

Qualitative Report 2

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Report:

London: July 13-18th, 2019.

Three team members (Michael Allen, Carla Martinez Machain, and Andrew Stravers) traveled to England as part of a two-week qualitative interview process. We selected England and Germany for their long history with U.S. deployments and history of interactions with U.S. troops.

To recruit interview subjects, we had two main strategies. In order to contact U.S. government/military officials, we would contact the U.S. embassy, explain what our project was, and ask to speak to personnel that would be able to speak to the topic. To contact local government officials and journalists, we relied on local news sources (such as major local newspapers) and read articles that related to the U.S. military presence. We would then contact the authors of the articles themselves or any government officials that were referenced in the article. We would then use the “snowball” method and ask those who responded for additional contacts.

London Interview Subject 1: Interview with Journalist from the *Intercept*, July 15th

Key points:

1. The subject said the situation in the U.K. with U.S. military was similar to situations around the world and people see them as shrouded in extreme secrecy. This causes tensions with host nations as the actions of the military may be inconsistent with their own values. This is particularly true in democratic societies.
2. In discussing popular views of the bases, the subject argued that many people who know about bases are activists and are unsatisfied with the lack of information from their own governments. Activist communities are unhappy with nuclear weapons (going back to the Cold War) and drone strikes. U.S. foreign policy decisions made outside of their own democratic choices. They're not voting for it and do not agree with it.
3. In discussing support for bases, the subject suggested that the “Average Joe” on the street thinks “We should be fighting terrorism, so we don't mind it.” There are some politicians who defend base access because the U.S. is a strong ally and should be worked with. This was a bigger issue in the U.K. through the Vietnam period and when Obama was doing extreme amounts of drone strikes.
4. In discussing contemporary trends of anti-US activism, the subject said that there was massive opposition to Trump. For many, it seems like a bad dream. Most people are baffled by Trump. Every time Trump has come to the United Kingdom there have been mass protests. During George W Bush administration, there were huge protests about Iraq. These protests are different than those toward U.S. bases. Those are much smaller now than during the previous period and much lower media attention. Almost like people have gotten bored of it over time. People are more concerned since Trump, because he is viewed as someone who is more dangerous in charge of the U.S. military apparatus, even

though Obama was very aggressive in terms of drone strikes. He notes that you can see just from what happens on the streets that there are concerns about Trump.

5. In discussing repercussions for protests, the subject did not think people were concerned about that. Mass protests are different from hardcore activists. There is a different culture than those who are hardcore activists and feel they will be targeted vs. those who casually turn out to protest. Those people go out infrequently and do not fear any ramification from doing that. The hardcore activists have been infiltrated in the past by spies from intelligence and police. The subject stated that undercover police had infiltrated environmentalist groups, animal rights groups. The infiltrators are trying to find people to prosecute and jail people who participated in the program.
6. The subject argued that people's biggest concerns with bases on their territory includes civilian casualties, whether they are from drones or (non-remotely) piloted planes, covert warfare, Britain being dragged into covert warfare, and surveillance.

London Interview Subject 2: Interview with Base Activist, July 16th

Key points:

1. In discussing U.K. role in overseeing bases, the subject argued that despite U.K. government statements (e.g. in response to parliamentary questions), the U.K. has no oversight or legal control over any activities conducted by the U.S. forces 'acting on behalf of their sovereign nation.' This was confirmed in the High Court in the case of Colonel G Dickson Gribble Jnr (Menwith Hill's Base Commander) v Helen John, 1997.
2. The subject said that there were a number of environmental issues, such as possible diesel pollution of the Leeds/Otley water supply were raised by the Menwith Hill Forum in 2000-01.
3. The subject said that when U.S. forces vacate a base they take no responsibility thereafter - i.e. they leave the mess for the U.K. to clean up. The case of Greenham Common is an example. The base is still undergoing remedial treatment. The built area is now an industrial estate.
4. They argued that the U.S. occupation also has an impact on the archaeological heritage of the sites. In Lakenheath, for example, where the Anglo-Saxon warrior and his horse were excavated during developments. Menwith Hill developments may lead to the the possible destruction of prehistoric stones.
5. The campaign of opposition to the U.S. bases in Britain has been ambivalent and inconsistent. For instance, when the NSA's eavesdropping activities at Menwith Hill was first exposed, thousands protested outside the base. In 1982, the NSA's assistance on behalf of the U.K. in the Falklands War was acknowledged and public opinion swung in its favor. That changed again in 1986 when the USAF launched the attack on Libya from East Anglia.

London Interview Subject 3: Interview with Labour Member of Parliament, July 17th

Key points:

1. The subject stated that in terms of the U.S. military there is not any problem at all. Subject doesn't pick up on any anxiety at all. Importance of the alliance at the political

level is well understood. Some individuals are opposed to any alliance or armaments, but they are minority.

