

endowed with primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security.⁹ In so doing, the *Charter* conceives of security protectively, in realist terms, as an outcome of the maintenance of the existing world order. However, the *Charter* also suggests a liberating approach in the links it asserts between equality, self-determination, overall socio-economic cooperation and respect for human rights, and the achievement of world peace.¹⁰ While the Cold War approach to global security was clearly protective in seeking to maintain the balance of power that East/West *detente* relied upon, are there some indications that this approach may have shifted in the post-Cold War era? Might we interpret the increasing use of peacekeeping forces, at least in the first few years of the new era, as a sign of more liberating shift? What gender identities are being produced by these shifts? These are the questions I want to address.

I begin with a brief overview of the changes in the way that security is officially understood in the post-Cold War environment and the dramatic increase in peacekeeping activities that has accompanied this change. Second, I advance a feminist critique of these developments focussing on three aspects: the increased powers assumed by the Security Council; the extension of militarism to ever more local forms; and the neo-colonial overtones of many peacekeeping efforts. Third, I suggest that from a feminist perspective some aspects of these developments are potentially positive. In particular, I suggest that peacekeeping is, in some ways, a strategy of demilitarization; that there is some evidence that militarized gender identities are in a process of renegotiation; and that Boutros Boutros-Ghali's stated commitment to addressing the underlying causes of global insecurity might be something to build upon. I conclude that global security, in the sense of enhancing the

⁹ *UN Charter*, arts 23(1), 24 (1), 27.