

Power in International Relations

Hitotsubashi University Graduate School of Law

Autumn 2026 – Winter 2027

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Course Information

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Course Overview

Power is the most fundamental yet contested concept in international relations. Anyone reading the news in recent years will have observed that despite overwhelming resource advantages, large states cannot always get what they want. This course examines this puzzle and aims to equip students with the analytical tools to study and understand how power can be conceptualized, ‘measured’, and deployed. Drawing on foundational social science scholarship on the concept of power, we will develop an analytical framework for studying its use and examine specific mechanisms through which it can be employed, including military force, economic sticks and carrots, cyber coercion, information operations, ‘lawfare’, nuclear bargaining, agenda-setting through international institutions, and soft power. Along the way, we will use historical and contemporary case studies to assess both the limits and opportunities of different instruments of power, and to better appreciate why converting material capabilities into desired political outcomes remains one of the most central challenges of world politics.

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13. The Future of Power in World Politics

1 Welcome and Introduction

Overview: This class will cover course logistics and introduce some of the major underlying themes, concepts and questions that motivate it.

Required Reading:

1. Joseph S. Nye, "The Changing Nature of World Power", *Political Science Quarterly* 105, no. 2 (1990): 177-183 only.
2. Michael Beckley, "The power of nations: Measuring what matters." *International Security* 43, no. 2 (2018): 7-15 only.
3. David A. Baldwin, *Power and International Relations: A Conceptual Approach* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), Ch 4.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (Macmillan, 1974). NB: A revised version of the third edition of the book was published by Bloomsbury in early 2026.
2. James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
3. Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Relations," *International Organization* 59 (January 2005): 39-75.
4. Joseph Nye, "Power and foreign policy." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): 9-24.
5. Daniel Drezner, "Power and International Relations: a temporal view." *European Journal of International Relations* 27, no. 1 (2021): 29-52.

2 The Concept of Power

Overview: This week introduces the core concept of power and a framework for power analysis that we will utilise throughout the rest of the course.

Required Reading:

1. Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power." *Behavioral Science* 2 (July 1957): 201-209; 214 only.
2. David A. Baldwin, *Power and International Relations: A Conceptual Approach* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), Ch 3.
3. Darren Lim and Victor Ferguson, "Power in Australian Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (2018), online 18 June, pp. 1-7.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz. "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review* 56 (December 1962): 947-952.
2. Peter Digeser, "The fourth face of power," *Journal of Politics* 54 (November 1992): 977-1007.
3. Stefano Guzzini, "The concept of power: a constructivist analysis." *Millennium* 33, no. 3 (2005): 495-521.
4. Keith Dowding, "Why Should We Care About the Definition of Power?", *Journal of Political Power* 5, no. 1 (2012): 119-135.
5. David A. Baldwin, "Misinterpreting Dahl on power." *Journal of Political Power* 8, no. 2 (2015): 209-227.
6. David A. Baldwin, *Power and International Relations: A Conceptual Approach* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), Ch 2.
7. Stacie Goddard and Daniel Nexon, "The Dynamics of Global Power Politics: A Framework for Analysis," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1 (February 2016): 4-18.
8. David A. Baldwin, "The faces of power revisited." *Journal of Political Power* 14, no. 1 (2021): 85-96.
9. Pamela Pansardi and Marianna Bindi, "The new concepts of power? Power-over, power-to and power-with." *Journal of Political Power* 14, no. 1 (2021): 51-71.
10. Emily Meierding and Rachel Sigman, "Understanding the mechanisms of international influence in an era of great power competition." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6, no. 4 (2021): ogab011.

3 Warfighting

Overview: Our first substantive topic is asymmetric warfighting. Why do ‘large’ states often fail to achieve their objectives during military conflicts with ‘weaker’ actors?

