# APPENDIX

"Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran:

American Attitudes about Nuclear Weapons and Non-Combatant Immunity"

*International Security* (summer 2017)

By Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino

**CONTENTS**

1. preference for airstrike by respondent demographics (logistic regression)

2. full treatment news stories

3. full question wording for all survey questions referenced in the article

**Preference for Airstrike by Demographics (logistic regression)**

| | Coefficient | RSE | *P* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **male** | 0.047129 | 0.2418181 | 0.845 |
| **republican party ID** | 0.520495 | 0.2797139 | 0.063+ |
| **college graduate** | 0.029142 | 0.2472201 | 0.906 |
| **age older than 60** | 0.703458 | 0.2592745 | 0.007** |
| **white** | -0.1503 | 0.2851199 | 0.598 |
| **favor death penalty** | 1.349915 | 0.2677615 | 0** |
| ***constant*** | -0.96173 | 0.3251524 | 0.003 |
| | | | |
| *observations* | 467 | | |

+ $p<0.1$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$

TREATMENT D2 - 100K IRANIAN CIVILIANS KILLED

# President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City to End War

## Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More American Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

The Associated Press

U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses as they move inland from the Iranian coast, facing stiff resistance from Iranian military forces. The war began three months ago, in response to increased American economic sanctions imposed after UN inspectors discovered evidence of a covert Iranian nuclear weapons facility, in violation of Iran's agreement to dismantle its nuclear weapons program.Iranian Air Force jets launched a surprise attack on the USS Theodore Roosevelt in international waters in the Persian Gulf, sinking the U.S. aircraft carrier, killing 2,403 sailors and injuring 1,178. After the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted unanimously to declare war on Iran, U.S. forces retaliated immediately with large-scale airstrikes that destroyed all of Iran's nuclear infrastructure, 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 designed to destroy the Iranian military and replace the government of Iran.

### An estimated 100,000 Iranian civilians would be killed in the nuclear strike

Since U.S. troops first landed on Iranian beaches three months ago, the American advance has slowed considerably. Over 10,000 American troops have been killed in the fighting thus far, including almost 4,000 in just two weeks of intense urban fighting in the city of Shiraz, the bloodiest battle for the U.S. military since World War II.

The President has issued multiple public statements that "the United States will accept nothing less than the unconditional surrender of the Iranian regime." In response, Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran, has regularly told cheering crowds in Tehran that "the Iranian nation will never surrender to anyone."

The President has been considering options for ending the war as soon as possible. Yesterday, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff delivered a report to the President 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 restricted its air strikes to conventional weapons against military targets in Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a single U.S. nuclear weapon directly 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. Much of the city is expected to be destroyed. The report estimates that the nuclear strike would kill approximately 100,000 Iranian civilians living in the city, including both immediate deaths and long-term fatalities from the strike. Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no American military deaths are anticipated in the air strike.

### 20,000 more American military deaths expected if Iran does not surrender

According to the Joint Chiefs' report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require heavy fighting to reach and capture the heavily defended capital, Tehran, and would likely result in an additional 20,000 American military deaths.

The report does not recommend a specific course of action.

TREATMENT D5 - 2 MILLION IRANIAN CIVILIANS KILLED

# President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City to End War

## Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More American Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

The Associated Press

U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses as they move inland from the Iranian coast, facing stiff resistance from Iranian military forces. The war began three months ago, in response to increased American economic sanctions imposed after UN inspectors discovered evidence of a covert Iranian nuclear weapons facility, in violation of Iran's agreement to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Iranian Air Force jets launched a surprise attack on the USS Theodore Roosevelt in international waters in the Persian Gulf, sinking the U.S. aircraft carrier, killing 2,403 sailors and injuring 1,178. After the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted unanimously to declare war on Iran, U.S. forces retaliated immediately with large-scale airstrikes that destroyed all of Iran's nuclear infrastructure, 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 designed to destroy the Iranian military and replace the government of Iran.

