

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments · ix

INTRODUCTION	Our Gift	1
CHAPTER 1	Adaptive Biases: Making the Right Mistakes in International Politics	12
CHAPTER 2	The Evolution of an Idea: Politics in the Age of Biology	29
CHAPTER 3	Fortune Favors the Bold: The Strategic Advantages of Overconfidence	48
CHAPTER 4	The Lion and the Mouse: Overconfidence and the American Revolution	85
CHAPTER 5	Hedging Bets: The Strategic Advantages of Attribution Error	115
CHAPTER 6	Know Your Enemy: Britain and the Appeasement of Hitler	145
CHAPTER 7	United We Stand: The Strategic Advantages of Group Bias	174
CHAPTER 8	No Mercy: The Pacific Campaign of World War II	209
CHAPTER 9	Overkill: The Limits of Adaptive Biases	242
CHAPTER 10	Guardian Angels: The Strategic Advantages of Cognitive Biases	267

Notes · 293

Index · 353

INTRODUCTION

Our Gift

The intuitive mind is a sacred gift, and the rational mind is a faithful servant. We have created a society that honors the servant and has forgotten the gift.

—ALBERT EINSTEIN

STARDATE 2821.5. EN route to deliver urgent medical supplies to the New Paris colony, the *USS Enterprise* encounters a novel star formation. Spock and six others take the shuttle *Galileo* to investigate but are knocked off course and forced to make an emergency landing on nearby planet Taurus II. Their communications are down and they have no way to signal to the *Enterprise*, which can only afford to wait a few hours for the missing crew to reappear. Hounded by alien life forms while they make repairs, the crew of *Galileo* eventually get it airborne and out into orbit, but with minimal power and without enough fuel to rejoin the *Enterprise*. After an episode focusing on Spock's cold, calculating logic, he suddenly makes a rash decision as the *Galileo* struggles to escape the planet's gravity. Spock dumps all of the shuttle's remaining fuel and then ignites it—a desperate cry for help that creates a flare in the darkness of space but sends the helpless shuttle on a death spiral to be burned up in the atmosphere of Taurus II. The still silent *Enterprise* is already moving off. Miraculously, however, Lieutenant Sulu happens to notice the tiny streak of light. Kirk turns the ship around, and the survivors are beamed aboard at the last moment. Safely back on the *Enterprise*, Kirk interrogates Spock about his impulsive decision to dump the fuel:

KIRK: There's really something I don't understand about all of this.

Maybe you can explain it to me. Logically, of course. When you jettisoned the fuel and ignited it, you knew there was virtually no chance of it being seen, yet you did it anyhow. That would seem to me to be an act of desperation.

SPOCK: Quite correct, Captain.

KIRK: Now we all know, and I'm sure the doctor will agree with me, that desperation is a highly emotional state of mind. How does your well-known logic explain that?

SPOCK: Quite simply, Captain. I examined the problem from all angles, and it was plainly hopeless. Logic informed me that under the circumstances, the only possible action would have to be one of desperation. Logical decision, logically arrived at.

KIRK: I see. You mean you reasoned that it was time for an emotional outburst.

SPOCK: Well, I wouldn't put it in exactly those terms, Captain, but those are essentially the facts.

KIRK: You're not going to admit that for the first time in your life, you committed a purely human emotional act?

SPOCK: No, sir.

KIRK: Mister Spock, you're a stubborn man.

SPOCK: Yes, sir.¹

The crew of *Galileo* owed their survival to Spock relinquishing his austere, dispassionate reason in favor of an all-too-human act of impulsive behavior. As he himself explains, under the circumstances this reversion to an “act of desperation” offered them a chance of success when all seemed lost. *Star Trek's* enduring attraction is in large part the different perspectives provided by the steadfast but emotional human, Captain James T. Kirk, and the logical but unfeeling Vulcan, Mr. Spock. Typically, the episodes end with a hair-raising escape from the perils of aliens or space itself, thanks to the instinctive human nature or emotional acts of Kirk, Doctor McCoy, or Scotty the engineer, winning out over Spock's cold and calculating logic that might make sense on paper but fails to win the day. The message is that, however clever and knowledgeable one may be, and regardless of whatever amazing technology we may have at our disposal, we still rely on trusty human instincts to get us through tough times.

Writer Julia Galef warns us not to be taken in too easily by what she calls the “Straw Vulcan.”² Spock is not just rational but actually tends to conform to so-called “hyper-rationality,” an overly restrictive version of rationality that assumes complete information and perfect knowledge, which can be easy to falsify as an optimal decision-making approach in the real world (or beyond!). However, the idea that, sometimes, humans make better decisions than machines or rational actors is a familiar notion not only in literature and movies but also in our everyday experience. Often, our intuitions lead to good decisions, not bad ones. Our gut reactions and first impressions often prove correct. And our automatic responses to events and in interactions

with other people are often faster and more reliable than more calculating alternatives.

These are what I call “strategic instincts.” Strategic instincts are rapid, adaptive decision-making heuristics that we all have as human beings. And we do not have them by accident. We have them because they helped to keep us alive and successful over the many millennia of human evolutionary history—especially in fast-moving situations of uncertainty, often with limited information—and were thus favored by natural selection. They are tools of survival. The question of this book is a simple one: Do these same strategic instincts continue to serve as tools of survival, not just for individual human beings but also for the nations they lead, especially in times of crisis and war?

Demise of the Vulcans: Rationality and the Rise of Psychology

One of the most important findings in recent decades of scientific endeavor is that humans have numerous “cognitive biases”—quirks of the human brain that cause our judgments and decision-making to deviate markedly from what we would expect if people weighed up the costs, benefits, and probabilities of different options in an evenhanded way.³ This should be no surprise to astute observers of human beings, as Plato, Shakespeare, Freud, and many laypeople could tell us. Bertrand Russell once remarked: “It has been said that man is a rational animal. All my life I have been searching for evidence which could support this.”⁴ But with the rise and spread of rational choice theory in academia during the latter part of the twentieth century, we have had to prove this intuition to ourselves, through painstaking experimental research. Scholars in political science and other fields used to take psychology seriously (if sometimes flawed in how they did so), with a strong influence of approaches based on human nature, psychoanalysis, and behaviorism. Rational choice swept all that away—for some good reasons as well as bad. Now, psychology is making a long overdue comeback as a more rigorous science. After many decades in a wilderness dominated by the study of a fictitious *Homo economicus* at the expense of the study of *Homo sapiens*, we have now more or less arrived at a consensus that human cognitive biases are real, pervasive, and important.⁵

But how people *explain* these phenomena remains a major problem. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the long dominance of the rational choice paradigm as a benchmark standard for evaluating behavior in economics and political science, cognitive biases tend to be seen as errors or mistakes.⁶ There remains a widespread idea across the social sciences that rationality is the normative ideal (even if recognized as empirically false), and human brains are prevented from achieving this ideal because of cognitive limitations. Cognitive biases are thus seen as liabilities of the human brain that must be guarded against if

Table 1.1. Disciplinary differences in the interpretation of cognitive biases

Characteristics of Cognitive Biases	Social Scientists	Evolutionary Scientists
What are they?	Cognitive limitations, errors, or mistakes	Cognitive adaptations (context-specific problem-solving mechanisms)
Are they useful?	No	Yes
What do they cause?	Failures, disasters, conflict	Behavior
What are their sources of variation?	Little consideration	Proximate biological mechanisms, contingent on social and ecological context
What are their origins?	No consideration	Natural selection

we are to avoid costly misjudgments, misperceptions, mistakes, crises, policy failures, disasters, and wars. Cognitive biases are bad, and their consequences are bad.⁷

However, in other fields—most notably evolutionary biology—the same cognitive biases are seen in a remarkably different light (see Table 1.1). Far from mistakes, they are considered useful dispositions that serve important functions. Cognitive biases can be good, and their consequences can be good. An evolutionary perspective suggests that cognitive biases are *adaptive* heuristics that evolved to improve our decision-making, not to undermine it. They may contribute to mistakes and disasters at some times (as indeed can rational choice) but not always. If cognitive biases can be useful, we should find out how. This book is about whether and when cognitive biases cause or promote success in the realm of international relations. It turns out that, in the real world, *Homo sapiens* is often a better strategist than *Homo economicus*, especially given that we have to deal with other *Homo sapiens* (not other *Homo economicuses*). Japanese psychologist Masanao Toda pointed out a long time ago that “man and rat are both incredibly stupid in an experimental room. On the other hand, psychology has paid little attention to the things they do in their normal habitats; man drives a car, plays complicated games, and organizes society, and rat is troublesomely cunning in the kitchen.”⁸ When we move from the lab out into the field, cognitive biases find a new lease on life. They work well. Social scientists have, therefore, been focusing on the wrong end of the stick, with potentially significant oversights for the field. As is now recognized in other disciplines and in everyday life, biases are often better thought of, in psychologist Gerd Gigerenzer’s slogan, as “heuristics that make us smart.”⁹ Seeing biases as mistakes impairs our understanding, predictions, and recommendations for both theory and practice in politics and international relations.

Demons of the Field: A Predilection for Disaster

The interpretation of cognitive biases as mistakes may be only natural for fields without a grounding in life sciences, but in international relations it appears to be exacerbated by two additional tendencies: focusing on disasters (bad-outcome cases) and looking at isolated events (one-off cases). If instead we look at a broader range of outcomes, and at multiple events over time, a different picture emerges. Let us look at each of these problems in turn.

First, international relations scholars often tend to focus on explaining prominent crises, policy failures, disasters, or wars—unusual events that draw special attention and probing. As Robert Jervis, father of the application of psychology in international relations, acknowledged, “There is an almost inescapable tendency to look at cases of conflict, surprise, and error. When things go wrong, they not only attract the actors’ attention, they also attract ours.”¹⁰ He warns that this makes “analysis of causation difficult,” risks assigning causes to “constants rather than variables,” and fails to “discriminate between good decisions and bad ones.”¹¹ Tracing back through the causes of calamitous and complex events, involving numerous actors and organizations, examples of bias can nearly always be found. We are more likely to *seek* and more likely to *report* biases when they precede negative events.

By contrast, politics-as-normal, closely averted disasters, and even many successes are rarely noticed or reported, let alone studied. When everything goes right, we spend less time scrutinizing how that happened. Nobel Laureate Daniel Kahneman, reflecting on his life’s work on cognitive biases, also found that “it’s easier to identify bad decisions and bad decision makers than good decisions and decision makers.”¹² This asymmetry represents a major problem if biases are present in both failures and successes but we only ever look at the former. As Jervis urged, “We need to know more about successes.”¹³ This book aims to redress the balance.

Until now, research has tended to focus on identifying the *presence* of biases and neglected examining their actual *effects*—effects that can be good as well as bad. When found, biases are automatically assumed to have had a detrimental influence on decisions, and thus to have contributed to the negative event. Jack Levy lamented back in 1983 that “theories of foreign policy and crisis decision-making provide a comprehensive analysis of the *sources* of misperception, but are generally not concerned with their consequences.”¹⁴ Although research in political psychology has bloomed since then, there is still a strong tendency to focus on where psychological factors have led leaders and states astray, rather than where they may have helped and led them to success. This omission was also recognized by Jonathan Mercer, who noted the “ubiquitous yet inaccurate belief in international relations scholarship that cognitive biases and emotion cause only mistakes.”¹⁵ He points out that logically this can only be the case if we make some bizarre assumptions, such as that

“rationality must be free of psychology” and that “psychology cannot explain accurate judgments.”¹⁶ Both are patently false but persist as unstated assumptions in the literature.

Now for the second problem. Much social science scholarship focuses on isolated case studies, or a small sample of them, which is fair enough given the depth of work needed to understand the complexity of historical events and the methodological traditions of the field. Nevertheless, this approach is always at risk of downplaying or ignoring the bigger picture—the effects that phenomena such as cognitive biases have on average, in *many cases* over the long term. Behavioral scientist Robin Hogarth argued that “several biases identified in discrete incidents result from heuristics that are functional in the more natural continuous environment.”¹⁷ As an example, World War I has become a kind of test case for major theories of the causes of war, but any of the cognitive biases that compellingly contributed to disaster in 1914—overconfidence, attribution error, group bias, or many others—could actually have been useful at other times, or on average over the preceding decades or centuries, if they led to more effective deterrence, bargaining, or coercion. The odd mistake—even a big one—does not invalidate the utility of a general propensity. Of course, many social scientists do look at multiple cases and the broad sweep of history.¹⁸ My point is simply that we need to start looking at the role of *cognitive biases* from this perspective as well.

If we look at the long-term outcomes of cognitive biases in many decisions over time, we might find that they are generally useful rather than generally detrimental. In fact, even if a bias were only beneficial on rare occasions, it could still bring important advantages if those occasions are critical ones for a state’s security. For example, the United States is argued to have repeatedly overestimated the USSR’s aggressive intentions during the Cold War, but this very bias encouraged Kennedy to make a firm stand against Khrushchev in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁹ Who’s to say that wasn’t a useful outcome of what seemed like hype at other times? We need to tease apart the *presence* of cognitive biases from the more important *costs* (and indeed benefits) of those biases in different circumstances.

To summarize, if cognitive biases are a source of success as well as a source of failure, then they may sometimes—or even usually—bring benefits as well as costs, potentially generating *net* benefits over time. The occasional failure may be a price worth paying for a bias that works well on average, or very effectively in times of crisis. Even frequent failures may be worth enduring for a bias that brings a major coup at critical junctures. Biases may make us better at setting ambitious goals, building coalitions and alliances, bargaining effectively, sending credible signals, maintaining resolve, and persevering in the face of daunting challenges, and they may make us more formidable when it comes to conflict, deterrence, coercion, crisis, brinkmanship, and war.

Cognitive biases, therefore, might offer political and strategic *advantages*. This seems—at minimum—an interesting idea, but we don’t know if it is true or not because no one has looked. This book takes up that challenge.

Plan of the Book

This book examines the strategic advantages of three cognitive biases: overconfidence, the fundamental attribution error, and in-group/out-group bias. These biases were chosen for several reasons: (1) they are among the most important influences on human judgment and decision-making; (2) they are empirically well established in experimental psychology; (3) they have been widely applied to explain political phenomena; and (4) they are commonly cited as contributory causes of crises and wars, such as the world wars, the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the Iraq War. While these biases may indeed cause disasters at some times and in some contexts, at other times they may bring strategic *advantages*, promoting ambition and boldness, alertness and suspicion of potential rivals, and cohesion and collective action, furthering the aims of the leaders and groups that hold them—whatever those aims may be.

In separate chapters, I outline the scientific research on each bias, its hypothesized adaptive advantages in human evolution, historical examples where the bias caused disasters or mistakes, and then, critically, contrary historical examples where the bias seemed to have lent strategic advantages and caused *successes* instead (see Table 1.2).

