

WORDS TO KNOW

peacekeeping
hordes
peacemaking
peacebuilding
stakeholders
conflict prevention
ethnic cleansing

BEFORE READING

1. Review what you learned in previous chapters about peacekeeping and what it entailed.
2. How do you understand Canada's role in peacekeeping today? Jot down some notes for reference later in Section Four.

Canada: Peacekeeper? Peacemaker? Peacebuilder?

Canada: A Peacekeeping Nation—Myth or Reality?

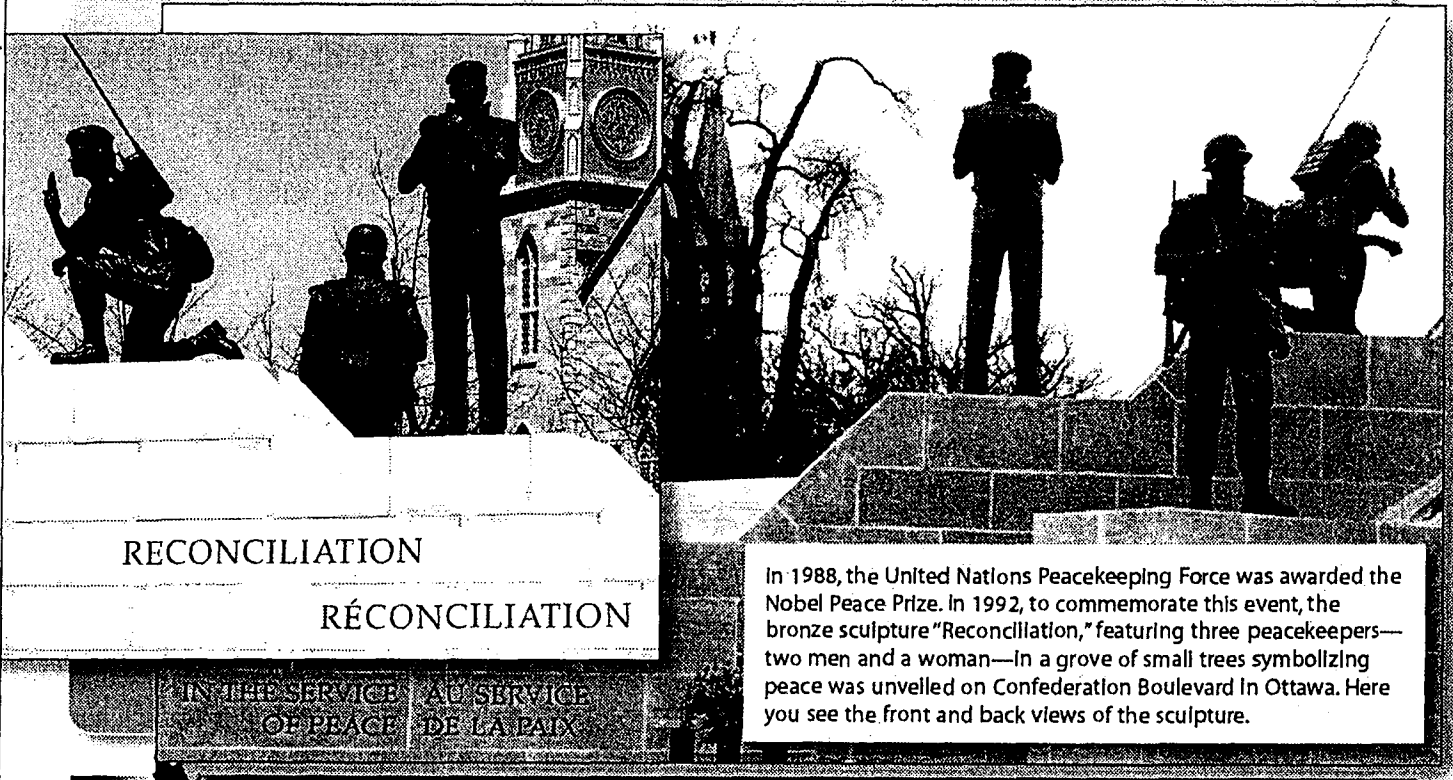
Since the creation of UN peacekeeping by Lester B. Pearson in 1956 (Chapter Five, Section Four) until the end of the Cold War in 1989, UN peacekeeping involved soldiers who were invited by the warring parties to enforce peace agreements. During these years, Canada participated in all UN missions, supplying troops and other support. Over 125 000 Canadians have served in UN peacekeeping missions around the globe (Evidence 9.47). The idea of peacekeeping has become, for many, part of the Canadian identity.

Some critics argue, however, that Canada was never truly a peacekeeping nation.

