

POLAND AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN THE US MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM (2001–2008)

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Розглядаються особливості співпраці адміністрації Дж. В. Буша з Польщею та Чехією у сфері протиракетної оборони. Відзначаються передумови такого партнерства, його перебіг та наслідки. Значна увага приділена критичній оцінці аргументів як прихильників, так і опонентів ідеї про розміщення елементів американської ПРО на теренах Центрально-Східної Європи.

Ключові слова: система протиракетної оборони, радар, Польща, Чехія, Росія, СНО-2, Patriot, ракета-перехоплювач.

The article deals with the peculiarities of cooperation Administration George W. Bush with Poland and the Czech Republic on missile defense. There have prerequisites such partnership, its course and consequences. Much attention is paid to the critical evaluation of arguments both supporters and opponents of the idea of placing elements of US missile defense in Central and Eastern Europe.

Key words: missile defense system, radar, Poland, Czech Republic, Russia, START-2, Patriot, interceptor missile.

The period after the “Cold War”, which began with the collapse of the Soviet Union broke off abruptly the morning of 11 September 2001. The coordinated terrorist attacks in an instant changed international security environment and dictated a new “comprehensive strategy” for the United States. For the first time in more than half a century, the United States seemed no longer stand in the face of any threat to its national security and way of life. At the end of the 1930s and during the Second World War such a threat posed by fascism. During the “Cold War” it was the Soviet Union and communism. In both cases, the danger was grave and clear. Consequently, in the country and among its allies there was broad consensus on the large threat, although sometimes there and differences – as in the case of Vietnam – with specific areas of action. The attacks of “Al-Qaeda” marked the beginning of a new era in American strategic thinking. These events caused an effect comparable with the attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, which put US in World War II.

The second half of 2001 the administration of George W. Bush gradually produced a new comprehensive national security strategy [5, p. 215–216]. This work was conducted as part of the analysis quadrennial defense and other channels. However, the attack group Osama bin Laden in an instant changed the climate of international security. Speaking October 17, 2001 at the Air Force base in Travis California and telling the American pilots, whose scope will reach the US global war on terror, George W. Bush uttered the word “doctrine” [3]. The term is not accidental. The previous performance of the American President, at a joint meeting of the Houses of Congress on September 20, was permeated through doctrinal spirit [2].

Renaissance idea of creating a fundamentally new security system should include the US in the first speech of the President January 29, 2002, entitled “Axis of Evil” [22]. George W. Bush separating Iran and North Korea, Iraq and made an official statement that the regimes that sponsor terrorism will be in sight intersection administration. He also highlighted the threat of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons as one that could be a pretext to declare war on the part of Washington. Although the head of state did not mention the possible preventive measures, word speech left no doubt about its broader intentions:

“All nations should know: America will do what is necessary for security. We will be careful, but time is not on our side. I will not expect significant facts until the danger will increase. I will not wait, because the threat is coming closer and closer. The United States will not allow the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world most destructive weapons”.

If in the first years after the attacks the US government pursued a policy of active expansion, particularly in relation to Afghanistan and Iraq, then in 2004 he began a gradual transition to recovery efforts National Missile Defense (NMD). According to statements by the authorities, it was designed to protect the country from missile attacks by so-called rogue states, which the US had already attributed North Korea, Iran, Syria and Libya [24]. September 29, 2004 it was announced the establishment of the first five missile interceptor missile launchers mines in the United States at the Fort Greeley in the territory of Alaska, in the first phase of deployment of missile defense system [6]. In early October 2004, the White House, expressing his concern over the emergence of Iran’s medium-range missiles capable of hitting targets at a distance of 2000 km, decided to accelerate the expansion of defense and held consultations with European allies about accommodation interceptor missiles on the territory of the Old World and their inclusion in the zone of the National Missile Defense [7]. Already October 17 the British newspaper “Independent” reported that in May of that year, George W. Bush received a “secret agreement in principle” British Prime Minister Tony Blair for the placement in the country of US defense equipment [1]. Last American medium-range cruise missiles “Tomahawk” were removed from the territory of the country in 1991 under the Soviet-American INF Treaty. At that time, the British role in the defense system was to placement based Faylinhdeyls (North Yorkshire) radar system warning of missile attack. January 2, 2007 began towing of naval base Pearl Harbor in the Aleutian Islands area of the world’s largest floating US radar defense system of phased antenna lattice [6].