2. Discussing U.S. foreign policy and President Donald Trump, the subject said that people conflate presidency/tweets with the U.S. Not so politically here. Subject said constituents tend to trust subject and her judgment. The U.S. comes up because of anxiety about the U.S. President. However, the NATO alliance is in a better place than it was before. Do not thank Trump for rise in Defence spending, it is President Putin. Thanks to Putin and Ukraine, that was a massive wake-up call.
3. On instability in US-UK relations, the subject said that the anxiety level is diminished but still there about presidential decision making. Pelosi has done a lot to mitigate the threat. When she traveled to Europe with a delegation of U.S. members of Congress she killed a lot of anxiety overnight.
4. The subject notes that people are afraid of Brexit, Russian bombers and submarines, and election interference from hybrid threads.
5. In discussing U.S. diplomacy, the subject argued that the United States was not great at conducting European diplomacy.
6. On considering the rise of China and fears of increased Chinese threats in the world, the subject said that people say that the great thing about the Chinese is that they come and say we can build you a port or airport, no caveats. Americans on the other hand, have human rights and anti-corruption caveats. We need to find a way to keep the caveats, but move more quickly. The Chinese just gained control of Piraeus, port in Greece. They will get access to all the data. The Chinese and Russians are in Africa. The Tories are letting it happen, subject finds this shocking and crazy.
7. About support in the current U.K. government: conservatives are fantastical about NATO, but not so to keep the military spending. compartmentalization. Health services, food/ag market. The attitude from the public is summarized as “Don’t mess with our health service.”
8. Protests in the United Kingdom: Trump is the cause of the protest. People loved the “pink hat” campaign. The “Trump Baby” blimp is going up. When Trump came I walked across the green to see the protest. “It was almost like a festival going on there.” “The only reason you are able to do this is because you are in a democracy where the military is keeping you safe”
9. In discussing what would happen with the U.K. and NATO if Labour came to power, the subject discussed the U.S. Anxiety of having a Corbyn government. Anti-NATO stance, chairmanship in CND. Labour is controlled/managed by its conference, leader is not sovereign. We support NATO/nuclear deterrent, he cannot go anywhere. The leader is not sovereign, conference is more powerful. The conference has supported the nuclear deterrent. When subject was in DC, subject spoke to some members in Congress about how socialists are not the boogeyman. There are people you can talk, the weird thing about defense in the U.K. is that “there is a cigarette paper” between parties when it comes to defense.

London Interview Subject 4: Member of Parliament with a Scottish Constituency and member of the Defence Committee, July 17th

Key points:

1. The subject discussed historical resistance to U.S. bases in Scotland: 1,000s would march against Nuclear Weapons. People vote for parties that are opposed to nuclear weapons. Everyone but liberals/conservatives are opposed to nuclear weapons. Not anti-American. Scotland was opposed to NATO membership until 2012. Scotland is a deeply religious country, reformation parliament. Has become more pro-NATO over time.
2. On China: Overall positive view of China the nation. There is, among the public, an element of China is way over there, far away. Not a part of everyday discourse. They view it as an ancient place, narrow in their understanding of Indo-Pacific region. The Business community would see it differently, huge economic opportunity. I don't think they see the risks associated with China in the EU or USA. It's a communism/extreme capitalism hybrid and growth in China cannot be sustained. How do you feed their population?
3. On Huawei's role in Europe, the subject argued that: How can expect Huawei not to report. People don't seem to care. The British are abdicating economic responsibility. Conservative party confused about China. On giving money to China to build a nuclear station: "Are you insane?"
4. U.S./U.K. special relationship: Confused lot, think we have a special relationship. Pre-WWII, definitely U.S. was up and U.K. was down. U.K. has a very rose-tinted glasses from 1941-1945. Every president from Eisenhower to Obama has seen European integration as important to European security. President Trump turns it on their head. U.K. will have no influence and will become a satellite. U.K. will become the U.S. off the Europe Coast.
5. On Russia: Odd one. Words are very important. The Russian Nation since the 16th century is a wonderful collection of history and part of the great story of Europe after the mid evil period. For working class communities, you had direct links to the Soviet Union. Holidays for trade union members. Would rather have the communists than the British (in response to CND "How can you support this guy when he has pogroms against the LGBT community?") Difficult for us as a party. Former member got his own talk show on RT. People from parties appears on RT. Get paid to appear on Russia Today. However, the subject argued that Russia is an existential threat, but it needs to be challenged in a variety of ways. Used twitter to tell the Navy that Russia was coming down. Really pushing North and High North. Engaged with the Atlantic council. Getting them to recognize that we are an island. We have more admirals than ships. Only 19 vessels. It's an existential threat that requires a real response. Norway, Canada, and U.S. are covering us. The name is important, North Atlantic, we can get let the other people get there.

Interview Subject 5, Lakenheath heritage group and local public official, July 18th.

Key points:

1. On the subject's personal views of the military base: "I wouldn't be here if not for the base." "Of all the people you have talked to, I am going to be more biased about it." The subject has an American servicemember father.
2. Complaints: "The noise is the thing that comes up." Person who moved here didn't know about the planes, should be something you know. Noise/aircraft always comes up. Impact on traffic (builds up traffic flow near roundabout). The traffic affects the village. The

noise and traffic are the main two complaints that come up. Noise and aircraft come up every parish meeting. Related negative behavior: From conversations I have had with Naval affairs, there have been plenty of nasty incidents you would never hear about. Rowdy/drunken in Cambridge, but we would never hear about it. "Some of it is quite disgusting" Gives an example of a pedophilia case (just mentioned), but we would not hear about it. It doesn't come up, it only comes up with direct contact with the military. Something that would come up: Car Accidents. The ones that come up in the national news: there were articles in the 1980s about a woman going in the base who didn't work or live there. This was a breach of security. "What was some English girl doing in the base?"

