

Appendix 1: Sample composition.

***N* = 1,507**

Gender

Male – 46%

Female – 54%

Age

18–22 – 12%

23–35 – 35%

36–55 – 39%

56–65 – 15%

Region

Central Region – 21%

Far Eastern Region – 4%

Moscow – 8%

North Western Region – 11%

Siberia Region – 14%

South Region – 13%

Ural Region – 9%

Volga Region – 21%

Support for the Russian leadership

(from 1–strongly disapprove to 5–strongly approve)

1 – 15%

2 – 11%

3 – 30%

4 – 25%

5 – 19%

Appendix 2: Scenarios and survey items.

ID1. What is your gender?

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Other

ID2. What is your age?

- 1 0-17 end questionnaire
- 2 18-22
- 3 23-35
- 4 36-55
- 5 56-65
- 6 66+ end questionnaire

ID3. In which region do you live?

- 1 Central Region
- 2 Far Eastern Region
- 3 Moscow
- 4 North Western Region
- 5 Siberia Region
- 6 South Region
- 7 Ural Region
- 8 Volga Region

ID4. Which of these describes your personal monthly income before tax?

- 1 Less than 4999 Rub
- 2 5000 - 9999 Rub
- 3 10000 - 14999 Rub
- 4 15000 - 19999 Rub
- 5 20000 - 29999 Rub
- 6 30000 - 44999 Rub
- 7 45000 - 59999 Rub
- 8 More than 60000 Rub
- 9 Prefer not to say

ID5. What is your level of education?

- 1 None complete
- 2 Primary School
- 3 Secondary School
- 4 High School/Tertiary/Tech. College
- 5 University/Higher Education
- 6 Postgraduate Education
- 7 Prefer not to say

Part 1

Q1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking?

- 1 Whether or not someone suffered emotionally
- 2 Whether or not some people were treated differently than others
- 3 Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country
- 4 Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority
- 5 Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency
- 6 Whether or not someone was good at math
- 7 Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable
- 8 Whether or not someone acted unfairly
- 9 Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group
- 10 Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society
- 11 Whether or not someone did something disgusting
- 12 Whether or not someone was cruel
- 13 Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights
- 14 Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty
- 15 Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder
- 16 Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of

Answers / Columns

0 not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong)

1 not very relevant

2 slightly relevant

3 somewhat relevant

4 very relevant

5 extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong)

Part 2

Q2. Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement:

17 Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.

18 When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.

19 I am proud of my country's history.

- 20 Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.
- 21 People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.
- 22 It is better to do good than to do bad.
- 23 One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.
- 24 Justice is the most important requirement for a society.
- 25 People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.
- 26 Men and women each have different roles to play in society.
- 27 I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.
- 28 It can never be right to kill a human being.
- 29 I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.
- 30 It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.
- 31 If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer's orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.
- 32 Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.

Answers / Columns

- 0 Strongly disagree
- 1 Moderately disagree
- 2 Slightly disagree
- 3 Slightly agree
- 4 Moderately agree
- 5 Strongly agree

Part 3 - option A

This section was for 1/4 of randomly selected participants (n=375)

Imagine the following scenario:

In August 2021, protests of the Russian minority in Latvia's Latgale region were violently suppressed by the Latvian army. In response, the Russian army crossed the borders with Latvia and occupied the Latgale region to protect the Russian minority from further violence. Latvia then invoked NATO Article V. and asked NATO allies to assist it with reclaiming the territory.

The United States and several European NATO countries had expressed their intention to militarily assist Latvia and started organizing the deployment of a large expeditionary force in Poland and the Baltic countries, with the intention to reclaim Latgale and push Russian units out of the Latvian territory. The first wave of NATO forces clashed with the Russian army at the western borders of the Latgale region, with heavy losses on both sides after several days of fighting. To prevent further military intervention by other NATO countries and a possible military defeat, Russian generals proposed to use a single nuclear weapon against a NATO military base in Poland, with the goal of demonstrating Russian resolve and forcing NATO countries to meet with Russian representatives and negotiate terms of peace that would be

favorable to Russia as well as Russian minority in Latvia. The generals believe that without this nuclear strike, Russia will risk a humiliating defeat and will have to withdraw its forces from Latgale and leave the Russian minority in Latvia to its fate. The nuclear strike against the NATO military base in Poland will, however, likely result in a high number of deaths among NATO soldiers and Polish civilians as collateral damage.

Q3a_1. How much would you agree or disagree with using a nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland in this scenario?

Answers

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Moderately agree
- 3 Slightly agree
- 4 Slightly disagree
- 5 Moderately disagree
- 6 Strongly disagree

Q3a_2. How relevant were these concerns for you when you were deciding whether you agree or disagree with the use of a nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland?