Before launching into our exploration of the adaptive advantages of specific cognitive biases, chapter 1 explores the notion of “adaptive biases” and “strategic instincts” in more detail. I compare social science and life science approaches to understanding human behavior, ask why cognitive biases evolved in our evolutionary past, whether they continue to be adaptive today,

Table 1.2. Cognitive biases and historical case studies explored in the book

Cognitive Bias	Case Study	Argument
Overconfidence	American Revolution	Overconfidence increased ambition, resolve, and perseverance
Fundamental Attribution Error (FAE)	Appeasement of Hitler (<i>Reverse case</i>)	The FAE <i>would</i> have increased recognition of the threat, preparations for war, and alliance seeking
In-Group/Out-Group Bias	Pacific Campaign of World War II	In-group/out-group bias increased collective action, unit cohesion, and offensive action

and why a bias can be better than accuracy. In chapter 2, I take a step back to consider how and why international relations might benefit from an evolutionary approach at all. Evolutionary biology has a long history of misunderstanding and resistance in the social sciences, not least since the “sociobiology” debate of the 1970s, and it is important to review how the natural and social sciences have both moved on since then, as well as the promise for a future of mutual collaboration. That allows us to turn to strategic instincts themselves.

Chapter 3 examines the strategic role of overconfidence. Most mentally healthy people exhibit: (1) an overestimation of their capabilities; (2) an illusion of control over events; and (3) a perceived invulnerability to risk (three widely replicated and robust phenomena collectively known as “positive illusions”).²⁰ Of course, overconfidence has long been noted as a cause of disasters and wars. For example, Geoffrey Blainey, Barbara Tuchman, and Stephen Van Evera all blamed false optimism as one of the key causes of World War I.²¹ In the contemporary world, there has also been considerable discussion of the role of overconfidence in, for example, U.S. planning for the 2003 Iraq War and the 2008 financial crisis.²² However, overconfidence can also offer adaptive advantages—increasing ambition, resolve, and perseverance.²³ The question of this chapter is not when and where does overconfidence cause failure but when and where does it cause success? Evidence for positive as well as negative effects of overconfidence is presented from laboratory experiments, field studies, agent-based computer simulations, and mathematical models, all of which reveal some fundamental advantages of overconfidence under well-defined conditions. Overconfidence is important, pervasive, and increasingly well understood. The outstanding question addressed here is when it hurts or helps us.

In a case study of the American Revolution, chapter 4 suggests that George Washington and the birth of the United States benefited in no small measure from a remarkable confidence—arguably overconfidence—that inspired Washington to fight and sustain the revolution despite the formidable odds stacked against them and repeated setbacks along the way. In a long and grueling war in which Americans lost most of the battles and struggled to even keep an army in the field, ambition and boldness paid off handsomely.

Chapter 5 examines the strategic advantages of the fundamental attribution error (FAE). People tend to attribute the behavior of *other* actors to intentional action (their “dispositions”) but behavior of *their own* as dictated by circumstances (“situational constraints”).²⁴ This is thought to be an important reason why nations fail to cooperate, descend into arms races, escalate conflicts, and ultimately end up at war, since they fail to appreciate the constraints acting on others, overestimate the threat they pose, and—in mirror image—underestimate the threat they themselves pose to others. The FAE does not mean that we always perceive others as threatening but rather that we will *perceive apparently threatening behavior as intentional*.²⁵ For example, the buildup of armies and armaments by European states prior to 1914 was widely

considered a menace to security, while individual states considered their own buildups to be an unfortunate but essential defensive response.²⁶ The FAE suggests that we systematically *overestimate* the threat from other states because we are biased to assume that their actions reveal their intentions. Often this will reduce cooperation and increase conflict. However, the FAE has clear *adaptive* features as well. In a hostile environment with conflicting information, the FAE aids in the detection of threats, preparations for war, and the formation of alliances, which together help to strengthen deterrence and avoid exploitation.²⁷ The question of this chapter is not when and where does the FAE cause failure but when and where does it cause success? The FAE is a bias that encourages us to err on the side of caution when dealing with other actors and states, and assume the worst. In dangerous environments, the FAE may at least sometimes be useful.

In the case study in chapter 6, I examine British perceptions of Hitler's intentions in the 1930s. This offers a reverse case, in which those in power maintained beliefs *opposite* to those predicted by the FAE. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain strongly resisted attributing dispositional causes to Hitler's behavior and instead emphasized situational causes: the German desire to redress the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles, attain territorial security, and unite the German-speaking peoples. In the face of mounting contradictory evidence, Chamberlain continued to give Hitler the benefit of the doubt, leading to the disastrous policy of appeasement and the Munich Crisis of 1938. This raises an unusual question: Where was the FAE when we needed it? Other actors whose beliefs did align with the FAE—not least Winston Churchill—insisted that Hitler was acting out of offensive intentions to expand German power and vigorously opposed appeasement. If the bias had been stronger among leaders at the time, Britain would have stood up to Hitler earlier and more effectively.

Chapter 7 examines the strategic advantages of the in-group/out-group bias. People have a powerful tendency to favor their own in-group and its members, while disparaging out-groups and their members.²⁸ The bias is so strong and prevalent that it forms a bedrock foundation in social psychology, critical to social identity and intergroup relations. Such group prejudices, however, can have appalling human consequences in the bias's contribution to the oppression of minority groups, ethnic conflict, and genocide—for example, it has been implicated for its role in fanning the flames of the Balkan wars, the Rwandan genocide, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.²⁹ However, in other circumstances the bias has highly adaptive features. For example, the in-group/out-group bias increases cohesion and collective action, as well as coordinated action against other groups, which together can increase survival and effectiveness in competition and conflict.³⁰ The question is not when and where does group bias cause disasters but when and where does it cause success? The in-group/out-group bias can lift the motivation and effort of

citizens, soldiers, and leaders alike, as well as be exploited by elites to rally support. In-group/out-group perceptions may be wrong (both materially and morally), but in times of lethal competition they can nevertheless serve to increase public support and solidarity, bolster the war effort, and boost the willingness to sacrifice self-interest and fight for the wider group.

In the case study in chapter 8, I argue that the United States was able to persist and prevail in the long and brutal Pacific campaign against the Japanese in World War II in no small part as a result of the in-group/out-group bias helping to boost support for the war effort among citizens at home, the cohesion of soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the field, and the commitment and determination of leaders.

In chapter 9, I consider an important caveat about the adaptive advantages of cognitive biases. The argument of the book is not that biases are always good in all settings. Rather, the argument is that biases can be advantageous as long as they are manifested *in appropriate settings* and *in moderation*. Biases that become extreme or arise in the wrong contexts are liable to be counterproductive and result in disaster. In general, human cognitive biases are not extreme. They are tendencies that marginally steer our behavior in some particular way. But they nevertheless vary from person to person and situation to situation, meaning that sometimes they will be too weak, and at other times they will be too strong. This chapter considers how strong biases “should” be, to be effective, and the consequences when they become overbearing. To explore the red lines beyond which strategic instincts go too far, I revisit the Pacific campaign in World War II. That brutal conflict illustrates that although the in-group/out-group bias serves to promote cohesion, collective action, and offensive action, the bias can become extreme, to the point that it begins to impose material—as well as moral—costs on the war effort, potentially negating the benefits it may bring to military effectiveness.

Chapter 10 presents a summary of the findings and explores the implications of this new evolutionary perspective on cognitive biases for international relations. The key conclusions are that: (1) *cognitive biases are adaptive*—“strategic instincts” that help not only individuals but also state leaders and nations achieve their goals (whatever those goals may be); (2) effective strategies often *differ radically from those predicted by conventional paradigms*, such as rational choice theory; (3) the approach, as demonstrated in the case studies, offers *novel interpretations of historical events*, especially the American Revolution, the British appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s, and the United States’ Pacific campaign in World War II; and (4) the approach suggests *novel and often counterintuitive strategies* for leaders and policymakers to exploit strategic instincts among themselves, the public, and other states.

This final chapter also considers the future. The mismatch between our evolved psychology and the increasingly technological and globalized world we inhabit is widening ever further. This presents new dangers. We must avoid

creating decision-making protocols, political institutions, and military doctrines that leave traps into which our evolutionary dispositions are likely to fall. But we have seen that biases can be good too. Where they promote our strategic goals, how can we harness and make best use of them? How do we ensure that the positive aspects of our strategic instincts are not swamped by cumbersome decision-making procedures, conflicting training and experience based on rational choice, or philosophical ideals that may be nice in principle but deadly when in lethal competition? Kahneman reminds us that cognitive biases are essential in helping us perform numerous daily tasks, and strategic luminary Carl von Clausewitz stressed the vital importance of intuition in times of war in particular. Our “adaptive unconscious” is by definition—and by design—something we are barely aware of, and thus we also are barely aware of how and when we may be interfering with it. Every day, in life, business, sports, politics, and war, confidence can help promote our ambition and resolve, the fundamental attribution error can keep us alert to our rivals’ intentions, and the in-group/out-group bias can help to foster cohesion and collective action, as well as effective performance in competition with other groups. These are ancient challenges and ones that will always remain important—regardless of social and technological change, as even Kirk and Spock found far in the future—but for which evolution already gave us the gift of our strategic instincts.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* refer to tables and figures

- Adams, John, 97, 110, 112, 317n87
Adams, Samuel, 196
adaptationism, 45, 300n17
adaptive biases: adaptive markets and, 17; affective computing and, 17; aggression and, 13, 251, 262, 265; alternative causes and, 298n57; ambition and, 13–14, 25; asymmetric costs and, 18, 21–22; Bayesianism and, 22–23; behavioral science and, 14, 17–19, 31, 36–38, 41–42, 46, 242; biology and, 254, 259–60; boldness and, 13; Britain and, 248, 252, 257–59, 265; building in, 21–22; Caesar and, 12–13; capabilities and, 25; cautious action policies and, 22; cognitive bias and, 14–16, 19–28, 277; Cold War and, 242; commitment and, 25, 243, 250, 253; crazy government and, 24–26; decisions and, 12–28, 246–49, 251, 253, 256, 259–60, 263–64, 266; dehumanization and, 251–54, 258–59, 265; deterrence and, 25; disasters and, 4, 13, 15, 26–27, 266; disposition and, 14, 18–19, 26–27, 242; distortion and, 22–23; economics and, 12, 14, 17–18, 23, 25; efficiency and, 17–18, 23, 26; emotion and, 15–18, 24, 296n14; error management theory (EMT) and, 16, 20–24; evolution and, 14–15, 19, 21, 23–28, 266, 303n67; failure and, 14, 26, 247; genocide and, 243, 255; growing trends in, 16–19; historical record and, 12–13; human nature and, 16, 19; ideologies and, 12; information and, 15, 18–24, 249, 256, 297n34; intention and, 19; international relations and, 12–15, 18, 25–26, 28, 296n14; intuition and, 12, 15, 17–19, 22, 297n34; Kahneman and, 15, 23; logic and, 13, 21, 25; memory distortion and, 17; moral issues and, 243–44, 254–55, 258, 260, 263–66; Napoleon and, 13, 19, 20; Nazis and, 25; nuclear weapons and, 243, 256, 259–65; overestimation and, 21, 23; overkill and, 242–66; paranoia and, 24, 242; perseverance and, 16; Pleistocene brains and, 27–28; prejudice and, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66; psychology and, 13–16, 19, 22, 24–27, 247, 259–60; rationality and, 12–19, 22–26, 296n14; religion and, 12, 17; social science and, 15, 18–19, 24; sources of variation and, 14, 26, 28; speed and, 23; strategic theory and, 17–18; superstition and, 17; surrender and, 248–64; suspicion and, 271–73; threats and, 14, 22, 29; timing of, 19; World War II and, 13
adaptive landscape, 23
Aedui, 175
affective computing, 17
Afghanistan, 55–56, 94, 106, 110, 217, 313n140, 318n115
agent-based models (ABMs), 61–64
Age of Biology, 29, 33, 290
aggression: adaptive biases and, 13, 251, 262, 265; American Revolution and, 104, 114; attribution error and, 122–23, 130–31, 133, 141–42, 321n38; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 149, 152–53, 158–59, 162–63, 167; evolution and, 46; group bias and, 180, 188, 190–93, 197, 199; overconfidence and, 49, 53–54, 62, 65, 67, 69–70, 78–79, 104, 114; overkill and, 251, 262, 265; Pacific campaign and, 213, 219, 227, 231–32; strategic advantages and, 275–76; Thucydides and, 48–49, 184; USSR and, 6
alertness, 7, 11, 73–74, 135, 267
Alexander, Richard, 187–88
Alexander the Great, 13, 68, 84
Ali, Hyder, 87
Ali, Muhammad, 59, 83
Al Qaeda, 117, 142

- ambition: adaptive biases and, 13–14, 25; American Revolution and, 95, 101–4; attribution error and, 118; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 149, 156, 158–60, 165–69; disposition and, 155–60, 166; Napoleon and, 13, 19, 54–55, 67–74, 83, 98, 101, 109, 165; overconfidence and, 7, 8, 11, 49–50, 58, 67, 69–71, 78, 81, 83, 95, 101–4; overkill and, 246–47; Pacific campaign and, 209; resolve and, 6, 9, 11, 78, 81, 269, 283; strategic advantages and, 6–7, 269–71, 283–84
- American Civil War, 109, 210, 213, 218
- American Revolution, 84; aftermath of, 108–10; aggression and, 104, 114; ambition and, 95, 101–4; Articles of Confederation and, 110; boldness and, 8, 90, 105–7, 112–13; Britain and, 10, 85–114; Bunker Hill and, 107, 111, 113; Burgoyne and, 90, 93, 99, 113; casualties of, 108–9, 318n11; chance and, 98–100; Clinton and, 93, 99, 113; commitment and, 90, 315n25; Continental Army and, 85–86, 91, 94, 97–99, 102, 104, 108, 113, 283; Cornwallis and, 86, 93, 100, 113; cost-benefit analysis and, 87; decisions and, 86, 93–95, 98–108, 112; Declaration of Independence and, 70, 85, 89, 96–97, 100, 107–8, 110, 196; disasters and, 86, 90, 99, 105, 110, 113; disposition and, 101–3; economics and, 85–87, 110, 112, 114; error management theory (EMT) and, 104; Ferling on, 88–89, 98, 105–7, 109; Founding Fathers and, 87; France and, 86–102, 106–8, 112–13; George III and, 12, 86, 89, 92, 108, 111, 290; George Washington and, 8, 85–114, 241, 271, 285, 315n34; group bias and, 196; guerrilla tactics and, 95, 106–7; Hessians and, 105; historical interpretation of, 10; Howe and, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99–100, 108, 113–14; information and, 90, 95; logic and, 104; optimism and, 89–90, 98, 103, 110; overconfidence and, 103–6, 269; overestimation and, 87, 102; perseverance and, 14, 87, 90; Pitcairn and, 103–4, 111; Princeton and, 89, 98, 105, 114; psychology and, 105; rationality and, 87, 90, 96, 100, 104; resolve and, 86–87, 96, 109; Royal Navy and, 92, 94; Saratoga and, 90–91, 93, 99–100, 113; strategic advantages and, 103–6, 269, 283; Treaty of Paris and, 93; Trenton and, 89, 98, 105, 113–14; untrained troops of, 85–86; Valley Forge and, 91, 94, 97–98, 106–7, 113; Yorktown and, 86, 92–93, 99–100, 113
- Amery, Leo, 169
- animosity: desire to kill and, 210, 215, 224, 227–33, 238, 241, 251–64; group bias and, 178, 192, 197, 210, 213, 215, 224–30, 236–39, 243, 254, 256–58, 264, 268, 287; Pacific campaign and, 210, 213, 215, 224–30, 236–39; public opinion and, 224–26; U.S. leaders and, 230–38; U.S. military and, 226–30
- Apple, 60
- Ardrey, Robert, 275
- arms races, 8, 42, 81, 130, 140, 143, 150, 212, 217, 280
- Arnold, Benedict, 98
- arrogance, 55, 75, 85, 104–5, 111, 190, 212, 242
- Articles of Confederation, 110
- Ashmore, Richard, 180
- Ash, Timothy Garton, 83
- asymmetric costs: adaptive biases and, 18, 21–22; attribution error and, 128–29, 132; decision-making and, 5, 18, 21–22, 66, 76; disasters and, 5; group bias and, 192–93, 336n93; overconfidence and, 66–67, 76, 90, 94, 99, 106, 108; strategic advantages and, 279, 285–86
- Athens, 48–50, 83, 182, 184, 270–71
- atomic weapons, 237–38, 250, 255, 263–64, 285
- atrocities: atomic weapons and, 237–38, 250, 255, 263–64, 285; firebombings and, 232, 236, 255, 259, 261–63; group bias and, 202, 228–30, 251–58, 265; Japan and, 228–30, 251–54, 256–58, 265; Rape of Nanking and, 256, 265; torture and, 219, 251–52; United States and, 254–55
- attribution error: aggression and, 122–23, 130–31, 133, 141–42, 321n38; ambition and, 118; asymmetric costs and, 128–29, 132; bargaining and, 142; behavioral science and, 136, 139, 324n89; biology and, 126, 139; Britain and, 7, 127, 131,