3. Economic and other benefits: "I did some reading...£230m is the presence that it injects into the local economy." We see Americans coming into the library here. They will be here. There will be Americans around, they go into restaurants. They come and use the services. I have a rental property, used to be occupied by American (usually an aircraft mechanic), because of Americans being there it has increased the rent cost." Americans have higher salaries than the locals. This annoys the locals, cost of living is high. In a way, the landlords are fleecing the U.S. government by charging such high rent.
4. On local protests: The Cold War was a different time. It was seen more as an American icon back then in the 1980s. More of a concern that there would be a place that they would use/house nuclear weapons.
5. Local positive attitudes towards Trump: Because he is not a typical politician. People see him as more honest, but I don't think it is. It is like a black mirror politician episode.
6. Brexit: I was a leave voter, but I am becoming more remain as years go by. Conservative party members in a YouGov poll were willing to lose Scotland, Northern Ireland, crash the economy, and destroy the Conservative party to get Brexit. There is a crossover between MAGA and Brexit populism. The result here was 65% for leave (18,160 votes), 35% remain (9,791 votes). Referendum had 72.5% turnout. More rural, more leave. People in cities (more metropolitan) are more likely to visit other places and be for remain. Immigration drove the "yes" vote share. In Brandon there is a large Portuguese community. "Wanting to avoid racial overtones; it throws people because it's a change in culture. I'm in the supermarket and I can't hear English being spoken."
7. Base closure rumors: The one thing that comes up about base closures is that the bases would close. It is a rumor that always comes up. It is more of an "urban legend." The Obama Defense Review that came up (pre-Russia and China), made some people ask questions about it because he talked about a pivot to focusing on the Pacific.
8. Local military projects: Would like to get more community involvement from the Military on the base. Litter pick back in June. I would contact [name omitted] on the base, the public affairs officer (British). See if anyone is interested in helping out. On direct contact "When they see that they're just as human as you are people like them [the U.S. military] more." But overall this is not a problem with the U.S. base.
9. Local views on China: Can't say it comes up a lot. Hear more about pot holes and parking on pavement. You hear about that more in London or other cities.
10. F-35s and employment: £150m investment into the base. Might be some extra employment. BBC news: last year, RAF Fairford was getting personnel from Mildenhall. Will have huge impact. People probably don't realize what it will do to the local economy.

Lakenheath and Mildenhall, UK: July 18-21st, 2019

Interview Subject 6, Tech Sergeant E6, July 19th

Key points:

1. On intermingling with locals: The locals know you're American, even without the uniform. If I wear basketball shorts out they know I must be American I found it different than the US, but as far as if I needed anything, people were more than willing to help with whatever I need. Kind of cool that you are welcomed into the community. Good information such as when to put the trash out; people make you more on your own in the US. Neighbors stopped over unprompted to welcome to the community.
2. Difficulties in the community: Bad cell signals. A whole month to get internet service. Opposite experience with local issues: the maintenance guy came at 9 when the water wasn't working. Didn't want me to take a cold shower, because he knew I had to shower before work in the morning. Drove an hour to drive out where I live.
3. Gender/race experiences: I walk around holding my wife's hand and don't get treated differently at all. Other gay couples come up to us and meet us. They invite us over. They're actually more accepting (of being gay) than in the U.S. I just came from South Korea. I was unaccompanied. They liked to change my gender, they keep calling me Sir. They changed my name to a male name. They didn't know what I was. That was mainly the issue. I haven't had that issue here, but in Korea they didn't know what I was. With the way I dressed they knew I was American. I had a Korean man screaming at me for 45 minutes while I was waiting for a taxi. You just have to go "that's okay."
4. Rules for off base behavior: Don't drink and drive. Don't break any laws. Don't be a nuisance. No curfew.
5. Local spouses: Quite a few people meet their spouse here.
6. Complaints: You get noise complaints around any base that has aircraft. Especially for the "heavies" (large transport aircraft). It happens everywhere. It happened in Korea as well. They are going to complain.

Interview Subject 7, British Civilian, MoD, community relations Advisor, July 19th

Key points:

1. On having to cancel a local community festival: Regarding canceling the festival, there was a general acceptance from the public, they understand why the base is here, and that it has to be very secure. They were disappointed when the 4th of July festival didn't happen, but they understood that it was just canceling a picnic.
2. Community engagement: When I work on public affairs, we have typically sent people to the women's shelter for the donations room. Working parties to do garden projects, sent people to clear a pond project. Painting (wall painting, not art painting) at an Alzheimer's charity.
3. Engagement the medical group has with the local health services. The medical group provides doctors to hospitals. This is a military base with predominantly young, healthy, fit people and not a lot of opportunities for training. They are not looking after older

people. If they go out to the community, it's a win-win. NHS gets a new perspective, U.S. medical personnel take their skills to the NHS. For the U.S. personnel, they learn new skills (working with different demographics) and get to have experiences like operating on people. Lasted three years. We are good at providing manpower, not so much resources, but manpower is good.

4. American local relations: If you live on base, your kids will be more on base. If you live outside, you are likely to be more involved with the locals. Lots of local kids play football on local community teams.
5. Uniform off base: Mostly no. Usually jeans and trainers, since they'll be getting dirty. Sometimes they may use parts of their uniforms. Sometimes they will wear khaki pants and t-shirts.
6. US/UK special relationship: I think that the special relationship has lasted so long that it is treated as more than just what we are doing right now. It is historic; it is bigger than its component parts. We are just tiny people in a big historic relationship.
7. British spouses: Relationships between members of the U.S. military and locals have become normal.
8. American versus RAF base: A lot of people in the very local community know that it is a U.S. base. In the broader community they think it's a British base, anything wider than 50 miles (probably less than that). I get calls from the general public asking for members of the RAF to participate in events. They think that there are RAF personnel stationed here.
9. Commander engagement: He gets invited out to all those events. We have people out. Yuletide reception. Fact finding for both sides.