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict." *International Security* 26, no. 1 (2001): 93-128.
2. Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson III, "Rage against the machines: Explaining outcomes in counterinsurgency wars." *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (2009): 67-106.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Andrew Mack, "Why big nations lose small wars: The politics of asymmetric conflict", *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (1975): 175-200.
2. Robert Art, "American foreign policy and the fungibility of force," *Security Studies* 5, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 7-42.
3. David Baldwin, "Force, fungibility, and influence," *Security Studies* 8 (Summer 1999): 173-183.
4. Ivan Arreguín-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
5. Patricia L. Sullivan, "War aims and war outcomes: Why powerful states lose limited wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 3 (2007): 496-524.
6. Jason Lyall, "Do democracies make inferior counterinsurgents? Reassessing democracy's impact on war outcomes and duration." *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (2010): 167-192.
7. Ivan Arreguín-Toft, "Contemporary asymmetric conflict theory in historical perspective." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 4 (2012): 635-657.
8. Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Testing the surge: Why did violence decline in Iraq in 2007?." *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 7-40.
9. Paul K. MacDonald, "'Retribution Must Succeed Rebellion': The Colonial Origins of Counterinsurgency Failure," *International Organization* 67, no. 2 (April 2013): 253-86
10. Eli Berman and Aila M. Matanock, "The empiricists' insurgency." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18, no. 1 (2015): 443-464.
11. Erik Gartzke and Jon R. Lindsay, "The influence of sea power on politics: domain-and platform-specific attributes of material capabilities." *Security Studies* 29, no. 4 (2020): 601-636.

12. Jacqueline L. Hazelton, "The "hearts and minds" fallacy: Violence, coercion, and success in counterinsurgency warfare." *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 80-113.
13. Jacqueline L. Hazelton, *Bullets not Ballots: Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).
14. J. Andrés Gannon, "Planes, trains, and armored mobiles: Introducing a dataset of the global distribution of military capabilities." *International Studies Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2023): sqad081.
15. Mark Souva, "Material military power: A country-year measure of military power, 1865–2019." *Journal of Peace Research* 60, no. 6 (2023): 1002-1009.
16. Connor Huff, "Counterinsurgency tactics, rebel grievances, and who keeps fighting." *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 1 (2024): 475-480.
17. Miriam Barnum, Christopher J. Fariss, Jonathan N. Markowitz, and Gaea Morales, "Measuring arms: Introducing the global military spending dataset." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 69, no. 2-3 (2025): 540-567.
18. Michael C. Horowitz and Joshua A. Schwartz, "To compete or strategically retreat? The global diffusion of reconnaissance strike." *Journal of Peace Research* 62, no. 4 (2025): 847-862.
19. Costantino Pischedda, Mauro Gilli, and Andrea Gilli, "Weapons of the Weak: Technological Change, Guerrilla Firepower, and Counterinsurgency Outcomes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 69, no. 9 (2025): 1553-1579.
20. Johannes Lindvall, Magnus Lundgren, and Jan Teorell, "Projecting power at home and abroad: domestic state capacity and military capability." *Journal of Peace Research* 63, no. 4 (2026): 507-520.

4 Military Coercion

Overview: This week we turn to coercive military threats, with a particular focus on air power.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), Chapter 2 (pp. 12-54, but not pp. 36-39).
2. Kerby Davis and Eugene Gholz, "Blockade by Fire: China's Potential to Blockade Taiwan Using Missile Attacks on Ports." *International Security* 50, no. 4 (2026): 176-231.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*. Yale University Press, 1966.
2. Michael Horowitz and Dan Reiter, "When Does Aerial Bombing Work? Quantitative Empirical Tests, 1917–1999," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 2 (2001): 147–173.
3. Daniel Byman, and Matthew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
4. Daniel W. Drezner, "Military primacy doesn't pay (nearly as much as you think)." *International Security* 38, no. 1 (2013): 52-79.
5. Filip Viskupic and Douglas B. Atkinson, "When states resist: Regime type, relative power, and militarized compellent threats." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3, no. 4 (2018): 431-443.
6. Abigail Post, "Flying to fail: Costly signals and air power in crisis bargaining." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, no. 4 (2019): 869-895.
7. Kathleen E. Powers and Dan Altman, "The Psychology of Coercion Failure: How Reactance Explains Resistance to Threats," *American Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 1 (2023): 221-238.
8. Robert Pape, Why Escalation Favors Iran: America and Israel May Have Bitten Off More Than They Can Chew, *Foreign Affairs*, 9 March 2026. Available [here](#).
9. Ryan Evans, "Tactical Success, Strategic Failure? Washington Walks the Path to Defeat in Iran", *War on the Rocks*, 14 April 2026. Available [here](#).
10. Marcus Welsch, Yasir Atalan, Benjamin Jensen, and Erik Tiersten-Nyman, "The Geography of Coercion: Russian Missile and Drone Campaigns in Ukraine", *CSIS*, 7 July 2026. Available [here](#).