1. What evidence does Lewis MacKenzie use to support his argument that Canadian peacekeeping is a myth (Evidence 9.43)?
2. Why does Michael Valpy refer to Canadian peacekeeping as a myth (Evidence 9.44)?
3. How does Valpy's article compare to your notes from Before Reading, question 2?
4. Are there similarities in the cases presented in Evidence 9.43 and 9.44?
5. What does the difference between the percentage of peacekeeping troops Canada contributed to the UN in 1991 and 2007 suggest about Canadian military priorities?
6. What future role is suggested for Canada? How do you feel about this role? Why?

Evidence 9.42

DURING READING

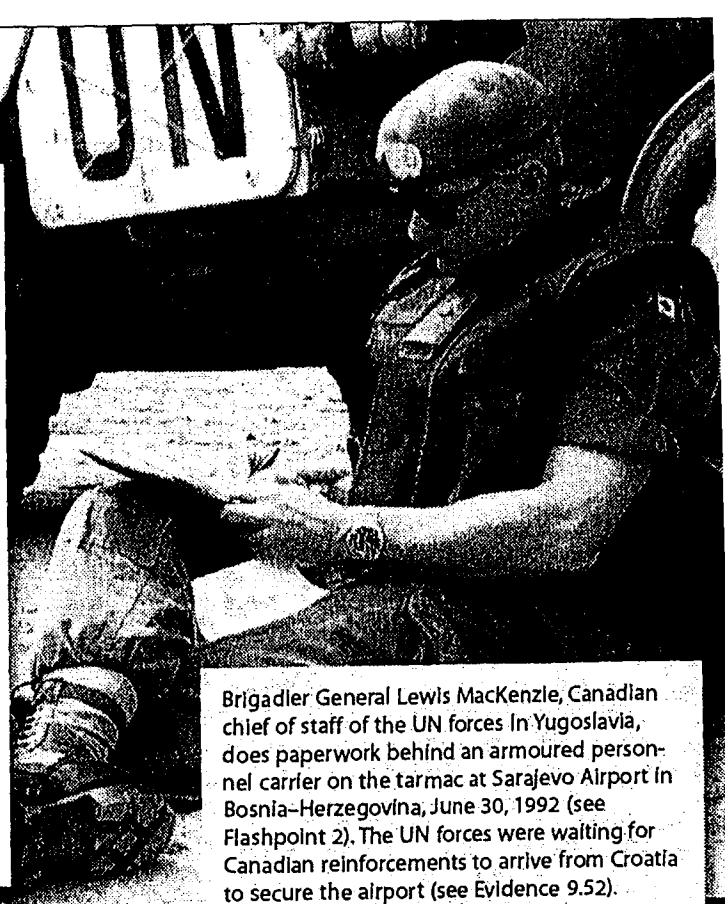


In 1988, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1992, to commemorate this event, the bronze sculpture "Reconciliation," featuring three peacekeepers—two men and a woman—in a grove of small trees symbolizing peace was unveiled on Confederation Boulevard in Ottawa. Here you see the front and back views of the sculpture.

In March 2006, retired Major General Lewis MacKenzie told Rex Murphy, host of CBC-Radio's *Cross-Country Checkup*, a show with a national audience, that Canada is not a nation of peacekeepers:

“We were never a peacekeeping nation. We aren't and we never will be. At the height of our peacekeeping reputation in the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, when we had about 1500 troops in the Golan Heights, Cyprus, etc., we had 10 000 as part of the NATO force armed with nuclear weapons, surface-to-surface missiles, F-104, air-to-ground missiles, waiting for the Soviet hordes to come across the border.”

Source: Chris Cobb, "The Maple Leaf Forever," *Ottawa Citizen*, March 26, 2006.



Brigadier General Lewis MacKenzie, Canadian chief of staff of the UN forces in Yugoslavia, does paperwork behind an armoured personnel carrier on the tarmac at Sarajevo Airport in Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 30, 1992 (see Flashpoint 2). The UN forces were waiting for Canadian reinforcements to arrive from Croatia to secure the airport (see Evidence 9.52).

The Myth of Canada as Peacekeeper

By Michael Valpy

It's so hard to square mythology with reality. While 70 percent of Canadians consider military peacekeeping a defining characteristic of their country, Canada has turned down so many United Nations requests to join peacekeeping missions during the past decade that the UN has stopped asking.

In 1991, Canada contributed more than 10 percent of all peacekeeping troops to the UN. Sixteen years later, its contribution is less than 0.1 percent.

On this month's fifth anniversary of Canadian troops being sent to Afghanistan and one year after assuming responsibility for the counterinsurgency campaign—a war by any other name—in Kandahar province [see Evidence 9.68], one of the country's biggest unanswered questions is: What is Canadian military policy? It's certainly not to be the global leader in peacekeeping the country once was. ...

