

University of Georgia
INTL 4260: Foreign Policy Decision Making
Fall 2020
Room – MLC 253
Time – Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:45-2:00 PM

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Office Hours: By Appointment (virtual)

Course Description and Objectives:

The primary objective of this course is to provide an examination of human decision making as central to the analysis of foreign policy. This course investigates how decision makers – both individuals and groups – make decisions regarding foreign policy. By exploring this subject through the lens of cognitive and behavioral science, the student will evaluate the degree by which elites and the public rely on decision heuristics and biases when making foreign policy judgements.

Required Reading:

There is one (1) required text for this course:

- Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed. New York: Longman. [Allison and Zelikow]

Additional readings can be found via eLC, unless otherwise noted.

Course Evaluation and Grading

Your final grade will be based on the sum of points earned from each of the following assignments:

Participation:	10%
Short Papers:	15%
Midterm Exam:	20%
Final Exam:	25%
Proposal:	5%
Paper:	25%

Class Structure: This course will use a hybrid-flexible (hyflex) approach to ensure that all students can participate within the course instruction. Students will be separated into two groups (Group 1 and Group 2). These groups will be assigned prior to the semester start and posted on eLC.

During the first half of the semester (prior to midterm), the course will provide online instruction via a weekly lecture series hosted via eLC; this will take the place of the usual Tuesday classes. During the following Thursdays, class will meet face-to-face. These in-person lectures will also

be simultaneously broadcasted via Zoom, as well as recorded and uploaded to eLC following the class meeting for posterity.

During the second half of the semester (after the midterm), the course will provide in-person instruction each class meeting. These meetings will again be simultaneously broadcasted via Zoom, as well as recorded and uploaded to eLC for posterity.

Finally, after resuming class instruction after the conclusion of the Thanksgiving break, the course will move to a completely online format, wherein the class will meet in its entirety via Zoom and discuss that week's subject matter. These meeting as well, will be recorded and uploaded to eLC.

Note: All Zoom meeting rooms will be password-protected. The meeting rooms will be scheduled, and passwords distributed prior to semester start.

Attendance: There is no formal attendance policy for this course. However, your regular attendance – either in-person or virtually – is necessary for success in this class because missing class disrupts your ability to participate and turn in assignments. It also detracts from other students' opportunities to benefit from your insights during discussions.

Participation: Participation in class will account for 10 percent of your final grade. A successful student will voluntarily make substantive contributions to class discussion each class, volunteers comments and questions that demonstrate thorough completion of the assigned readings, and actively participates in assigned group work. Simply showing up to class does not constitute participation. Further, disruptive or disrespectful behavior such as using cell phones, sleeping, or surfing the web will cause a deduction in your participation grade, regardless of your fulfillments of the above expectations.

Short Papers: Select three (3) topics identified in the syllabus. The purpose of the (750-word) essays is to apply course concepts to contemporary foreign policy issues. These essays can also be used to motivate your thesis for your final paper. Essays will be due on eLC by 11:59PM of the Monday following the discussion of readings.

Exams: Both the midterm and final exams will draw upon both the assigned readings and class materials. Lectures and class discussions are intended to supplement, not replace, the readings. You are responsible for all information in the assigned readings, even if we have not gone over it in lecture, unless otherwise noted by the instructor. The exams will be supplied via eLC and will be in essay format. More information will become available nearer to exam dates.

Proposal and Paper: Each student will submit an 8-10 page paper detailing a topic of the student's choice. Students will submit a 2-page proposal outlining their proposed topic and argument, the relevant historical and theoretical perspectives that will be examined, and a preliminary bibliography. Students may select any topic relating to a theoretical dynamic of a singular or series of foreign policy decisions. The proposal is due on eLC by 11:59PM on Tuesday, 13 October. Final papers will be due by 11:59PM on Tuesday, 8 December. An Assignment folder will be on eLC for students to submit their papers. Late papers will be penalized 10 points per day from final paper grade. Additional details and a rubric for both the paper will be discussed and given nearer to proposal due date.