- 1 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate with its own nuclear weapons against Russia
- 2 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate conventionally against Russia
- 3 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in civilian casualties
- 4 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in too many NATO military casualties
- 5 Concern that the international reputation of Russia would suffer
- 6 Concern that it would set a dangerous precedent and other countries would be more likely to use nuclear weapons in future
- 7 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is immoral
- 8 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is against international law
- 9 Concern about the environmental impact of the use of nuclear weapons
- 10 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons would cause great suffering
- 11 Concern that NATO countries deserve to be punished for their actions
- 12 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will have no effect on what NATO will do

Answers / Columns

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Important
- 5 Very important

Q3a_3. If you were to choose between using a single nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland and 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland, which option would you prefer?

- 1 A single nuclear weapon
- 2 50 conventional missiles
- 3 I prefer them equally
- 4 I don't know

Q3a_4. Why did you select this option?

TYPE: Open-ended question

Part 3 - option B

This section was for 1/4 of randomly selected participants (n=375)

Imagine the following scenario:

In August 2021, protests of the Russian minority in Latvia's Latgale region were violently suppressed by the Latvian army. In response, the Russian army crossed the borders with Latvia and occupied the Latgale region to protect the Russian minority from further violence. Latvia then invoked NATO Article V. and asked NATO allies to assist it with reclaiming the territory.

The United States and several European NATO countries had expressed their intention to militarily assist Latvia and started organizing the deployment of a large expeditionary force in Poland and the Baltic countries, with the intention to reclaim Latgale and push Russian units out of the Latvian territory. The first wave of NATO forces clashed with the Russian army at the western borders of the Latgale region, with heavy losses on both sides after several days of fighting. To prevent further military intervention by other NATO countries and a possible military defeat, Russian generals proposed to use 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland, with the goal of demonstrating Russian resolve and forcing NATO countries to meet with Russian representatives and negotiate terms of peace that would be favorable to Russia as well as Russian minority in Latvia. The generals believe that without these missile strikes, Russia will risk a humiliating defeat and will have to withdraw its forces from Latgale and leave the Russian minority in Latvia to its fate. The missile strikes against the NATO military bases in Poland will, however, likely result in a high number of deaths among NATO soldiers and Polish civilians as collateral damage.

Q3b_1. How much would you agree or disagree with using 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland in this scenario?

Answers

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Moderately agree
- 3 Slightly agree

- 4 Slightly disagree
- 5 Moderately disagree
- 6 Strongly disagree

Q3b_2. How relevant were these concerns for you when you were deciding whether you agree or disagree with the use of 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland?

- 1 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate with its own nuclear weapons against Russia
- 2 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate conventionally against Russia
- 3 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in civilian casualties
- 4 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in too many NATO military casualties
- 5 Concern that the international reputation of Russia would suffer
- 6 Concern that it would set a dangerous precedent and other countries would be more likely to use nuclear weapons in future
- 7 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is immoral
- 8 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is against international law
- 9 Concern about the environmental impact of the use of nuclear weapons
- 10 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons would cause great suffering
- 11 Concern that NATO countries deserve to be punished for their actions
- 12 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will have no effect on what NATO will do

Answers / Columns

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Important
- 5 Very important

Q3b_3. If you were to choose between using a single nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland and 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland, which option would you prefer?

Answers

- 1 A single nuclear weapon
- 2 50 conventional missiles
- 3 I prefer them equally
- 4 I don't know

Q3b_4. Why did you select this option?

TYPE: Open-ended question

Part 3 - option C

This section is for 1/4 of randomly selected participants (n=375)

Imagine the following scenario:

In August 2021, protests of the Russian minority in Latvia's Latgale region were violently suppressed by the Latvian army. In response, the Russian army crossed the borders with Latvia and occupied the Latgale region to protect the Russian minority from further violence. Latvia then invoked NATO Article V. and asked NATO allies to assist it with reclaiming the territory.

The United States and several European NATO countries had expressed their intention to militarily assist Latvia and started organizing the deployment of a large expeditionary force in Poland and the Baltic countries, with the intention to reclaim Latgale and push Russian units out of the Latvian territory. The first wave of NATO forces clashed with the Russian army at the western borders of the Latgale region, with heavy losses on both sides after several days of fighting. To prevent further military intervention by other NATO countries and a possible military defeat, Russian generals proposed to demonstratively explode a single nuclear weapon in an unpopulated area in the North Sea, with the goal of demonstrating Russian resolve and forcing NATO countries to meet with Russian representatives and negotiate terms of peace that would be favorable to Russia as well as Russian minority in Latvia. The generals believe that without this nuclear demonstration, Russia will risk a humiliating defeat and will have to withdraw its forces from Latgale and leave the Russian minority in Latvia to its fate.

Q3c_1. How much would you agree or disagree with demonstratively exploding a single nuclear weapon in an unpopulated area in the North Sea in this scenario?

