if any) should be included in your cartoon?
- What do you think your classmates should learn about your topic?
- Can we recreate our drawn cartoon as a "living political cartoon?"

After deciding on your cartoon, the group should begin working on their assigned roles. The project director should assist the other roles, while keeping an eye on the time remaining. Remember, you want your cartoon to be visually catching as well as informative – you will be presenting these to the rest of you classmates! EVERYONE must participate in the living cartoon.

### **Reading Questions**

(Please answer on a separate sheet of paper.)

- 1. What are the major nations involved in your peace keeping effort?
- 2. Who are the major people involved in your peace keeping effort?
- 3. Summarize your peace keeping effort in your own words.
- 4. Why did your peace keeping effort fail to prevent World War II?
- 5. What changes could have been made to your peace keeping effort to make it more effective?

### **League of Nations**

The League of Nations was an intergovernmental organization founded as a result of the Paris Peace Conference, and the precursor to the United Nations. The League was the first permanent international security organization whose principle mission was to maintain world peace. At its greatest extent from 28 September 1934 to 23 February 1935, it had 58 members. The League's primary goals, as stated in its Covenant, included preventing war through collective security, disarmament, and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.[1] Other goals in this and related treaties included labor conditions, just treatment of native inhabitants, trafficking in persons and drugs, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.

The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift in thought from the preceding hundred years. The League lacked its own armed force and so depended on the Great Powers to enforce its resolutions, keep to economic sanctions which the League ordered, or provide an army, when needed, for the League to use. However, they were often reluctant to do so.

Sanctions could also hurt the League members, so they were reluctant to comply with them. When, during the Second Italo-Abyssinian War, the League accused Italian soldiers of targeting Red Cross medical tents, Benito Mussolini responded that "the League is very well when sparrows shout, but no good at all when eagles fall out."

After a number of notable successes and some early failures in the 1920s, the League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis powers in the 1930s. In May 1933, Franz Bernheim, a Jew, complained that his rights as a minority were being violated by the German administration of Upper Silesia, which induced the Germans to defer enforcement of the anti-Jewish laws in the region for several years until the relevant treaty expired in 1937, whereupon they simply refused to renew the League's authority further and renewed anti-Jewish persecution. Hitler claimed these clauses violated Germany's sovereignty. Germany withdrew from the League, soon to be followed by many other aggressive powers.

The onset of the Second World War demonstrated that the League had failed in its primary purpose, which was to avoid any future world war. There were a variety of reasons for this failure, many connected to general weaknesses within the organization. Additionally, the United States' refusal to join the League limited the power of the organization.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League\_of\_nations

#### **Washington Naval Conference**

The Washington Naval Conference also called the Washington Arms Conference, was a military conference called by the administration of President Warren G. Harding and held in Washington, D.C. from 12 November 1921 to 6 February 1922. Conducted outside the auspices of the League of Nations, it was attended by nine nations having interests in the Pacific Ocean and East Asia. Soviet Russia was not invited to the conference. It was the first international conference held in the United States and the first disarmament conference in history, and is studied by political scientists as a model for a successful disarmament movement. (Kaufman, 1990)

Held at Memorial Continental Hall in downtown Washington, it resulted in three major treaties: Four-Power Treaty, Five-Power Treaty (more commonly known as the Washington Naval Treaty) and the Nine-Power Treaty and a number of smaller agreements. These treaties preserved peace during the 1920s but are also credited with enabling the rise of the Japanese Empire as a naval power leading up to World War II.

For the American delegation, led by Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, the primary objective of the conference was to restrain Japanese naval expansion in the waters of the west Pacific, especially with regard to fortifications on strategically valuable islands. Their secondary objectives were intended to ultimately limit Japanese expansion, but also to alleviate concerns over possible antagonism with the British. They were: first, to eliminate Anglo-American tension by abrogating the Anglo-Japanese alliance; second, to agree upon a favorable naval ratio vis-à-vis Japan; and, third, to have the Japanese officially accept a continuance of the Open Door Policy in China.

The British, however, took a more cautious and tempered approach. Indeed, British officials brought certain general desires to the conference—to achieve peace and stability in the western Pacific, avoid a naval arms race with the United States, thwart Japanese encroachment into areas under their influence, and preserve the security of Singapore, Hong Kong, and Dominion countries—but they did not enter the conference with a specific laundry list of demands; rather, they brought with them a vague vision of what the western Pacific should look like after an agreement.