Earlier the program was involved in a number of countries. As reported in the report of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategic Planning Brian Green in the Senate, published April 12, 2007, at that time there were 15 countries that participated in certain efforts on US missile defense, posting on its territory “key objects or systems actively discussing this possibility”. In particular, Japan participated in the production and procurement of missiles type “Egis”, “Patriot” and “SM-3” after in 1998 North Korea launched a missile “Tep Ho Don” (effective range – 2000 km), flew the territory of Japan and fell into the Pacific ocean. Israel was involved in the program of modernization of missile systems type “Arrow” (July 28, 2004 there were already successfully tested a modified air defense system “Arrow II”). Support for the US plans announced as Australia, but the United Kingdom and Denmark have agreed to modernize the early warning radar already mentioned Faylinhdeylsi and Thule (Greenland), respectively. At the same time, Canada has negotiated with the White House to provide missile defense command NORAD functions, which was responsible for air defense of both countries. After all, placing missile defense system planned for in Poland and the Czech Republic to create a kind of air shield not only for the US but also in relation to their allies in the Old World [13].

It is clear that such action by the environment of the American president contradicted the political will of the Russian ruling elite, which is always considered Central and Eastern Europe as a sphere of influence [12]. According to the Kremlin, the United States in their plans came not from the ideas of maintaining international stability and with a desire to strengthen control over these territories.

Actually, Russia feared deployment of American missile defense in Eastern Europe for the following reasons:

1. The global security system built around the US missile defense, didn’t include Russia, and therefore carrying a potential threat to its security.
2. Another approach of US military bases to the Russian border violation was issued before the Kremlin promises.
3. Following in the Czech Republic and Poland, in the region could be new US and NATO troops.
4. Over time, the effectiveness of the defense system could increase, and groups of American missiles in Eastern Europe could be quickly extension that would reduce the value of the Russian nuclear arsenal.

5. Missile defense could be placed in the Baltic States, Georgia and Ukraine. Russian nuclear forces in 30-50 years could significantly weaken. As a result, US missile could be used to intercept Russian nuclear missile strike deposited in response to sudden nuclear attack the West.

6. The system of NMD was able to devalue Russian nuclear potential in regional conflicts and possible scenarios “limited nuclear war” or reduce the operational concerns of the West over the fate of Russian nuclear weapons in case of destabilization and disintegration of this country [14].

Given these facts, Putin threatened to exit from CFE (Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe) [10]. What is not empty talk, demonstrated a reaction of the output in the US in 2002 with the agreement on missile defense: the day after Moscow suspended its commitment to the START-2 (Treaty on disarmament) [21]. Characteristic of Moscow continued to remain and reasoning that at that time there was no real reason that would be able to assure the international community of the need to deploy these bases. However, Russia’s position was not in a position to influence the decisions already taken by Washington. In terms of the likely threat from the latter, Russia began to build up its own military power, moving from “active defense” to “active attack” [11]. However, such aggressive policy of the northeastern neighbor pushed Central politicians to cooperate with Republicans. In secret meetings with US diplomats are openly talking about what they think the real threat to the region in general and in particular their own country is not Iran, namely Russia [28]. Perhaps say that in such circumstances Warsaw and Prague quickly become loyal allies, is advisable [29].

In connection with these events, in the middle of 2006 the governments of the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary were willing to host a working missile complexes. In May and August of that year a group of experts, the Ministry of Defense visited these countries to determine the location of future defense facilities. In the Czech Republic in this regard considered three options: Boletitse (near Cesky Krumlov in the south), Yintsa (near the town of Pribram 90 km southwest of Prague) and Libau (near the city of Olomouc in the west). The total cost of construction of the US missile base in one of the countries of Central Europe, according to the newspaper “The Washington Post”, were expected to be 1.2–1.6 billion dollars. This project considered several variants of the base – ground and underground, in one country or in several nearby, with the separation between missiles, radar and other infrastructure.