Interview Subject 8, RAF Commander, July 19th

Key points:

1. Local relationship: On the macro level, the base is well received in the local area. Why wouldn't it be? It was here so long. Tacit acceptance that it was a massive contributor to the local economy in a rural area. Micro-issues are the same for any nationality running the air base: noise, boundary, and nothing to do with the U.S. or Suffolk. Not aware of any issues with the local community. Some issues are Military versus Civilian, but nothing to do specifically with military.
2. On base protests: anti-base protests were linked to nuclear weapons.
3. New barriers to come on base have not weakened bonds with the community as they understand why they are there.
4. Community watch program and aviation enthusiasts report suspicious people. Very good bond with local community. If you look at the British military, it has minimal presence with the general public. When the chips are down, like in Iraq or Afghanistan, they are with us, but our presence is minimal. The public does not know much. There is always curiosity about what is behind the barbed wire. Sometimes there are conspiracy theories.
5. Immigration: mostly agricultural work by immigrants. Central and Eastern Europeans. We are a multicultural society anyways. Large diversity of Central Europeans working in agriculture. This year, there was not increased immigration. Immigration has peaked and Brexit is sending people home. Brexit is trying to send people home. Willingness to assimilate seems to matter. Kids are willing to integrate.

6. Complaints about the area: I get to brief the newcomers. I got brief about how bad the broadband is. The cell signal is always bad. We all get well prepared for what we're going to encounter at an overseas location.
7. Local contracting: The F-35 is \$1b over 10 years, source 40% of their supply chain within 17 miles. The program is bringing in \$160 million.
8. On rules and curfew: Depends on the location. They may have been some minor instances, but regulations all occur on time and space. A lot of it depends on the local commander. The commander here has a very light touch. The current wing commander, if there's an issue in the community, he does not put a public ban on everybody. The civilian police view it that way as well, as single isolated incidents.
9. View of GI/local conflicts: The U.S. military has more disposable income. There is a view that they "take all the women." Population tends to view issues as the responsibility of the individual not the American presence.
10. American/British fraternization is normal.
11. When the chips are down (like 9/11 or something that happened here), shared empathy. They say "Hey man sorry to hear what happened in your country."
12. Noise: We also try to concentrate night flight into specified periods so that it's what's expected. They know that there's a bang coming.
13. RAF v. U.S. base: Depends on how inquisitive the locals are. Not everyone recognizes it just as American. A lot of them see RAF and may think there's a load of RAF around.

Interview Subject 9, Master Sargent, avionics backstop, assistant flight chief, July 19th

Key points:

1. Immigration: In general, the military is diverse as a whole. We have diverse people coming through the base. My wife is Colombian and completely surprised by the number of Colombians she meets there. My kids were going to school off base, the teachers are just as appreciative that we bring our kids to their school for diversity.
2. Slow service and amenities: When I was deployed last year, we had an electric gate. It just stopped working and couldn't leave. Called the emergency number, and we can probably get out there in a couple days. We couldn't just walk anywhere. One of the other issues we have is child care. Before/after school. The earliest we could drop them off is 8am. Completely different than Okinawa. Much easier for family culture in Okinawa.
3. Rules/curfew: Very similar in Okinawa. Had curfew for 2 years straight. It would constantly change. At one point we were not allowed to drink at all. Didn't bother me as a family guy.
4. Local interaction: We went to both bases. Walk around. Take pictures. Had several things set up. Generally groups would come out: medical. 145 or so local leadership.
5. The American accent is perceived as Valley Girl or country.

Interview Subject 10, Senior Airman, aviation resource manager, July 19th

Key points:

1. Community interaction: Was one of the 15 members of the U.S. military selected to go to the 75th commemoration of the D-Day anniversary. Got to meet Trump and see the Queen. Pretty amazing how we interacted with the RAF and army.
2. Security and the community: There is a sushi place by my house that I religiously eat at. One day they were getting their daily fresh fish run. I made a joke about whether they had any extra, the owner went back inside and gave me a whole lobster tail, and three pounds of shrimp. He said it was to thank me for everything the U.S. does. Locals keep to themselves but are helpful. For example, my landlady, who is British, helps to take my trash out when I can't due to my schedule.
3. Immigration: My landlady is Portuguese, very nice. She knows I'm American. The night life is diverse. Pretty cool meeting people my age (mid 20s), super kind. Have cool conversations with people from different nationalities. People from immigrant populations are friendly. They have accents and I have an accent (American) too.
4. American GI assimilation: All women have natural nails, not bright nail colors. I wear house slippers to the store and people are horrified.
5. Local amenities and issues: #1 is no street lights. "Me driving at night is a huge no go."
6. Community engagement: Christmas time, we do Duxford event. We host Christmas for the British terminally ill children. We are approved to do that in our uniform. We start raising things on the installation for the UK's terminally ill children.
7. Gender/race issues: they treat everyone exactly the same. No difference based on gender, identity, ethnicity, or otherwise.
8. Interactions with locals: We are just briefed to be on our Ps and Qs with other nationals. The topic is more casual conversations. It's been going on for so long that it's become normal. When I got out and talk to the locals, it is not about being in the Air Force, it is about where I'm from, what do I do. It hardly ever comes up that I'm American.
9. British spouses: It's inevitable that relationships form. You see each other all the time around the community and in the night life.

Interview Subject 11, Master Sargent, Communications, July 19th

Key points:

1. My Experience has been positive, I don't recall any negative ones. I live in government housing in the village. Local kids come through for trick or treating because they know they'll get American candy.
2. lack of amenities. Can't just go to Walmart, everything shuts down at 10. Family generates lots of laundry. Everything is smaller

Interview Subject 12, Master Sargent, Community Engagement, July 19th

Key points:

1. Wider issue with Europe with terrorism. 2014 was the last 4th of July festival that was open to the community. 4th of July was canceled previously because of security forces had determined there was a credible threat targeting the festival. Turned out to be

accurate. No uniforms off base was about terrorism rather than not bothering local community.