Japanese officials were more focused on specifics than the British, and approached the conference with two primary goals: first, to sign a naval treaty with Britain and the United States, and, secondly, to obtain official recognition of Japan's special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Japanese officials also brought other issues to the conference—a strong demand that they remain in control of Yap, Siberia, and Tsingtao, as well as more general concerns about the growing presence of American fleets in the Pacific.

The American hand was strengthened by the interception and decryption of secret instructions from the Japanese government to its delegation. The message revealed the lowest naval ratio that would be acceptable to Tokyo; U.S. negotiators used this knowledge to push the Japanese to it. This success, one of the first in the U.S. government's budding eavesdropping and cryptology efforts, led eventually to the growth of such agencies.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington\_Naval\_Conference

#### **Dawes Plan**

The Dawes Plan (as proposed by the Dawes Committee, chaired by Charles G. Dawes) was an attempt following World War I for the Triple Entente to collect war reparations debt from Germany. When after five years the plan proved to be unsuccessful, the Young Plan was adopted in 1929 to replace it.

## Main Points of the Dawes Plan

In an agreement of August 1924, the main points of The Dawes Plan were:

- o The Ruhr area was to be evacuated by Allied occupation troops.
- o Reparation payments would begin at "one billion marks the first year, increasing to two and a half billion marks annually after five years"
- o The Reichsbank would be reorganized under Allied supervision.
- The sources for the reparation money would include transportation, excise, and custom taxes.

The Dawes Plan did rely on money given to Germany by the US. The German economic state was one in which careful footing was required, and the Dawes plan was of the nature that only with the unrelated help of loans from the US could it succeed.

The plan was accepted by Germany and the Triple Entente and went into effect in September 1924. Although German business rebounded and reparation payments were made promptly, it became obvious that Germany could not continue those huge annual payments for long. As a result, the Young Plan was substituted in 1929.

### Results of the Dawes Plan

The Dawes Plan provided short term economic benefits to the German economy. It softened the burdens of war reparations, stabilized the currency, and brought increased foreign investments and loans to the German market. However, it made the German economy dependent on foreign markets and economies, and therefore problems with the U.S. economy (e.g. the Great Depression) would later severely hurt Germany as it did the rest of the western world, which was subject to debt repayments for loans of American dollars.

After World War I, this cycle of money from U.S. loans to Germany, which then made reparations to other European nations, which then used the money to pay off their debts to America, locked the western world's economy on that of the U.S.

Dawes was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925, in recognition of his work on the Plan.

Source: <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawes\_plan">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawes\_plan</a>

# **Locarno Treaties**

When World War II ended, the Treaty of Versailles was signed in Paris in 1919. In this treaty, the Germans lost land and were also required to make reparations of material goods and cash payments. Germany was not happy with this. They did not even want to sign the treaty at first, but were convinced because of threats from the Allied nations. The Locarno Treaties were meant to improve this tense post-war situation by reaching compromises in order to help prevent future wars.

Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia participated in the Locarno Conferences in Switzerland. These conferences opened up a possibility that the biggest threat to the tranquility of Europe, the ever existing hostility between France and Germany, might at last be extinguished. Austin Chamberlain of England, one of the leaders at Locarno, was accurate in calling it "the real dividing point between the years of war and the years of peace". He and the other two leaders at Locarno, Aristide Briand of France and Gustav Stresemann of Germany, were confident that these agreements would give way to an era of peace.

France and Germany wanted more security from each other. Through the Locarno treaties they were able to achieve this by setting Germany's Western border. A central aspect of the treaties was that Germany would not choose combat as a means of resolving differences with France or Belgium. Instead, they would use diplomatic measures in order to sort out their problems. In addition, the other countries would come without delay to the aid of the attacked country should this agreement ever be broken. The treaties would assure that the frontiers between Germany and France and between Germany and Belgium be kept. France's safety was only modestly improved, however, because the other countries in the agreement would only come to its aid if the act committed against it was considered severe. Moreover, the agreement did not restrict the Eastern border.

The treaties gave way to a sense of global goodwill, known as the "spirit of Locarno". They also helped straighten the way for Germany's admission into the League of Nations the next year. Finally, Germany was being treated as a friendly nation by its enemies.