Overall Grades: Letter grades are constructed to reflect the university standards posted at [http://bulletin.uga.edu/Bulletin_Files/acad/Grades.html], which are summarized below. Letter grades will be based on how many points you earn according to the following distribution:

93-100	A	90-92	A-		
87-89	B+	83-86	B	80-82	B-
77-79	C+	73-76	C	70-72	C-
60-69	D				
< 60	F				

Course Policies

Academic Honesty

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University’s academic honesty policy, “A Culture of Honesty,” and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in “A Culture of Honesty” found at: www.uga.edu/honesty. Lack of Knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

Disability Statement

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the UGA Disabilities Services offices will be accommodated according to university policy. Students with disabilities who require reasonable accommodations in order to participate in course activities or meet course requirements should contact the instructor or designate during regular office hours or by appointment. For more information, contact UGA Disabilities Services at 706-542-8719.

Student Resources

You can increase your chance of success in this course by using UGA’s academic services. The Division of Academic Enhancement offers tutoring in Collaborative Academic and Retention Effort (CARE) that can help with overall course performance and in writing that can help with critical thinking exercises. You can set an appointment at [<http://dae.uga.edu/>], and the phone number is 706-542-7575. You also may check out opportunities at the Miller Learning Center [<http://mlc.uga.edu/>] and the Writing Center [<http://writingcenter.english.uga.edu/>].

Coronavirus Information

Face Coverings:

Effective July 15, 2020, the University of Georgia—along with all University System of Georgia (USG) institutions—requires all faculty, staff, students and visitors to wear an appropriate face covering while inside campus facilities/buildings where six feet social distancing may not always be possible. Face covering use is in addition to and is not a substitute for social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one or must leave the area. Face shields are NOT a substitute for face masks. Reasonable accommodations may be made for those who are unable to wear a face covering for documented health reasons. Students seeking an accommodation related to face coverings should contact Disability Services at <https://drc.uga.edu/>.

DawgCheck:

Please perform a quick symptom check each weekday on DawgCheck—on the UGA app or website—whether you feel sick or not. It will help health providers monitor the health situation on campus: <https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/>.

What do I do if I have symptoms:

Students showing symptoms should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see <https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>.

What do I do if I am notified that I have been exposed:

Students who learn they have been directly exposed to COVID-19 but are not showing symptoms should self-quarantine for 14 days consistent with Department of Public Health (DPH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines. Please correspond with your instructor via email, with a cc: to Student Care & Outreach at sco@uga.edu, to coordinate continuing your coursework while self-quarantined. If you develop symptoms, you should contact the University Health Center to make an appointment to be tested. You should continue to monitor your symptoms daily on DawgCheck.

How do I get a test:

Students who are demonstrating symptoms of COVID-19 should call the University Health Center. UHC is offering testing by appointment for students; appointments may be booked by calling 706-542-1162.

UGA will also be recruiting asymptomatic students to participate in surveillance tests. Students living in residence halls, Greek housing and off-campus apartment complexes are encouraged to participate.

What do I do if I test positive:

Any student with a positive COVID-19 test is required to report the test in DawgCheck and should self-isolate immediately. Students should not attend classes in-person until the isolation period is completed. Once you report the positive test through DawgCheck, UGA Student Care and Outreach will follow up with you.

Course Schedule

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviation announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

- **Week 1 (20 AUG – Course Introduction)**
 - 20 AUG (Online – Zoom)
- **Week 2 (25/27 AUG – Who and Why)**
 - 25 AUG (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - Add/Drop Ends on 26 AUG
 - 27 AUG (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Reading:
 - Bryman, Daniel, and Kenneth Pollack. 2001. “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In.” *International Security* 25(4). 107-146.
 - Hermann, Margaret. 2001. “How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework.” *International Studies Review* 3(2). 47-81.
 - Milgram, Stanley. 1965. “Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority.” *Human Relations* 18(1). 57-76.
- **Week 3 (1/3 SEP – Rational Actor)**
 - 1 SEP (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 3 SEP (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Allison and Zelikow, Chapters 1 and 2
 - Fearon, James. 1995. “Rationalist Explanations for War.” *International Organization* 49. 379-414.
 - McDermott, Rose. 2004. “The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science.” *PS: Politics and Political Science* 2. 691–706.
 - Putnam, Robert. 1988. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization* 42(3). 427-460.
 - **Essay 1:** Identify a conflict that is consistent with Fearon’s explanation of war.
- **Week 4 (8/10 SEP – Bureaucratic Politics)**
 - 8 SEP (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 10 SEP (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Reading:
 - Allison and Zelikow, Chapters 5 and 6
 - Allison, G., and Halperin, M. 1972. “Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Implications.” R. Tanter and R. Ullman (eds.) *Theory and Policy in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 40–79.
 - Christensen, E., and Redd, S. 2004. “Bureaucrats vs. the Ballot Box in Foreign Policy Decision Making: An Experimental Analysis of the Bureaucratic Politics Model and the Poliheuristic Theory.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48. 69–90.
 - Stephen D. Krasner. 1972. “Are Bureaucracies Important? Or Allison Wonderland.” *Foreign Policy*. 159-179.