Answers

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Moderately agree
- 3 Slightly agree
- 4 Slightly disagree
- 5 Moderately disagree
- 6 Strongly disagree

Q3c_2. How relevant were these concerns for you when you were deciding whether you agree or disagree with demonstratively exploding a single nuclear weapon in an unpopulated area in the North Sea?

- 1 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate with its own nuclear weapons against Russia
- 2 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate conventionally against Russia
- 3 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in civilian casualties

- 4 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in too many NATO military casualties
- 5 Concern that the international reputation of Russia would suffer
- 6 Concern that it would set a dangerous precedent and other countries would be more likely to use nuclear weapons in future
- 7 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is immoral
- 8 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is against international law
- 9 Concern about the environmental impact of the use of nuclear weapons
- 10 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons would cause great suffering
- 11 Concern that NATO countries deserve to be punished for their actions
- 12 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will have no effect on what NATO will do

Answers / Columns

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Important
- 5 Very important

Q3c_3. If you were to choose between demonstratively exploding a single nuclear weapon in an unpopulated area in the North Sea and using a single nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland, which option would you prefer?

Answers

- 1 Unpopulated area in the North Sea
- 2 NATO military base in Poland
- 3 I prefer them equally
- 4 I don't know

Q3c_4. Why did you select this option?

TYPE: Open-ended question

Part 3 - option D

This section is for 1/4 of randomly selected participants (n=375)

Imagine the following scenario:

In August 2021, protests of the Russian minority in Latvia's Latgale region were violently suppressed by the Latvian army. In response, the Russian army crossed the borders with Latvia and occupied the Latgale region to protect the Russian minority from further violence. Latvia then invoked NATO Article V. and asked NATO allies to assist it with reclaiming the territory.

The United States and several European NATO countries had expressed their intention to militarily assist Latvia and started organizing the deployment of a large expeditionary force in Poland and the Baltic countries, with the intention to reclaim Latgale and push Russian units out of the Latvian territory. The first wave of NATO forces clashed with the Russian army at the western borders of the Latgale region, with heavy losses on both sides after several days of fighting. The subsequent wave of NATO forces managed to reclaim Latgale, pushed Russian forces out of Latvian territory, and launched missile strikes against military targets across Russian borders. To prevent further military intervention by NATO countries on Russian territory and a possible military defeat, Russian generals proposed to use a single nuclear weapon against a NATO military base in Poland, with the goal of demonstrating Russian resolve and forcing NATO countries to meet with Russian representatives and negotiate terms of peace that would be favorable to Russia. The generals believe that without this nuclear strike, NATO forces will extend their military operations to Russian territory and Russia will risk a humiliating defeat. The nuclear strike against the NATO military base in Poland will, however, likely result in a high number of deaths among NATO soldiers and Polish civilians as collateral damage.

Q3d_1. How much would you agree or disagree with using a nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland in this scenario?

Answers

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Moderately agree
- 3 Slightly agree
- 4 Slightly disagree
- 5 Moderately disagree
- 6 Strongly disagree

Q3d_2. How relevant were these concerns for you when you were deciding whether you agree or disagree with using a nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland in this scenario?

- 1 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate with its own nuclear weapons against Russia
- 2 Concern that NATO will further escalate the conflict in response and retaliate conventionally against Russia
- 3 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in civilian casualties
- 4 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will result in too many NATO military casualties
- 5 Concern that the international reputation of Russia would suffer
- 6 Concern that it would set a dangerous precedent and other countries would be more likely to use nuclear weapons in future
- 7 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is immoral
- 8 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons is against international law

- 9 Concern about the environmental impact of the use of nuclear weapons
- 10 Concern that the use of nuclear weapons would cause great suffering
- 11 Concern that NATO countries deserve to be punished for their actions
- 12 Concern that the use of a nuclear weapon will have no effect on what NATO will do

Answers / Columns

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Important
- 5 Very important

Q3d_3. If you were to choose between using a single nuclear weapon against NATO military base in Poland and 50 conventional missiles against NATO military bases in Poland, which option would you prefer?

Answers

- 1 A single nuclear weapon
- 2 50 conventional missiles
- 3 I prefer them equally
- 4 I don't know

Q3d_4. Why did you select this option?

TYPE: Open-ended question

Part 4

Q4. On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is very negative and 5 is very positive, to what extent do you approve of the leadership of Russia?

Answers

- 1 1= strongly disapprove
- 2 2
- 3 3
- 4 4
- 5 5= strongly approve

Q5. Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

Answers

- 1 strongly favor
- 2 favor
- 3 oppose
- 4 strongly oppose

Q6. How cold or warm do you feel toward these countries?