- 141, 328n98; capabilities and, 121, 128, 133, 136, 140, 325n106; Chamberlain and, 9, 127, 145, 152-53, 155, 157-60, 164, 168-69, 173, 266; Cold War and, 7, 124, 129, 132, 142; commitment and, 118; correspondence bias and, 324n89; cost-benefit analysis of, 134-36, 142-44, 322n66; decisions and, 115, 121-42, 324n89; description of, 118-20; deterrence and, 9, 122, 126-27, 130-31, 140, 143; disasters and, 122, 125-26, 129, 131, 143; disposition and, 8, 118-42, 319n11; economics and, 133, 136, 139-52; emotion and, 115, 121; error management theory (EMT) and, 127-29; evidence for, 120-21; evolution and, 125-27, 134-43; FAE, 146 (*see also* fundamental attribution error (FAE)); failure and, 9, 117, 121-24, 131, 140-43; France and, 137, 139; group bias and, 192; halo effects and, 320n20; Hitler and, 117, 269; human nature and, 139; information and, 117, 121-23, 126, 140, 142; intention and, 8-9, 117-22, 126-36, 139-43; international relations and, 117-18, 121-22, 124, 127-29, 132, 136-39, 143, 319n11, 320n14; intuition and, 119, 127, 140, 320n14; Iraq War and, 141-42; Japan and, 121, 243-65; Jervis and, 115, 122, 127-28, 136; leadership and, 139-42; limits on advantages of, 133-34; logic and, 132, 135-37, 143, 322n66; Morgenthau and, 115, 121, 128, 138-39, 143; nuclear weapons and, 123, 136; optimism and, 124, 138; overestimation and, 8-9, 118, 130, 132-33, 136, 138, 143; paranoia and, 117, 133-34; Pearl Harbor and, 117, 129, 143, 253, 255, 257, 259-60; psychology and, 115-22, 125-28, 133-35, 138, 141, 321n36; rationality and, 117, 120-21, 132, 135, 138, 143, 320n21; resolve and, 123; sinister, 119, 127, 320n17; situational constraints and, 8, 118-24, 129, 134-42, 149, 278, 285; social science and, 126; strategic advantages and, 115, 129-33, 278, 285-87; suspicion and, 117, 122, 130-35, 140, 142, 148; threats and, 7, 8-9, 117-19, 121, 127-38, 142-43, 148, 321n38, 322n66, 323n74, 325n106, 325n120; United States and, 123, 130, 132, 141-42; World War I and, 6
- Austria, 118, 150, 158, 161, 168-69
- Axis of Evil, 142, 197
- bad-outcome cases, 5, 52, 107, 119, 140, 240
- Baldwin, Stanley, 150, 163
- banzai charges, 241, 247
- bargaining: attribution error and, 142; overconfidence and, 6, 90; strategic advantages and, 71, 76, 79, 81, 267, 291
- Barrett, Justin, 135
- Bar-Tal, Daniel, 198
- Bataan Death March, 212, 256
- Battle of Alesia, 174-77
- Battle of Auerstadt, 54
- Battle of Britain, 149
- Battle of Gergovia, 174
- Battle of Jena, 54
- Battle of Jericho, 191
- Battle of Midway, 216, 221, 230, 240, 246, 253, 344n202
- Bayesianism, 22-23, 121
- Becker, Elizabeth, 123
- Beck, John, 60
- behavior: adaptive biases and, 14, 17-19, 242; attribution error and, 136, 139, 324n89; behavior and, 31, 36-42, 46, 302n51; craziness and, 24-26, 163, 267-68; evolution and, 31, 36-38, 41-42, 46, 302n51; exaptive traits and, 39-40; Hogarth and, 6; human nature and, 3, 36, 139; maladaptive, 39-40, 133, 201, 271, 278, 290; overconfidence and, 60, 74; overkill and, 242; paranoia and, 24, 117, 133-34, 242; proximate vs. ultimate explanations of, 40-41; rationality and, 3 (*see also* rationality); Robbers Cave experiment and, 178, 206, 210; state, 10, 24-26, 33-38, 40, 117, 137-38, 194, 267-68, 272; strategic advantages and, 268, 275-77
- behavioral economics, 18-19, 31, 139, 293n5
- Bell, Duncan, 45
- Betts, Richard, 130-31
- biological weapons, 254, 259-60

- biology: adaptive biases and, 254, 259–60; Age of Biology, 29, 33, 290; attribution error and, 126, 139; behavior and, 31, 36–42, 46, 302n51; evolution and, 4 (*see also* evolution); genetics, 29–30, 41, 45–46, 305n86; group bias and, 185–90, 193; insights of, 30; mathematical models and, 8, 17, 45, 59, 61, 64–65, 190; naturalistic fallacy and, 44–45; neuroscience and, 29, 33, 37, 52, 178; objections to, 44–46; overconfidence and, 59–60, 69–70; overkill and, 254, 259–60; as powerful approach, 29; predictive capacity of, 45; rigor for, 45; sociobiology, 8, 37, 45, 302n56; state behavior and, 33–40; strategic advantages and, 270–71, 277–79, 290
- biotechnology, 29
- Bismarck, Otto von, 13, 167
- Bix, Herbert, 249
- Blainey, Geoffrey, 8, 55, 111, 211
- Blair, Tony, 141–42
- Blamey, Thomas, 258–59
- bluffing, 73–76
- boldness: adaptive biases and, 13; American Revolution and, 8, 90, 105–7, 112–13; group bias and, 198; overconfidence and, 8, 48–50, 60, 63, 65–71, 75, 77, 79–80, 82, 90, 105–7, 112–13; overkill and, 266; Pacific campaign and, 211; strategic advantages and, 7, 260, 270–71, 276, 283–85, 291
- booby traps, 215, 235, 257
- Brexit, 198
- Brighton, Henry, 18
- Britain: adaptive biases and, 248, 252, 257–59, 265; aggression and, 149, 152–53, 158–59, 162–63, 167; ambition and, 149, 156, 158–60, 165–69; American Revolution and, 10, 85–114, 269; appeasement of Hitler and, 9, 145–73; assessment of capabilities and, 149, 154, 162, 172; attribution error and, 7, 127, 131, 141, 146–49, 152–73, 266; Baldwin and, 150, 163; Blair and, 141–42; Brexit and, 198; bubble of, 148–52; Burgoyne and, 90, 93, 99, 113; Chamberlain and, 9, 79, 127, 145, 148, 150–73, 266, 283, 287, 328n59, 328n78, 329n123, 329n124; chance and, 98–100; character of, 112–13; Churchill and, 9, 13, 35, 146, 152–56, 160, 162, 165–73, 198, 223, 234, 248, 259, 262, 266, 328n59; CID and, 183; Clinton and, 93, 99, 113; cognitive bias and, 170–71; Cornwallis and, 86, 93, 100, 113; decisions and, 145–65, 167, 170, 172–73, 327n51; Declaration of Independence and, 70, 85, 89, 96, 100, 107–8, 110, 196; Defence Requirements Committee (DRC) and, 152, 156; deterrence and, 157, 165; disarmament and, 148, 153–54, 160, 172; disasters and, 145–48, 156, 163, 171; disposition and, 9, 145–49, 152–53, 155–60, 163–66, 168–69, 171–72; Duke of Wellington and, 54, 68–69, 74; economics and, 87, 145, 149, 153, 157, 160–61, 165, 167, 328n98; Edwardian, 55; European Union and, 198, 289; failure and, 147, 154, 156, 158–60, 170; France and, 86, 88, 92, 94, 108, 145–46, 149–51, 154, 156, 166–68, 171–72; genetics and, 46, 305n86; George III and, 12, 86, 89, 92, 108, 111, 290; group bias and, 183–84, 196, 198, 204; Halifax and, 145, 161–65, 173; Hessians and, 105; Howe and, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99–100, 108, 113–14; illusion and, 163–66, 170, 172; Industrial Intelligence Centre (IIC) and, 152; information and, 154–55, 172–73; intention and, 145–50, 153–67, 172–73; international relations and, 147, 171–72; League of Nations and, 153, 160; logic and, 157, 159; Munich Crisis and, 9, 56, 129, 145, 148, 150–59, 163–66, 169–73, 269, 273, 281, 286–87; Nazis and, 145–68, 172, 329n124; optimism and, 150, 152, 164; overconfidence and, 55, 70, 74, 85–114, 315n34, 316n65, 317n98, 318n116, 318n136; overestimation and, 148; overkill and, 248, 252, 257–59, 265; Pacific campaign and, 212, 221–22, 224–25, 234; Pitcairn and, 103–4, 111; psychology and, 157, 162, 171; rationality and, 158, 164, 167, 170; rearmament and, 146, 149–58, 169–70; Royal Navy and, 92, 94; Saratoga and, 90–91, 93, 99–100, 113; Seven Years' War and, 86–87; situational constraints and, 9, 145, 147, 149, 152–53, 156–62,

- 168, 171-73; strategic advantages and, 269, 273, 283, 289; superior forces of, 87-88; suspicion and, 163, 173; threat perceptions and, 148-57, 160, 163-72; Treaty of Paris and, 93; Vansittart and, 152-55, 162-63, 171-73; War of 1812 and, 54, 108; weak reputation of, 152; World Disarmament Conference and, 148, 153-54, 160; World War I and, 148, 166, 168, 172; World War II and, 10, 35, 183, 265, 289; Yorktown and, 86, 92-93, 99-100, 113
- Brooke-Popham, Robert, 183
- Brown, Jonathon, 59
- Brutus, Junius, 268
- B-29 bombers, 217, 236, 261-62, 264
- Budiansky, Stephen, 160, 236, 250
- Bunker Hill, 107, 111, 113
- Burgoyne, John, 90, 93, 99, 113
- Bush, George W., 55, 78-79, 141-42, 197-98, 313n140
- bushido culture, 220, 244, 246, 248
- Byrnes, James, 231, 235
- Cadogan, Alexander, 163
- Caesar: adaptive biases and, 12-13; Battle of Alesia and, 174-77; Battle of Gergovia and, 174; decision-making and, 12; group bias and, 174-77; overconfidence and, 67-68, 72, 83, 101; Vercingetorix and, 174-77
- Cambodia, 123
- Camp O'Donnell, 212
- Canada, 86, 95, 97, 109, 137
- capabilities: adaptive biases and, 25; attribution error and, 121, 128, 133, 136, 140, 325n106; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 149, 154, 162, 172; group bias and, 183, 194, 198, 200; overconfidence and, 8, 51, 54-55, 57, 62, 65-66, 74, 79, 81, 90, 106; Pacific campaign and, 232, 238; strategic advantages and, 273, 279, 283-84
- Capra, Frank, 256
- Carter, Jimmy, 141
- Cassandra mentality, 116, 117, 124, 127, 134, 144, 152, 165, 173
- Castro, Fidel, 120, 122, 142
- causation, 5, 125, 140
- Causes of War, The* (Blainey), 55
- Causes of War* (Van Evera), 55, 57
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, 61-62
- Chamberlain, Neville: attribution error and, 9, 127, 145, 152-53, 155, 157-60, 164, 168-69, 173, 266; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 9, 79, 145, 148, 150-73, 283, 287, 327n51, 328n59, 328n78, 329n123, 329n124; as Britain's Cassandra, 152; Churchill and, 9, 152-53, 155, 162, 166, 168, 173, 266, 328n59; decision-making and, 79, 145, 148, 152, 155, 159, 162-65, 170, 173, 266; Henderson and, 161-64; misguidance of, 162-69; Munich Crisis and, 9, 56, 129, 145, 148, 150-59, 163-66, 169-73, 269, 273, 281, 286-87; other states and, 165-69; overconfidence and, 79; overkill and, 266; situational view of, 145-46; strategic advantages and, 283, 287; time strategy of, 169-71; unique character of, 168-69
- China, 251, 257; Manchuria and, 237, 250, 254, 263; overconfidence and, 282-85; Rape of Nanking and, 256, 265; Russia and, 245; United States and, 56, 77, 204-5, 237, 282-85
- Chipewyan Indians, 186
- Choi, Jong Kun, 66, 121, 128, 136
- Churchill, Winston: aerial bombing and, 234, 262; authority and, 248; bipolar disorder of, 13; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 9, 146, 152-56, 160, 162, 165-73, 198, 234, 259; Chamberlain and, 9, 152-53, 155, 162, 166, 168, 173, 266, 328n59; Focus Group and, 153; "iron curtain" speech of, 155; on Japanese, 259; MacArthur and, 223; MacDonald and, 154; opposition to, 35, 154-55; power of, 248; rearmament and, 153-54; Russia and, 166; on surrender, 223; Vansittart and, 153-56, 162, 171-73; *While England Slept* and, 165; World Disarmament Conference and, 153-54
- civil wars, 37, 109, 182, 195, 201, 210, 213, 218, 233
- Clapper, James, 55
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 11, 19, 20, 48, 54, 66, 68, 79, 270
- Clinton, Bill, 313n140
- Clinton, Henry, 93, 99, 113
- Coercive Acts, 241