### An estimated 2 million Iranian civilians would be killed in the nuclear strike

Since U.S. troops first landed on Iranian beaches three months ago, the American advance has slowed considerably. Over 10,000 American troops have been killed in the fighting thus far, including almost 4,000 in just two weeks of intense urban fighting in the city of Shiraz, the bloodiest battle for the U.S. military since World War II.

The President has issued multiple public statements that "the United States will accept nothing less than the unconditional surrender of the Iranian regime." In response, Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran, has regularly told cheering crowds in Tehran that "the Iranian nation will never surrender to anyone."

The President has been considering options for ending the war as soon as possible. Yesterday, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff delivered a report to the President 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 restricted its air strikes to conventional weapons against military targets in Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a single U.S. nuclear weapon directly 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. Much of the city is expected to be destroyed. The report estimates that the nuclear strike would kill approximately 2 million Iranian civilians living in the city, including both immediate deaths and long-term fatalities from the strike. Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no American military deaths are anticipated in the air strike.

### 20,000 more American military deaths expected if Iran does not surrender

According to the Joint Chiefs' report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require heavy fighting to reach and capture the heavily defended capital, Tehran, and would likely result in an additional 20,000 American military deaths.

The report does not recommend a specific course of action.

TREATMENT D6 - CONVENTIONAL STRIKE: 100K IRANIAN CIVILIANS KILLED

# President Considering Major Air Attack on Iranian City to End War

## Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More American Military Deaths if Ground War Continues

The Associated Press

U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses as they move inland from the Iranian coast, facing stiff resistance from Iranian military forces. The war began three months ago, in response to increased American economic sanctions imposed after UN inspectors discovered evidence of a covert Iranian nuclear weapons facility, in violation of Iran's agreement to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Iranian Air Force jets launched a surprise attack on the USS Theodore Roosevelt in international waters in the Persian Gulf, sinking the U.S. aircraft carrier, killing 2,403 sailors and injuring 1,178. After the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted unanimously to declare war on Iran, U.S. forces retaliated immediately with large-scale airstrikes that destroyed all of Iran's nuclear infrastructure, 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 designed to destroy the Iranian military and replace the government of Iran.

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**An estimated 100,000 Iranian civilians would be killed in the air strike**

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The President has issued multiple public statements that "the United States will accept nothing less than the unconditional surrender of the Iranian regime." In response, Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran, has regularly told cheering crowds in Tehran that "the Iranian nation will never surrender to anyone."

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Until now, the United States has restricted its air strikes to conventional weapons against military targets in Iran. The "shock strategy," however, would target a major air attack, utilizing hundreds of planes and missiles, directly 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. Much of the city is expected to be destroyed. The report estimates that the air strike would kill approximately 100,000 Iranian civilians living in the city, including both immediate deaths and long-term fatalities from the strike. Since Iran's air defenses were destroyed in the first days of the war, no American military deaths are anticipated in the air strike.

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**20,000 more American military deaths expected if Iran does not surrender**

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According to the Joint Chiefs' report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require heavy fighting to reach and capture the heavily defended capital, Tehran, and would likely result in an additional 20,000 American military deaths.

The report does not recommend a specific course of action.

TREATMENT D7 - AYATOLLAH DEAL

# President Considering Nuclear Attack on Iranian City or Relaxing U.S. Demand for Unconditional Surrender to End War

Joint Chiefs' Report Estimates 20,000 More American Military Deaths if Iran Does Not Surrender. Iran might surrender immediately if Ayatollah is allowed to remain as spiritual leader, without any political power.

The Associated Press

U.S. troops continue to suffer heavy losses as they move inland from the Iranian coast, facing stiff resistance from Iranian military forces. The war began three months ago, in response to increased American economic sanctions imposed after UN inspectors discovered evidence of a covert Iranian nuclear weapons facility, in violation of Iran's agreement to dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Iranian Air Force jets launched a surprise attack on the USS Theodore Roosevelt in international waters in the Persian Gulf, sinking the U.S. aircraft carrier, killing 2,403 sailors and injuring 1,178. After the United States Senate and House of Representatives voted unanimously to declare war on Iran, U.S. forces retaliated immediately with large-scale airstrikes that destroyed all of Iran's nuclear infrastructure, 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 designed to destroy the Iranian military and replace the government of Iran.

