

of peace and security, and they still take relatively little account of the diffusion of other disparate linkages, values, interests and struggles which now cross political boundaries and make up the *world* order and wider *human* order, or some would say disorder.

The fact that this first major testing of the UN rules for international peace and security comes in an era of global communications and growing interdependence is not an accident, and may prove to be either a blessing or a curse.

As suggested earlier, this tension, and sometimes confusion, among conceptions and ideals of international order, world order, and human order is far from new. In 1977, the Australian scholar Hedley Bull drew on a framework by Martin Wight to suggest that:

“Throughout the history of the modern states system there have been three competing traditions of thought: the Hobbesian or realist tradition, which views international politics as a state of war; the Kantian or universalist tradition, which sees at work in international politics a potential community of mankind; and the Grotian or internationalist tradition, which views international politics as taking place within an international society [or society of states].”⁷

Bull brilliantly analyses the many variants and hybrids of these three broad orientations, and their waxing and waning over the decades and centuries. A great deal of the other literature in the field of international relations has also been directed to analyzing, espousing or applying versions of these approaches.

One of the most interesting insights to be gained from revisiting this analysis now is to recognize that the Cold War was rooted in one of these broad conceptions, and that its ending may uproot some of our most basic assumptions about the ends and means of international society. While “Hobbesian” amorality has remained a feature of much of international life, and the “Grotian” rules of inter-state relations have continued to operate and to permit coexistence and cooperation, both Communism and anti-Communism have been directed and fuelled by competing universalist visions of the appropriate character of a potential community of mankind.

The struggle is over, and a reading of the Charter of Paris signed by the leaders at the CSCE summit makes it unmistakably clear that the anti-Communist vision of the community of mankind has prevailed