- cognitive bias: adaptive biases and, 14–16, 19–28; attribution error and, 7 (*see also* attribution error); Britain and, 31–35, 38–40, 47, 170–71; exaptation and, 304n69; failure and, 4–6, 38–39, 47; group bias and, 7 (*see also* group bias); increased recognition of, 293n5; information and, 19, 23, 35, 276–77, 293n7, 309n46; interpretation issues of, 5–7; intuition and, 1–3, 10–12, 15, 17–19, 22, 30, 35, 38–39, 43, 58, 64–68, 71, 81, 119, 127, 140, 197, 237, 267, 270, 272, 280, 288–89, 320n14; Kahneman on, 5, 11, 15, 23, 267–68, 276; overconfidence and, 7 (*see also* overconfidence); overkill and, 10, 242–43, 265–66; Pacific campaign and, 223, 240; psychology and, 3–4, 14–15, 19, 26, 72, 128, 177, 192, 274, 276, 321n36; strategic advantages and, 267–70, 274–82, 290–91, 351n48; suspicion and, 7 (*see also* suspicion)
- cognitive dissonance, 270, 276
- cognitive heuristics, 16, 277
- Cold War: adaptive biases and, 242; attribution error and, 7, 124, 129, 132, 142; Cuban Missile Crisis and, 6, 56, 117, 120, 122, 129, 205; Evil Empire and, 142, 197; group bias and, 7, 197, 204–5; overconfidence and, 7, 77; overkill and, 242; rise of non-state actors and, 37; strategic advantages and, 284
- Collier, Paul, 195–96, 275
- Columbus, Christopher, 86
- commitment: adaptive biases and, 243, 250, 253; American Revolution and, 90, 315n25; attribution error and, 118; crossing the Rubicon and, 72, 82, 278; group bias and, 175–76, 189, 192, 206–8; Hitler and, 166; ideological, 40; overconfidence and, 71–74, 90; overkill and, 243, 250, 253; Pacific campaign and, 10, 212, 221, 231; strategic advantages and, 284, 286
- Committee of Imperial Defense (CID), 183
- communism, 142, 166, 245, 267
- complacency, 111–12, 117, 131, 152, 183, 201, 211, 216, 280
- compromise, 93, 226, 230–31, 239, 267, 289
- Continental Army, 85–86, 91, 94, 97–99, 102, 104, 108, 113, 283
- Cooper, Duff, 153, 169
- Coral Sea, 344n202
- Cornwallis, Charles, 86, 93, 100, 113
- Cosmides, Leda, 12, 19, 61
- cost-benefit analysis, 3; attribution error and, 134–36, 142–44, 322n66; group bias and, 202; overconfidence and, 76–77, 87; strategic advantages and, 277
- counterintuitive strategies, 10, 15, 17, 58, 64, 67, 81
- craziness, 24–26, 163, 267–68
- Crazy States* (Dror), 25
- Croats, 197
- Cronk, Lee, 192
- Cuban Missile Crisis, 6, 56, 117, 120, 122, 129, 205
- Czechoslovakia, 146, 151, 154, 156, 158–59, 162–64, 169–70
- Daladier, Edouard, 165–66, 168
- Darwin, Charles, 29, 32, 39–40, 126, 185, 203, 207, 275
- decision-making: adaptive biases and, 12–28, 246–49, 251, 253, 256, 259–60, 263–64, 266; American Revolution and, 86, 93–95, 98–108, 112; asymmetric costs and, 5, 18, 21–22, 66, 76; attribution error and, 115, 121–42, 324n89; behavioral economics and, 18–19, 31, 139, 293n5; Britain and, 145–65, 167, 170, 172–73, 327n51; Caesar and, 12; Chamberlain and, 79, 145, 148, 152, 155, 159, 162–65, 170, 173, 266; crossing the Rubicon and, 72, 82, 278; disasters and, 5, 13, 15, 34, 58, 86, 99, 122, 147, 266, 281, 291; distortion and, 22–23; emotion and, 5, 15, 18, 238, 277; error management theory (EMT) and, 16, 20–21, 65, 127–28, 192, 279, 281; evolution and, 30–40, 43, 45–46; group bias and, 177–78, 180, 183–84, 192–93, 201, 208; intuition and, 2, 11–12, 15, 19, 30, 35, 38, 43, 58, 280; Levy on, 5; logic and, 1–2, 5, 13, 21, 40, 127, 137, 157, 159, 235, 238, 277, 280–81; overconfidence and, 52, 54, 56–67, 70–73, 76, 78–82, 86, 93–95, 98–108, 112, 306n15, 313n140; over time, 6; Pacific campaign and, 210, 213, 221, 230–39; protocols for, 11; psychology and, 3–5, 15, 27, 30–31, 33, 62, 72, 125, 133, 157, 162,

- 180, 230, 279–80; strategic advantages and, 268, 276–81, 285–86, 291
- Declaration of Independence, 70, 85, 89, 96–97, 100, 107–8, 110, 196
- Defence Requirements Committee (DRC), 152, 156
- dehumanization: group bias and, 190–91, 199, 204; Japan and, 229–30, 251–54; overkill and, 251–54, 258–59, 265
- delusions, 24, 60, 101, 213, 305n12
- democracy, 32–34, 49, 109, 172, 197, 226, 245, 249, 272–73
- Dene Indians, 186–87
- Denmark, 289
- Dennett, Daniel, 22, 60
- deterrence: adaptive biases and, 25; attribution error and, 9, 122, 126–27, 130–31, 140, 143; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 157, 165; overconfidence and, 6, 60, 69, 71, 73–75, 78–82; strategic advantages and, 60, 69, 71, 73–75, 78–82, 283–84, 291
- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders [DSM], 16
- Diamond, Larry, 55
- Dickinson, John, 174, 177
- disarmament, 124, 148, 153–54, 160, 172
- disasters: adaptive biases and, 4, 13, 15, 26–27, 266; American Revolution and, 86, 90, 99, 105, 110, 113; asymmetric costs and, 5; attribution error and, 122, 125–26, 129, 131, 143; bad-outcome cases and, 5, 52, 107, 119, 140, 240; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 145–48, 156, 163, 171; decision-making and, 5, 13, 15, 34, 58, 86, 99, 122, 147, 266, 281, 291; group bias and, 9, 193, 206; international relations and, 5, 52, 107, 119, 140, 240; overconfidence and, 8, 52, 58–59, 65, 68–69, 78, 86, 90, 99, 105, 110, 113; overkill and, 10, 266; Pacific campaign and, 225; predilection for, 5–7; strategic advantages and, 7, 269–70, 273, 276, 281, 291
- Discourses on Livy* (Machiavelli), 268
- disposition: adaptive biases and, 14, 18–19, 26–27, 242; ambition and, 155–60, 166; American Revolution and, 101–3; attribution error and, 8, 118–42, 319n11; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 9, 145–49, 152–53, 155–60, 163–66, 168–69, 171–72; evolution and, 4, 11, 31–35, 37, 39, 42, 46; George Washington and, 101–3; group bias and, 177, 184, 188, 202–3, 207; overconfidence and, 52, 56, 71, 79, 101–3; overkill and, 242; strategic advantages and, 268, 272–82, 285–86, 290–92
- DNA fingerprinting, 29
- Doughty, Robert, 56
- Douhet strategy, 234, 236, 261
- Doumenc, Joseph, 166
- Dower, John, 209, 215, 221, 223–24, 226, 229–30, 238–39, 245, 253–59, 346n59
- Drake, Francis, 74
- Dror, Yehezkel, 25
- Duke of Wellington, 54, 68–69, 74
- Dutch East Indies, 225
- EC-121 aircraft, 70
- economics: adaptive biases and, 12, 14, 17–18, 23, 25; American Revolution and, 85–87, 110, 112, 114; attribution error and, 133, 136, 139–52; behavioral, 18–19, 31, 139, 293n5; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 145, 149, 153, 157, 160–61, 165, 167, 328n98; CEOs and, 52, 58, 60; efficient market hypothesis and, 17; evolution and, 31, 33, 37, 43; financial crisis of 2008 and, 8, 52, 78; Great Depression and, 146, 148, 153, 162, 213, 238; group bias and, 185, 197, 332n28; *Homo economicus* and, 3–4, 18; international relations and, 4; overconfidence and, 48, 52, 56, 58, 60, 85–87, 110, 112, 114; Pacific campaign and, 213, 233; stock market and, 27, 52, 58; strategic advantages and, 284–85, 288, 291; unemployment and, 217; Wall Street and, 52; wealth and, 13, 101, 190, 337n112; World War II and, 217
- Eden, Anthony, 153, 163
- efficiency, 17–18, 23, 26, 73, 92, 233, 277, 303n67
- Egypt, 117, 131
- Einstein, Albert, 1, 242, 292
- Ellis, Joseph, 85, 88–89, 102, 104–5, 114
- emotion: adaptive biases and, 15–18, 24, 296n14; attribution error and, 115, 121; decision-making and, 5, 15, 18, 238, 277; evolution and, 30; Pacific campaign and, 238; strategic advantages and, 275–77

- epigenetics, 46, 305n86
- error management theory (EMT): adaptive biases and, 16, 20–24; American Revolution and, 104; attribution error and, 127–29; decision-making and, 16, 20–21, 65, 127–28, 192, 279, 281; false negatives and, 192; false positives and, 192; group bias and, 192–93, 201; logic of, 21, 66–67, 104, 127, 279–81; overconfidence and, 65–67, 72, 104; strategic advantages and, 279–81, 351n48
- European Union, 198, 285–89
- Evil Empire, 142, 197
- evolution, 8; adaptive biases and, 14–15, 19, 21, 23–28, 266, 303n67; Age of Biology and, 29, 33, 290; aggression and, 46; attribution error and, 125–27, 134–43; behavioral science and, 302n51; cognitive bias and, 31–35, 38–40, 47, 304n69; contextual variation and, 278; Darwinian fitness and, 32, 39–40, 126, 185, 203, 207; decisions and, 30–40, 43, 45–46; disposition and, 4, 11, 31–35, 37, 39, 42, 46; economics and, 31, 33, 37, 43; emotion and, 30; genetics and, 29–30, 41, 45–46, 305n86; group bias and, 184–86, 189–93, 202–7, 352n61; human nature and, 30–32, 36–37, 39, 42, 45, 47; ideologies and, 30, 32, 37, 40; individualism and, 33–36, 278; information and, 31, 35, 38, 43; international relations and, 8, 30–33, 36–46, 300n12; intuition and, 30, 35, 38–39, 43; Kahneman and, 300n14; logic and, 32, 40, 45, 47, 300n15; matches and, 42–44; moral issues and, 37, 44; natural selection and, 3, 4, 14–15, 21, 23, 32, 38, 47, 57, 82, 126, 185, 187, 189, 291; objections to, 44–46; overconfidence and, 57–66, 69, 71, 73, 76, 78, 81; overkill and, 266; Pleistocene brains and, 27–28; psychology and, 30–36, 39, 42, 47, 300n13, 300n14; rationality and, 30–31, 36–38; social science and, 29–30, 37, 42, 44–47; sources of variation and, 32; state behavior and, 33–40; strategic advantages and, 269–83, 287, 290–92, 352n61; threats and, 328n98; universal traits and, 302n51
- evolvability, 23
- exaptive traits, 39–40
- Facebook, 60
- failure: adaptive biases and, 14, 26, 247; attribution error and, 9, 117, 121–24, 131, 140–43; avoidance of, 4; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 147, 154, 156, 158–60, 170; cognitive bias and, 4–6, 38–39, 47; group bias and, 181–84, 192, 196; overconfidence and, 8, 48, 52, 54–57, 60, 67, 69, 72, 75, 78, 81, 83, 96, 98–100, 107, 110–13; overkill and, 247; Pearl Harbor and, 117, 143, 210–11; policy, 4–5, 26, 291; strategic advantages and, 270, 275, 283, 291
- Fairfax, Sally, 101
- fascism, 233
- Ferling, John, 88–89, 98, 105–7, 109
- financial crisis of 2008, 8, 52, 78
- firebombings, 232, 236, 255, 259, 261–63
- First Anniversary Shoot, 228
- Fisher, David Hackett, 102
- Fiske, Susan, 177–78, 181–82, 274, 333n33
- Fletcher-Pratt, Murray, 211, 231
- Flexner, James, 101
- Focus Group, 153
- Foley, Red, 226
- Ford, Gerald, 123
- Fort Necessity, 101
- Founding Fathers, 87
- France: American Revolution and, 86–102, 106–8, 112–13; attribution error and, 137, 139; Britain and, 86, 88, 92, 94, 108, 145–46, 149–51, 154, 156, 166–68, 171–72; Gaul and, 174–77; group bias and, 176, 182–83, 207; Hitler and, 145–46, 149–51, 154, 156, 158, 161, 165–72; Libya and, 55; Louisiana Purchase and, 314n4; MacDonald proposal and, 154; Maginot Line and, 165; Napoleon and, 13 (*see also* Napoleon); overconfidence and, 54–56, 68, 75, 86–102, 106–8, 112–13; Pacific campaign and, 216; Prussia and, 54; Spanish Civil War and, 233; superior culture beliefs of, 183
- Franco, 233
- Franklin, Benjamin, 112
- Frank, Robert, 275

