APPENDIX TO: SCOTT D. SAGAN AND BENJAMIN A. VALENTINO
DOES THE NONCOMBATANT IMMUNITY NORM HAVE STOPPING POWER?
PRIMES, COUNTER-PRIMES, AND EXTERNAL VALIDITY
***International Security,* Vol. 45, No. 2, (Fall 2020)**

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENTS

TREATMENT 1: BASELINE

President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City to End War

Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More U.S. Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

Associated Press

The president has requested a review of military options in Iran as U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses and stiff resistance from Iranian forces as they move inland from the Iranian coast. The conflict began three months ago, when UN inspectors discovered a covert Iranian facility capable of producing nuclear weapons within 12 months. In response, the president declared that "America will not be held hostage to nuclear blackmail," and demanded Iran dismantle the facility immediately. The president also ordered the aircraft carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt into international waters in the Persian Gulf near Iran as a demonstration of U.S. resolve.

Less than 24 hours after it arrived in the Gulf, Iranian Air Force jets launched a surprise attack on the Roosevelt, killing 2,403 sailors and injuring 1,178. The next day, the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted unanimously to declare war on Iran. The U.S. retaliated with large-scale air strikes, destroying all of Iran's nuclear infrastructure including the covert facility, air defenses, and all Iranian Air Force bases and planes. When Iran rejected the United States' demand for the "immediate and unconditional surrender" of the Iranian government, the president ordered a ground invasion by U.S. Marines and Army forces.

An estimated 100,000 Iranian civilians would be killed in the U.S. nuclear strike.

Since U.S. troops first landed on Iranian beaches, the American advance has slowed. Over 10,000 American troops have been killed thus far in America's bloodiest battles since World War II.

Just last week, Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran, told a cheering crowd in Tehran, "the Iranian nation will never surrender to anyone."

The president asked the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) to present new military options for ending the war as soon as possible. Yesterday, the JCS delivered the report, including an option called the "shock strategy," which would authorize a major expansion of air strikes against Iran. The report was leaked to the Associated Press by a high-ranking administration official.

Until now, the United States has relied solely on conventional weapons in its air strikes against Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a single U.S. nuclear weapon on Mashhad, the second largest city in Iran, in the effort to undermine civilian support for the war and pressure the Iranian government to surrender. The JCS report estimates that the nuclear strike would kill approximately 100,000 Iranian civilians living in the city.

According to the JCS report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require more bloody fighting to capture the capital, Tehran. This would likely result in an additional 20,000 U.S. military deaths.

Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no U.S. military deaths are anticipated in the nuclear air strike.

The JCS report did not recommend a specific course of action.

TREATMENT 2: JCS SAYS STRIKE IS ILLEGAL

President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City to End War: Joint Chiefs' Report Concludes Nuclear Strike Would Violate International Law

Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More U.S. Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

JCS Say Laws of War Outlaw Deliberate Targeting of Civilians

Associated Press

The president has requested a review of military options in Iran as U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses and stiff resistance from Iranian forces as they move inland from the Iranian coast. The conflict began three months ago, when UN inspectors discovered a covert Iranian facility capable of producing nuclear weapons within 12 months. In response, the president declared that "America will not be held hostage to nuclear blackmail," and demanded Iran dismantle the facility immediately. The president also ordered the aircraft carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt into international waters in the Persian Gulf near Iran as a demonstration of U.S. resolve.

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The Geneva Conventions, signed by the U.S., outlaw deliberate attacks on civilians.

The president asked the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) to present new military options for ending the war as soon as possible. Yesterday, the JCS delivered the report, including an option called the "shock strategy," which would authorize a major expansion of air strikes against Iran. The report was leaked to the Associated Press by a high-ranking administration official.

Until now, the United States has relied solely on conventional weapons in its air strikes against Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a single U.S. nuclear weapon on Mashhad, the second largest city in Iran, in the effort to undermine civilian support for the war and pressure the Iranian government to surrender. The JCS report estimates that the nuclear strike would kill approximately 100,000 Iranian civilians living in the city.