- **Week 5 (15/17 SEP – Organizational Process)**
 - 15 SEP (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 17 SEP (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Allison and Zelikow, Chapters 3 and 4
 - Welch, D. 1992. “The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect.” *International Security* 17. 112–146.
 - **Essay 2:** Do you agree with Allison and Zelikow that there are inherent differences between the Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Process models? Why or Why not?
- **Week 6 (22/24 SEP – Prospect)**
 - 22 SEP (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 24 SEP (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Reading:
 - Farnham, Barbara. 1992. “Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: Insights from Prospect Theory.” *Political Psychology*. 205-235.
 - Kahneman, D., and Tversky, A. 1979. “Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk.” *Econometrica* 47. 263–291.
 - Kahneman, D., Knetsch, J.L., and Thaler, R.H. 1991. “The endowment effect, loss aversion, and status quo bias.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5. 193–206.
 - Levy, J. 1997. “Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations.” *International Studies Quarterly* 41. 87–112.
 - McDermott, R. 1992. “Prospect Theory in International Relations: The Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission.” *Political Psychology* 13. 237–263.
- **Week 7 (29 SEP/ 1 OCT – Poliheuristic)**
 - 29 SEP (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 1 OCT (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Christensen, E., and Redd, S. 2004. “Bureaucrats vs. the Ballot Box in Foreign Policy Decision Making: An Experimental Analysis of the Bureaucratic Politics Model and the Poliheuristic Theory.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48. 69–90.
 - James, P., and Zhang, E. 2005. “Chinese Choices: A Poliheuristic Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises, 1950–1996.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1. 31–54.
 - Mintz, A. 2004. ”How Do Leaders Make Decisions? A Poliheuristic Perspective.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48. 3–13.
 - Mintz, A., and Geva, N. 1997. “The Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making.” *Decision Making on War and Peace: The Cognitive–Rational Debate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. 81–101.
 - Sandal, N., Zhang, E., James, C., and James, P. 2007. “Poliheuristic Theory in Comparative Perspective: Theory and Evidence for Turkey and China.”
 - **Essay 3:** Is the Poliheuristic theory a helpful tool for foreign policy analysis?

- **Week 8 (6/8 OCT – Cybernetic)**
 - 6 OCT (Online – eLC Lecture)
 - 8 OCT (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Reading:
 - March, J. G. 1986. “Bounded rationality, ambiguity, and the engineering of choice.” J. Elster (ed.), *Rational choice*. New York: New York University Press. 70-142.
 - Marra, R.F. 1985. “A Cybernetic Model of the US Defense Expenditure Policymaking Process.” *International Studies Quarterly* 29. 357–84.
 - Ostrom, C., and Job, B. 1986. “The President and the Political Use of Force.” *American Political Science Review* 80. 541–566.
 - Simon, H. 1985. “Human nature in politics: The dialogue of psychology with political science.” *American Political Science Review*. 293–304.
- **Week 9 (13/15 OCT – Model Review / Midterm)**
 - 13 OCT (In-Class – Group 2)
 - 15 OCT (Online – Midterm)
 - Reading:
 - Bendor, J., and Hammond, T.H. 1992. “Rethinking Allison’s Models.” *American Political Science Review* 86. 301–322.
- **Week 10 (20/22 OCT – Decision Rules)**
 - 20 OCT (In-Class – Group 1)
 - 22 OCT (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Mintz, A., & DeRouen, K., Jr. 2010. “Types of Decisions and Levels of Analysis in Foreign Policy Decision Making.” *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
 - Payne, J. W., Bettman, J. R., and Johnson, E. J. 1988. “Adaptive strategy selection in decision making.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition* 14. 534–552.
 - **Essay 4:** Extend the logic of decision rules to a new foreign policy issue, and provide an analysis.