... [T]he patterns seen by [Paul] Heinbecker, now director of the Centre for Global Relations, Governance and Policy at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ont., suggest traditional UN peacekeeping operations are a thing of the past, that they have become more akin to the mission in Afghanistan.

"They are almost all complex missions now. They involve combat. Very often the UN is expected to get involved before the fighting is over. There's very often more than two sides to the fight. ..."

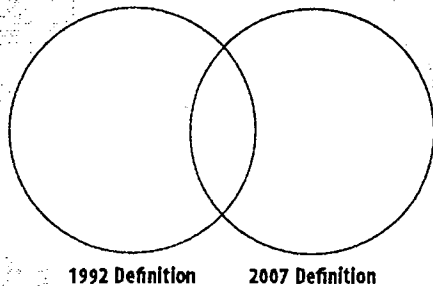
Walter Dorn, an academic specialist in security studies at Royal Military College now on sabbatical with the UN, says Canada's military still possesses superb conflict-resolution skills and has enormous expertise in peacekeeping operations. "Yet my fear is that we're rapidly becoming a single-mission military ... and the UN is being dropped by the wayside."

Source: *Globe and Mail*, February 28, 2007.

Changing Definitions of Peacekeeping

After the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union, conflicts were waged increasingly between ethnic groups within countries rather than between countries. In the past, the UN had not interfered with countries' internal matters. However, growing violence within countries began to blur the definition of peacekeeping.

1. In what ways are Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 definition of the role of UN peacekeeping and the 2007 definitions outlined by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade similar and different? Use a Venn diagram like the one below to organize your ideas.



2. Which definition in Evidence 9.45 and 9.46 is closest to the role developed by Lester Pearson?
3. Read the definitions of Stages of Conflict as identified by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Evidence 9.46. By means of a sketch, cartoon, or any other visual representation, illustrate what each stage means.
4. Can you suggest reasons for the changing concept of peacekeeping over time?
5. What does this changing concept suggest about Canada's role as a peacekeeper in the 1990s and early 2000s?

DURING READING

In 1992, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali outlined four main points to redefine the role of the UN.

Preventive diplomacy: UN diplomats will try to resolve disagreements before they become violent.

Peacekeeping: UN troops will carry out and enforce the terms of an agreement. Their activities may include returning refugees to their homes or removing weapons.

Peacemaking: UN forces will participate in a conflict without the consent of all parties involved. In this case, UN forces will need to take sides and use force to impose a solution. This step will be taken when the world agrees that a humanitarian crisis exists.

Peacebuilding: The UN will help countries rebuild after a conflict ends. This aid may include economic assistance or supplying UN observers to monitor an election.

Source: Avis Fitton, Robert Kenyon, Rick MacDonald, and Larry Parker, *Canadian Identity* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2006), p. 178.

Evidence 9.46

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has outlined Canada's role in peace operations:

Stages of Conflict

Canada and other countries developed peacekeeping measures to respond to conflict, and to promote international peace and security. Conflict is present in every society but only in certain circumstances does it lead to large-scale violence. A typical "conflict cycle" can be shown as a series of stages moving from peace through crisis (and possibly to war) and then back toward peace.

At each stage of the conflict cycle, stakeholders must use different techniques, or tools, to increase the momentum for peace. ...

The techniques that Canada, other countries, and their organizations use to deal with different stages of conflicts in the international arena fall into four broad areas:

- **Conflict prevention** ... describes techniques used to prevent the local disputes and conflicts that occur in every society from escalating into wider confrontations. [This]

process attempts to deal with all of the factors that cause conflicts to develop, [including] poverty, corruption, unaccountability in government or the military, or inequality.

- **Peacemaking** ... can take place before or during a conflict, and describes efforts to prevent conflict spreading, to develop dialogue between its sides and, ultimately, to set up a peace accord.
- **Peacekeeping** [is] the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.
- **Peacebuilding** [aims] to help re-establish normal life torn apart by conflict, and to help prevent conflict from recurring. Peacebuilding seeks to enhance human security, and can contribute meaningfully to democratic development, human rights, and the rule of law.