In the same year, during the September visit to the United States Polish Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski, was agreed accommodation in Poland ten interceptor missiles in secure underground mines for 2011–2012 years. The range of the missiles “GBI” was 1500 km. As an anti-missile missile warhead was equipped with extra-atmospheric interceptor, which is facing at high speed for the purpose, destroying it. Alternatively, regarded as atomic warhead missile equipment, as evidenced by its active testing. When using this combat equipment, missile system could be used for the application of point lightning strikes on the protected surface and underground facilities. According to the calculations of developers to guarantee destruction of a one-piece ballistic missile needed four missiles equipped with extra-atmospheric interceptor, and in the case of decoys – twenty.

January 20, 2007 Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolanek said about the US proposal for placing in the Czech Republic radar station [27]. The latter had come into the global missile and guided missiles used to type “GBI”. It was planned to use multifunctional radar equipment “Raytheon XBR (X-Band Radar)”.

A month later, on February 19, above mentioned heads of governments of Poland and the Czech Republic at a joint press conference in Warsaw made it clear that their countries are willing to accept the offer of the White House. Both countries agreed to take coordinated position in negotiations with the administration of George W. Bush regarding the accommodation centers. In response, the commander of Strategic Rocket Forces, Colonel-General Nikolai Solovtsov said a few days later that Russian missiles could be aimed at the US missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic [19]. He added that Russia is ready to resume production of medium-range ballistic missiles: “As a class Intermediate-range ballistic missiles were destroyed, but all records remaining technology remained whole. In no time, if necessary, the production of these systems will be restored. But with new technology, the new element base, the new control system with new features...” [9].

However, this statement was perceived in Poland and the Czech Republic as an attempt to blackmail and restoration of Russian influence in the region. Placement of US missiles and radar was the subject # 1

local media, with most politicians in both countries supported the project. So, J. Kaczynski said that placing the country on the territory of the US military base will give her assurance that Poland will not return to Russia's sphere of influence. "This is the status of Poland". Also Czech Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg said: "We have experience with the Russians. It should yield to blackmail, no, not going back. We must hold firmly" [19].

For Poland and the Czech Republic for proposals the US meant that they become visible figures on a chessboard of Western strategists. However, when NATO was hardly able to create their own short-term missile defense system to protect against long-range intercontinental missiles within range, the authorities of both countries considered the American version as the most appropriate. In addition to security cooperation, they certainly cherished hope by such concessions to strengthen economic ties with Washington.

In June 2007 summit in Brussels there was unanimous support for the creation of a pan-European missile defense system. Its key elements were identified facilities in Poland and the Czech Republic. In early July, the Security Council decided last regarding the allocation of land for military training ground Brdy around with Mishov in Pilsen province, about 90 km southwest of Prague, the construction of the radar. On July 25, Rick Lehner, the spokesman of Pentagon's Missile Defense Agency announced that aerospace corporation "Boeing" has been selected by the Ministry of Defense as a contractor to create system in both Central Europe. It had to be transported to the Czech Republic the existing radar with the Marshall Islands, and build 10 interceptor missiles to be installed in Poland [28].

Following consideration of the matter, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the overall positive mood governments of Poland and the Czech Republic did not initially divided by the population. The results of public opinion polls indicate that the specified time period, about 60 % of Poland and the Czech Republic 71 % of residents expressed their negative position on the deployment of elements of missile defense system on the territory of their country [15]. Despite this situation, continued to act statements, which ruled out a referendum minimize the development of missile systems that similar results were made possible through the actions of Russian security services and security issues should be exclusively within the competence of the executive power [26].

Another exacerbates the relationship between the parties to the developments in the Caucasus. In particular, March 1, 2007 Director of the Missile Defense Agency US Lieutenant General Henry Obering, speaking at NATO headquarters, said that Washington began to consider the possibility of deploying to 2011 on the territory of the mobile radar defense system that would showed launches of missiles from Iran, and then passed the information on to stationary radar in the Czech Republic [20].