5 Economic Coercion

Overview: This week we turn away from military resources and consider how restrictions on economic exchange (such as trade sanctions) can be employed as instruments of coercion.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Albert O. Hirschman, *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (University of California Press, 1945). Ch 1, Ch 2 (especially pp. 13-34).
2. Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman, "Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion." *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 42-79 (especially pp. 42-58).

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Little & Brown, 1977.
2. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. "Power and Interdependence revisited," *International Organization* 41 (1987): 725-753.
3. R. Harrison Wagner, "Economic interdependence, bargaining power, and political influence." *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 461-483.
4. Jonathan Kirshner, "The Microfoundations of Economic Sanctions," *Security Studies* 6 (1997): 32-64.
5. Daniel W. Drezner, *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
6. Robert S. Ross, "On the fungibility of economic power: China's economic rise and the East Asian security order." *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 1 (2019): 302-327.
7. Bryan R. Early and Keith A. Preble, "Going fishing versus hunting whales: Explaining changes in how the US enforces economic sanctions." *Security Studies* 29, no. 2 (2020): 231-267.
8. Reid BC Pauly, "Damned if they do, damned if they don't: The assurance dilemma in international coercion." *International Security* 49, no. 1 (2024): 91-132.
9. Daniel W. Drezner, "Global economic sanctions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 27 (2024).
10. Michael-David Mangini and Stephen Chaudoin, "Trade Interdependence in the Modern Global Economy", Working Paper, July 2025. Available [here](#).

6 Economic Inducements

Overview: This week considers when and how states use economic carrots, rather than sticks.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Timothy Peterson, 'Positive sanctions, incentives, and foreign policy', in Juliet Kaarbo and Cameron G. Thies (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 2024).
2. Miles Kahler and Scott Kastner, "Strategic Uses of Economic Interdependence: Engagement Policies on the Korean Peninsula and Across the Taiwan Strait", *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 5 (2006): 523-541.

Motivating Examples

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. David A. Baldwin, "The power of positive sanctions." *World Politics* 24, no. 1 (1971): 19-38.
2. Daniel W. Drezner, "The Trouble with Carrots: Transaction Costs, Conflict Expectations, and Economic Inducements." *Security Studies* 9 (1-2): 188-218.
3. R. E. Newnham, "More flies with honey: Positive economic linkage in German ostpolitik from Bismarck to Kohl." *International Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2000): 73-96.
4. Han Dorussen, "Mixing Carrots with Sticks: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Positive Inducements," *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 2 (2001): 251-262.
5. R. E. Newnham, "How to win friends and influence people: Japanese economic aid linkage and the Kurile Islands," *Asian Affairs* 27, no. 4 (2001): 247-260.
6. Tuomas Forsberg, "Economic Incentives, Ideas, and the End of the Cold War: Gorbachev and German Unification," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7 (2005): 142-164.
7. Miroslav Nincic, "The logic of positive engagement: dealing with renegade regimes," *International Studies Perspectives* 7 (Winter 2006): 321-341
8. Daniel Berger, William Easterly, Nathan Nunn, and Shanker Satyanath, "Commercial Imperialism? Political Influence and Trade During the Cold War." *American Economic Review* 103, no. 2 (2013): 863-96.
9. Scott L. Kastner, "Buying Influence? Assessing the Political Effects of China's International Trade." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 6 (2014): 980-1007.
10. Stan Hok-wui Wong and Nicole Wu, "Can Beijing buy Taiwan? An empirical assessment of Beijing's agricultural trade concessions to Taiwan." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 99 (2016): 353-371.