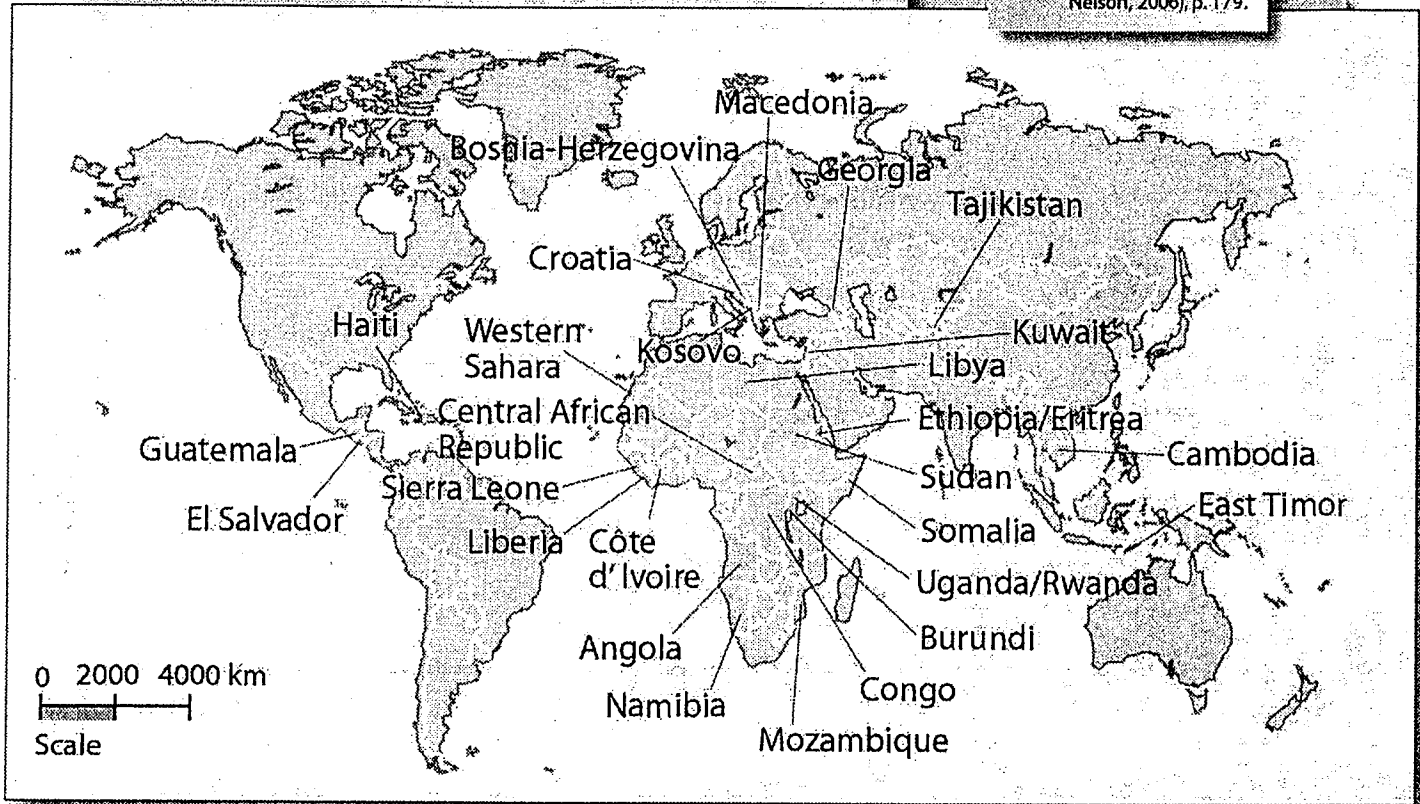
Source: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade website, June 8, 2007.

Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, Peacebuilding: Some Flashpoints, 1990s to the Present

Source: Avis Fitton, Robert Kenyon, Rick MacDonald, and Larry Parker, *Canadian Identity* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2006), p. 179.

Evidence 9.47

United Nations peacekeeping missions, 1989–2005.



- As you examine the flashpoints described below, consider the challenges for Canadian peacekeepers and the military role they played. How do these challenges and roles influence your thinking about Canada as a peacekeeper?
- Use an organizer like the one below in considering Canada's evolving role in these conflicts.

I read...		I think...	Therefore...
Flashpoint	The situation	Military role played by Canada (refer to Evidence 9.46)	Challenges faced/decisions made
Gulf War, 1991			

DURING READING

- For each flashpoint, identify the stage of conflict (as defined in Evidence 9.46) that applies, as well as Canada's role. What does Canada's role say about its peace initiatives?
- How might you summarize Canada's present role?

What fundamental change is represented by Canada's role in the Gulf War?

DURING READING

Flashpoint 1: Gulf War, January 16 – February 27, 1991

On August 2, 1990, the army of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein invaded neighbouring oil-rich Kuwait. After UN-imposed economic sanctions failed to produce an Iraqi withdrawal, the United Nations, at the request of Kuwait, authorized the use of arms to remove the invaders from Kuwaiti territory. A multinational UN force led by the United States attacked the Iraqis for six weeks until they withdrew. Canadian forces patrolled shipping lanes to prevent supplies from reaching Iraqi troops, and Canadian fighter jets attacked ground targets. In this first armed conflict since the Korean War, 3837 Canadian men and 237 women served. There were no Canadian casualties.