2. Diversity: In Cambridge, can hear 7 different languages. Small village with a center, pretty quiet. Most of my neighbors probably think I am Canadian (because there are a lot of Canadians that live nearby). Cambridge is a university town so there's lots of diversity.
3. Area complaints: One of the downsides is my daughter being in school, if they have an early release, I just take leave. Adapting to local time schedules is hard. Sometimes I have to take the whole day off to accommodate local scheduling.
4. It depends on where you have been in the states. I grew up in the South; very different attitudes. The environment here is very European. Haven't experienced any discriminatory behavior here.
5. Rules/Curfew: Very different from Korea and Japan, there they have curfews.
6. British Spouses: Married quite a bit; no really idea of men are here to marry the British women. It is not unheard of for members of the military to marry locals.
7. Air shows: today in fact. NATO 70th right now. NATO 70th anniversary flyover.

Interview Subject 13, Master Sargent, Contracting officer, July 19th

Key points:

1. Local engagement: Oddly enough, the locals like to celebrate the 4th of July with us. Any chance to drink. My experience has been overwhelmingly positive. We have been here for 6 years. Trying to stay as long as possible. Sometimes with alcohol involved, locals like to talk about the current U.S. President. they will equate that behavior with current affairs. Not that much different, complaints about noise. Was in London during Trump's state visit. Lot of protests against Trump, not so fond of us. Some people equated that with the US.
2. Issues with local living: We found that urgency means something different here. There is no sense of urgency. Need something ASAP means like an hour, for an auto-mechanic that means Monday (it was a Wednesday). Customer Service can be difficult. In America when we don't get what we need, we try to find a way around it to get something. That can come across as pushy to locals when we're just trying to find solutions. Here they just say no and you're supposed to accept it. Shopping wise, all the stores close around 5. The mall at 6 is a ghost town. I never understood that. The Brits are not much for bargaining to find ways around problems. This is how Americans get a reputation for being pushy, because we're always trying to find ways around problems.
3. Local contracting: all the contracts we have, we always try to get the local economy. One of the main contracts we have is the movers. The contractor is an English contractor. Try to bring them in as our contingency cooks and some Engineers too. Within our squadron, about 10% of those are local/national higher. I have had to take extra steps when writing contracts with individuals. Write contracts within contracts. Have to be careful. When I was in Turkey, I had to be clear that I couldn't accept bribes or gifts. They wanted to buy me coffee. We just reserve portions of contracts for the local economy, even if it costs more. We are establishing relationships. Usually for small bases. Opportunity to bid on contracts, sometimes I will get something from the States before I will get it from a place that is two hours away. We want to give as many contracts to locals as possible, so that

people in the area benefit from the base's presence, even though it costs more. All contracts abroad have to adhere to U.S. laws and regulations. No real problems in regards to adhering to local law. The main problem for locals is that it can take a really long time. These contracts can be very lucrative but a \$10m contract can take 18 months to 2 years to create. They keep lists of trusted/preferred contractors over time, as well as ones who should not be trusted.

4. Race/gender: Eastern Europe was more like that. Going to dinner with some of our African American friends was difficult. There's a lot of racism there. More accepted here.
5. We lost a couple of pilots and the local community was very respectful and supportive in regards. Lots of participation from the locals in the memorials. It seemed like the whole community turned out. It is a level of respect that is appreciated.

Berlin: July 22-24th, 2019

Interview Subject 14, Embassy official, Military Affairs, July 23rd

Key points:

1. Local relations: Quite positive relationship. Long and deep relationship dating back to the post-war period. We have seen in the anniversaries that there are still a lot of collective memory and appreciation for the role the United States has played in the war and ushering in the federal republic, serving as a strong partner for Germany and NATO. Some of that appreciation extends to the continued us troop presence today. Several of these facilities has existed here for a long time. For a lot of our senior military officials have it engrained to visit locals often and nurture those contacts. To help in case of local points of friction. Major place of employment, locals are excited about.
2. Local friction: No incidents so far. Noise complaints from time to time. We try to be sensitive to those, but on the other hand it is fairly low-level nuisance compared to the important contributions our presence makes for Germany and NATO. Other important thing to mention: our bases are all (or mostly) joint bases with the German military. They have a role to play in explaining the function of the bases to the local community.
3. Protests: We do see occasional protests, often just very small groups of people. 2, 3, or 4 people here in Germany in the past several weeks. Quite routine. There is an active culture of democratic expression. Those protests would be happening out side of the installations and it would fall to local police. They are small and easily dispersed. Mix of locals and people traveling. Sometimes students, sometimes older people. Retirees that are passionate about political and pacifist causes. No major movements to get people to go and protest. Occasionally, we will find American citizens protesting here.
4. Grievances: U.S. Foreign policy. Different times allegations about U.S. drone activity overseas. What role U.S. forces might play in those activities. A few years ago active anti-drone protests.
5. Pressing concerns? Not really. No pressing concerns about community relations. One thing we are conscious of is burden sharing and defense capability, is to point out that the U.S. security presence here can't become a false security blanket, but that developing German Military readiness is important.

6. German shortfalls in growing their own military: Just the demographic; the labor market is quite tight. The railway system is having problems getting employees. Lots of private sector opportunities. Faces some challenges in finding folks just like other business.