7 Cyber Coercion

Overview: This week focuses on how actions taken in cyberspace, such as hacking, may provide a means of influencing the behaviour of other actors in world politics.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Travis Sharp, 'Theorizing Cyber Coercion: The 2014 North Korean Operation Against Sony', *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 7 (2017), 898–926.
2. Erica D. Lonergan, "Minding the gap? The strategic logic of cyber coercion in theory and practice." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 49, no. 1 (2026): 5-33.

Motivating Examples

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Martin Libicki, *Cyberdeterrence and Cyberwar* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2009);
2. Joseph S. Nye, *Cyber Power*. Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2010.
3. Lucas Kello, "The meaning of the cyber revolution: Perils to theory and statecraft." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 7-40.
4. Erik Gartzke and Jon R. Lindsay, "Weaving tangled webs: Offense, defense, and deception in cyberspace." *Security Studies* 24, no. 2 (2015): 316-348.
5. Erica D. Borghard and Shawn W. Lonergan, 'The Logic of Coercion in Cyberspace', *Security Studies* 26, no. 3 (2017), 452–81.
6. Brandon Valeriano, Benjamin M. Jensen, and Ryan C. Maness, *Cyber Strategy: The Evolving Character of Power and Coercion* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018).
7. Alex S. Wilner, "US cyber deterrence: Practice guiding theory." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43, no. 2 (2020): 245-280.
8. Erica D. Borghard and Shawn W. Lonergan, "Deterrence by denial in cyberspace." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 46, no. 3 (2023): 534-569.
9. Heidi Demarest, Tyler Jost, and Robert Schub, "Bureaucracy and cyber coercion." *International Studies Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2024): sqad103.
10. William Akoto, "Unpacking state-sponsored cyber conflict: Intelligence-driven strategic competition in cyberspace." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 49, no. 2 (2026): 320-347.

8 Information Operations

Overview: This week focuses on what was once called “political warfare” and is increasingly described as “foreign information manipulation and interference” (FIMI): the use of information operations to influence the beliefs and behaviour of other actors in world politics.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Alexander Lanoszka, "Disinformation in international politics." *European Journal of International Security* 4, no. 2 (2019): 227-248.
2. Isabella Hansen and Darren J. Lim, "Doxing democracy: influencing elections via cyber voter interference." *Contemporary Politics* 25, no. 2 (2019): 150-171.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas." *International Security* 21, no. 2 (1996): 5-40.
2. Eric Larson, Richard E. Darilek, Daniel Gibran, Brian Nichiporuk, Amy Richardson, Lowell H. Schwartz, and Cathryn Q. Thurston, *Foundations of Effective Influence Operations: A Framework for Enhancing Army Capabilities* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2009).
3. Dov H. Levin, "When the Great Power Gets a Vote: The Effects of Great Power Electoral Interventions on Election Results", *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2016): 189-202.
4. Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts, "How the Chinese government fabricates social media posts for strategic distraction, not engaged argument." *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 3 (2017): 484-501.
5. Michael Tomz and Jessica L.P. Weeks, "Public opinion and foreign electoral intervention." *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (2020): 856-873.
6. Tobias Lemke and Michael W. Habegger, "Foreign interference and social media networks: A relational approach to studying contemporary Russian disinformation." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 7, no. 2 (2022): ogac004.
7. Fin Bauer and Kimberly L. Wilson, "Reactions to China-linked fake news: Experimental evidence from Taiwan." *The China Quarterly* 249 (2022): 21-46.
8. Lennart Maschmeyer, "Subversion, cyber operations, and reverse structural power in world politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 29, no. 1 (2023): 79-103.
9. Gregory Eady, Tom Paskhalis, Jan Zilinsky, Richard Bonneau, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua A. Tucker, "Exposure to the Russian Internet Research Agency foreign