Evidence 9.48

What were the 2000 Canadian troops expected to do? Why was Mulroney's decision controversial? Why might Canada be willing to support the United States at this time? (Refer to Chapter Eight, Section Three, for some ideas.)

Stopping Saddam Is Our "Moral Duty," Mulroney Declares

By Tom Harpur

With the world braced for war, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has committed nearly 2000 Canadians to stand with the US-led coalition and forcibly drive Iraq from Kuwait.

Mulroney stood before a divided House of Commons yesterday—with the cries of anti-war protests ringing on Parliament Hill—to tell the country that Canada had a moral duty to fight Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

"It is the moral duty of the international community to stop him now," Mulroney told the Commons. ...

The historic debate ... revolved around a number of central questions: the effectiveness of economic sanctions, the integrity of the United Nations, the US domination of the coalition and, most fundamentally, the change in Canada's traditional role from peacekeeper to today's role as aggressive war combatant.

Source:
Toronto Star,
January 16, 1991.

What is the cartoonist's message?

Evidence 9.49



Source: Cameron Cardow, Toronto Star, January 22, 1991.

What concerns are expressed about Canada's role? How do these concerns represent the changing definitions of Canada's peacekeeping role?

Evidence 9.50

... a number of analysts last week raised concerns about Canada's postwar image and role in the Arab world. Some of them said that the country's reputation and interests in the region would emerge largely unscathed. Others said that the country's image could be tarnished by its participation in the UN coalition. Opinion was also divided on whether Canada's military involvement in the Gulf has limited its capacity to take part in peacekeeping operations in the region.

Source: Glen Allen, Maclean's, March 4, 1991.

Flashpoint 2: The Balkans (Bosnia–Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia), 1992–1995

Use an organizer like the one below to answer the following questions:

Bosnian crisis	UN challenges	UN decisions	Combat/peacekeeping role

1. What challenges did the UN face during the crisis in Bosnia?
2. What decisions were made in terms of resolving the situation?
3. What direction did the UN and peacekeeping take in this conflict?

DURING READING



What is the cartoonist saying about the situation the peacekeepers were in?

Source: Cameron Cardow, *Toronto Star*, July 8, 1992.

Eventually, the failure of UN sanctions and of UN peacekeepers on the ground, and the expulsion of Serbia from the UN, led NATO forces, under the UN's auspices, to take action. The conflict ended with the signing of the *Dayton Accord* in December 1996, enforced by NATO ground forces. At the beginning of 2008, NATO forces remained in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Forty thousand Canadians had served there since 1992, and 23 had lost their lives.

In the Medak Pocket area of southern Croatia (Evidence 9.51), Canadian peacekeeping forces' traditional role was directly challenged:

In mid-September 1993 United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) soldiers from 2nd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, advanced into the disputed Medak Pocket with orders to implement the latest ceasefire between Croatian Army troops and Serb irregular forces. They were reinforced with two mechanized companies of French troops. The Canadians, well schooled in the delicate art of 'peacekeeping,' discovered that their negotiation skills were not immediately required there. Instead they found themselves back in their primary war-fighting role when Croatian Army units opened fire with machine-guns, mortars, and artillery in an effort to stop the Canadian advance. To complete their assigned mission, the Patricias were required to threaten the use of, and ultimately use, deadly force against the Croatian Army. However, the true test of military professionalism and discipline came after the smoke cleared, [when] the Croats backed down and the Canadians immediately reverted back to their role as impartial peacekeepers in their dealings with individuals that minutes before had attempted to kill them. ...

For the soldiers involved in the Medak Pocket operation, the next few days were the most difficult. They were tasked, along with civilian police officers, and UN medical officers, to sweep the area for signs of ethnic cleansing. ... While the job of gathering evidence may have been the most difficult for the Canadians, haunting many of the young soldiers to this day, it was of critical importance. The Medak Pocket provided the world with the first hard evidence that Serbia was not the sole perpetrator of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, deconstructing the myth that the Yugoslav wars could all be neatly labelled as Serbian wars of aggression and expansion. The meticulous procedure used to sweep and record evidence in the area was also standardized in UNPROFOR, perhaps providing some degree of deterrence to those who may fear being called before a war crimes tribunal. ¶¶

Source: Lee A. Windsor, "The Medak Pocket."
Ottawa: Conference of Defence Associations Institute, December 11, 2002.