- **Week 11 (27/29 OCT – Groupthink / Polythink)**
 - 27 OCT (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Withdrawal Deadline
 - 29 OCT (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Badie, Dina. 2010. “Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6(4). 277–296.
 - Geroge, A. L. 1972. “The Case for Multiple Advocacy in Making Foreign Policy.” *American Political Science Review* 66(3). 751–785.
 - Mintz, A., & Wayne, C. 2016. “Symptoms, Causes, and Consequences of Polythink.” *The polythink syndrome: U.S. foreign policy decisions on 9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and ISIS*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
 - Redd, S. B. 2005. “The influence of advisers and decision strategies on foreign policy decision making: An experimental study.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(3). 335-364..
 - **Essay 5:** Identify an original example of groupthink or polythink, and explain how this dynamic ultimately shaped the outcome.
- **Week 12 (3/5 NOV – Convergence-Divergence Group / Two Group)**
 - 3 NOV (In-Class – Group 1)
 - 5 NOV (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Mintz, A., & Wayne, C. 2016. “Decision Making in the Iraq War: From Groupthink to Polythink.” *The polythink syndrome: U.S. foreign policy decisions on 9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and ISIS*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
 - Mintz, A., & Wayne, C. 2016. “The Polythink Syndrome.” *The polythink syndrome: U.S. foreign policy decisions on 9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and ISIS*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
 - Sofrin, A. 2017. “The Two-Group Decision Model: Application to Military Intervention in the Middle East.”

- **Week 13 (10/12 NOV – Personality / Age and Experience)**
 - 10 NOV (In-Class – Group 1)
 - 12 NOV (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Gallagher, Maryann E., and Susan H. Allen. 2014. “Presidential personality: Not just a nuisance.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10(1). 1-21
 - Hermann, M.G., Preston, T., Korany, B., and Shaw, T.M. 2001. “Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals.” *International Studies Review* 3. 83–132.
 - Horowitz, Michael, and Allan C. Stam. 2014. “How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders.” *International Organization*. 527-559.
 - Horowitz, Michael, Rose McDermott, and Allan Stam. 2005. “Leader Age, Regime Type and Violent International Relations.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 661-685.
 - Levinson, D.J. 1957. “Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1. 37–47.
 - **Essay 6:** Provide a brief psychobiography of a political leader and give an example of how their personality, age, and/or experience shaped a decision.
- **Week 14 (17/19 NOV – Gender / Emotion)**
 - 17 NOV (In-Class – Group 1)
 - 19 NOV (In-Class – Group 2)
 - Reading:
 - Cohn, C. 1987. “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(4). 687–718.
 - Eichenberg, R.C. 2016. “Gender Difference in American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force, 1982–2013.” *International Studies Quarterly* 60(1). 138–148.
 - Gadarian, S.K. 2010. “The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes.” *The Journal of Politics*. 72(2). 469–483.
 - Khaneman, Danial, and Jonathan Renshon. 2007. “Why Hawks Win.” *Foreign Policy*.
 - Renshon, Jonathan, Julia J. Lee, and Dustin Tingley. 2017. “Emotions and the Micro-Foundations of Commitment Problems.” *International Organization*.
 - Zak, P.J. et al. 2005. “The Neuroeconomics of Distrust: Sex Differences in Behavior and Physiology.” *The American economic review* 95(2). 360–363.
 - **Essay 7:** Summarize Gadarian's explanation of how threat perceptions shape policy attitudes. Identify another foreign policy issue where the same mechanisms are at work.

- **Week 15 (24 NOV – Fairness)**
 - 24 NOV (In-Class – Group 1)
 - Reading:
 - Ringius, Lasse, Asbjørn Torvanger, and Arild Underdal. 2002. “Burden sharing and fairness principles in international climate policy.” *International Environmental Agreements* 2(1). 1-22.
 - Sanfey, Alan G., et al. 2003. “The neural basis of economic decision-making in the ultimatum game.” *Science* 300(5626). 1755-1758.
 - **Essay 8:** How do decision makers react when confronted with issues of fairness? Which topics in international politics do you think are most likely to involve fairness?
- **Week 16 (1/3 DEC – Group Bias / Conclusion)**
 - DEC 1 (Online – Zoom)
 - DEC 3 (Online – Zoom)
 - Reading:
 - Bruneau, Emile, and Rebecca Saxe. 2010. “Attitudes Toward the Outgroup are Predicted by Activity in the Precuneus in Arabs and Israelis.” *Neuroimage* 52(4).
 - Derks, Belle, Michael Inzlicht, and Sonia Kang. 2008. “The Neuroscience of Stigma and Stereotype Threat.” *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 11(2).
- **Final Exams due by 3:00PM on Thursday, 17 DEC via eLC.**

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.