Interview Subject 15, Activist leader in Berlin, July 23rd

Key points:

1. History of protesting Rammstein Air force base: It's a long story. Ramstein is the biggest air base outside of the United States. 50,000 people are working there, 2/3rds are U.S. people and the rest Germans and people from other NATO members. Ramstein has one specific point that separates it from the others. It is the only air base in Germany that has drones. It is a key point to continue the signals from Nevada/New Mexico for the drones to go elsewhere. We know this from Snowden and Brandon Bryant. Bryant was a drone pilot who left and became a whistleblower. Ramstein is mainly used for operations in Eurasia. We think about how we can bring it to the public. Mainly for Africa but also for Asia. In the 1980s it was the highlight of the peace movement, then everyone forgot about the bases. Local activists were frustrated, they felt forgotten. In 2015, the new East/West confrontation over Crimea, we discussed restarting the campaign. In 2005, launch appeal against the airbase, first action against the base in September. We held a rally. We were looking around and there were only 2 police officers. When we asked them, they said, "When you announce 300, only 50 show up". 1,500 people ended up showing up. Since then, every year highlight actions. At the rally, we once formed a human chain around the base. We get about 5,000 people this year. We held 50 workshops and events. We also held an international conference against bases and war. 40 countries participated, including people from the U.S., several Europeans. We also have education centers. 50 different workshops. We also organize international conference against military bases a and war.
2. Repression and low turnout: Yes and no. Not really repression. The local authorities are both partly reactive and destructive. They put us a little bit by the side. We had to fight for space to protest. The local authorities are mainly conservative. They are not our biggest friends. Deep relation between the U.S. military and the region. They have common parties and public events and "friendship meetings" and gathering. The U.S. guys are always invited to the schools.
3. Dependency of the local populations: Bakers, shops, auto shops, prostitution. Working places were reduced after 9/11 because the U.S. put shops, kindergarten, restaurants inside the base. You find McDonald's, shops, cheaper prices inside the base. This reduced working places [jobs] outside the base dramatically. It is a poor region of Germany. Without many working places and if they are there, they are old and traditional working spaces, they are reduced every year. There is a second point that has changed the local community. The environmental point. Every 90 seconds, or when there is a crisis, every 40-50s, there is an airplane flying over your head. These are the old airplanes and they are very loud. The second is the emissions with climate change. Then there is a drinking water issue. The airbase is in the middle and it is growing. So, we have a huge problem with the drinking water. You can't build around the base because of the drinking water.

4. Environment and Kerosene: When the planes land they have to drop the kerosene. The airbase is built on water; you have to be careful when landing. They have to reduce their weight as much as possible. You see the residue from the kerosene on the windows of the houses in the area. The housewives have to clean it off their windows. These are some of the reasons why it is an environmental reason. In Germany the environment is a key topic for people (48%). Higher than social justice, peace, migrants, and other considerations. The people are unhappy, but they are not acting. They are much more open to us now. Much more open than in the past. Much more active than the last 50 years?
5. Who makes up the protests: 2/3 of protest participants are regional (from the area from Mannheim to the French border). The number of locals involved in the movement is growing, but not fast enough. "I don't understand how there is only 5,000 people. There must be 500,000 that are affected by the situation." This gap is our challenge.
6. Housing: Quite a few people depend upon housing from the U.S. guys. They are not living on the base, they are living outside of the base. There are many people in the area, don't only have a house for themselves, but a vacation house for troops. They call it a vacation house for tourists, technically illegal, but they rely on the financial support.
7. During the Cold War, there were less activists. Far less. When there was an accident in the 1980s (a plane fell during an air show), we only got 100-150. Now it is one of the biggest actions we have done. We are proud of these 5,000, but it is not enough. The German peace movement is one of the biggest. Linked to the climate change question.
8. Government support: No. The current government is social Democrats, Greens, and Liberals. The greens are against the airbase, two of them, one parliament and one local parliament spoke at our actions. The program of the Greens has conversion as part of their platform. The rank and file for the greens are neutral. The other two parties are more or less in favor of the airbase. When you look at the national parliament, only the left party has support for closing the base/peace movement.
9. What does success look like: What is successful? We have a key point. Stop the drone attacks from Ramstein. We have much broader support than closing the base. The Greens support this. Part of the social Democrats are opposed to the drones. There could be a situation where the drone attacks are finished which would be an important step. Closing the base, I think this will be a revolutionary situation. In my dreams I can imagine closing the base in one step. I can only imagine a new development in Europe and common security with Russia and Russian part, would we no longer these military bases in these countries. I think the Ramstein will be one of the last ones as it is one of the most important ones in the world. They put billions, perhaps trillions of dollars in this base. This is the next step that we have to do in the coalition base, but I can't imagine it will be closed in the next years. Delegitimizing those bases is the next step.
10. We have movements against two bases Ramstein and a German base, but where the U.S. nuclear weapons are. We have activists that are trying to start movements in other bases. They are trying to start movements in a German drone base and Wiesbaden. It is a horrible city to start a movement. Demographics are difficult. It is where the Russian Czars would go visit. Lots of rich pensioners live there. Wiesbaden has a nice historical past, but the demographics are difficult for a peace movement.
11. Refugees: It is not an area where refugees are really living. For me, they are not playing a key role in the base discussion. They are a key role in the public discussion. The air base is not connected to the refugee population.

12. Service-member behavior issues: Definitely. Criminal behavior against women. Two cases in the press. They immediately make it quiet. They handle it internally, the soldiers go home. The main problem is drunk driving. It is the city with the highest level of alcohol accidents in the city. The drug issue is not really a big problem. We know that soldiers and officers have a really big drug problems because they can't do their jobs without drugs.
13. Newspaper coverage: It does not get covered. It is short news in the local newspaper. It was much more in the 1980s. It was on the national agenda/newspaper. The U.S. is doing everything to make it immediately silent. With their strong connection to the local authorities and newspapers, it is not so difficult. There is one big newspaper in the area, it is very conservative, and the boss of the newspaper is always invited to parties, celebrations, and drinks with the commander. It doesn't happen as much as in the Philippines/Panama.
14. We had the biggest highlights of the movement in 2003 with manifestations¹ against the Iraq war. This happened not in all countries. Two countries that have active movements that result in mass mobilization: Japan, from Okinawa to Hiroshima/Nagasaki, and the signature campaigns. The second is England. With the movement against Trident. Why? One main reason is the neoliberal ideology, competition, individualism, consumption, etc. destroyed solidarity. When you have to fight for your day to day surviving, you cannot be active. When I was a student, the university was a cultural center. Now it is a training center for examinations. It is harder to be politically active. The whole neoliberal change in society hurt the peace movement. The world is much more difficult to explain. It is harder to explain why and how you should react. There is not good and bad any longer, everything is bad! I am against a war against Iran, but also against Iran's government. Also, the sectarian nature of the peace movement. We need a clear peace movement. This is very difficult to solve the generation gap. There is also a tradition of the peace movement in the last 150 years, it always goes in waves. The German Peace movement has a really good peace infrastructure. We have more than 100 Easter marches. 150 people groups organizing it.
15. Participation from foreign movements: This is a big progress in the last 10 years, this is how we enlarged our international contacts. We have less contacts in Eastern and Central Europe. This is a big problem with us. We have less contacts with Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. Romania and Bulgaria are black spots. We have some contacts in Poland. We have very good contact with the U.S. movements. Common activities against the NATO summit in Washington. We have common structures. The biggest and most common work is in the IPB. Colleagues in the United States, Britain, and France. Next (meeting) we will have someone from Russia, Asia, Mongolia, Philippines, South Korea, and traditionally someone from Japan. We have much less contacts with the Global South because they have less financial possibilities. The international development of the peace movement is not so bad.
16. The German population is very much peace oriented and pacifistic. Even with all the campaigns lately, they don't change. They want disarmament, peaceful relations with Russia, and NATO enlargement. There was a Prussian tradition of War. Opposition to war goes back to the first few wars. It was really strong even after the Second World War. All the activities of the government to change pacifist attitudes have not been

¹ protests

successful. This is really great for us. You can see how much money the German government is spending for public affairs for celebrations, schools, training young people, uni. All these ceremonies with soldiers to change they public perception, but they are not successful; European militarization might change this.

17. The EU does not make the world more peaceful; it is part of the problem.

Wiesbaden, Germany: July 24-27th, 2019

Interview Subject 16, Mayor's liaison, July 25th, 2019

Key points:

1. Relationship with Wiesbaden: It is a good relationship. It changed a little bit when the commander changed, but overall very good relationship. I have done this job since 2008/2009 and there is a lot of work. We recognize that the Americans come more and more into the city. You can hear more and more American English.
2. We have no more combat troops here. Headquarters, garrison, and the troops were relocated. There was a contract between the state of Hessen (where Wiesbaden is located) and the military about how many flights can happen and how many fixed wing airplanes can be here. 40 fixed wing aircrafts and 10,000 flights a year. Much fewer flights now. At the beginning there were a lot of complaints about the flights, but there were far less and less. Two times a year we have a noise abatement meeting with Wiesbaden and the community. We talk about the program and the problems we have year. Just 1-2 complaints a month. Often that can be a police helicopter and not even military.
3. U.S. troop behavior: It is about the same. My opinion is that there is a lot of friendship between the German people and the American people. Civilians stay longer in Wiesbaden than the normal soldiers; soldiers change every 2 years. Civilians stay longer. Lots of friendships. When we have a wine festival in August, you see Germans and Americans talk together. It is a good situation because the Wiesbaden base has lots of housing in Heidelberg and there is a lot of space for parking and they all have private parking space. When they move, they don't go through the city. They go from housing directly to the base and don't cause traffic. Might be a good situation that we don't have a lot of traffic through the city.
4. American don't learn German and it is a problem. Has only met about 10 people in 10 years that spoke German.
5. Not many refugees in the area.
6. Commanders only attend meetings when there is a big issue.
7. Not much local engagement from the base. They did have graffiti artists come out to paint part of the wall of the base. German-American friendship festival every year. Five days. Last day is the 4th of July. But not this year because of the 70th anniversary of the airlift. Do it every decade. 40,000 visitors. Necessary to work together for security, rescue, and police.
8. "We don't speak about Donald Trump to the Americans."

Interview Subject 17, Government Relations officer at Clay Kasserne, July 25th

Key points:

1. Relationship: I got here in December and it was well established. I am enhancing it. I am focusing not just Wiesbaden, but also on Mainz. It is in a different state, but I am trying to open that door more and make that partnership better. I have met with every mayor of each town. Additional duties like: Host nation newsletters, let them know when our planes are flying. I deal with noise complaints. I also do a U.S. newsletter so I can let the Americans know when there is a local festival and let the Americans know where they go. I want to dispel the myth that Americans have so many secrets behind their walls because the locals can't come in. I offer tours for local council members and get more people on base. I also created a German command brief, even with an org chart with who we are and what we are doing. We want to be seen as contributors and not just takers and the army is here to protect the community.
2. The subject discussing their position: We don't really exist anymore at other bases as people don't see the value. My command fought for this position to exist. Having a point of contact position instead of blindly having Germans reach out.
3. Community relations: We work with the police departments, fire departments, red cross. We need them to help us when we have things happen. The beauty now is that when there is every emergency management training exercise, the U.S. army now has a seat at their office. These partnerships are very important. We need to show them that we don't just need them. Try to maintain a friendship, a level of comfort.
4. Community access to base: They can't come in on the base. Since 9/11 and all the threats. You saw the measures to get in. Unless we have a big event. We just got done hosting the Berlin airlift 70th anniversary. We had 48,000 people here. They couldn't come on the installation but they came onto our air field. When we do German-American 4th of July, we bring them in to join our culture. They love American hot dogs and American beer and we go off base
5. Local employment: We employ 902 local nationals and 3,771 Americans. Part of the agreement is to hire locals, and use local contracting. Basically, everything is construction. We try to stick with local.
6. Do people see it as beneficial economically? We are the best tippers. We eat out a lot. We shop a lot. However, they do not depend on us and they do not need us. Wiesbaden is already a tourist destination. If you got to Stuttgart, they don't need us. Buamholder they do need us. If we went away there, it takes 10 years for them to recover. The older generation loves Americans. They know what we did for them during the war. We brought them back under the Marshall plan. The younger generation has no clue what we did for them. They are starting to thinking that "what do we need the Americans for?" However, they are now experiencing issues with the refugee problems. They are becoming more like America and experiencing crime, rape, and pedophilia. The climate is changing. It was just them before. Before the refugees, Americans were seen as outsiders. You don't see as much "U.S. go home" but instead "Country X go home"
7. Refugees: The refugees that come from the countries that we are at war with, they don't like us. Young people go to the club, they get drunk, and a fight breaks out. Usually with a foreign national (not Germany). You killed my parents you bombed my town. You're drunk, you start talking stupid, you start talking smack. I love us, but we are somewhat arrogant, patriotic.

8. DUIs: Yeah, we have a DUI problem. The Germans handle that one. They issue a fine and take away your license. We mimic that one. You have to face your commander and you have to take anger management classes.
9. Community Engagement: No real outreach. DoD's schools don't follow under the garrison. They have exchange group programs. They do their partnership. We don't have "soldiers" at this base, we are a headquarters. Mostly dealing with officers. Only 2,180 soldiers. They all work in the headquarters.
10. Meeting with local groups: They probably exist, but I don't meet with them. We do a lot with the Jewish community. If the Turkish community invited us, we would go. They are not my priority to reach out to. Our primary target is the city and mayors. We do have a relationship with the German-American international women's club.
11. Rammstein and the local town around is predominately all Americans and Germans getting rich from us. On top of the hill is a hospital and it is the main hospital for American forces for Europe. It is old, it is run down. Because we have to take injured soldiers in an ambulance and up a hill. We put a hospital below the mountain. We had to knock down 1,000s of trees and had to pay back \$3m, and had to replant that number of trees. Then we made our airstrip the in/out for flying and the big c5s come in. They say too much noise.
12. Withdrawal: We have been withdrawing from Germany so much. When I was a kid here, we had hundreds of thousands of people over here and it keeps getting smaller and smaller. We keep our primary base, but the whole Bavaria and so many bases around Germany, don't exist anymore. It took a lot of those towns a long time to build their economy back up. We have to remember, this is my opinion, we think that since we are on a military installation that this is ours, but I have to tell them that they are on German soil still. We are talking about giving some of it back in 2021, 2022, 2023.
13. Redevelopment: We gave back part of Mainz Kastel housing and they are losing that for refugees. A lot of military installation are for refugee or they turn them into cheaper housing for students.
14. Problems in doing their job: Too much red tape. Things take forever. Germans have gotten really into protection of privacy lately. Hard to get names and numbers out of people. We don't ask of anything from them. For us to stay here and spend more money, sure, why not. A refugee imposes a unique burden.
15. Local spouses: The local men get pissed that the German women all go for American men. German women become more Westernized than German men. Women are more social and go out. German tunnel vision. German women lock more to the men.
16. Final thoughts: I don't know what the future brings, but given that we got so much smaller, but we need to keep the relations going. It is sad that they have gotten rid of my position in so many places. I bring Germans here and show them our recycling center and their jaws drop, they never thought we would recycle. That's why so many people want to come back here, so much healthier here.

Interview Subject 18, Acting Public affairs officer at Clay Kasserne, July 25th

Key points:

1. Role of base for soldiers: We are the city. We support family functions, army community service, run post office, all services. Public works, buildings, communicating with the family members.
2. Community engagement: We do have some connections with the host nation. Some partnerships. Some good relationships. Not everyone has a government relations officer.
3. Crimes: We have not really had to deal with crimes. Looking back for a class I was doing, an article 3/4 years ago. That's not usually an issue. We have good relationships with police. If we have any questions, we communicate to the police.
4. German engagement: 4th of July German-American fest. 5-7 days long. Carnival rides. Invite German community on to post? Fireworks on the fourth.
5. Protests: No. Not since I have been here. We do get notices of ones that are in Frankfurt, so we put out a notice. We have put some out for downtown Wiesbaden. Not against Americans, but something might happen, so we put up a warning. When a protest might be violent, or a group not friendly to Americans.
6. Business engagement with U.S. Soldiers: English spoken stickers; the Kasserne and the chamber of commerce create stickers that said you could use your VAT form and English spoken here. Word of mouth. 6 out of 10 Americans go to my hair dresser. People can advertise in our publications and that happens quite a bit. I have never gone some place because of an ad, but only through word of mouth.
7. Issues of race or gender: I have never heard any issues about that.