Public opinion drew attention to the fact that the June 7, 2007 the President Vladimir Putin during an interview with foreign media said that if the US still deployed in Eastern Europe missile defense system elements, this part of the continent, it is possible again become a target for Russian aggression. And then, he said, Russia would not bore any responsibility for their actions. The prospect of a new arms race between the US and Russia caused serious concern of the international community. Commenting stunning statement of administration, observers claimed that in fact his words were intended to intimidate opponents, since the Russian authorities needed time to take a stronger position in the controversy to prevent the deployment of US missile defense system [17].

In this situation it is necessary to mention Russia's proposal to establish a joint air defense system. Thus, the leadership of the country has expressed an idea of the possibilities of use of the Gabala radar bilateral location systems in Azerbaijan. According to him, such actions given the opportunity to make significant progress in protecting European countries. In addition, Azerbaijan, Iran, as a neighbor, completely fit into the overall strategy regarding the deployment of US missile defense system in Central and Eastern Europe to prevent the dangers posed by this Muslim country. At the same time, the Russians deliberately emphasized that they do not see the need "to place weapons offensive character along the border of Europe". The main objective of this proposal was to Kremlin effort to find out the real motives of the White House. Thus, the US refusal to rational ideas of Moscow could say that the missile defense system was actually directed against Russia [25].

Another US military initiative regarding the placement in Poland and the Czech Republic elements of the US missile defense system in Europe is not very pleased. The German press, for example, has

become increasingly assume that in case of conflict, not only these countries but also the whole of Europe will be forced to assume a nuclear strike designed to America. Thus, the German MEP, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence Karl von Vohau warned: "It seems that the wreckage missiles shot down from the Polish base will fall into the territory of Germany, France and the Benelux states" [8]. It was in agreement with the Berlin Alexander Lange Foundation Science and Policy. In an interview with "Focus" he said that he did not feel any confidence that shot down the missile fragments must sink in any sea without causing any harm to the environment. In addition, commentators believe that the Iranian missile technology, from which supposedly should defend the whole Western world, has not reached such a high level of development, and the Tehran mullahs, they think religious people and they don't want to die. Therefore, all scenarios considered Persian attack missile, according to most experts were fantastic pure water [4]. In response to these statements, Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic Alexander Vondra said: "Germany is likely to hurt the United States, seeking to speak to Europe, turning to Prague and Warsaw, and not to Berlin" [18]. Note that this policy some time spent in the United States and was seen in close association with the American neo-conservatives.

July 8, 2008 US Secretary of State Rice has completed negotiations on the deployment of the radar on the territory of the Czech Republic. Based on our established chronological framework, it is worth noting an interesting detail: in September 2009 the idea of placing elements of missile defense system in Central and Eastern Europe is not abandoned Warsaw or Prague, and the White House, given the warnings about its military inefficiency. In June 2011 A. Vondra finally confirmed this information to journalists from "Associated Press" [23]. Another way was Poland, whose president Bronislaw Komorowski in April 15, 2013 signed a decree on state funding guaranteed own defense system, which has become part of the modern system of national defense and NATO [16]. These facts have shown a temporary suspension of the project.

As you can see, the official consent Poland and the Czech Republic to host elements of the US missile hit a misunderstanding of its own citizens and foreign partners. Time not bothering to hold for citizens, guide both countries put themselves dependent on manipulations of major geopolitical players. This conclusion began to lean more and more European political scientists and senior military officials. Even the local politicians began to realize that Americans are unlikely to help in the implementation of their ambitious plans to transform their own states on important subjects of European political scene. In this regard, it seems very interesting idea Colonel Kazimierz drain, a Polish expert on defense, which for many years held senior positions in the Ministry of Defence. He believed that the overall results of the deployment of elements of US missile defense in Poland can be tragic. Accepting the Republican proposal, the Polish government has put thereby endanger the lives of many millions of Poles: only in the interests of the United States made a killer probable contamination of large areas of the country; provoked growing terrorist threat; deliberately limited the sovereignty of the state, making it a hostage to Washington; eventually made a negative impact on the international political situation. Under the influence of these arguments and as a result came to power in the USA Democrats controversial program was suspended. However, it has become a litmus test of the political situation in the Old World, once again witnessed its split. It became apparent: in Europe until consensus is established on threats to international security and ways to counter them, to create a truly global missile defense system the White House will fail to.

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