- Frederick the Great, 167
Freedman, Lawrence, 12, 19
French and Indian War, 101, 316n65
Freud, Sigmund, 3
functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), 178–79
fundamental attribution error (FAE):
 bargaining and, 142; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 7, 146–49, 152–73, 266, 328n98; Chamberlain and, 9, 145, 152–53, 155, 157–60, 164, 168–69, 173, 266; correspondence bias and, 324n89; cost-benefit analysis of, 134–36, 142–44; demonstrating advantages of, 146–48; description of, 118–20; deterrence and, 9, 122, 126–27, 130–31, 140, 143; disposition and, 8, 118–42, 319n11; error management theory (EMT) and, 127–29; evolution and, 125–27, 134–43; failure and, 9, 117, 121–24, 131, 140–43; false alarms and, 323n71; Gilbert and, 119–20, 122, 125–27; group bias and, 192; halo effects and, 320n20; Heider and, 15, 118; Hitler and, 117, 269; intention and, 8–9, 117–36, 139–43; international relations and, 117–18, 121–22, 124, 127–29, 132, 136–39, 143, 319n11, 320n14; leadership and, 139–42; limits on advantages of, 133–34; Malone and, 119–20, 122, 125–27; Milgram and, 119; national level and, 124; nuclear weapons and, 123, 136; other terms for, 319n6; psychology and, 321n36; Ross and, 118–19; situational constraints and, 8, 118–24, 129, 134–35, 137–42, 149, 278, 285; strategic advantages and, 129–33, 278, 285–87; strong vs. weak, 147–48; suspicion and, 117, 122, 130–35, 140, 142, 148; threat perception and, 7, 8–9, 117–19, 124, 127–38, 142–43, 148, 321n38, 322n66, 323n74, 325n106, 325n120; USS *Mayaguez* and, 123, 129; within-case variation and, 146–47; Yarhi-Milo and, 121, 128, 140
Gaul, 174–77
gender, 46, 53–54, 59, 73, 308n24
genetics, 29–30, 41, 45–46, 305n86
genocide: group bias and, 9, 190, 197, 202, 331n15, 337n112, 338n140, 346n59; overkill and, 243, 255; Pacific campaign and, 224
George III, 12, 86, 89, 92, 108, 111, 290
Germain, George, 88, 92–93, 99
Germany: bombing effects and, 234, 261; as crazy state, 252; cultural superiority beliefs of, 182–83; Göring and, 161; group bias and, 197–98, 207, 239; Hitler and, 128 (*see also* Hitler, Adolph); Holocaust and, 183, 202, 287; Jews and, 197; Nazi, 25 (*see also* Nazis); overconfidence and, 70; rearmament and, 146, 149–58, 169–70; Rhineland and, 152, 161, 169; Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and, 131; Roosevelt and, 222; strategic advantages and, 273; Third Reich and, 169; treatment of prisoners and, 260; war production of, 217; wartime public opinion on, 225
Germany First strategy, 222
Ghaemi, Nassir, 24
Gigerenzer, Gerd, 18
Gilbert, Daniel, 119–20, 122, 125–27
Goethe, 68
Goleman, Daniel, 179–80
Gollwitzer, P. M., 73
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 130
Göring, Hermann, 161
Gould, Stephen Jay, 45
Grant, James, 111
Grant, Ulysses S., 84
Great Armada, 55, 74
Great Depression, 146, 148, 153, 162, 213, 238
Greece, 34, 115, 289; Athens, 48–50, 83, 182, 184, 270–71; Peloponnesian War and, 48–49, 50, 54–55, 78–79, 83, 139; Sparta, 48–50, 182, 184
Greene, Nathanael, 89, 111
Greene, Robert, 68, 75–76
Green, Joe, 60
Griskevicius, Vlad, 23
Grossman, Dave, 199
Gandhi, Mahatma, 24
Garnett, John, 145, 159
Gates, Robert, 130

- group bias: aggression and, 180, 188, 190–93, 197, 199; American Revolution and, 196; animosity and, 178, 192, 197, 210, 213, 215, 224–27, 229–30, 236–39, 243, 254, 256–58, 264, 268, 287; asymmetric costs and, 192–93, 336n93; atomic weapons and, 237–38, 250, 255, 263–64, 285; atrocities and, 202, 228–30, 251–58, 265; attribution error and, 192; biology and, 185–90, 193; boldness and, 198; Britain and, 183–84, 196, 198, 204; Caesar and, 174–77; capabilities and, 183, 194, 198, 200; cohesion and, 213–24, 273–75; Cold War and, 7, 197, 204–5; collective action and, 194–98; commitment and, 175–76, 189, 192, 206–8; cooperation and, 185–90; cost-benefit analysis and, 202; dealing with enemies and, 190–92; decisions and, 177–78, 180, 183–84, 192–93, 201, 208; Declaration of Independence and, 196; dehumanization and, 190–91, 199, 204, 229–30, 251–54, 258–59, 265; derogation and, 190–92; desire to kill and, 210, 215, 224, 227–33, 238, 241, 251–64; disasters and, 9, 193, 206; disposition and, 177, 184, 188, 202–3, 207; economics and, 185, 197, 332n28; error management theory (EMT) and, 192–93, 201; Europe and, 287–89; evidence for, 178–81; evolution and, 184–93, 202–7, 352n61; facing enemy and, 224–38; failure and, 181–84, 192, 196; France and, 176, 182–83, 207; genocide and, 9, 190, 197, 202, 331n15, 337n112, 338n140, 346n59; Germany and, 197–98, 207, 239; Goleman and, 179–80; hatred and, 191, 196, 199, 206–7; Hitler and, 183, 195, 197–98; human nature and, 194, 197, 206–7; ideologies and, 178, 182, 201, 204; illusion and, 179–80, 336n102; information and, 179–80, 187, 202, 204; intention and, 192; intergroup killing and, 186; international relations and, 180, 193–200, 202–7; intuition and, 197; Iraq War and, 181, 198–99, 207; Japan and, 183, 207, 246–54; limits on advantages of, 200–2; logic and, 180, 189, 195–96, 337n112; moral issues and, 180, 187–88, 194, 197, 199–200, 204–5; Nazis and, 179, 183, 198, 207, 337n112; neuroscience and, 178–79; nuclear weapons and, 205; offensive action and, 198–200; optimism and, 179–80, 183–84, 332n21; overestimation and, 178–79, 192, 195, 200; Pacific campaign and, 10, 209–41, 269; policy implications and, 206–7; prejudice and, 9, 26, 177–84, 195, 199, 202–3, 206–13, 238, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66, 269, 274; psychology and, 177, 180–81, 184–88, 192, 197–99, 202–5; public opinion and, 215–18, 224–26, 244–46, 251–52, 255–57; racism and, 44, 184, 209, 212, 239, 243, 253–54, 256, 260, 264–65; rationality and, 184, 194, 198; resolve and, 180, 199–200; Robbers Cave experiment and, 178, 206, 210; social identity theory (SIT) and, 9, 177, 181, 201, 203; social science and, 185, 196; Spain and, 190; strategic advantages and, 174–208, 216–38, 268–70, 273–79, 287–89; surrender and, 176, 184; suspicion and, 186, 203; threats and, 174–75, 180–81, 188, 192, 194, 199–205, 208; United States and, 180, 183, 198, 204–8, 218–24, 230–38, 257–65; Van Evera and, 180–83; Vietnam War and, 180, 199; World War I and, 6, 182–83; World War II and, 7, 183, 186, 199, 207–8; xenophobia and, 181, 184, 191, 193, 200, 206, 337n112
- groupthink, 34, 180
- Guadalcanal, 215, 219, 228, 251, 253, 344n202
- Guang, Li, 76
- Gulf War, 108
- Haldane, J. B. S., 190
- Halifax, Lord, 145, 161–65, 173
- halo effect, 320n20
- Halsey, Bill, 225, 228, 231, 258–59
- Hancock, John, 89
- Hanson, Victor Davis, 216–17, 221–22, 231, 240–41, 246, 248, 253–54, 265
- hara kiri, 212, 245
- Harris, Victor, 120
- Hasegawa, T., 235, 237, 263, 265
- Haselton, Martie, 192–93, 279
- Hastings, Max, 246, 248

- hatred, 12; dehumanization and, 190–91, 199, 204, 229–30, 251–54, 258–59, 265; desire to kill and, 210, 215, 224, 227–33, 238, 241, 251–64; First Anniversary Hate Shoot and, 228; group bias and, 166, 182, 191, 196, 199, 206–7; overconfidence and, 59, 96; Pacific campaign and, 215, 224–30, 234, 238–39, 242
- Hayden, Thomas, 191
- Hearne, Samuel, 186–87
- hegemony, 77, 85, 88, 109, 130, 238, 282–84
- Heider, Fritz, 15, 118
- Henderson, Nevile, 161–64
- Henry, Patrick, 196
- Heradstveit, Daniel, 123–24
- Herrmann, Richard, 66, 121, 128, 136
- hesitation, 70, 200
- Hessians, 105
- Hewstone, M., 197, 331n15
- Hill, Milton, 227, 229
- hindsight, 87, 100, 105, 153, 158, 172, 234, 236, 261, 263, 306n15
- Hirohito, 244, 249–50
- Hiroshima, 236–37, 250, 264
- Hitler, Adolph, 218, 225; aggression and, 149, 152–53, 158–59, 162–63, 167; ambition and, 149, 156, 158–60, 165–69; assessment of capabilities and, 149, 154, 162, 172; attribution error and, 7, 117, 146–49, 152–73, 266, 269; Austria and, 150, 158, 161, 168–69; Britain's appeasement of, 145–73, 283, 327n51; Chamberlain and, 9, 79, 145, 148, 150–73, 283, 287, 328n59, 328n78, 329n123, 329n124; Churchill and, 9, 146, 153, 155, 160, 166, 170, 172, 198, 234, 259; cognitive bias and, 170–71; commitment and, 166; craziness of, 163; Czechoslovakia and, 146, 151, 154, 156, 158–59, 162–64, 169–70; defeat of, 234; deterrence and, 157, 165; disarmament and, 148, 153–54, 160, 172; disasters and, 145–48, 156, 163, 171; disposition and, 9, 145–49, 152–53, 155–60, 163–66, 168–69, 171–72; economics and, 145, 149, 153, 157, 160–61, 165, 167, 328n98; France and, 145–46, 149–51, 154, 156, 158, 161, 165–72; group bias and, 183, 195, 197–98; hatred of Slavic people, 183; Holocaust and, 183, 202, 287; ideologies and, 155, 166–67, 172; illusion and, 163–66, 170, 172; information and, 154–55, 172–73; intention and, 145–50, 153–67, 172–73; international relations and, 147, 171–72; Jews and, 197; League of Nations and, 148; *Mein Kampf* and, 158; Munich Crisis and, 9, 56, 129, 145, 148, 150–59, 163–66, 169–73, 269, 273, 281, 286–87; optimism and, 150, 152, 164; overestimation and, 148; overkill and, 259; Poland and, 152, 156, 158; psychology and, 157, 162, 171; rearmament and, 146, 149–58, 169–70; Rhineland and, 152, 161, 169; Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and, 131, 167; rise of, 148–52; Russia and, 131, 166–67; situational constraints and, 9, 145, 147, 149, 152–53, 156–62, 168, 171–73; Stalin and, 131, 166–67; strategic advantages and, 269, 273, 287; suspicion and, 163, 173; threat of, 148–57, 160, 163–72, 328n98; Treaty of Versailles and, 9, 146, 148–49, 154–55, 158–62; Type II errors and, 128
- Hobbes, Thomas, 30
- Ho Chi Minh, 267–68
- Hogarth, Robin, 6
- Holland, 55, 94
- Holocaust, 183, 202, 287
- Homo economicus*, 3–4, 18
- Hong Kong, 183, 225
- honor, 1, 12, 50, 71, 214, 247, 261
- Howe, William, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99–100, 108, 113–14
- How We Fight* (Tierney), 217
- Hugo, Victor, 69
- human nature: adaptive biases and, 16, 19; attribution error and, 139; behavior and 3 (*see also* behavior); blank slate view of, 30, 37; constant, 45–46; contextual variation and, 278; emotion and, 2 (*see also* emotion); evolution and, 30–32, 36–37, 39, 42, 45, 47; group bias and, 194, 197, 206–7; individualism and, 33–36, 278; overconfidence and, 55, 59; overkill and, 259; psychology and, 3 (*see also* psychology); rationality and, 3 (*see also* rationality); state behavior and, 33–40; strategic advantages and, 275–77, 288–91; wrong views on, 37

- Hussein, King of Jordan, 131
Hussein, Saddam, 24, 81, 141
- ideologies: adaptive biases and, 12; commitment and, 40; genetics and, 30; group bias and, 178, 182, 201, 204; psychology and, 32; strategic advantages and, 280
- Ignatieff, Michael, 194
- illusion: Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 163–66, 170, 172; delusions and, 305n12; group bias and, 179–80, 336n102; overconfidence and, 8, 51–52, 56, 59–60, 62, 71–75, 80, 305n12, 306n14, 312n120; positive, 8, 51–52, 56, 59–60, 62, 71, 73–74, 164, 179–80, 272, 305n12, 306n14, 312n120; strategic advantages and, 271
- Indians, 98, 101–2, 109, 186–87
- individualism, 33–36, 82, 189, 212, 240, 246, 265, 346n59
- Industrial Intelligence Centre (IIC), 152
- information: adaptive biases and, 15, 18–24, 249, 256, 297n34; American Revolution and, 90, 95; attribution error and, 117, 121–23, 126, 140, 142; Britain and, 154–55, 172–73; complete, 2; conflicting, 9, 173, 306n15; evolution and, 31, 35, 38, 43; group bias and, 179–80, 187, 202, 204; limited, 3, 23, 38, 43, 142; overconfidence and, 51, 74, 78, 90, 95, 306n15, 309n46; overkill and, 249, 256; Pacific campaign and, 210–11, 232; psychology and, 15, 51, 180, 188, 276; rationality and, 293n7; strategic advantages and, 272, 276–77, 285, 289, 292, 348n133
- Inglehart, Ronald, 181
- intention, 6; adaptive biases and, 19; attribution error and, 8–9, 117–36, 139–43; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 145–50, 153–67, 172–73; group bias and, 192; overconfidence and, 66, 75, 86; strategic advantages and, 272–73, 279, 286–87
- interaction phase, 311n80
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 285
- International Conflict Research group, 62
- international relations: adaptive biases and, 12–15, 18, 25–26, 28, 296n14; attribution error and, 117–18, 121–22, 124, 127–29, 132, 136–39, 143, 319n11, 320n14; bad-outcome cases and, 5, 52, 107, 119, 140, 240; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 147, 171–72; disasters and, 5, 13, 52, 69, 107, 119, 122, 140, 171, 240, 273, 291; economics and, 4; evolution and, 8, 30–33, 36–46, 300n12; group bias and, 180, 193–207; historical record and, 12–14; one-off cases and, 5, 128, 247–48; overconfidence and, 48, 52, 54–58, 66–70, 73, 76–82; overkill and, 243; Pacific campaign and, 236; real-politik and, 13; security dilemma and, 294n25; strategic advantages and, 10, 270–73, 277–82, 285, 287–88, 291–92
- intuition: adaptive biases and, 12, 15, 17–19, 22, 297n34; attribution error and, 119, 127, 140, 320n14; counterintuitive strategies and, 10, 15, 17, 58, 64, 67, 81; decision-making and, 2, 11–12, 15, 19, 30, 35, 38, 43, 58, 280; Einstein on, 1; evolution and, 30, 32, 35, 37–40, 43; group bias and, 197; gut reactions and, 2; historical record and, 12–13; Hitler and, 155, 166–67, 172; logic and, 1–2; overconfidence and, 58, 64–68, 71, 81; Pacific campaign and, 237; psychology and, 15, 30, 127; strategic advantages and, 267, 270, 273, 280, 288–89; System 1 and, 15, 267
- Inuit, 186–87
- invulnerability, 8, 180
- Iran, 54, 56, 141–42, 285–86
- Iraq War: attribution error and, 141–42; group bias and, 181, 198–99, 207; overconfidence and, 54–55, 78–79, 81, 110; strategic advantages and, 286; United States and, 7–8, 54–55, 78–79, 81, 110, 141–42, 181, 198–99, 207, 217, 286, 318n115, 325n120, 331n28; weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and, 141, 286, 325n120
- irrationality, 17–19, 22, 25–26, 60, 198, 266–68, 279, 352n52
- ISIL, 55
- Israel, 9, 56, 117, 124, 129, 131–32, 171, 182, 191, 285
- Italy, 72, 149, 163, 166, 172, 217, 289
- Ito, Kouichi, 246
- Iwo Jima, 214, 228, 253