- influence campaign on Twitter in the 2016 US election and its relationship to attitudes and voting behavior." *Nature Communications* 14, no. 1 (2023): 62.
10. Jan Zilinsky, Yannis Theocharis, Franziska Pradel, Marina Tulin, Claes de Vreese, Toril Aalberg, Ana Sofia Cardenal, et al., "Justifying an invasion: when is disinformation successful?." *Political Communication* 41, no. 6 (2024): 965-986.
 11. Chien-Yuan Sher, Chung-Pei Pien, Colin O'Reilly, and Yu-Hsi Liu. "In the name of Mazu: The use of religion by China to intervene in Taiwanese elections." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 20, no. 3 (2024): orae009.
 12. Julia C. Morse and Tyler Pratt, "Information disorder and global politics." *International Organization* 79, no. S1 (2025): S26-S43.
 13. Jay C. Kao, "How the Pro-Beijing Media Influences Voters: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* (2026): 1-20.
 14. Siyu Liang and Lachlan McNamee, "Authoritarian Persuasion at Home and Abroad: The Partial Effectiveness of Foreign Influencers in Propaganda Work." *Comparative Political Studies* (2026): 00104140261431834.
 15. Patrick L. Warren, Darren L. Linvill, and Camille J. Saucier, "State-sponsored agenda setting: Measuring the impact of narrative laundering." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 123, no. 36 (2026): e2534920123.

9 Nuclear Bargaining

Overview: This week asks whether and how states can convert nuclear weapons (or the threat of acquiring them) into bargaining leverage capable of extracting concessions from others.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Crisis bargaining and nuclear blackmail." *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (2013): 173-195.
2. Ankit Panda and Tristan A. Volpe, "Limited leverage: Nuclear latency in South Korea's alliance bargaining." *The Washington Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2024): 147-166.
3. Matthew Fuhrmann, *Influence Without Arms: The New Logic of Nuclear Deterrence* (Cambridge University Press, 2024) Ch 1.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Vipin Narang, "What does it take to deter? Regional power nuclear postures and international conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 3 (2013): 478-508.
2. Fiona S. Cunningham and M. Taylor Fravel, "Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and US-China Strategic Stability." *International Security* 40, no. 2 (2015): 7-50.
3. Tristan A. Volpe, "Atomic leverage: Compellence with nuclear latency." *Security Studies* 26, no. 3 (2017): 517-544.
4. Rupal N. Mehta and Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark, "The benefits and burdens of nuclear latency." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2017): 517-528.
5. Vipin Narang, *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation*. Princeton University Press, 2022.
6. Fiona S. Cunningham, "Strategic Substitution: China's Search for Coercive Leverage in the Information Age." *International Security* 47, no. 1 (2022): 46-92.
7. Henrik Stålhane Hiim, M. Taylor Fravel, and Magnus Langset Trøan, "The dynamics of an entangled security dilemma: China's changing nuclear posture." *International Security* 47, no. 4 (2023): 147-187.
8. Anna Clara Arndt, Liviu Horowitz, and Michal Onderco, "Russia's failed nuclear coercion against Ukraine." *The Washington Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2023): 167-184.
9. Benjamin Jones, Eleonora Mattiacci, and Timothy Nordstrom, "How leader's type shapes the effect of nuclear latency on dispute involvement." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 41, no. 2 (2024): 177-193.

10. Hankyeul Yang, "Nuclear Latency: Janus-Faced Consequences of US Political Influence for Protégés' Nuclear Capability." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 21, no. 3 (2025): oraf009.
11. Samuel Seitz and Lauren Sukin, "Deemphasizing Nuclear Weapons in Nuclear Deterrence: The Case for Conventional Counterforce." *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 8, no. 1 (2025): 15-35.
12. Fiona S. Cunningham, and Kristin Ven Bruusgaard, "Escalate to Survive?: Nuclear First Use in Contemporary Great Power Conflict." *International Security* 50, no. 4 (2026): 74-127.
13. Kyle Atwell and David C. Logan, "Shadow Wars in the Shadow of the Bomb: The Link Between Nuclear Weapons and Indirect Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2026): 00220027261421160.
14. Joshua A. Schwartz and Michael C. Horowitz, "Delegating Destruction: Coercive Threats and Automated Nuclear Systems." *International Organization* 80, no. 1 (2026): 179-204.
15. Helen Webley-Brown and Lauren Sukin, "Divisions at Home, Broken Promises Abroad? How Domestic Politics Shapes the United States' Nuclear Credibility." *International Studies Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2026): sqag023.

