Ph.D. Examination in International Relations
Fall 2004

Directions: You have 72 hours to complete this exam. Ph.D. Majors must answer the question in Section A and three (3) questions from Section B. Ph.D. Minors must answer the question in Section A and two (2) questions from Part B. Focus on preparing coherent, well-organized essays that display your mastery of the literature and indicate how that literature expands our collective knowledge. Completed examinations should conform to the following guidelines:

☐ Place your student ID# at the top of each page of your examination. Do not write your name anywhere on the examination.

☐ Clearly identify the question you are answering at the start of each response.

☐ Cite sources throughout your examination using a standard format and provide a bibliography that covers all of the materials used in preparing your responses.

☐ Number your pages consecutively for the entire examination.

☐ Submit a cover page with your responses that lists your ID# and the type of exam you completed (e.g., MA Minor, MA Major, Ph.D. Major, Ph.D. Minor).

Section A

The debate over the democratic peace is one of those controversies with obvious policy and theoretical relevance. Indeed, Bruce Russett portrays the stakes in strong terms, claiming that "the theoretical edifice of realism will collapse" if democratic peace theory is proven to be correct ("And Yet it Moves," International Security, Spring 1995, p. 166). But realism is not the only theoretical perspective whose future may depend on the fate of the democratic peace. Write an essay in which you not only evaluate Russett's claim about the democratic peace and the future of realism, but also the implications for other theoretical traditions, especially liberalism, Marxism and constructivism.

Section B

1. Does U.S. hegemony present a danger to the world? Why or why not? In answering this question, be sure to discuss Realist, Liberal, Marxist, and Constructivist understandings of the relationship between hegemony and interstate conflict.

2. Considering the role of military technology in World War I, Robert O’Connell argues that "Like no other conflict that had come before, the Great War’s course was determined by the weapons with which it was fought....the level of arms technology available in 1914 had made the war, as it was conceptualized by the participants, literally impossible to fight" (Of Arms and Men: A History of War, Weapons and Aggression [Oxford, 1989] pp. 242, 244). Explain and evaluate this claim.
3. The jurisprudential equivalent of preemption is the customary law doctrine known as “anticipatory self-defense.” What are the international law origins of this doctrine? Does it correctly apply to the current war in Iraq? Would it apply properly to any future defensive actions against emerging nuclear infrastructures in Iran? Can it be applied reasonably to defensive uses of force against terrorists and terrorist bases worldwide? Explain fully.

4. Billionaire financier George Soros has written: "By allowing market values to become all-important we actually narrow the space for moral judgment and undermine public morality...Globalization has increased this aberration, because it has actually reduced the power of individual states to determine their destiny." Write an essay that develops what Soros means by undermining public morality and what he means about globalization and state power. Then evaluate his claims.

5. To what degree (if any) are various understandings of how international norms operate compatible with the neorealist assumption that "anarchy" is the ordering principle of the international system? Please develop your answer with reference to specific authors.

6. "A feminist analysis can help reveal why U.S. foreign policy has become so militarized -- and at what costs.... Asking feminist questions openly, making them an explicit part of serious foreign policy discussion, is likely to produce a much more clear-eyed understanding of what is driving any given issue debate and what are the probable outcomes of one policy choice over another. Precisely because the United States currently has such an impact on the internal political workings of so many other countries, we need to start taking a hard look at American political culture. If this globalizing culture continues to elevate a masculinized 'toughness' to the status of an enshrined good, military needs will continue to be assigned top political priority, and it will be impossible for the US to create a more imaginative, more internationally useful foreign policy." (Cynthia Enloe, "Maculinity as a Foreign Policy Issue," Foreign Policy in Focus 5: 36, October 2000; reprinted in Hawthorne and Winter, eds., September 11, 2001: Feminist Perspectives, 254-259). Explain and discuss the argument that Enloe is making here. In your answer, be sure to refer to other relevant literature. Do you agree or disagree with Enloe, in whole or in part? What evidence can be called upon to support or oppose her position?
Ph.D. Examination in International Relations
Spring 2004

Directions: Ph.D. Majors must answer the question in Section A and three (3) questions from Section B. Ph.D. Minors must answer the question in Section A and two (2) questions from Part B. Focus on preparing coherent, well-organized essays that display your mastery of the literature and indicate how that literature expands our collective knowledge. Completed examinations should conform to the following guidelines:

- Place your student ID# at the top of each page of your examination. Do not write your name anywhere on the examination.
- Clearly identify the question you are answering at the start of each response.
- Cite sources throughout your examination using a standard format and provide a bibliography that covers all of the materials used in preparing your responses.
- Number your pages consecutively for the entire examination.
- Submit a cover page with your responses that lists your ID# and the type of exam you completed (e.g., MA Minor, MA Major, Ph.D. Major, Ph.D. Minor).

Section A

1. In his book, After Hegemony, Robert Keohane argued that in the present international system, "cooperation remains scarce relative to discord." (1984:5) What do theorists from the differing intellectual traditions in international relations believe about the future of cooperation in the international system? Discuss with reference to realists, liberals, and EITHER constructivists OR historical materialists (e.g., Marxists). Be sure to develop your answer with reference to specific authors and works.