- James, Lawrence, 253
Janis, Irving, 180
Japan: arms races of, 212; atrocities and, 228–30, 251–54, 256–58, 265; attribution error and, 121, 243–65; banzai charges and, 241, 247; Bataan Death March and, 212, 256; biological weapons and, 254; bombing effects and, 234, 261–62; booby traps and, 215, 235, 257; bushido culture of, 220, 244, 246, 248; Churchill on, 259; cover-up tactics by, 265; dehumanization and, 212, 229–30, 251–54; Douhet strategy and, 234, 236, 261; “The Glorious Death of One Hundred Million” and, 250; group bias and, 183, 207; Hirohito and, 244, 249–50; Hiroshima 236–37, 250, 264; Hitler and, 149; Iwo Jima, 214, 228, 253; kamikaze pilots and, 215, 221, 229, 241, 247–49; Kawasaki, 262; Ketsugo plan and, 250; Kobe, 261–62; Malaya and, 183–84; Manchuria and, 237, 250, 254, 263; Masanobu and, 216; military power of, 222; Nagasaki, 236, 250, 264; Nagumo and, 216; Okinawa, 215, 228, 246, 252, 259; Operation Coronet and, 233; Operation Downfall and, 250; Operation Olympic and, 233; Osaka, 261–62; overkill and, 243–65; Pacific campaign and, 10, 208, 211–41, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255–56, 259, 262, 264–66, 269, 275; Pearl Harbor and, 129, 143, 210–12, 215–16, 219–22, 224–25, 228–31, 241, 253–55, 257, 259–60; Potsdam Declaration and, 235; propaganda and, 223, 249; Rape of Nanking and, 256, 265; Russia and, 121, 211; Saipan and, 209, 214–15, 228, 247, 252; samurai culture of, 244–45, 248; strategic advantages and, 269, 275; suicide and, 212, 214–15, 220, 228, 238, 241, 245, 247–50, 252, 258; superior culture beliefs of, 210, 253–54; surrender of, 234–35; Tarawa, 219; Togo and, 212; *Tokko gunjin* (special attack soldiers) and, 215; Tokyo, 211, 251, 255, 261–62; underestimation of, 212–13, 216; U.S. civilians and, 260–61; Yamato race and, 210, 212, 216, 245; Yokohama, 262; Zero fighter and, 217
Japanese Field Service Code, 213
Jefferson, Thomas, 54, 110, 196
Jervis, Robert, 4–5, 55–56, 115, 122, 127–28, 136, 280–82, 321n31, 322n66
Jews, 197
Jobs, Steve, 60
Johnson, Lyndon B., 142
Jones, Edward, 118
Jones, John Paul, 85
Jones, Ned, 120–22, 128
Jordan, Michael, 58
Kagan, Donald, 49
Kahn, David, 211–12
Kahneman, Daniel: adaptive biases and, 15, 23; cognitive bias and, 5, 11, 15, 23, 267–68, 276; evolution and, 300n14; strategic advantages and, 267–68, 276; Tversky and, 23, 300n14
kamikaze pilots, 215, 221, 229, 241, 247–49
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, 103
Kant, Immanuel, 30
Kawasaki, 262
Keegan, John, 149, 167, 224, 228, 347n93
Kennedy, John F., 6, 24, 142, 165
Kennedy, Joseph, 172
Kennedy, Paul, 183
Kenrick, Doug, 23
Keohane, Robert, 30
Kertzer, Joshua, 71
Ketsugo plan, 250
Keynes, John Maynard, 58–59
Khmer Rouge, 123
Khrushchev, Nikita, 6, 167
Kissinger, Henry, 70–71
Kitchener, Lord, 127
Kobe, 261–62
Konner, Melvin, 337n112, 338n140
Korea, 70, 121, 142, 237, 265, 286
Kosovo War, 313n140
Kurzban, Rob, 32, 240
Kuwait, 81
Larson, Deborah, 124, 130
law of uncommon effects, 320n21
Layne, Christopher, 169
League of Nations, 148, 153, 160
Lebow, Ned, 159, 161
Lee, Charles, 98
Leech, Beth, 192
LeMay, Curtis, 234, 261–63
Lengel, Edward, 102

- LeShan, Lawrence, 181, 196, 205, 260
Levy, Jack, 5, 49, 55, 122, 169, 329n124
Lewin, Kurt, 138
Lewontin, Richard, 45
Libya, 55, 201, 207, 313n140
Li Guang, 76
Lincoln, Abraham, 24
Linderman, G. F., 218, 226, 228, 257–59
Lingones, 175
Lloyd George, David, 168
logic: adaptive biases and, 13, 21, 25;
 American Revolution and, 104; attri-
 bution error and, 132, 135–37, 143,
 322n66; Bismarck and, 13; Britain
 and, 157, 159; decisions and, 1–2,
 5, 13, 21, 40, 127, 137, 157, 159, 235,
 238, 277, 280–81; error management
 theory (EMT) and, 21, 66–67, 104,
 127, 279–81; evolution and, 32, 40, 45,
 47, 300n15; group bias and, 180, 189,
 195–96, 337n112; intuition and, 1–2;
 overconfidence and, 65–67, 82, 104;
 overkill and, 246, 261; Pacific cam-
 paign and, 215, 223, 225, 235, 236–39;
 Spock and, 1–2, 11, 13; strategic advan-
 tages and, 267, 272, 274, 277, 279–81
Lothian, Lord, 160, 165
Louisiana Purchase, 314n4
Ludwig, Arnold, 24, 134
Luppé, Alain, 55
Lustig, Victor, 75, 75–76
Luttwak, E. N., 344n202
Lynn, John, 218

MacArthur, Douglas, 223
McCloy, John, 236
McDermott, Rose, 52
MacDonald, Paul, 45
MacDonald, Ramsay, 154
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 268
McKay, Ryan, 22, 60
McNutt, Paul, 262
McQuinn, Brian, 201
madman theory, 267
Maginot Line, 165
maladaptive traits, 39–40, 133, 201, 271,
 278, 290
Malaya, 183–84, 225
Malone, Patrick, 119–20, 122, 125–27
Manchuria, 237, 250, 254, 263
Mandela, Nelson, 83
Manhattan project, 235
Mann, Thomas, 182–83
Mao Zedong, 24
March of Folly (Tuchman), 13, 110
Mariana Islands, 233
Marshall, S. L. A., 199, 227, 342n120
Martel, Gordon, 183
Martel, William, 88, 96, 318n116
Masanobu, Tsuji, 216
mathematical models, 8, 17, 45, 59, 61,
 64–65, 190
Matrix, The (film), 277
May, Ernest, 127
Mearsheimer, John, 169
medicine, 21, 29
Meier, Norman, 181
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 158
Meir, Golda, 131
Mercer, Jonathan, 5, 203
Merriman, John, 104
Michelangelo, 68
Miles, Rufus, 343n175
Milgram, Stanley, 119
Millennium Development Goals, 83
Miller, William, 184, 220
Milošević, Slobodan, 197
Montefiore, Simon Sebag, 167
moral issues: adaptive biases and, 243–44,
 254–55, 258, 260, 263–66; evolution
 and, 37, 44; group bias and, 180, 187–88,
 194, 197, 199–200, 204–5; overconfidence
 and, 70; overkill and, 243–44, 254–55,
 258, 260, 263–66; Pacific campaign and,
 10, 212–13, 225, 229, 237; psychology
 and, 30; strategic advantages and, 273
Morgenthau, Hans, 30, 115, 121, 128,
 138–39, 143, 272
Morrison, James, 86
Mount Vernon, 101
Munich Crisis: Britain's appeasement of
 Hitler and, 9, 56, 129, 145, 148, 150–59,
 163–66, 169–73, 269, 273, 281, 286–87;
 Overconfidence and War and, 164
Muslims, 119, 182, 207

Nagasaki, 236, 250, 264
Nagumo, Admiral, 216
Napoleon: adaptive biases and, 13, 19, 20;
 ambition and, 13, 19, 54–55, 67–74, 83,

- 98, 101, 109, 165; Duke of Wellington and, 54, 68–69, 74; overconfidence and, 54–55, 67–74, 83, 98, 101, 109
- Napoleon III, 176–77
- nationalism, 158, 181–83, 231, 246, 273
- NATO, 124, 287
- Nazis: adaptive biases and, 25; Aryanism and, 197; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 145–53, 157–68, 172, 329n124; Göring and, 161; group bias and, 179, 183, 198, 207, 337n112; Holocaust and, 183, 202, 287; overconfidence and, 70; Pacific campaign and, 218
- Negroes, 109
- Neibuhr, 138
- Nelson, Horatio, 84
- neoliberalism, 31, 138, 203, 282
- Nettle, Daniel, 192–93, 279
- Neumann, Iver, 29, 37
- neuroscience, 29, 33, 37, 52, 178–79
- Neville, Peter, 153, 155, 160, 163, 328n59
- Nixon, Richard, 70, 267–68
- Norstad, Lauris, 262
- Norway, 289
- Norwich, John Julius, 174
- nuclear weapons: adaptive biases and, 243, 256, 259–65; attribution error and, 123, 136; group bias and, 205; overconfidence and, 67, 80; overkill and, 243, 256, 259–65; Pacific campaign and, 217, 224, 233, 236–37, 239; strategic advantages and, 267–68, 284–87
- Nye, Joe, 281–82
- Obama, Barack, 78, 313n140
- Okinawa, 215, 228, 246, 252, 259
- omnipresent constraints, 324n89
- one-off cases, 5, 128, 247–48
- On War* (Clausewitz), 48
- Operation Coronet, 233
- Operation Downfall, 250
- Operation Olympic, 233
- optimism: American Revolution and, 89–90, 98, 103, 110; attribution error and, 124, 138; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 150, 152, 164; false, 8, 55, 57, 82, 184; group bias and, 179–80, 183–84, 332n21; overconfidence and, 49–52, 55–59, 71, 73, 79, 82, 89–90, 98, 103, 110; strategic advantages and, 270–71, 283, 290
- Optimism Bias, The* (Sharot), 52
- Osaka, 261–62
- O'Shaughnessy, Andrew, 88, 93, 112
- overconfidence: agent-based models (ABMs) and, 61–64; aggression and, 49, 53–54, 62, 65, 67, 69–70, 78–79, 104, 114; ambition and, 7, 8, 11, 49–50, 58, 67, 69–71, 78, 81, 83, 95, 101–4; American Revolution and, 85–114, 269; arrogance and, 55, 75, 85, 104–5, 111, 190, 212, 242; assessment of capabilities and, 8, 51, 54–55, 57, 62, 65–66, 74, 79, 81, 90, 106; asymmetric costs and, 66–67, 76, 90, 94, 99, 106, 108; Athens and, 48–50, 83, 182, 184, 270–71; bargaining and, 6, 71, 76, 79, 81, 90; behavioral science and, 60, 74; biology and, 59–60, 69–70; bluffing and, 73–76; boldness and, 8, 48–50, 60, 63, 65–71, 75, 77, 79–80, 82, 90, 105–7, 112–13; Britain and, 55, 70, 74, 85–114, 315n34, 316n65, 317n98, 318n116, 318n136; Caesar and, 67–68, 72, 83, 101; CEOs and, 52, 58, 60; Chamberlain and, 79; China and, 282–85; Cold War and, 7, 77; commitment and, 71–74, 90; concept of, 51–52; cost-benefit analysis of, 76–77, 80–84; dealing with competitors and, 80–81; decisions and, 52, 54, 56–67, 70–73, 76, 78–82, 86, 93–95, 98–108, 112, 246–49, 251, 253, 256, 259–60, 263–64, 266, 306n15, 313n140; Declaration of Independence and, 70, 85, 89, 96, 100, 107–8, 110; deterrence and, 6, 60, 69, 71, 73–75, 78–82; disasters and, 8, 52, 58–59, 65, 68–69, 78, 86, 90, 99, 105, 110, 113; disposition and, 52, 56, 71, 79, 101–3; doubt and, 67–68, 70, 72, 74, 88, 92, 103–4; Duke of Wellington and, 54, 68–69, 74; economics and, 48, 52, 56, 58, 60, 85–87, 110, 112, 114; error management theory (EMT) and, 65–67, 72; evidence for, 52–54; evolution and, 57–66, 69, 71, 73, 76, 78, 81; failure and, 8, 48, 52, 54–57, 60, 67, 69, 72, 75, 78, 81, 83, 96, 98–100, 107, 110–13; France and, 54–56, 68, 75,

overconfidence (*continued*)