**Flashpoint 3:
Afghanistan**

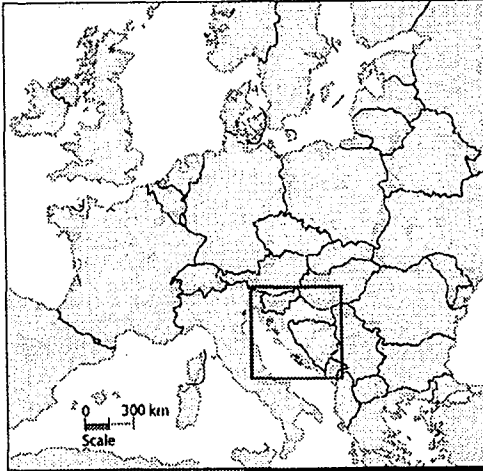
On October 7, 2001 the United States and its allies launched military strikes against Afghanistan's Taliban regime. The strikes were in retaliation for the terrorist attacks of 9/11, after the Taliban failed to comply with a UN Security Council request to surrender al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden, the alleged mastermind of 9/11. Following the Taliban's defeat, a UN-supported conference in Bonn, Germany established an interim Afghan government under the US-backed leader Hamid Karzai. In December, the Security Council authorized the creation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to safeguard the transitional authority. In March 2002, the Security Council established the UN Assistance Mission for Afghanistan (UNAMA) to manage all UN humanitarian, relief, recovery, and reconstruction activities.



Evidence 9.51

The Balkan region, 1992-1995 (below); location of Medak Pocket (right).

What other conflict started in this region?



Yugoslavia, a communist country composed of territories made up of different ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups, was created after the First World War. In the aftermath of the Cold War, territories within Yugoslavia began to work for independence. In 1990, free elections were held in the territories of Slovenia and Croatia, which subsequently declared themselves independent states. Serbia, the dominant state in the region, used military force to contest the two territories' independence. This civil war spread into the neighbouring territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian troops further embarked on a campaign of "ethnic cleansing" against Bosnian Muslims and Croats. In a desperate attempt to bring much-needed supplies to the affected areas, UN peacekeeping troops, under the command of then Brigadier General Lewis MacKenzie, were sent to secure the airport in Sarajevo (Evidence 9.43).

The presence of UN peacekeepers failed to protect the civilian population as ethnic violence continued. One of the worst cases occurred in Srebrenica, a UN "safe area," between July 12 and 17, 1995. Insufficient forces were committed to ensure the safety of the thousands of Muslims who sought protection there. When Serb forces overran the enclave, Dutch UN troops were unable to stop the deportation and subsequent mass murder of thousands of men.

Evidence 9.52

What did Gen. MacKenzie identify as the key dilemma for the UN troops?

DURING READING

UN View Gloomy of Peace in Bosnia

By Alan Ferguson

BELGRADE, Serbia--To "impose" peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina would require a military force equal to that used in the Persian Gulf war against Iraq, says a senior UN peacekeeping official.

Even to secure the republic's chief airport in the capital, Sarajevo--which some politicians have advocated--would present "staggering military problems," Brig. Gen. Lew MacKenzie, the Canadian chief of staff of the UN force in Yugoslavia, said in an interview.

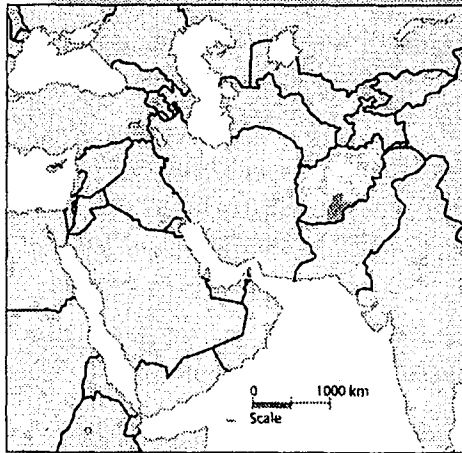
The blunt assessment underscores the virtual impossibility of the international community becoming involved in Europe's most brutal conflict since World War II.

Source: Toronto Star, May 21, 1992.



Evidence 9.55

Afghanistan, showing location of Kandahar Province.



In the early days following the 9/11 attacks, the Canadian government sent naval vessels to the Arabian Sea to hunt for al-Qaeda operatives deserting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Some ground troops and special forces were also dispatched to Afghanistan. This was not a peacekeeping mission, but rather a clean-up of residual Taliban forces. Canada's top-secret Joint Task Force 2 (JTF-2) commandos scoured the hillsides for the adversary. After six months and four casualties resulting from "friendly fire," the infantry battalion returned to Canada. The navy (and, it is believed, JTF-2) stayed on.

In February 2003, Liberal Defence Minister John McCallum announced that Canada's second move into Afghanistan would be a "peace support operation."