Soon after joining the League however, the "spirit of Locarno" ran into strong opposition in Germany and France and eventually dissolved completely. The Germans were upset that their borders were so restricted, and many felt that Locarno had brought disgrace and dishonor. France was opposed to it because they felt that they were not well enough protected from Germany. Though its ideals were good and its promises were hopeful, the Locarno treaties could not prevent World War II.

Source; http://www.thenagain.info/WebChron/World/Locarno.CP.htm

## **Kellogg-Briand Pact**

Kellogg-Briand Pact, also called the Pact of Paris (August 27, 1928), multilateral agreement attempting to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy. It was the most grandiose of a series of peacekeeping efforts after World War I.

Hoping to tie the United States into a system of productive alliances directed against a possible resurgence of German aggression, the French foreign minister, Aristide Brian, first suggested a bilateral nonaggression pact in the spring of 1927. The us secretary of state, Frank B. Kellogg, prodded by the American "outlawry of war" movement and supported by those who were disappointed at the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations, proposed that the pact be converted into a general multilateral treaty, which the French accepted.

As a result of Kellogg's proposal, nearly all the nations of the world eventually subscribed to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, agreeing to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to settle all international disputes by peaceful means. The signatories allowed themselves a great variety of qualifications and interpretations, however, so that the pact would not prohibit, for example, wars of self-defense or certain military obligations arising from the League Covenant, the Monroe Doctrine, or postwar treaties of alliance. These conditions, in addition to the treaty's failure to establish a means of enforcement, rendered the agreement completely ineffective.

Source: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/314413/Kellogg-Briand-Pact

## **Appeasement**

The term appeasement is commonly understood to refer to a diplomatic policy aimed at avoiding war by making concessions to another power. It has been described as "...the policy of settling international quarrels by admitting and satisfying grievances through rational negotiation and compromise, thereby avoiding the resort to an armed conflict which would be expensive, bloody, and possibly dangerous." It was used by European democracies in the 1930s who wished to avoid war with the dictatorships of Germany and Italy, bearing in mind the horrors of the First World War.

The term is most often applied to the foreign policy of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain towards Nazi Germany between 1937 and 1939. His policies of avoiding war with Germany have been the subject of intense debate for seventy years among academics, politicians and diplomats. The historian's assessment of Chamberlain has ranged from condemnation for allowing Hitler to grow too strong, to the judgment that he had no alternative and acted in Britain's best interests. At the time, these concessions were widely seen as positive, and the Munich Pact among Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy prompted Chamberlain to announce that he had secured "peace for our time".

Chamberlain's policy of appeasement emerged out of the weakness of the League of Nations and the failure of collective security. The League of Nations was set up in the aftermath of the First World War in the hope that international cooperation and collective resistance to aggression might prevent another war. Members of the League were entitled to the assistance of other members if they came under attack. The policy of collective security ran in parallel with measures to achieve international disarmament and where possible was to be based on economic sanctions against an aggressor. It appeared to be ineffectual when confronted by the aggression of dictators, notably Germany's occupation of the Rhineland, and Italian leader Benito Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia.

In 1938, Hitler then informed Chamberlain that Germany was about to occupy the Sudetenland and that the Czechoslovaks had to move out. The Czechoslovaks rejected the demand, as did the British and the French. Mussolini persuaded Hitler to put the dispute to a four-power conference. Czechoslovakia was not to be a party to these talks. On 29 September, Hitler, Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier (the French Prime Minister) and Mussolini met in Munich. They agreed that Germany would complete its occupation of the Sudetenland, but an international commission would consider other disputed areas. Czechoslovakia was told that if it did not submit, it would stand alone. At Chamberlain's request, Hitler signed a peace treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. Chamberlain returned to Britain promising "peace for our time". In March 1939, Chamberlain foresaw a possible disarmament conference between himself, Daladier, Hitler, Mussolini and Joseph Stalin; his home secretary, Samuel Hoare, said, "These five men, working together in Europe and blessed in their efforts by the President of the United States of America, might make themselves eternal benefactors of the human race."[10] That month, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, divided among Germany, Hungary, Poland, and an independent Slovakia.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appeasement

Name	Keeping the Peace
Notes	•

Peace Keeping Effort	How did it try to keep the peace?	Why did it fail at keeping the peace?