The JCS also concluded that the nuclear attack "would violate international laws of armed conflict that the U.S. has signed." The Geneva Conventions, which have governed conduct during war since 1949, specifically outlaw deliberate attacks on civilians.

According to the JCS report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require more bloody fighting to capture the capital, Tehran. This would likely result in an additional 20,000 U.S. military deaths.

Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no U.S. military deaths are anticipated in the nuclear air strike.

The JCS report did not recommend a specific course of action.

TREATMENT 3: JCS DISAGREES WHETHER STRIKE IS ILLEGAL

President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City to End War: Joint Chiefs Disagree on Whether or Not Nuclear Strike Would Violate International Law

Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More U.S. Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

Some on JCS say strike is illegal. Others say strike would be legal if U.S. targets Iranian military base in the city

Associated Press

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The president asked the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) to present new military options for ending the war as soon as possible. Yesterday, the JCS delivered the report, including an option called the "shock strategy," which would authorize a major expansion of air strikes against Iran. The report was leaked to the Associated Press by a high-ranking administration official.

Members of the JCS disagree on whether or not the Geneva Conventions would make such an attack illegal.

Until now, the United States has relied solely on conventional weapons in its air strikes against Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a single U.S. nuclear weapon on Mashhad, the second largest city in Iran, in the effort to undermine civilian support for the war and pressure the Iranian government to surrender. The JCS report estimates that the nuclear strike would kill approximately 100,000 Iranian civilians living in the city.

The JCS, however, disagreed on whether or not the attack "would violate international laws of armed conflict that the U.S. has signed."

Some members of the JCS argued that The Geneva Conventions, which have governed conduct during war since 1949, specifically outlaw deliberate attacks on civilians.

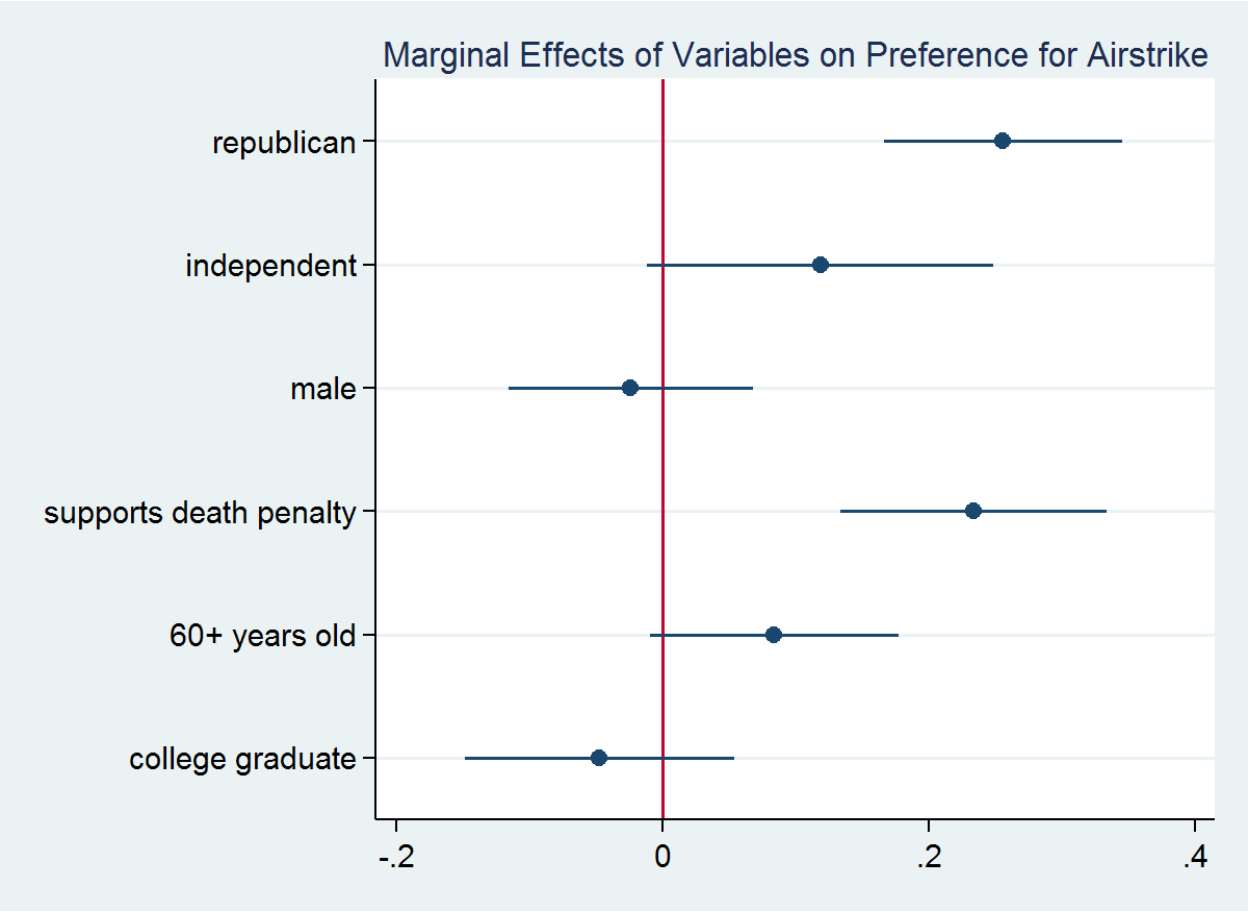
Other members of the JCS, however, claimed the strike would be legal since there is a medium sized Iranian military base within the city and the strike could be targeted against that base.