1. In examining Evidence 9.56, which reflects the views of the Liberal government, and Evidence 9.57, which reflects those of the Conservative government, can you identify any differences in the Canadian role? Explain.
2. What is Canada's role as identified by the government in 2007?

DURING READING

Evidence 9.56

Interviewed in 2003, Major General Andrew Leslie, Canada's senior commander in Afghanistan and Deputy Commander of the International Security Assistance Force, commented on Canada's role.

Based on this evidence, explain what a "peace support operation" entails. How is this approach similar to or different from other "peace operations" that you have read about?

Canada has the largest contingent in ISAF. Could you describe the Canadian Forces' role?

Canada provides over 40 percent of ISAF, the largest single contribution. We're also the most technologically advanced in terms of equipment, and arguably have the best trained soldiers. Our soldiers patrol up in the mountains around Kabul to make sure no unpleasant people are there to fire rockets into the city. They chase away Taliban or al-Qaeda elements and criminals who prey on the people flowing into Kabul. Equally important, the soldiers patrol inside Kabul, day and night. They take the local police out with them, training them, showing them how we conduct our business in a nation where respect for the rule of law is well established. These "presence patrols" reassure the locals that someone is out there providing security for them. The soldiers also do a variety of health projects.

1. Describe how Canadian Forces' civil-military cooperation programs influence the relationship between the Canadian Forces and Afghans.
2. We are spending a significant amount of money on civil-military cooperation projects. It's critical, because by spending money on infrastructure, we show the locals that we are making their lives better. What they care about is security, water, food, and shelter. If we can help them with those elements, they will see that we are a positive force, not just another invader. Then, when hostile elements try to kill some of the locals or some of us, perhaps the people we've helped will think twice before letting them. So, it's a force protection issue, as well as a desire to do good.

Source: Government of Canada, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada WorldView*, Issue 20, Autumn 2003.



In 2007, the Canadian Forces website explained the Conservative government's position and the role of Canadians in Afghanistan.

According to this evidence, has Canada's role changed since 2003? How did the Canadian Forces define Canada's operation in 2007?

Why are we there?

Canada is in Afghanistan at the request of the democratically elected government, along with 36 other nations, and as part of a UN-sanctioned mission to help build a stable, democratic, and self-sufficient society.

About 2500 members of the Canadian Forces (CF) are currently serving as part of Joint Task Force Afghanistan (JTF AFG). They play a key role in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission whose goal is to improve the security situation in Afghanistan and assist in rebuilding the country.

Canada's continued engagement in Afghanistan helps create the conditions for longer-term reconstruction. All CF operations in Afghanistan are conducted with the consent and at the request of the Afghan government to:

- Provide the people of Afghanistan with the hope for a brighter future by establishing the security necessary to promote development and an environment that is conducive to the improvement of Afghan life;
- Conduct operations in support of Afghan National Security Forces;
- Help strengthen and enhance Afghan governance capacity;
- Help extend the authority of the Government of Afghanistan in the South;
- Facilitate the delivery of programs and projects that support the economic recovery and rehabilitation of Afghanistan; and
- Assist in addressing humanitarian needs of Afghans by supporting Canadian governmental organizations and NGOs whose efforts meet Canada's objectives. ...

Afghanistan is not, nor has it ever been, a traditional peacekeeping mission. There are no ceasefire arrangements to enforce and no negotiated peace settlement to respect. Negotiation is not an option with groups such as the Taliban nor al-Qaeda, who are not interested in the kind of peace that the Afghan people seek. Their tactics are terrorism, not talks aimed at establishing a truce.

Our mission is one of nation building. Our forces are doing exactly the type of work that needs to be done in Afghanistan. Our soldiers are the best in the world for this kind of mission. They are well trained, well led, and have the best equipment on the ground. ...

Canada has also deployed diplomats, development workers, civilian police, as well as experts in human rights, good governance, the rule of law and democracy building—all of whom come together in common endeavour in Afghanistan.

Source: Canadian Forces in Afghanistan website.

On October 12, 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the creation of an Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan, led by former Liberal cabinet member John Manley.

The panel was to review, analyze, and make recommendations on Canada's engagement in Afghanistan beyond February 2009. The panel released its report in January 2008 (Evidence 9.58).



Manley Recommends Extending Afghan Mission

OTTAWA—Canada should indefinitely extend its military mission in Afghanistan, but only on condition of additional equipment and more support from other countries, says a high-profile panel headed by former Liberal cabinet minister John Manley.

The panel also suggests gradually refocusing the mission on reconstruction, training, and diplomacy rather than combat.

The blue-ribbon panel concluded that Afghanistan's security situation has been deteriorating amid increased insurgent attacks, but noted the country has also made economic and social progress.

