Thesis Outline

I. The deployment of forces into an allied state and civil domestic reactions.
   A. General overview:
      1. This study deals with the deployment of forces into an allied state, which differs from other types of deployment situations.
      2. This study deals with domestic civil reactions, which differ from other types of domestic reactions.
   B. The question: What motivates and encourages a civil domestic political reaction to the deployment of forces into an allied state?
   C. This question is relevant to current and future events.
      1. Several states maintain a military presence in allied states.
         a. The United Kingdom has forces deployed throughout the world.
         b. France holds forces in several states throughout the world.
         c. The United States has forces deployed in allied states on every continent in the world.
      2. There will be future deployments of forces into allied states.
         a. Military deployments and arrangements will shift along with the world's security landscape.
         b. The US and some of the former Soviet Bloc states have made plans to station US forces in Eastern Europe.
         c. There are discussions of deploying US forces in the Middle East and Africa.
      3. This question holds important practical implications.
         a. States who host or plan to host allied forces should know the potential political consequences and how to alleviate or avoid them.
         b. States who wish to deploy forces into an allied state should know how to do so without causing difficulty to the host government.
   4. Analyzing this question holds the potential to advance international relations theory as well.
      a. It further adds to the knowledge base for the two level game theory.
      b. It also expands the study of the "second image reversed."
   D. Hypothesis: The level of reaction to the deployment of allied forces in a particular state is largely determined by the presence of four variables.
      1. The greater the threat to security the forces present the greater the likelihood of a negative reaction.
      2. The greater the level of mistrust or anti-ally sentiment present the more likely a negative reaction.
3. The less control the host state maintains over the visiting forces the greater the likelihood of a negative reaction.
4. The greater the level of protestability (location, visibility, accessibility) of the visiting forces the more likely a negative reaction.

E. Case selection: The deployment of US cruise missile forces to the United Kingdom in the early 1980’s is well suited to answering the research question.
1. The situation fits the question and all of the variables are present.
2. Showing the relevance of the thesis with this case in particular provides greater support because it does not seem likely to be able to.
   a. The UK is historically a close ally of the US, so a strong negative political reaction would seem unlikely.
   b. It would seem even further unlikely that the reaction would be strong enough to force a response from the firm Thatcher government.

F. Literature Review: The published work in this area does not adequately analyze or answer the research question.
1. The broader issue of how US forces influence domestic politics in the UK is only vaguely dealt with.
   a. Simon Duke's work *US Defence Bases in the United Kingdom* comes the closest, but the details of the influence remain unexplored.
   b. Most works, like Hedley Bull's *The Special Relationship*, deal primarily with US-UK relations and politics at the international level.
2. On the more specific issue of the cruise missile deployment the published work occasionally acknowledges that they did carry influence but does not describe how or how much.
   a. Lawrence Freedman's *Politics of British Defence* attributes a heavy influence to the cruise issue but fails to elaborate.
   b. Several works, such as Bruce George's *The British Labour Party and Defence*, discuss US nuclear bases in relation to the Labour Party's anti-nuclear platform but do not go further.
3. This section of the lit review is for the theoretical part of the study but I still need to do more reading on second image reversed.

II. This study is a least-likely single case study which uses primarily qualitative methods.
A. It will analyze what was said and done by: the government, the opposition parties, their politicians, the activist groups, and their organizers.
B. It will also use some quantitative data such as public opinion polls and data from surveys to further solidify the thesis.
C. To give a sense of what level the variables were present at in this case ordinal scales will be created for each.
   1. Level of control
   2. Level of threat to security incurred by hosting the forces
   3. Level of mistrust and anti-ally sentiment
4. Level of protestability of the forces
   D. Limitation: Despite being able to present a convincing case these methods will
      not be able to prove the thesis.