10 Soft Power

Overview: This week examines soft power: shaping behaviour via attraction and persuasion.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Joseph Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* 80 (Autumn 1990): 153-171
2. Benjamin Goldsmith and Yusaku Horiuchi, "In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for U.S. Foreign Policy?" *World Politics* 64, no. 3 (2012): 555-585

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.
2. Giulio M. Gallarotti, "Soft power: what it is, why it's important, and the conditions for its effective use." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): 25-47.
3. Ivan Bakalov, "Whither soft power? Divisions, milestones, and prospects of a research programme in the making." *Journal of Political Power* 12, no. 1 (2019): 129-151.
4. Ivan Bakalov, "Setting soft power in motion: towards a dynamic conceptual framework." *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 2 (2020): 495-517.
5. Joseph S. Nye, "Soft power: the evolution of a concept", *Journal of Political Power* 14, no. 1 (2021): 196-208.
6. Peter S. Henne, "What we talk about when we talk about soft power." *International Studies Perspectives* 23, no. 1 (2022): 94-111.
7. Daniel C. Mattingly and James Sundquist, "When does public diplomacy work? Evidence from China's 'wolf warrior' diplomats." *Political Science Research and Methods* 11, no. 4 (2023): 921-929.
8. Daniel Mattingly, Trevor Incerti, Changwook Ju, Colin Moreshead, Seiki Tanaka, and Hikaru Yamagishi, "Chinese State Media Persuades a Global Audience That the 'China Model' Is Superior: Evidence from a 19-Country Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 69, no. 3 (2025): 1029-1046.
9. Julia Bader and Neil Loughlin, "Soft power beyond liberal democracy. Authoritarian attraction, legitimacy and diffusion." *Contemporary Politics* (2026): 1-16.
10. Scott A. Tyson, Ethan Kapstein, and Audrye Wong, "Soft Power as Constituency Cultivation." *The Journal of Politics* 88, no. 3 (2026): 000-000.

11 Lawfare

Overview: This week considers 'lawfare', where states use (or 'misuse') legal instruments to influence the behaviour of other actors in world politics.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Janina Dill, "Abuse of law on the twenty-first-century battlefield: a typology of lawfare." In Michael L. Gross and Tamar Meisels (eds), *Soft War: The Ethics of Unarmed Conflict* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).
2. Rob McLaughlin, "The law of the sea and PRC gray-zone operations in the South China Sea." *American Journal of International Law* 116, no. 4 (2022): 821-835.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Lawfare today: A perspective." *Yale J. Int'l Aff.* 3 (2008): 146.
2. Orde F. Kittrie, *Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
3. Joel P. Trachtman, "Integrating lawfare and warfare." *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.* 39 (2016): 267.
4. Douglas Guilfoyle, "The rule of law and maritime security: understanding lawfare in the South China Sea." *International Affairs* 95, no. 5 (2019): 999-1017.
5. Jill I. Goldenziel, "Law as a Battlefield: The US, China, and the Global Escalation of Lawfare." *Cornell L. Rev.* 106 (2020): 1085.
6. Zakhar Tropin, "Lawfare as part of hybrid wars: The experience of Ukraine in conflict with Russian Federation." *Security and Defence Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2021): 15-29.
7. Victor A. Ferguson, "Economic lawfare: The logic and dynamics of using law to exercise economic power", *International Studies Review* 24, no. 3 (2022): viac032.
8. Michael J. West and Aurelio Insisa, "Reunifying Taiwan with China through cross-strait lawfare." *The China Quarterly* 257 (2024): 186-201.
9. Borys Kormych, Tetyana Averochkina, and Liudmyla Kormych, "Black Sea Grain initiative: bringing lawfare to conventional armed conflict." *Australian Journal of Maritime & Ocean Affairs* 17, no. 1 (2025): 140-157.
10. Crispin Smith and Michael Knights, "How Iran aligned militias seized Iraq: irregular warfare, lawfare and regime change." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 36, no. 4 (2025): 659-697.
11. Mark Jia, "Law Power." *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law*. Forthcoming. Available [here](#). Short version available [here](#).

