

Their argument is that law provides a "humanitarian cover" which legitimizes, and even promotes, unrestrained military responses rather than humanitarian practice.<sup>48</sup>

Further, Judith Gardam has argued that the doctrine of military necessity operates to justify or excuse gendered violence and to disguise the interdependence between militarism and male violence against women.<sup>49</sup>

In the post-Cold War context, we can see the pattern of expanding normalization of militarization continuing, in direct contrast to the prognosis of a more peaceful world. The deployment of peacekeeping missions in increasingly dangerous situations has been used to justify the increasing resort of the Security Council to its chapter VII powers.<sup>50</sup> The image of defenceless peacekeepers assembled in the midst of what was essentially a war in Bosnia prompted many calls for more "robust" or "muscular" peacekeeping, as Mats Berdal observes.<sup>51</sup> Even in the comparative safety of the Cambodian peacebuilding operation (UNTAC), Force Commander Colonel John Sanderson noted, with concern, the passion with which the use of force by peacekeepers was espoused.<sup>52</sup> The dilemmas thrown up by the contradictions of using force in connection with peacekeeping have even led to suggestions that a "rapid reaction force" of qualified troops be made available to the UN Secretariat,<sup>53</sup> an idea which is completely outside the collective security system envisaged by the *Charter*. In sum, peacekeeping has helped to create the conditions for heightened political tolerance of the use of armed force under the auspices of the UN.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid 56-59.

<sup>49</sup> Judith Gardam, "The Law of Armed Conflict: A Feminist Perspective" in Mahoney and Mahoney, above n , 419. See also P Strange, "It'll Make a Man Out of You" in D Russell (ed), *Exposing Nuclear Phallacies* (1989); Robin Morgan, *The Demon Lover: On the Sexuality of Terrorism* (1989).

<sup>50</sup> Bring, above n 17.

<sup>51</sup> Berdal, above n 30, 76. Support for the idea of more "robust" peacekeeping is also evinced by proposals that "peace restoration" become a chapter VI 1/2 activity which would enable intervention without the consent of the warring parties but still fall short of full scale resort to the use of force.

<sup>52</sup> John Sanderson, "Peacekeeping and Peacemaking: A Critical Retrospective" (1995) 20 *Melbourne University Law Review* 35, 41.

<sup>53</sup> *Supplement*, above n 27.