- 86–92, 94, 96–98, 100–2, 106–8, 112–13; gender and, 53–54; George Washington and, 8, 86–88, 94, 101–6, 110–12, 266; group bias and, 182, 191, 196, 199, 206–7; Harvard study of, 52–53; hatred and, 59, 96; hindsight and, 87, 100, 105, 306n15; hubris and, 55, 68, 75, 78, 88, 105, 110–12, 124, 200, 242, 265, 269, 271, 306n15; human nature and, 55, 59; illusion and, 8, 51–52, 56, 59–60, 62, 71–75, 80, 305n12, 306n14, 312n120; implications for leaders and, 78–79; information and, 51, 74, 78, 90, 95, 306n15, 309n46; intention and, 66, 75, 86; international relations and, 48, 52, 54–58, 66–70, 73, 76–82; intuition and, 58, 64–68, 71, 81; invulnerability and, 8, 180; Iraq War and, 54–55, 78–79, 81, 110; limits on advantages of, 75–76; logic and, 65–67, 82, 104; mathematical models and, 59, 61–65; Napoleon and, 54–55, 67–74, 83, 98, 101, 109; Nazis and, 70; nuclear weapons and, 67, 80; optimism and, 49–52, 55–59, 71, 73, 79, 82, 89–90, 98, 103, 110; overestimation and, 8, 51, 55, 59, 62–66, 80–81, 87, 102, 305n14; Peloponnesian War and, 48–49, 50, 54–55, 78–79, 83, 139; Pericles and, 48–50, 54, 79, 83, 184; perseverance and, 7, 8, 14, 69, 70–71, 73, 79, 83, 87, 90; post hoc judgments and, 306n15; psychology and, 51–53, 56–62, 72, 75, 105, 120, 247, 259–60, 307n17, 310n67, 312n120; rationality and, 51, 60, 62, 72, 79, 81–83, 87, 90, 96, 100, 104, 309n44, 309n46, 312n124; resolve and, 7, 8, 59–60, 69, 71–75, 78, 81, 83, 86–87, 96, 109; situational constraints and, 71; sources of variation and, 72; Sparta and, 48–50, 182, 184; status-enhancement theory and, 59–60; strategic advantages and, 48–84, 103–6, 268–71, 276, 278–79, 282–85; subprocedures in, 311n80; surrender and, 73, 86, 88–90, 93, 99–101, 108; testosterone and, 59, 73; threats and, 57, 80–81, 86, 92, 110; Tuchman and, 8, 13, 57, 88, 98, 100, 104–5, 110–12, 241, 314n4, 318n136; United States and, 55–56, 77–78, 81, 85–86, 94, 96, 100, 110, 314n5; University of California study of, 53–54; Vietnam War and, 55–57, 70, 78, 94, 109; War of 1812 and, 54, 108; weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and, 141, 286, 325n120; World War I and, 6, 55–57, 78–79; World War II and, 55, 67, 109
- Overconfidence and War* (Johnson), 56, 164
- overestimation: adaptive biases and, 21, 23; American Revolution and, 87, 102; attribution error and, 8–9, 118, 130, 132–33, 136, 138, 143; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 148; group bias and, 178–79, 192, 195, 200; overconfidence and, 8, 51, 55, 59, 62–66, 80–81, 87, 102, 305n14; Russia and, 6; strategic advantages and, 283
- overkill: adaptive biases and, 242–66; aggression and, 251, 262, 265; ambition and, 246–47; atomic weapons and, 237–38, 250, 255, 263–64, 285; behavioral science and, 242; biology and, 254, 259–60; boldness and, 266; Britain and, 248, 252, 257–59, 265; Chamberlain and, 266; cognitive bias and, 10, 242–43, 265–66; Cold War and, 242; commitment and, 243, 250, 253; dehumanization and, 251–54, 258–59, 265; disasters and, 10, 266; disposition and, 242; evolution and, 266; failure and, 247, 259; genocide and, 243, 255; human nature and, 259; information and, 249, 256; international relations and, 243; Japan and, 243–65; logic and, 246, 261; moral issues and, 243–44, 254–55, 258, 260, 263–66; nuclear weapons and, 243, 256, 259–65; paranoia and, 242; Pearl Harbor and, 253, 255, 257, 259–60; prejudice and, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66; rationality and, 266; resolve and, 243, 247, 249, 253, 266; surrender and, 248–64; suspicion and, 245, 257, 266; threats and, 248, 263–64; United States and, 243–65; World War I and, 242; World War II and, 243, 260, 265
- overreach, 55, 75, 78
- Pacific campaign: aggression and, 213, 219, 227, 231–32; ambition and, 209; animosity and, 210, 213, 215, 224–27, 229–30, 236–39; Bataan Death March

- and, 212, 256; Battle of Midway and, 216, 221, 230, 240, 246, 253, 344n202; boldness and, 211; booby traps and, 215, 235, 257; Britain and, 212, 221–22, 224–25, 234; capabilities and, 232, 238; casualties of, 211–15, 219–22, 343n175; clash of cultures in, 209–10; cognitive bias and, 223, 240; cohesion and, 213–24; commitment and, 10, 212, 221, 231; Coral Sea and, 344n202; decisions and, 210, 213, 221, 230–39; dehumanization and, 229–30; desire to kill and, 210, 215, 224, 227–33, 238, 241, 251–64; difficulty in killing and, 227–28; disasters and, 225; Douhet strategy and, 234, 236, 261; economics and, 213, 233; emotion and, 238; facing enemy and, 224–38; failure and, 210–11; firebombings and, 232, 236, 255, 259, 261–63; First Anniversary Hate Shoot and, 228; France and, 216; genocide and, 224; group bias and, 10, 209–41, 269; Guadalcanal and, 215, 219, 228, 251, 253, 344n202; hatred and, 215, 224–30, 234, 239, 242; Hiroshima and, 236–37, 250, 264; historical interpretation of, 10; information and, 210–11, 232; international relations and, 236; intuition and, 237; Iwo Jima and, 214, 228, 253; Japan and, 10, 208, 211–41, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255–56, 259, 262, 264–66, 269, 275; Ketsugo plan and, 250; logic and, 215, 223, 225, 235–39; moral issues and, 10, 212–13, 225, 229, 237; Nagasaki and, 236, 250, 264; Nazis and, 218; nuclear weapons and, 217, 224, 233, 236–37, 239; Okinawa and, 215, 228, 246, 252, 259; Operation Coronet and, 233; Operation Downfall and, 250; Operation Olympic and, 233; overconfidence and, 59, 96, 246–49, 251, 253, 256, 259–60, 263–64, 266; overkill and, 243–65; Patton and, 13, 67, 209; Pearl Harbor and, 210–12, 215–16, 219–22, 224–25, 228–31, 241; perseverance and, 238; Philippines and, 212, 225, 228–29, 247, 265; Potsdam Declaration and, 235; prejudice and, 209–13, 238; prisoners and, 212, 214–15, 226, 251–52, 257–58, 264; propaganda and, 219, 223, 230, 239, 245, 249–51, 256–57; psychology and, 227, 230, 240, 342n120; public opinion and, 215–18, 224–26; rationality and, 212, 223–24, 233, 235, 238; resolve and, 210, 228, 238–40; Saipan and, 209, 214–15, 228, 247, 252; strategic advantages and, 216–38, 269, 283; surrender and, 214–15, 218, 223–25, 228–39; Tarawa and, 219; threats and, 209, 211, 236; torture and, 219, 251–52; U.S. leaders and, 222–24, 230–38; U.S. military and, 218–22; Yamato race and, 210, 212, 216, 245
- Palestine, 9, 56
- Pape, Bob, 232–35, 237, 249–50, 261–64, 343n171, 348n133
- paranoia: adaptive biases and, 24, 242; attribution error and, 117, 133–34; Cassandra mentality and, 117; overkill and, 242; Stalin and, 24
- patriotism, 183, 215, 223
- Patton, George, 13, 67, 209
- Pearl Harbor: attribution error and, 117, 129, 143, 253, 255, 257, 259–60; failure and, 117, 143, 210–11; First Anniversary Hate Shoot and, 228; logistics of, 211; outrage from, 224–26; overkill and, 253, 255, 257, 259–60; Pacific campaign and, 210–12, 215–16, 219–22, 224–25, 228–31, 241; prior knowledge of, 210–11; World War II and, 129, 143, 210–12, 215–16, 219–22, 224–25, 228–31, 241, 253–55, 257, 259–60
- Peloponnesian War, 48–49, 50, 54–55, 78–79, 83, 139
- Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Jervis), 280
- Percival, Arthur, 223
- Pericles, 48–50, 54, 79, 83, 184
- Perry, Fred, 59
- perseverance: adaptive biases and, 16; American Revolution and, 14, 87, 90; overconfidence and, 7, 8, 14, 69, 70–71, 73, 79, 83, 87, 90; Pacific campaign and, 238; resolve and, 6–8, 71, 269, 283; strategic advantages and, 269, 276, 283
- Peterson, Christopher, 52
- Pew Research Center, 205
- Philbrick, Nathaniel, 95, 97
- Philippines, 212, 225, 228–29, 247, 265

- Phillips, Kevin, 55, 78
Phipps, 163
Phnom Penh, 123
Pitcairn, 103–4, 111
Plato, 3, 30, 242
Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax, Reginald
 Aylmer Ranfurly, 166
Poland, 83, 152, 156, 158
Politburo, 167
Port Arthur, 211
Positive Illusions (Taylor), 52
post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 199
Potsdam Declaration, 235
Potts, Malcolm, 191
Powell, Colin, 270
prejudice: adaptive biases and, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66; group bias and, 9, 26, 177–84, 195, 199, 202–3, 206–13, 238, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66, 269, 274; overkill and, 243, 252, 255, 258, 265–66; Pacific campaign and, 209–13, 238; racism and, 44, 184, 209, 212, 239, 243, 253–54, 256, 260, 264–65; strategic advantages and, 269, 274; xenophobia and, 181, 184, 191, 193, 200, 206, 337n112
pride, 12, 112, 223
Primer in Positive Psychology, A (Peterson), 52
Princeton, 89, 98, 105, 114
prisoners, 99, 212, 214–15, 226, 228, 251–53, 256–60, 264
Prisoner's Dilemma, 272
propaganda: attribution error and, 140; group bias and, 181, 204; Japan and, 223, 249; Pacific campaign and, 219, 223, 230, 239, 245, 249–51, 256–57
Prussia, 54
psychiatry, 16, 24, 36, 134, 205, 259, 305n12, 307n17
psychology: adaptive biases and, 13–16, 19, 22, 24–27, 247, 259–60; American Revolution and, 105; attribution error and, 115, 117–22, 125–28, 133–35, 138, 141, 321n36; behavioral economics and, 18–19, 31, 139, 293n5; Britain and, 157, 162, 171; cognitive bias and, 3–4, 14–15, 19, 26, 72, 128, 177, 192, 274, 276, 321n36; decisions and, 3–5, 15, 27, 30–31, 33, 62, 72, 125, 133, 157, 162, 180, 230, 279–80; *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* and, 16; difficulty in killing and, 227–28; Douhet strategy and, 234, 236, 261; emotion and, 5 (*see also* emotion); evolution and, 30–36, 39, 42, 47, 300n13, 300n14; group bias and, 177, 180–81, 184–88, 192, 197–99, 202–5; Hitler and, 157, 162, 171; ideologies and, 32; increased rigor of, 3; individualism and, 33–36; information and, 15, 51, 180, 188, 276; intuition and, 15, 30, 127; law of uncommon effects and, 320n21; McKay and, 22; moral issues and, 30; overconfidence and, 51–53, 56–62, 72, 75, 105, 120, 247, 259–60, 307n17, 310n67, 312n120; Pacific campaign and, 227, 230, 240, 342n120; positive, 16, 52, 307n17; psychoanalysis and, 3; rationality and, 3–4, 6, 15, 26, 29, 31, 72, 108; rise of, 3–4; strategic advantages and, 269–84, 290
Puolo Wai Island, 123
Pyrrhic victory, 56
Qaddafi, Muammar, 55, 207
Quintus, Smyrnaeus, 115
racism, 44, 184, 209, 212, 239, 243, 253–54, 256, 260, 264–65
Radio Tokyo, 251
Rape of Nanking, 256
Rathbun, Brian, 13, 170
rational choice theory, 3, 10, 18, 36, 268, 320n21
rationality: adaptive biases and, 12–19, 22–26, 296n14; American Revolution and, 87, 90, 96, 100, 104; attribution error and, 117, 120–21, 132, 135, 138, 143, 320n21; Britain and, 158, 164, 167, 170; craziness and, 24–26, 267–68; evolution and, 30–31, 36–38; group bias and, 184, 194, 198; historical record and, 12–14; incorrect information and, 293n7; irrationality and, 17–19, 22, 25–26, 60, 198, 266–68, 279, 352n52; law of uncommon effects and, 320n21; logic and, 1–3, 13, 15; overconfidence and, 51, 60, 62, 72, 79, 81–83, 87, 90, 96, 100, 104, 309n44, 309n46, 312n124; overkill and, 266; Pacific campaign and, 212, 223–24, 233, 235,

- 238; paranoia and, 24, 117, 133–34, 242; psychology and, 3–4, 6, 15, 26, 29, 31, 72, 108; Russell on, 3; social science and, 3–4; strategic advantages and, 10–11, 267–68, 277, 279–81, 284–86, 289, 291–92, 352n52; strategic theory and, 17–18
- Reagan, Ronald, 141–42, 197
- realism: classical, 138; defensive, 55, 80; distortion and, 22–23; factual, 17; neorealism, 31, 139, 203, 282; offensive, 80, 132, 273; practical, 17; structural, 137, 139
- rearmament, 146, 149–58, 169–70
- Reiter, Dan, 72
- religion, 12, 17, 119, 125, 182, 187, 190–91, 197, 206–7, 225–26, 244, 273
- Remi, 175
- resolve: ambition and, 6, 9, 11, 78, 81, 269, 283; American Revolution and, 86–87, 96, 109; attribution error and, 123; commitment and, 74, 243; group bias and, 180, 199–200; overconfidence and, 7, 8, 59–60, 69, 71–75, 78, 81, 83, 86–87, 96, 109; overkill and, 243, 247, 249, 253, 266; Pacific campaign and, 210, 228, 238–40; perseverance and, 6–8, 71, 269, 283; strategic advantages and, 269, 283
- resource allocation phase, 311n80
- resource extraction phase, 311n80
- Rhineland, 152, 161, 169
- Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 167
- Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, 131, 167
- Richardson, James, 121
- Richardson, Lewis Fry, 143
- Riggio, Ronald, 141
- Rilke, Rainer Maria, 182–83
- Ripsman, Norrin, 169
- Robbers Cave experiment, 178, 206, 210
- Roberts, Andrew, 68
- Romans, 34, 152, 174–77, 182, 268
- Ronaldo, Cristiano, 59
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 137, 222–23, 233–34, 260, 262, 341n77
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 48, 67, 83
- Rosen, Stephen, 232, 263
- Ross, Lee, 118–19
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 30, 186, 267
- Royal Navy, 92, 94
- Rubicon River, 72, 82, 278
- Russell, Bertrand, 3, 174, 185
- Russia, 124, 171, 234, 245; Churchill and, 166; Hitler and, 131, 166–67; Japan and, 121, 211; Khrushchev and, 6, 167; Kosovo War and, 313n140; Manchuria and, 237, 250, 254, 263; overestimation and, 6; Polish Solidarity movement and, 83; Politburo and, 167; Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and, 131, 166–67; Stalin and, 24, 131, 134, 137, 166–68, 236, 263; Task Number One and, 263; USSR, 6, 24, 123, 130–32, 168
- Russo-Japanese War, 211
- Rwanda, 9, 202
- Saipan, 209, 214–15, 228, 247, 252
- Saito, Yoshitsugu, 247
- Salem, Peter, 111
- Sandwich, Lord, 111
- Saratoga, 90–91, 93, 99–100, 113
- Schelling, Thomas, 18, 71, 81, 267, 279
- self-induced constraints, 324n89
- self-interest, 10, 13, 30, 185, 188–89, 194, 245, 266
- selfishness, 12, 119
- Serbia, 197
- Seuss, Dr., 25
- Seven Years' War, 86–87
- Shakespeare, William, 3, 68
- Sharot, Tali, 52
- Shaw, George Bernard, 13–14
- Shays' Rebellion, 110
- Shenkman, Rick, 101–2
- Sidanius, Jim, 32
- Sinclair, Andrew, 88, 97, 196, 217, 225, 260
- Singapore, 183–84, 216, 223
- situational constraints: attribution error and, 8, 118–24, 129, 134–35, 137–42, 149, 278, 285; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 9, 145, 147, 149, 152–53, 156–62, 168, 171–73; overconfidence and, 71; strategic advantages and, 278, 285
- Sledge, Eugene, 259
- Smith, Adam, 315n34
- Smith, Holland "Howlin' Mad", 219, 258
- "Smoke on the Water" (Foley), 226
- Smoler, Frederic, 199
- Snyder, Jack, 197
- social identity theory (SIT), 9, 177, 181, 201, 203

