

liberties of those whose security is currently or potentially at risk and addressing the primary causes of that insecurity, is still a long way from realization but that post-Cold War peacekeeping could make important contributions to such a goal.

### Security and Peacekeeping post-Cold War

The protective Cold War approach to security, which buttressed the bipolar *status quo*, conceived of global security in military and state-centred terms. It relied on guarding the territorial integrity of sovereign states from superpower expansionism and upholding the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, even in the face of massive human rights violations.<sup>11</sup> This approach to security did not even purport to address the underlying causes of global insecurity on which superpower dominion relied. Even the UN's decolonization agenda served the interests of the Cold War powers by producing postcolonial elites with allegiances to one or the other version of Europe, despite Concerted Third World attempts at non-alignment.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the Cold War concern with racial discrimination as a threat to international peace, particularly in Southern Africa,<sup>13</sup> while immensely significant, was consistent with superpower agendas. The concern with racial inequalities did not, for example, extend to the indigenous peoples of the world. Issues of gender or sexuality discrimination and persecution were never considered important enough to be the basis of an international dispute, revealing the commitment of both sides of the East/West divide to a global narrative of the subjugation of women and to heteronormativity, notwithstanding the different forms that male domination takes in

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, arts 1(3) and 55.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the Idi Amin regime in Uganda, the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea and the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

<sup>12</sup> Dianne Otto, "Subalternity and International Law: The Problems of Global Community and the Incommensurability of Difference" (1996) 5 *Social and Legal Studies* 337.

<sup>13</sup> Southern Rhodesia SC Res 217, 20 November 1965; International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, GA Res 3068, 30 November 1973 art 1(1) recognizes