III. The cruise missile deployment to the UK in the early 1980's was heavily influential
     in the revival of the anti-nuclear peace movement and drew a negative reaction from a
     large segment of the population.
     A. Overview: Brief history of anti-nuclear peace movement and brief history of
        the cruise missile issue in the UK.
     B. There is a parallel between the important dates of the cruise missile
        deployment and the rise in anti-nuclear activism. (This is not conclusive evidence
        but gives a good first indication of a correlation between the two)
     C. The level of focus given to the cruise issue by the activists, the public, and
        politicians was extraordinarily high compared to the many other nuclear issues
        present.
           1. There were many exclusively anti-cruise groups who gained enormous
              attention and support.
           2. The cruise issue was discussed and debated comparatively more in the
              newspapers and Parliament.
           3. There was a high degree of attention given to the cruise issue at activist
              group activities and meetings.
     D. Interviews with Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organizers indicates that
        the cruise issue had a heavy influence on the revival of the anti-nuclear
        movement.

IV. Variable 1 (level of control over foreign forces) The level of control the United
    Kingdom maintained over the cruise missiles was questionable.
    A. The official US-UK arrangements which covered the cruise missiles were not
       explicit, and left an uncomfortable ambiguity about whether the British
       government actually had the ability to veto their use.
    B. The dual-key option was turned down making it appear as though the
       government forfeited control.
    C. Statements by US officers implying that they were capable of launching the
       missiles without British approval were made public.
    D. The level of concern over this variable by the British was high.
       1. Interviews with the CND organizers reveal that it was one of the main
          concerns activists and the general public held about the cruise deployment.
       2. In all of the discussions/debates in Parliament about cruise, the control
          issue was clearly a major concern.
       3. The petitions presented to Parliament indicate this as one of their
          primary concerns.
       3. Public opinion polls showed that when they added the control issue to
          questions the number who were opposed to cruise rose substantially.

V. Variable 2 (level of threat to security incurred by hosting the forces) The threat
    incurred by hosting the cruise missiles was perceived to be extreme.
A. Cruise was often seen as a first strike weapon which would encourage a first strike from Russia.
B. Scattering the cruise missiles across the countryside in times of high cold-war tension (which was the planned tactic) would force the Soviet Union to blanket the country with nuclear weapons to ensure their destruction.
C. The cruise missiles were viewed by those who opposed them as a new and dangerous escalation in the nuclear arms race.
D. The British expressed a high degree of concern over this variable.
   1. This is evident in the petitions presented to parliament.
   2. Considering all of the discussions in Parliament regarding cruise missiles this variable was clearly a major concern.
   3. The interviews with the CND organizers shows that this variable was one of the motivating factors for the activists.

VI. Variable 3 (level of mistrust and anti-ally sentiment): During the cruise missile debate period mistrust of the US and anti-US sentiment was evident.
A. Several public opinion polls show that a significant portion of the population did not trust the United States.
B. During parliamentary debates those who opposed the cruise deployment often indicated a mistrust of the US and occasionally expressed their anti-American sentiment.
C. The CND interviewees cited a mistrust of America as one of the factors in mobilizing opposition.
D. Activist group records reveal a mistrust of the US and occasionally anti-American sentiment.

VII. Variable 4 (protestability of the forces): The deployed cruise missiles were the perfect protest target.
A. The cruise missiles were deployed in the English countryside within a couple hours drive for most of the population of England.
B. The bases themselves had enormous perimeters which were difficult to protect from intruders.
C. The location and the national attention they received meant that their presence was conspicuous.
D. The practice cruise missile launcher dispersions gave the protesters an easy and high value target.
E. The interviews with the CND organizers state that this was one of the main reasons that protesters focused on cruise.

VIII. The cruise deployment and anti-nuclear revival had several consequences for British politics.
A. The discussions/debates regarding cruise missiles and defense in Parliament reacted to the level of activism and opposition.
B. The Home Secretary for Defence was changed specifically to deal with this issue.
C. The opposition Labour Party officially took on the cause of unilateral disarmament.
   1. This had consequences in the 1983 election.
   2. This also had influence on the Labour/Social Democrat split.

D. There were also consequences at the local level.
   1. The bases required an enormous amount of civil police protection
      which local authorities were forced to pay for.
   2. The laws regarding the land surrounding the bases were altered or re-interpreted to allow the evicting of protestors.
   3. Local groups were established which opposed the protesters.

IX. Conclusion, general implications and recommendations. (I am still working on this portion)