- social science: adaptive biases and, 15, 18–19, 24; attribution error and, 126; behavior and, 7–8, 44–46; evolution and, 29–30, 37, 42, 44–47; group bias and, 185, 196; human nature and, 37; insights for, 29–30; isolated case studies and, 6, 42; rationality and, 3–4; strategic advantages and, 276, 278
- sociobiology, 8, 37, 45, 302n56
- Sosis, Richard, 189, 303n67
- sources of variation, 14, 26, 28, 32, 72
- Spain, 92, 94, 112, 190
- Spanish-American War, 108
- Spanish Civil War, 233
- Sparta, 48–50, 182, 184
- Spock, Benjamin, 20
- spotlight effect, 321n39
- Stalin, Joseph, 24, 131, 134, 137, 166–68, 236, 263
- Stam, Allan, 72
- starvation, 91, 111, 237, 252
- state interests, 40, 206
- state leaders, 10, 24–26, 34, 40, 137, 194, 267–68, 272
- status-enhancement theory, 59–60
- Staub, Ervin, 198
- STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), 29, 299n2
- stereotypes, 180, 184, 239, 332n16, 346n59
- Stimson, Henry, 236
- stock market, 27, 52, 58
- Stouffer, Samuel, 219
- Strachan, Hew, 54
- strategic advantages: adaptive biases and, 15; aggression and, 275–76; alertness and, 7, 11, 73–74, 135, 267; ambition and, 6–7, 269–71, 283–84; American Revolution and, 269, 283; asymmetric costs and, 279, 285–86; attribution error and, 115, 129–33, 278, 285–87; bargaining and, 71, 76, 79, 81, 267, 291; behavioral science and, 268, 275–77; biology and, 270–71, 277–79, 290; boldness and, 7, 260, 270–71, 276, 283–85, 291; Britain and, 269, 273, 283, 289; capabilities and, 273, 279, 283–84; Chamberlain and, 283, 287; cognitive bias and, 267–70, 274–82, 290–91, 351n48; cognitive dissonance and, 270, 276; Cold War and, 284; commitment and, 284, 286; counterintuitive, 10, 15, 17, 58, 64, 67, 81; craziness and, 267–68; current affairs and, 282–89; decisions and, 268, 276–81, 285–86, 291; deterrence and, 60, 69, 71, 73–75, 78–82, 283–84, 291; disasters and, 7, 269–70, 273, 276, 281, 291; disposition and, 268, 272–82, 285–86, 290–92; economics and, 284–85, 288, 291; emotion and, 275–77; error management theory (EMT) and, 279–81, 351n48; European Union and, 285–89; evidence for, 269–77; evolution and, 269–83, 287, 290–92, 352n61; failure and, 270, 275, 283, 291; future implications and, 290–91; Germany and, 273; group bias and, 174–208, 216–38, 268–70, 273–79, 287–89; Hitler and, 269, 273, 287; human nature and, 275–77, 288–91; ideologies and, 280; illusion and, 271; information and, 272, 276–77, 285, 289, 292, 348n133; intention and, 272–73, 279, 286–87; international relations and, 10, 270–73, 277–82, 285, 287–88, 291–92; intuition and, 267, 270, 273, 280, 288–89; Iraq War and, 286; Japan and, 269, 275; Kahneman and, 267–68, 276; logic and, 267, 272, 274, 277, 279–81; moral issues and, 273; nuclear weapons and, 267–68, 284–87; optimism and, 270–71, 283, 290; overconfidence and, 48–84, 103–6, 268–71, 276, 278–79, 282–85, 291; overestimation and, 283; Pacific campaign and, 216–38, 269, 283; perseverance and, 269, 276, 283; prejudice and, 269, 274; psychology and, 269–84, 290; rationality and, 10–11, 267–68, 277, 279–81, 284–86, 289, 291–92, 352n52; resolve and, 269, 283; situational constraints and, 278, 285; social science and, 276, 278; suspicion and, 7, 268, 271–74, 277, 291–92; threats and, 267, 269, 271–76, 280, 284–88; United States and, 269, 275, 282–86, 289; Vietnam War and, 267, 284; World War II and, 10, 269, 275, 289

- Strategic Bombing Survey, 234, 236, 262–63
- strategic theory, 17–18
- structural change phase, 311n80
- Stuart, Gilbert, 102
- suicide, 105; “The Glorious Death of One Hundred Million” and, 250; hara kiri, 212, 245; Ketsugo plan and, 250; mass, 214, 250, 252; overkill and, 245, 247–50, 252, 258; Pacific campaign and, 212, 214–15, 220, 228, 238, 241
- samurai culture, 244–45, 248
- Sun Tzu, 76
- Superbus, Lucius Tarquinius, 268
- superfluous constraints, 324n89
- superstition, 17
- surrender: adaptive biases and, 248–64; Britain’s appeasement of Hitler and, 146, 172; group bias and, 176, 184; overconfidence and, 73, 86, 88–90, 93, 99–101, 108; overkill and, 248–64; Pacific campaign and, 214–15, 218, 223–25, 228–39
- suspicion: adaptive biases and, 271–73; attribution error and, 117, 122, 130–35, 140, 142, 148; Britain’s appeasement of Hitler and, 163, 173; group bias and, 186, 203; overkill and, 245, 257, 266; strategic advantages and, 7, 268, 271–74, 277, 291–92
- Swan, William, 201
- Sweden, 62, 94
- Switzerland, 289
- Syria, 117, 131
- System 1 thinking, 15, 267
- Szilard, Leo, 234
- Tajfel, Henri, 177, 181
- Taliban, 53, 55, 106
- Tarawa, 219
- Task Number One, 263
- Taylor, Jim, 59
- Taylor, Shelley, 52, 59, 73, 180
- terrorism: Al Qaeda and, 117, 142; attribution error and, 124, 129, 141; evolution and, 32, 37; group bias and, 198; ISIL and, 55; overkill and, 263; Pacific campaign and, 234; Taliban and, 53, 55, 106
- testosterone, 59, 73
- Tetlock, Philip, 127–28, 132, 273
- Thalis, Alexander, 124
- t’Hart, Paul, 332n21
- Thirty Years Peace Treaty, 48
- threats: adaptive biases and, 14, 22, 29; Al Qaeda and, 326n18; attribution error and, 7–9, 117–19, 124, 127–38, 142–43, 148, 321n38, 322n66, 323n74, 325n106, 325n120; Axis of Evil and, 142, 197; Evil Empire and, 142, 197; fundamental attribution error (FAE) and, 7, 148; global ecosystems and, 45; group bias and, 174–75, 180–81, 188, 192, 194, 199–205, 208; Hitler and, 148–57, 160, 163–72, 328n98; inflation of, 118, 128, 132, 172, 269, 323n74, 325n120; overconfidence and, 57, 80–81, 86, 92, 110; overestimation of, 8–9, 80, 117–18, 132–33, 136, 143, 322n66, 325n120; overkill and, 248, 263–64; Pacific campaign and, 209, 211, 236; strategic advantages and, 267, 269, 271–76, 280, 284–88; U.S. intelligence and, 326n18
- Thucydides, 35, 48–49, 184
- Tierney, Dominic, 72, 217, 225
- Toda, Masanao, 4
- Togo, 212
- Tojo, 248
- Tokko gunjin* (special attack soldiers), 215
- Tokyo, 211, 251, 255, 261–62
- Tooby, John, 12, 19, 61
- torture, 219, 251–52
- Treaty of Paris, 93
- Treaty of Versailles, 9, 146, 148–49, 154–55, 158–62
- Trenton, 89, 98, 105, 113–14
- Triple Entente, 149, 167–68
- Trivers, Robert, 60
- Truman, Harry, 225, 235–37, 262
- Trump, Donald, 12, 78, 205
- Tuchman, Barbara, 8, 13, 57, 88, 98, 100, 104–5, 110–12, 241, 314n4, 318n136
- Turner, John, 177
- Tversky, Amos, 23, 300n14
- Type I errors, 128, 132, 273
- Type II errors, 128, 273

- United Nations, 83, 237, 285
- United States: Adams and, 97, 110, 112, 210, 213, 218 American Revolution and, 8, 85–114 (*see also* American Revolution); arms race of, 217; Articles of Confederation and, 110; atrocities and, 254–55; attribution error and, 123, 130, 132, 141–42; biological weapons and, 259–60; Britain's appeasement of Hitler and, 145, 160, 168, 171–72; Bush and, 55, 78–79, 141–42, 197–98; Carter and, 141; China and, 56, 77, 204–5, 237, 282–85; Clinton and, 313n140; Cold War and, 6–7, 37, 77, 124, 129, 132, 142, 197, 204–5, 242, 284; Cuban Missile Crisis and, 6, 56, 117, 120, 122, 129, 205; Declaration of Independence and, 70, 85, 89, 96, 100, 107–8, 110, 196; Ford and, 123; Franklin Roosevelt and, 137, 222–23, 233–34, 260, 262, 341n77; George Washington and, 8, 85–114, 241, 271, 285; Germany First strategy and, 222; group bias and, 180, 183, 198, 204–8; Iraq War and, 7–8, 54–55, 78–79, 81, 110, 141–42, 181, 198–99, 207, 217, 286, 318n115, 325n120, 331n28; Jefferson and, 54, 110, 196; Johnson and, 142; Kennedy and, 6, 24, 142, 165; Louisiana Purchase and, 314n4; Nixon and, 70, 267–68; Obama and, 78, 313n140; overconfidence and, 55–56, 77–78, 81, 85–86, 94, 96, 100, 110, 314n5; overkill and, 243–65; Pacific campaign and, 10, 210 (*see also* Pacific campaign); Reagan and, 141–42, 197; strategic advantages and, 269, 275, 282–86, 289; Theodore Roosevelt and, 48, 67, 83; Truman and, 225, 235–37, 262; Trump and, 12, 78, 205; underestimation of, 212–13, 216; Vietnam War and, 7, 55–57, 70, 78, 94, 109, 123, 180, 199, 217, 267, 284; War of 1812 and, 54, 108; war production of, 217; Washington D.C., 54, 78, 123, 237, 266; weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and, 141, 286, 325n120; World War I and, 168; World War II and, 10, 183, 207–8, 213, 218–19, 243, 260, 275, 289
- U.S. Constitution, 110, 241
- USS *Mayaguez*, 123, 129
- USSR. *See* Russia
- Valley Forge, 91, 94, 97–98, 106–7, 113
- Van Evera, Stephen, 8, 55, 57, 180–83, 212, 225
- Vansittart, Robert, 152–55, 162–63, 171–73
- Vercingetorix, 174–77, 184
- Victory over Japan Day, 225
- Vietnam War: casualties of, 109; group bias and, 180, 199; Khmer Rouge and, 123; overconfidence and, 55–57, 70, 78, 94, 109; strategic advantages and, 267, 284; United States and, 7, 55–57, 70, 78, 94, 109, 123, 180, 199, 217, 267, 284
- Voice of America radio, 123
- Volkan, Vamik, 205
- Voroshilov, Kliment, 167
- Vugt, Mark van, 188
- Wade, Mitchell, 60
- Wake Atoll, 253
- Waldman, Matt, 55
- Wallace, Henry, 230
- Wall Street, 52
- Walt, Stephen, 56, 77, 137, 279
- Waltz, Kenneth, 30, 36, 80, 139, 203, 321n38
- war crimes, 263
- Wark, Wesley, 148–50, 152, 154–55, 157, 163
- War of 1812, 54, 108
- War of the Worlds, The* (Wells), 238
- Washington D.C., 54, 78, 123, 237, 266
- Washington, George: American Revolution and, 85–114, 241, 271, 285 315n34; chance and, 98–100; character of, 101–3, 271, 285; compulsion and, 106–8; crosses the Delaware, 89, 90, 105–6, 113–14; favorable factors for, 93–96; Howe and, 87, 89, 91, 93, 97, 100–2, 106, 112–14, 266; Mount Vernon and, 101; overconfidence and, 8, 86–88, 94, 101–6, 110–12, 266; strategic advantages and, 103–6; unfavorable factors for, 96–98; Valley Forge and, 91, 94, 97–98, 106–7, 113; Virginia Regiment and, 101
- Washington, Martha, 101–2
- Watt, Donald Cameron, 153, 158–59, 171

- weapons of mass destruction (WMDs),
141, 286, 325n120
- Weidman, Nils, 61–62
- Weintraub, Stanley, 182–83
- Welch, David, 12
- Wells, H. G., 237–38
- Wendt, Alexander, 30, 203
- While England Slept* (Churchill), 165
- Whitehouse, Harvey, 201
- Why England Slept* (Kennedy), 165
- “Why We Fight” (Capra), 256
- Wilson, David Sloan, 17, 33
- Wilson, E. O., 30
- World Disarmament Conference, 148,
153–54, 160
- World War I: attribution error and, 6;
Britain and, 148, 166, 168, 172; Cham-
berlain and, 159–60, 166; effects of,
148–49, 153, 159–60, 162, 166–68,
172, 230; false optimism and, 8;
German defeat in, 148, 166; group
bias and, 6, 182–83; lessons from,
230–31; overconfidence and, 6, 55–57,
78–79; overkill and, 242; rearmament
and, 153; Treaty of Versailles and, 9,
146, 148–49, 154–55, 158–62; Triple
Entente and, 149, 167–68; United
States and, 168
- World War II: adaptive biases and, 13;
atomic weapons and, 237–38, 250,
255, 263–64, 285; biological weapons
and, 254, 259–60; Britain and, 10, 35,
183, 265, 289; casualties of, 109, 213;
Churchill and, 35; Douhet strategy
ad, 234, 236, 261; group bias and, 7,
183, 186, 199, 207–8; Manhattan proj-
ect and, 235; overconfidence and, 55,
67, 109; overkill and, 243, 260, 265;
Pacific campaign and, 209–41 (*see also*
Pacific campaign); Patton and, 13;
Pearl Harbor and, 129, 143, 210–12,
215–16, 219–22, 224–25, 228–31, 241,
253–55, 257, 259–60; Potsdam Dec-
laration and, 235; public opinion on,
225; strategic advantages and, 10, 269,
275, 289; United States and, 10, 183,
207–8, 213, 218, 243, 260, 275, 289
- Wrangham, Richard, 60–61, 336n93
- xenophobia, 181, 184, 191, 193, 200, 206,
337n112
- Xiongnu, 76
- Yamato race, 210, 212, 216, 245
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren, 121, 128, 140, 160–67,
170, 172, 328n78
- Yokohama, 262
- Yom Kippur War, 129
- Yorktown, 86, 92–93, 99–100, 113
- Yoshida, Kiyoshi, 209
- Yugoslavia, 197, 287
- Zero fighters, 217
- Zuckerberg, Mark, 60, 83