According to the JCS report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require more bloody fighting to capture the capital, Tehran. This would likely result in an additional 20,000 U.S. military deaths.

Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no U.S. military deaths are anticipated in the nuclear air strike.

The JCS report did not recommend a specific course of action.

MARGINAL EFFECTS OF DEATH PENALTY APPROVAL AND OTHER VARIABLES ON PREFERENCE FOR AIRSTRIKE (ALL 3 CONDITIONS)



QUESTION WORDING

2019 IRAN LEGAL PRIMING EXPERIMENT

[prefer_strike] Given the facts described in the article, if you had to choose between launching the nuclear strike against the Iranian city or continuing the ground war against Iran, which option would you prefer?

STRONGLY PREFER TO CONTINUE GROUND WAR					STRONGLY PREFER TO TO LAUNCH STRIKE
1	2	3	4	5	6

[bombing_illegal] Launching the nuclear strike against the Iranian city would violate the international laws of war.

STRONGLY DISAGREE					STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6

[death_penalty] Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. Strongly favor
2. Favor
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose

[birthyr] In what year were you born?

[gender] Are you male or female?
1. male
2. female
8. Skipped
9. Not Asked

[race] What racial or ethnic group best describes you?
1. White
2. Black or African-American
3. Hispanic or Latino
4. Asian or Asian-American
5. Native American
8. Middle Eastern
6. Mixed Race
7. Other (open [race_other])
98. Skipped
99. Not Asked

[educ] What is the highest level of education you have completed?
1. Did not graduate from high school
2. High school graduate

3. Some college, but no degree (yet)
4. 2-year college degree
5. 4-year college degree
6. Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)
8. Skipped
9. Not Asked

[pid7] Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...?
1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. Lean Democrat
4. Independent
5. Lean Republican
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican
8. Not sure
9. Don't know

2016 WATERBOARDING SURVEY

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The United States should use interrogation techniques much stronger than waterboarding to obtain information from captured foreign terrorist suspects.” [50% get version B]

STRONGLY DISAGREE					STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6

Full Citations for Sources in Figure 2 (Public Support for Torture of Terrorist Suspects, 2004–15)

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