

different cultural and ideological contexts.¹⁴ This *gender and sexuality blindness* occurred despite overwhelming evidence that, as many feminists have observed, “the most common form of violence in our [global] society is violence against women by men”.¹⁵

Although the *Charter* makes no specific reference to peacekeeping, it was invented during the Cold War as a strategy of *detente* in the face of the Security Council deadlock. The enduring image of Cold War peacekeeping is that of policing the separation of belligerents, usually by interposing third-party troops between warring states to patrol safe buffer zones and to monitor ceasefires.¹⁶ Three primary peacekeeping principles were defined during this period: that there be a strict separation between peacekeeping and peace-enforcement; that a necessary precondition was the consent of the warring parties; and that peacekeeping forces be neutral or impartial with respect to the dispute, which was understood to exclude troops from the five Security Council veto powers.¹⁷ In sum, the Cold War security agenda safeguarded a dualized world order that depended on a multitude of economic and social inequalities and relied, for its legitimation, on hierarchical constructions of both gender and race. It was a protective approach to security.

apartheid as “a serious threat to international peace and security”.

¹⁴ Dianne Otto, Wayne Morgan and Kristen Walker, “Rejecting (In)Tolerance: Critical Perspectives on the United Nations Year for Tolerance” (1995) 20 *Melbourne University Law Review* 192.

¹⁵ Christine Chinkin, “Women and Peace: Militarism and Oppression” in Kathleen Mahoney and Paul Mahoney (eds), *Human Rights in the Twenty-First Century: A Global Challenge* (1993) 405, 410 quoting B. Roberts “Reclaiming the Discourse: Feminist Perspectives in Peace Research” in D. Russell (ed), *Exposing Nuclear Phallacies* 278.

¹⁶ The first operation of this kind was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) established by the General Assembly in 1956 to supervise the cease-fire in the Middle East following the Suez crisis. There followed the 1964 UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) following conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the UN Disengagement Observation Force (UNDOF) which patrols a buffer zone between Israel and Syria, and the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNFIL) which polices the border between Israel and Lebanon. An important exception to this pattern was the UN intervention in the internal conflict in the Congo 1960-64 (UNUC).

¹⁷ The three core peacekeeping principles of consent, impartiality and non-use of force were identified by Secretary General Doug Hammarskjöld in 1956. See Ove Bring, “Peacekeeping and Peacemaking: Prospective Issues for the United Nations” (1995) 20 *Melbourne University Law Review* 55, 56.