12 Rulemaking and Agenda Setting

Overview: This week turns to exercising influence by shaping rules, standards and agendas.

Required Reading:

Theory

1. Sabrina B. Arias, "Who sets the agenda? Diplomatic experience and small power influence in the United Nations." *World Politics* (2026).
2. Nicholas Zúñiga, Saheli Datta Burton, Filippo Blancato, and Madeline Carr, "The geopolitics of technology standards: historical context for US, EU and Chinese approaches." *International Affairs* 100, no. 4 (2024): 1635-1652.

Motivating Example(s)

See Manaba.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Stephen D. Krasner, "Global communications and national power: Life on the Pareto frontier." *World Politics* 43, no. 3 (1991): 336-366.
2. George Tsebelis, "The power of the European Parliament as a conditional agenda setter." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 1 (1994): 128-142.
3. Mark A. Pollack, "Delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the European Community." *International Organization* 51, no. 1 (1997): 99-134.
4. Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and authority in international politics." *International Organization* 53, no. 2 (1999): 379-408.
5. Walter Mattli and Tim Büthe, "Setting international standards: technological rationality or primacy of power?." *World Politics* 56, no. 1 (2003): 1-42.
6. Jonas Tallberg, "The power of the chair: Formal leadership in international cooperation." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2010): 241-265.
7. Abraham L. Newman and Elliot Posner, "International interdependence and regulatory power: Authority, mobility, and markets." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 4 (2011): 589-610.
8. Anu Bradford, 2015. "Exporting Standards: The Externalisation of the EU's Regulatory Power via Markets." *International Review of Law and Economics* 42 (2015): 158-173.
9. Tim Rühlig, "Chinese influence through technical standardization power." *Journal of Contemporary China* 32, no. 139 (2023): 54-72.
10. Matti Ylönen, "Reconceptualising the Brussels effect." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 64, no. 1 (2026): 100-124.

13 The Future of Power in World Politics

Overview: Our final week reviews the course and looks ahead to emerging instruments such as drones and artificial intelligence and considers how they might reshape the exercise of power and influence in world politics in the years ahead.

Required Reading:

1. Avi Goldfarb and Jon R. Lindsay, "Prediction and Judgment: Why Artificial Intelligence Increases the Importance of Humans in War," *International Security* 46, no. 3 (2022): 7–50.
2. James Wesley Hutto and James Patton Rogers, "The drone revolution: Towards a synthesis in the drone debate." *European Journal of International Security* 11, no. 2 (2026): 145-165.

Potential Discussion Question(s):

See Manaba.

Recommended Reading:

1. Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Vincent Pouliot, "Power in practice: Negotiating the international intervention in Libya." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 4 (2014): 889-911.
2. Peter J. Katzenstein and Lucia A. Seybert, "Protean power and uncertainty: Exploring the unexpected in world politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (2018): 80-93.
3. Linus Hagström and Karl Gustafsson, "Narrative power: How storytelling shapes East Asian international politics." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 32, no. 4 (2019): 387-406.
4. Michael C. Horowitz, "Do Emerging Military Technologies Matter for International Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 385–400.
5. Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, Raffaele Marchetti, and Ivan Zaccagnini, "Why drones have not revolutionized war: The enduring hide-and-seek competition in air warfare." *International Security* 46, no. 4 (2022): 130-171.
6. Jean-Frédéric Morin and Eytan Tepper, "The empire strikes back: Comparing US and China's structural power in outer space." *Global Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (2023): ksad067.
7. Jeffrey Ding, "The rise and fall of technological leadership: General-purpose technology diffusion and economic power transitions." *International Studies Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2024): sqae013.
8. Irene Fernández-Molina and Gerasimos Tsourapas, "Understanding migration power in international studies." *International Affairs* 100, no. 6 (2024): 2461-2479.
9. Caleb Pomeroy, "The Damocles delusion: The sense of power inflates threat perception in world politics." *International Organization* 79, no. 1 (2025): 1-35.
10. Katharina Kausche and Moritz Weiss, "Platform power and regulatory capture in digital governance." *Business and Politics* 27, no. 2 (2025): 284-308.