- 1 United States
- 2 Poland
- 3 Latvia
- 4 Czech Republic
- 5 The Netherlands
- 6 China
- 7 Ukraine

Answers / Columns

- 0 0 = coldest
- 1 1
- 2 2
- 3 3
- 4 4
- 5 5
- 6 6
- 7 7
- 8 8
- 9 9
- 10 10 = warmest

Debrief section:

Thank you very much for participating in this survey. If you have any additional comments or concerns, please reach out to us at [e-mail]

We are interested in factors that affect how people think about the use of different kinds of weapons in military conflicts. We do not argue for the use of any kind of weapon and we are aware that the hypothetical scenario and options provided in the survey do not cover the full spectrum of aspects and considerations that would be important in reality. We would also like to note that any use of force in war must obey the law of war (*jus in bello*). The key principles are military necessity, distinction, and proportionality, particularly with respect to civilian non-combatants.

Appendix 3: Relative importance of concerns between conditions.

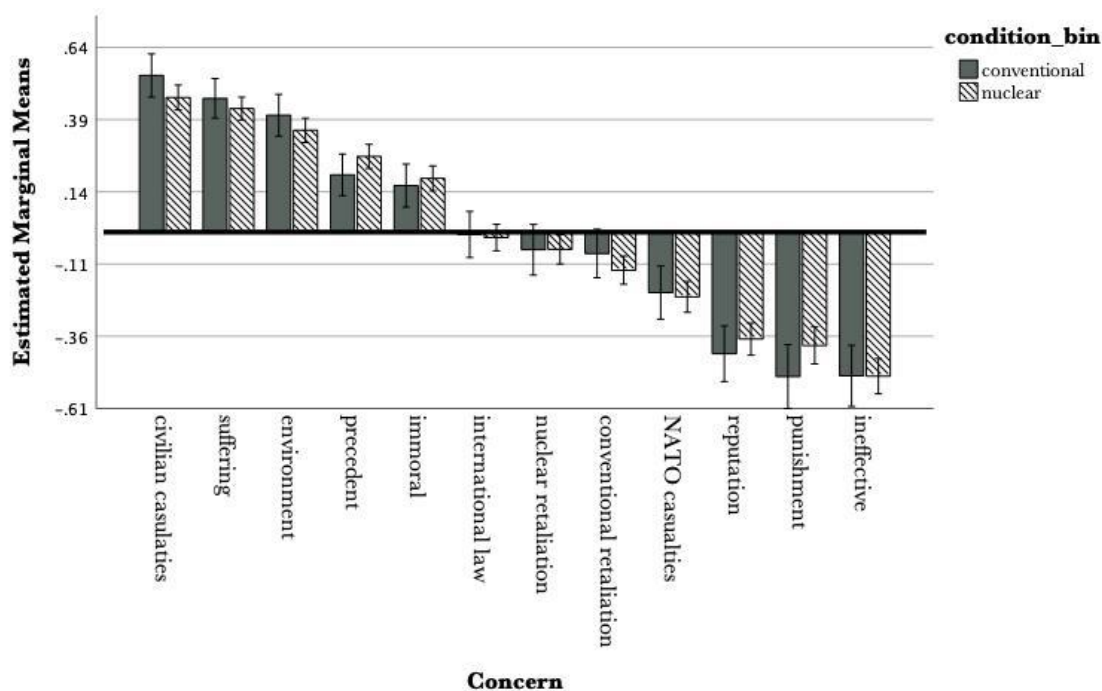


Figure 5. Relative importance of concerns between conditions.

Error bars are 95% confidence intervals (CI). $N = 1,507$.

Within Subjects Effects

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
RM Factor 1	1522.23	11	138.385	175.11	< .001
RM Factor 1 * condition_bin	9.15	11	0.831	1.05	0.397
Residual	13082.61	16555	0.790		

Note. Type 3 Sums of Squares

Between Subjects Effects

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
condition_bin	4.61e-29	1	4.61e-29	-2.75e-14	1.000
Residual	-2.52e-12	1505	-1.67e-15		

Note. Type 3 Sums of Squares

Independent Samples T-Test

		Statistic	df	p
CN1_nuclear_retaliation - centered	Student's t	-0.0305	1505	0.976
CN2_conv_retaliation - centered	Student's t	1.1701	1505	0.242
CN3_civilian_casualties - centered	Student's t	1.7360	1505	0.083
CN4_NATO_casualties - centered	Student's t	0.2769	1505	0.782
CN5_reputation - centered	Student's t	-0.8895	1505	0.374
CN6_precedent - centered	Student's t	-1.5031	1505	0.133
CN7_immoral - centered	Student's t	-0.5634	1505	0.573
CN8_law - centered	Student's t	0.2251	1505	0.822
CN9_environment - centered	Student's t	1.2247	1505	0.221
CN10_suffering - centered	Student's t	0.8694	1505	0.385
CN11_punishment - centered	Student's t	-1.6543	1505	0.098
CN12_ineffective - centered	Student's t	0.0200	1505	0.984