

**Risk and Hierarchy within International Society:
Liberal Interventionism in the Post-Cold War Era**

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BA (Honours)

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.



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Abstract

Several recent works have emphasised contemporary hierarchical trends within international society. These trends have been most readily demonstrated by the willingness of dominant states, such as the United States, to conduct interventions in support of the promotion of liberal values and political institutions. Yet while many scholars have identified new relations of hierarchy within international society, few have explored what they suggest regarding international society's normative constitution or what factors have given rise to these new hierarchies. The end of colonialism in the 1960's resulted in a fundamental reconstitution of international society. The result of decolonisation was that pluralism, the notion that all states have the equal freedom to constitute their internal socio-political and economic institutions as they see fit, was entrenched as the central constitutive principle of the post-colonial international society.

Contemporary hierarchical trends suggest a transition away from this pluralist constitution, with resultant changes in the processes of inclusion and exclusion and modes of interaction between different members of international society. This thesis aims to explore these processes of reconstitution within international society in the post-Cold War era and explain why Western societies have felt compelled to intervene in particular territories in order to promote liberal values. Utilising sociological theories of risk, particularly the work of Ulrich Beck, this thesis suggests that a new 'liberal social logic of risk' underpins the emergence of new forms of hierarchy and contemporary constitutional transition within international society. New forms of temporally and spatially de-bounded security

risks (such as terrorism), and Western attempts at managing these risks through intervention and the imposition of liberal values in so-called 'risky zones', has altered the constitution of international society in a way that gives rise to various hierarchical and anti-pluralist trends.

Contents

<i>Declaration</i>	iii
<i>Abstract</i>	v
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	x
Introduction	1
Pluralism and the Constitutional Structure of International Society	17
Liberalism and International Hierarchy	62
Risk and International Society	105
The Management of Risk: Promoting Liberal Values within International Society	145
Managing Risks in Europe's Periphery: The European Neighbourhood Policy	182
'Cooperative Interventionism': Australia and the Management of Risk in the Asia-Pacific	225
Preventing Risks and Changing Regimes: The 2003 Invasion of Iraq	265
Conclusion	309
<i>References</i>	319

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Abbreviations

AFP: Australian Federal Police

ASPI: Australian Strategic Policy Institute

AusAID: Australian Agency for International Development

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

CPA: Coalition Provisional Authority

CW: Chemical Weapons

DFAT: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

DIO: Defence Intelligence Agency

ECP: Enhanced Cooperation Package

EMP: Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

ENP: European Neighbourhood Policy

ESS: European Security Strategy

EU: European Union

FIAA: Facilitation of International Assistance Act

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

IFI: International Financial Institution

IFM: Isatabu Freedom Movement

IMF: International Monetary Fund

JIC: Joint Intelligence Committee

MEF: Malaitan Eagle Front

MT: Metric Tonne

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NPE: Normative Power Europe

NSS: National Security Strategy

NSVI: National Strategy for Victory in Iraq

ORHA: Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance

ONA: Office of National Assessments

PNG: Papua New Guinea

RAMSI: Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands

RPNGC: Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary

RSIP: Royal Solomon Islands Police Force

TAL: Transitional Administrative Law

SAP: Structural Adjustment Policy

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution

US: United States

WEU: Western European Union

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction