

# National Security Decision-Making (Special Topics in Information Operations)

Course no. 4105  
Spring 2013

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R223

M/W  
0800-0950  
Main Location: Root Hall 210 (CTIW)  
Alternate Location: ING-263

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## 1 Location

This class will be located in CTIW, Root Hall 210, unless otherwise specified. When the class cannot meet there, the alternate location will be ING-263.

## 2 Goals

This seminar is designed to be an introduction to theories of decision-making in world politics. We will survey both traditional rational models of political decision-making as well as alternative models focused on individual psychology and organizational behavior. Among the various psychological theories, we will focus on the study of personality, character and psychobiography, as well as risk-taking (both traditional models as well as prospect theory), cognitive biases (e.g. overconfidence) and how leaders learn from history. We will approach political decision-making from a variety of angles and levels of analysis, including decision-making at the individual, group and organizational level. Wherever possible, conceptual and theoretical works will be supplemented with applied research in the context of national security decision-making. The course will conclude with three 'stand-alone' segments: (1) the application of the theories covered in class to one of the most-studied decision-making episodes in history, the Cuban Missile Crisis (2) how theories of decision-making can be applied to the study of intelligence analysis, and finally (3) new directions in the study of decision-making.

## 3 Guidelines and Grading

Some basic guidelines for this class (these probably apply to any class you take):

- Make a good-faith effort to do the readings for each class.
- Come to class on time.
- It's fine to use a computer to take notes, but please don't bring your computer so you can write emails and read the news during class (it's generally pretty obvious to the professor).

- There are legitimate reasons to have to miss class, but if you must, please email me ahead of time to let me know.
- If you have any questions about anything related to the course, email me and I will get back to you within 24 hours.
- One exception: I will not respond to emails sent the night before an assignment is due.

This class is graded (A-F). Your grade will be a function of both class participation (reading + discussion) and your final paper.

## 4 Assignments

Aside from readings and discussion, the primary assignment for this course will be a 15-18 page research paper. The paper can be on a topic of your choice, so long as it bears on the topic of judgment and decision-making. The topic must be approved by the instructor. In order to do this, please set up a time to meet with me to discuss your proposed topic. This meeting must take place by **6 May**.

The paper is **due 10 June**, by 5pm in my department mailbox. The paper must be turned in in hard copy (not via email).

Further instructions for the paper will follow over the course of the academic quarter.

## 5 Schedule

### 1 April

#### Introduction

- The Power of Human Cognition in the Study of World Politics (2000), Jerel A. Rosati, *International Studies Review* 2/3: 45-75.
- The Two Cultures of Academia and Policy-Making: Bridging the Gap (1994), Alexander L. George, *Political Psychology* 15/1: 143-172.

## Individuals

### 3 April (Guest Lecture by Prof. Leo Blanken in ING-263)

## Game Theory and Rationalist Approaches

- A Normative, Rational Decision Theory (2001) in *Rational Choice in an Uncertain World*, Reid Hastie and Robyn M. Dawes, (Sage Publications, CA), pp. 249-287.
- The Rational Actor Model (2010) in *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr. (Cambridge University Press, NY), pp. 57-67.
- A Game-Theoretic Analysis of the Vietnam Negotiations (1977), Frank C. Zagare, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21/4: 663-684.
- A Rational Choice Approach to International Conflict (1997), James D. Morrow in *Decision-making on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate*, edited by Nehemia Geva and Alex Mintz (Lynne Reinner Press, CO), pp. 11-31.
- The Robust Beauty of Improper Linear Models in Decision Making (1979), Robyn M. Dawes, *American Psychologist* 34/7: 571-582.

## 8 April

### Individual Psychology

- Homo Psychologicus (2013) in *The Decision Point: Six Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making*, David Patrick Houghton (Oxford University Press, NY), pp. 62-84.
- The Importance of Beliefs and Images (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 55-80.
- Cognitive Dissonance and International Relations (1976) in *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Robert Jervis (Princeton University Press, NJ), pp. 382-406.
- Biases in Decision Making (2010) in *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr. (Cambridge University Press, NY), pp. 38-54.
- Psychological Factors Affecting Foreign Policy Decisions (2010) in *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr. (Cambridge University Press, NY), pp. 97-120.
- Coping with Trade-offs: Psychological Constraints and Political Implications (2000), in *Elements of Reason: Cognition, Choice and the Bounds of Rationality*, Philip E. Tetlock; edited by Arthur Lupia, Matthew McCubbins & Samuel Popkin (Cambridge University Press, NY), pp. 239-263.

## 10 April

NO CLASS

## 15 April

## Risk I

- The Anatomy of Risk: What Is Risk and How Is It Framed? (1998) in *Risk Taking and Decision Making: Foreign Military Intervention Decisions*, Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger (Stanford University Press, CA), pp. 17-42.
- The Formation of Risk Judgments and Risk Preferences: A Sociocognitive Approach (1998) in *Risk Taking and Decision Making: Foreign Military Intervention Decisions*, Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger (Stanford University Press, CA), pp. 43-112.
- The Czechoslovakia Case (1998) in *Risk Taking and Decision Making: Foreign Military Intervention Decisions*, Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger (Stanford University Press, CA), pp. 217-258.
- The Lebanon Case (1998) in *Risk Taking and Decision Making: Foreign Military Intervention Decisions*, Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger (Stanford University Press, CA), pp. 325-386.

## 17 April

### Another Perspective on Risk: Prospect Theory

- Prospect Theory, Rational Choice and International Relations (1997) Jack S. Levy, *International Studies Quarterly* 41/1: 87-112.
- Prospect Theory in International Relations: The Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission (1992) Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology* 13/2: 237-263.
- Who Takes Risks? Daring and Caution in Foreign Policy Making (1997), Paul Kowert & Margaret Hermann, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41/5: 611-637.

## 22 April

### Judgmental Biases: Overconfidence

- War and Illusions (2004), in *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions*, Dominic D.P. Johnson (Harvard University Press, MA), pp. 1-34.
- Looking for Illusions (2004), in *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions*, Dominic D.P. Johnson (Harvard University Press, MA), pp. 35-57.
- The Munich Crisis (2004), in *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions*, Dominic D.P. Johnson (Harvard University Press, MA), pp. 85-107.
- The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return (2011), Dominic D.P. Johnson & Dominic Tierney, *International Security* 36/1: 7-40.

## 24 April

## Poliheuristic Theory

- Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Poliheuristic Perspective (2002) in *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Alex Mintz; edited by Alex Mintz (Palgrave-Macmillan, NY), pp. 1-9.
- The Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Experimental Evidence (2002) in *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Steven B. Redd.; edited by Alex Mintz (Palgrave-Macmillan, NY), pp. 101-126.
- The Decision Not To Use Force at Dien Bien Phu: A Poliheuristic Perspective (2002) in *Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Karl DeRouen, Jr.; edited by Alex Mintz (Palgrave-Macmillan, NY), pp. 11-28.
- The Decision to Attack Iraq: A Noncompensatory Theory of Decision Making (1993) Alex Mintz, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37/4: 595-618.

## 29 April

### Psychological Profiling of Leaders

- Assessing Leaders' Personality: A Historical Survey of Academic Research Studies (2005) in *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, David G. Winter; edited by Jerrold M. Post (University of Michigan Press, MI), pp. 11-38.
- Leader Personality Assessments in Support of Government Policy (2005) in *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, Jerrold M. Post; edited by Jerrold M. Post (University of Michigan Press, MI), pp. 39-61.
- Profile of Saddam Hussen in *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, edited by Jerrold M. Post (University of Michigan Press, MI):
  - Saddam Hussein of Iraq: A Political Psychology Profile, Jerrold M. Post, pp. 335-366.
  - Saddam Hussein: Personality Traits and Motivational Biases, Walter Weintraub and David Winter, pp. 367-374.
  - Saddam Hussein's Leadership Style, Margaret G. Hermann, pp. 375-386.
  - Saddam Hussein: Beliefs and Integrative Complexity, Stephen G. Walker, Mark Schafer, Michael D. Young & Peter Suedfeld, pp. 387-398.

## 1 May

## Character, Personality & Psychobiography

- Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically? (1992), Fred Greenstein, *Political Psychology* 13/1: 105-128.
- The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making (1969), Alexander George *International Studies Quarterly* 13/2: 190-222.
- Classifying and Predicting Presidential Styles: Two 'Weak' Presidents (1968) James D. Barber, *Journal of Social Issues* 24/3: 51-80.
- Review: Assessing Presidential Character (1974) Alexander L. George, *World Politics* 26/2: 234-282.

6 May

## Analogies and Learning from History

- How Decision-Makers Learn from History (1976) in *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Robert Jervis (Princeton University Press, NJ), pp. 217-282.
- Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner (1994), Janice Gross Stein, *International Organization* 48/2: 155-183.
- Foreign Policy Decisionmakers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and Its Shortcomings (1986), Yaacov Y.I. Vertzberger, *International Studies Quarterly* 30/2: 223-247.

## Groups & Organizations

8 May

### Bureaucracies and Organizational Decision-Making I

- Homo Bureaucraticus (2013) in *The Decision Point: Six Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making*, David Patrick Houghton (Oxford University Press, NY), pp. 23-42.
- Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications (1972), Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, *World Politics* 24: 40-79.
- Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland) (1971), Stephen D. Krasner, *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179.
- The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect (1992), David A. Welch, *International Security* 17: 112-146.

- Reappraising Bureaucratic Politics (1998), Paul t'Hart and Uriel Rosenthal, *Mershon International Studies Review* 42: 233-240.

**13 May**

## **Bureaucracies and Organizational Decision-Making II**

- The Decision to Deploy the ABM: Bureaucratic and Domestic Politics in the Johnson Administration (1972), Morton H. Halperin, *World Politics* 25: 62-96.
- Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars (1995), Elizabeth Kier, *International Security* 19/4: 65-93.
- Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter? Some Disconfirming Findings from the Case of the U.S. Navy (1993), Edward Rhodes, *World Politics* 47/1: 1-41.
- Developing a Systematic Decision-Making Framework: Bureaucratic Politics in Perspective (1981) Jerel A. Rosati, *World Politics* 33/2: 234-252.

**15 May**

## **Group Decision Making & Groupthink I**

- The Essence of Groupthink (1984), Eric Stern and Bengt Sundelius, *Mershon International Studies Review* 38: 101-107.
- Homo Sociologicus (2013) in *The Decision Point: Six Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making*, David Patrick Houghton (Oxford University Press, NY), pp. 43-61.
- Introduction (2010) in *Groupthink vs. High-Quality Decision-Making in International Relations*, Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow (Columbia University Press, New York), pp. 5-17.
- The Group and the Individual in Foreign-Policy Decision-Making (2010) in *Groupthink vs. High-Quality Decision-Making in International Relations*, Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow (Columbia University Press, New York), pp. 18-52.
- Groupthink Reconsidered (1989), Glen Whyte, *Academy of Management Review* 14: 40-56.
- Irving L. Janis' Victims of Groupthink (1991), Paul t'Hart *Political Psychology* 12: 247-277.

**20 May**

## Group Decision Making & Groupthink II

- Case Studies in Low-Quality Decision Making (2010) in *Groupthink vs. High-Quality Decision-Making in International Relations*, Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow (Columbia University Press, New York), pp. 81-122.
- Case Studies in High-Quality Decision Making (2010) in *Groupthink vs. High-Quality Decision-Making in International Relations*, Mark Schafer and Scott Crichlow (Columbia University Press, New York), pp. 123-153.
- Decision-Making During International Crises: Is Quality of Process Related to Outcomes? (1987) Gregory M. Herek, Irving L. Janis & Paul Huth, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31/2: 203-226.

22 May

## Decision Structures

- The President's Search for Quality Decision—A Framework (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 1-14.
- Some Possible (and Possibly Dangerous) Malfunctions of the Advisory Process (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 121-136.
- Presidential Management Styles and Models (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 145-168.
- The Devil's Advocate: Uses and Limitations (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 169-174.
- The 'Formal Options' System (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 175-189.
- Multiple Advocacy (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 191-208.
- The Collegial Policymaking Group (1980) in *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, Alexander George (Westview Press, CO), pp. 209-216.
- Introduction-The Case for the Honest Broker Role (2009) in *Honest Broker? The National Security Advisor and Presidential Decision Making*, John P. Burke (Texas A & M Press, TX), pp. 1-14.
- The Costs of Absent Brokerage: Henry Kissinger as NSC Advisor (2009) in *Honest Broker? The National Security Advisor and Presidential Decision Making*, John P. Burke (Texas A & M Press, TX), pp. 105-150.



**24 May**  
NO CLASS (MEMORIAL DAY)

## Applying it to the most-studied case of all time

**29 May**

### The Cuban Missile Crisis I

- Essence of Revision: Moscow, Havana and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1989), Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *International Security* 14/3: 136-172.
- Understanding Decisionmaking, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Cuban Missile Crisis: A Review Essay (2000), Barton J. Bernstein, *International Security* 25/1: 134-164.
- Plans and Routine, Bureaucratic Bargaining, and the Cuban Missile Crisis (2001), Timothy J. McKeown, *Journal of Politics* 63/4: 1163-1190.
- Decision Making by Objection and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1983), Paul Anderson, *Administrative Science Quarterly* 28/2: 201-222.

**3 June**

### The Cuban Missile Crisis II

- The @#\$\$%& Missile Crisis (Or, What Was ‘Cuban’ about U.S. Decisions during the Cuban Missile Crisis) (2000), Jorge Domínguez, *Diplomatic History* 24/2: 305-315.
- The Origins and Function of the Reference Point in Risky Group Decision Making: The Case of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1994), Glen Whyte and Ariel S. Levi, *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* 7: 243-260.
- Shame and Humiliation in the Cuban Missile Crisis: A Psychoanalytic Perspective (1991), Blema S. Steinberg, *Political Psychology* 12/4: 653-690.
- Domestic Politics and the Cuban Missile Crisis: The Traditional and Revisionist Interpretations Re-evaluated (1990), Richard Ned Lebow, *Diplomatic History* 14/4: 471-492.

## Intelligence

**5 June**

## Why Is Intelligence Analysis So Difficult?

- The Intelligence of Stupidity: Understanding Failures in Strategic Warning (1979), Steve Chan, *American Political Science Review* 73/1: 171-180.
- Adventures in Intelligence (2010), in *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, Robert Jervis (Cornell University Press, NY), pp. 1-15.
- The Politics and Psychology of Intelligence and Intelligence Reform (2010), in *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, Robert Jervis (Cornell University Press, NY), pp. 156-197.
- Twenty-First Century Intelligence (2007), in *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security*, Richard K. Betts (Columbia University Press, NY), pp. 1-18.
- Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable (2007), in *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security*, Richard K. Betts (Columbia University Press, NY), pp. 19-52.
- Theory Traps: Expertise as an Enemy (2007), in *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security*, Richard K. Betts (Columbia University Press, NY), pp. 53-65.

10 June

## Cases of Intelligence Failure

- Two Faces of Failure: September 11 and Iraq's Missing WMD (2007), in *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security*, Richard K. Betts (Columbia University Press, NY), pp. 104-123.
- Failing to See That the Shah Was in Danger (2010), in *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, Robert Jervis (Cornell University Press, NY), pp. 15-123.

## Novel Approaches to Decision-Making

12 June

## Experiments, Genetics and Beyond

- The Influence of Advisers on Foreign Policy Decision Making: An Experimental Study (2002), Steven B. Redd, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46/3: 335-364.
- Leader Age, Regime Type and Violent International Relations (2005), Michael Horowitz, Rose McDermott & Allan C. Stam, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49/5: 661-685.
- Birth Order of World Leaders: An Exploratory Analysis of Effects on Personality and Behavior (1990), Valerie M. Hudson, *Political Psychology* 11/3: 583-601.

- War, Peace and Integrative Complexity: UN Speeches on the Middle East Problem, 1947-1976 (1977), Peter Suedfeld, Philip E. Tetlock and Carmenza Ramirez, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21/3: 427-442.