"Many would have preferred us to find a basis on which to recommend an end to the Canadian military roles by a certain date," the report states. "The hard truth is that an [International Security Assistance Force] retreat from Afghanistan, before that country's own forces can defend its security, would most likely condemn the Afghan people to a new and bloody cycle of civil war and misrule—and raise new threats to global peace and security.

The military mission in the war-torn country is due to end in February 2009, but the 90-page report says the mission should be extended if:

- A new battle group—about 1000 soldiers—is deployed by the ISAF to Kandahar province, enabling Canadian forces to accelerate training of the Afghan National Army.
- The government secures new, medium-lift helicopters and high-performance unmanned aerial vehicles by February 2009. ...

Harper Must "Step Up"

At a press conference, Mr. Manley said the prime minister must "step up" and make the Afghan mission a top priority by appointing a cabinet committee responsible for the coordination of Canada's efforts.

"Even more important, [Mr. Harper] must personally lead our diplomatic initiative, making our voice heard to a degree commensurate with our contribution. He should urge the international community get its act together both in Afghanistan and with other key countries in the regions," Mr. Manley added.

"The mission is in jeopardy," he told reporters. "We are going to need to see more troops in Kandahar province or this mission will not succeed."

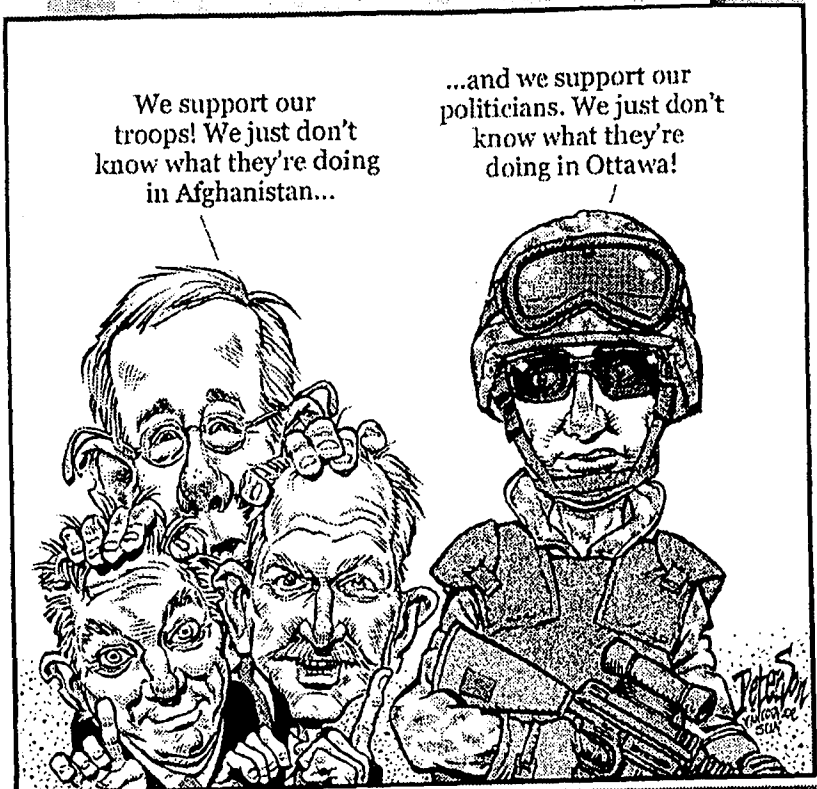
Source: *Globe and Mail*, January 22, 2008.

1. What are the recommendations of John Manley's report?
2. Do you agree with his recommendations? Why or why not?
3. When you are able to vote, what would you see as Canada's military role in the world? Peacekeeping? Peacebuilding? Peacemaking?

DURING READING

Evidence 9.59

What does this cartoon suggest about Canadian attitudes toward the Afghan mission? Do you think the opposition leaders (Dion, Layton, Duceppe), as drawn here, reflect the attitudes of many Canadians?



Source: Roy Peterson, *Vancouver Sun*, July 16, 2007.

Update

In March 2008, Parliament, led by Prime Minister Harper and the Conservatives, voted to extend Canada's tour of duty from 2009 to 2011, provided Canada's NATO allies agreed to upgrade equipment available to Canada and provide 1000 more troops to help Canadian forces so that the Canadians could spend more time on reconstruction and training. At a NATO meeting in April 2008, Canada's NATO partners agreed to meet Canada's demands.

1. Organize a "four-corner" debate about the following topic: Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan—Peacekeeper, Peacemaker, Peacebuilder, or Nationbuilder?
2. Write a letter to your member of Parliament presenting your view on what Canada's military role in the world should be.
3. Draw a political cartoon showing the dilemma facing Canadians in any of the flashpoint operations described in Section Four. Alternatively, create an illustration that defines and distinguishes among peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.

AFTER READING