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20,000 more American military deaths expected if Iran does not surrender

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According to the Joint Chiefs' report, if the United States continues the ground war, it will eventually defeat Iran, but doing so would require heavy fighting to reach and capture the heavily defended capital, Tehran, and would likely result in an additional 20,000 American military deaths.

The President has also been considering a diplomatic option which might bring the war to an end. In that option, the United States would publicly maintain its demand for unconditional surrender, but privately inform the leadership in Tehran that if Iran surrenders immediately, Ayatollah Khamenei would be immune from war crime prosecutions and would be permitted to remain in a position as spiritual leader, without any political power, in a new, freely elected Iranian government. Some high-ranking members of the administration believe that Iran is now close to surrender and allowing the Ayatollah to continue to serve in this way might be enough to convince Iran to agree to surrender immediately.

**FULL QUESTION WORDING FOR ALL SURVEY QUESTIONS REFERENCED IN ARTICLE**

**japan_atomic**

"Which of these views most accurately reflects your view about the U.S. dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan in 1945?"

1. We should not have used any atomic bombs at all.
2. We should have dropped one first on some unpopulated region, to show the Japanese its power, and dropped the second one on a city only if they hadn't surrendered after the first one.
3. We should have used the two bombs on cities, just as we did.
4. We should have quickly used many more of the bombs before Japan had a chance to surrender.
5. Don't know.

**prefer_strike_D1_6**

"Given the facts described in the article, if you had to choose between launching the 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 LAUNCH STRIKE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**approve_strike**

"Regardless of which option you preferred, if the United States decided to conduct the strike against the Iranian city, how much would you approve or disapprove of that decision?"

| STRONGLY DISAPPROVE | | | | | STRONGLY APPROVE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**strike_ethical**

"Regardless of which option you preferred, how ethical or unethical do you think it would be if the United States decided to conduct the strike against the Iranian city in the situation described in the article?"

| HIGHLY UNETHICAL | | | | | HIGHLY ETHICAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**prefer_3choice**

"If you had to choose between the three options described in the article, would you prefer to launch the strike against the Iranian city, to continue the ground war against Iran, or to offer to allow the Ayatollah to stay on as a spiritual leader without any political power?"

1. Strongly prefer to launch the strike
2. Somewhat prefer to launch the strike
3. Strongly prefer to continue the ground war
4. Somewhat prefer to continue the ground war
5. Strongly prefer to offer to let the Ayatollah stay on as spiritual leader
6. Somewhat prefer to offer to let the Ayatollah stay on as spiritual leader

**bombing_effective**
"Regardless of which option you preferred, how likely do you think it is that the strike against the Iranian city would cause Iran to surrender?"
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely

**Iran_responsible**
"Since Iran's leaders started the war, they are morally responsible for any Iranian civilian deaths caused by the U.S. strike described in the news story."

| STRONGLY DISAGREE | | | | | STRONGLY AGREE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**civilians_responsible**
"Because the Iranian civilians described in the story did not rise up and overthrow the government of Iran, they must bear some responsibility for the civilian fatalities caused by the U.S. strike described in the news story."

| STRONGLY DISAGREE | | | | | STRONGLY AGREE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**Iran_feeling**
"Please rate your feelings toward the following countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred. The higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that country."
0----------50----------100

**deal_credibility**
"If the U.S. agrees to allow the Ayatollah to stay on as a spiritual leader without any political power, other adversaries will doubt the credibility of the United States to carry out its threats in the future."

| STRONGLY DISAGREE | | | | | STRONGLY AGREE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**deal_effective**
"Regardless of which option you preferred, how likely do you think it is that Iran would agree to surrender if the U.S. offered to allow the Ayatollah to stay on as a spiritual leader without any political power if Iran would agree to surrender?"
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely

**pid7**
"Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...?"

1. Strong Democrat
2. Not very strong Democrat
3. The Democratic Party
4. Neither
5. The Republican Party
6. Not very strong Republican
7. Strong Republican
8. Not sure

**gender**
"Are you male or female?"
1. Male
2. Female

**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.)

**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

**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