Section B

1. Do nongovernmental organization (NGOs) play a democratizing role in global politics? What are the arguments for and against the idea that NGOs are agents of democratic "global civic politics"? Construct an answer with specific references to materials we have used in this course. Be sure to include a well-reasoned conclusion that discusses the implications of your answer for state-centric international relations theory.

2. What criticisms might a realist or neorealist theorist make of constructivism as presently practiced in international relations? Answer with reference to specific theorists and works.

3. Anti-globalization activists have mobilized all around the world against the "neoliberal" policy agenda of the International Monetary fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, and the G7 countries. What are the elements of the neoliberal policy agenda? Why is this agenda being criticized? Are the criticisms correct? Why or why not?
4. Perhaps the most daunting task facing the international legal system concerns the control of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, both to certain states and to terrorist groups. With this in mind, (a) identify the key elements of the current Nonproliferation regime; and (b) identify with precision what regime improvements need to be made to address the threat of proliferation. In responding to (b), be sure to discuss both structural/treaty-based remedies and pertinent geopolitical constraints. Make sure your answer references relevant research on this subject.

5. Jan Jindy Pettman writes, in *Worlding Women: A feminist international politics* (Routledge, 1996): “‘Security’ means very different things for most women than the meanings given to it by IR.... Women are located in particular and dangerous ways, both in discourses about war and in war politics on the ground. Violence, including state violence, is often sexualised. Feminist understandings and re-visioning of security are by no means monolithic, but they do reveal war and peace as gendered processes, and suggest strategies for a more secure world.” Do you agree that “women are located in particular and dangerous ways” in the discourses and practices of war and/or that “violence is often sexualised?” If so, in what ways? If not, on what grounds? Be sure to discuss the implications of your argument for understanding world politics and to draw on relevant works in international relations theory, gender and IR, and feminist analyses of war and peace.

6. Does U.S. hegemony present a danger to the world? Why or why not? In answering this question, be sure to discuss Realist, Liberal, Constructivist, and Historical Materialist (e.g., Marxist) understandings of the relationship between hegemony and interstate conflict.
Master’s Examination in International Relations
Spring 2004

Directions: MA Majors must answer the question in Section A and two (2) questions from Section B. MA Minors must answer the question in Section A and one (1) question from Part B. Focus on preparing coherent, well-organized essays that display your mastery of the literature and indicate how that literature expands our collective knowledge. Completed examinations should conform to the following guidelines:

☐ Place your student ID# at the top of each page of your examination. Do not write your name anywhere on the examination.

☐ Clearly identify the question you are answering at the start of each response.

☐ Cite sources throughout your examination using a standard format and provide a bibliography that covers all of the materials used in preparing your responses.

☐ Number your pages consecutively for the entire examination.

☐ Submit a cover page with your responses that lists your ID# and the type of exam you completed (e.g., MA Minor, MA Major, Ph.D. Major, Ph.D. Minor).

Section A

1. In his book, After Hegemony, Robert Keohane argued that in the present international system, “cooperation remains scarce relative to discord” (1984:5). What do theorists from the differing intellectual traditions in international relations believe about the future of cooperation in the international system? Discuss with reference to realists, liberals, and EITHER constructivists OR historical materialists (e.g., Marxists). Be sure to develop your answer with reference to specific authors and works.

Section B

1. J. Martin Rochester recently argued that there are two fundamental ways of thinking about the international system: the “billiard ball” model and the “cobweb” model. Write an essay comparing the essential features of the billiard ball and cobweb models. What does each regard as most important for understanding international relations? Which one, if any, is a more accurate description of international relations today? Explain your views. Note that you do not have to search out Rochester’s book to answer this question. Write the essay elaborating on the debate as it has been reflected in any number of international relations sources.

2. Critically evaluate the following statement: In the literature on international norms, there has been a tendency to assume that norms are about “positive” (rather than morally neutral or negative) behavior. Are value judgments an inseparable part of the study of norms? Explain your answer with reference to specific theories or theorists.
3. Are institutions important in Realist thought? If so, under what conditions do institutions matter for Realists? What do Realists expect institutions are capable of in international politics? On the other hand, if institutions are not important in Realist thought, why are they devalued? Is this position tenable given the way the world currently works?

4. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of feminist approaches to international relations. What kinds of questions are feminist approaches well-suited to answer? What kinds of questions are they ill-suited to answer? In your judgment, is feminism a useful lens through which to view world politics? Why or why not? Explain your answer with reference to specific theories and theorists.

5. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the literature on the “democratic peace.” What has this literature demonstrated and what questions remain unanswered? Can we conclude that democracies do not fight one another? Why or why not? Be sure to explain your answer with reference to specific authors.

6. In the final analysis, the main “purpose” of world politics is to provide humankind with a more harmonious, secure, and gratifying planetary life. Yet, the state system seems manifestly unable to satisfy this expectation. With this in mind, compose an essay in which you identify an alternative system of word order that is both desirable (from the standpoint of the above-stated “purpose”) and feasible. You may refer to both structural and behavioral remedies. Be sure to explain your answer with reference to specific authors.