

---

**Fedorchak Tetiana**

Professor, Ph.D,  
Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical  
University of Oil and Gas

## **Intensification of Czech-American relations in the sphere of security policy**

The paper focuses on the development of Czech-American relations in the sphere of security policy and highlights that their character and essence have been changing forms and significance for each party. The highest level of support the United States has been demonstrating in the process of integration of the Czech Republic into the Alliance and planning to deploy ABM systems in the Czech Republic. Investment and political support provided to the Czech Republic at the initial phases of state building was a kind of a ground for loyalty in the state's foreign policy and readiness to support global leader's decisions. In 2007 when the US offered the Czech Republic to deploy missile defense system, their interests were much the same and established the basis for further "road-map" for mutual cooperation. Signing of treaties with the USA in the sphere of military industry and trade allowed the Czech Republic to modernize military forces, industry and trade, and traditions to conduct bilateral discussions within the frame of the Strategic dialogue raised the level of responsibility and general grounds for further mutual activity between a small state and a global leader.

*Key words: the USA, NATO, the Czech Republic, policy of security, state, military forces, internal and external policy.*

## **ПОСИЛЕННЯ ЧЕСЬКО-АМЕРИКАНСЬКИХ ВІДНОСИН У СФЕРІ ПОЛІТИКИ БЕЗПЕКИ**

У статті досліджено розвиток чесько-американських відносин у сфері політики безпеки та наголошено, що їх характер і суть змінювали форми і значення для кожної зі сторін. Найвищий рівень підтримки США демонстрували в процесі інтеграції Чеської Республіки до Альянсу та планів розміщення елементів ПРО у Чехії. Інвестиції та політична підтримка Чехії на початкових етапах державотворення були своєрідним підґрунтям для лояльності в зовнішній політиці держави та готовності підтримувати рішення глобального лідера. У 2007 р., коли США запропонували Чехії розмістити радар ПРО, їх інтереси були схожі й заклали основу подальшої «дорожньої карти» співпраці. Укладення договорів з США у

сфері військової промисловості і торгівлі для Чехії уможливило модернізацію військових сил, промисловості й торгівлі, а традиція проведення двосторонніх дискусій у межах Стратегічного діалогу підвищила рівень відповідальності та загальних засад діяльності невеликої держави з глобальним лідером.

*Ключові слова: США, НАТО, Чеська Республіка, політика безпеки, держава, військові сили, зовнішня і внутрішня політика.*

Changes in external and security policy of the Czech Republic (CZ) since its integration into NATO and up to a modern stage of development of international relationships are taken place in parallel with a change in the nature of Czech-American partnership, which in 1999-2016 has evolved from a multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Alliance to the search of new forms of bilateral cooperation in security and defense spheres. It predetermined internal (transformation of the military-defense sector of the CZ, army modernization, preparation for participation in NATO international operations) and external factors (change of international security, fight against terrorism, deployment of the US ABM systems in Europe, strengthening of the “eastern border” of the alliance due to the aggression of the Russian Federation etc.).

Basing on the historical tradition of bilateral relations of the CZ and US and taking into consideration specific character of the states' security policy formation, the researchers, dealing with the Czech external and security policy, distinguish several stages of cooperation, bearing in mind positions of both states within the international legal framework. Czech scientist R. Khol proposed a periodization, which presupposes analysis of state's security policy at two stages. The first one is setting priorities (1993-1997), when the Czech Republic received an invitation to join NATO at the Madrid Summit and the very process of joining the Alliance (1997-1999). The second stage covers 1999-2004 and includes: destabilization of the international security system, caused by the terroristic attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001; development of the CZ security strategy (2001, 2003); formation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy<sup>1</sup>.

Analyzing relations of the CZ and US in their periodization Š. Waisová and L. Cabada single out three stages: 1993-2001 – a period of the US investment and political support of the Czech Republic; 2001-2009 – a stage of reiterating (execution) of the US decisions by the CZ in the sphere of international security system; since 2010 – a “new stage” – “restoration” of partnership by means of comprehension of pragmatic nature of the US external political priorities and weakness of the European security system<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Khol R. Česka bezpečnostní politika 1993-2004 / R. Khol // Pick O., Handl V. (Eds.). Zahraniční politika České republiky 1993–2004. Úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy. – Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2004. – S. 41–43.

<sup>2</sup> Cabada L. Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in world politics / Ladislav Cabada, Šárka Waisová. – Lanham [etc.]: Lexington Books, 2011. – S. 110-111.

Analysis of sources, which give coverage to the transformation of the Euro Atlantic security system and conception of the CZ security policy, let us consider Czech-American relationship at three stages: I stage (1999-2006) – establishment of equal grounds and asymmetry of bilateral cooperation in the security sphere; II stage – strategic importance and dependence of Czech-American cooperation in the sphere of anti-ballistic missile defense (2006-2009); III stage – Czech disenchantment with opportunities for cooperation with the US and search for a new format of partnership, nuclear power engineering projects (2009-2016). It is necessary to single out the so-called “null”, initial stage, which laid the foundation for bilateral cooperation (1993-1999), crystallized arrangements of bilateral partnership between the CZ and US, elaborated fundamental principles for their mutual and multiple (within NATO framework) cooperation. The grounds for this periodization are found in the process of acceptance of strategic documents concerning the CZ security and bilateral agreements as to Czech-American cooperation. Let us review peculiarities and nature of bilateral agreements at the each of the abovementioned periods.

The first stage of Czech-American relations is a phase of fruitful partnership between the Czech Republic and NATO and preciseness in relations with the United States. Transatlantic integration of the CZ presupposed results of cooperation with the USA, reformation of military forces, administrative structures, and performing civil control over the CZ security policy. Practical significance of Czech-American relationship turned into reality when the Czech Republic joined NATO. In 1999-2006 the core question of Czech-American relations concerned participation of the Czech Republic in NATO peace-support operations, initiated by the US (international mission in Kosovo (1999), Afghanistan (2001-2014), Iraq (2002-2012) etc). The Czech Republic intended to join the US national system of anti-ballistic missile defense. Presence of the Czech military and civil men in the Middle East, despite negative position of its European partners, showed its loyalty to the global leader's decisions. However, if we compare it with neighboring Poland and taking into consideration its resource potential and outlays on defense, then the CZ contribution to NATO peace-support attempts is quite inconspicuous<sup>3</sup>. Thus, in 1998-2002 just 980 soldiers from the Czech Republic participated in NATO missions<sup>4</sup>.

In 1999 the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Czech Republic stated that their relations with the US were in good progress. The Czech Republic regarded the US as the biggest and the most significant trade partner, and political issues were treated as the grounds for consensus and mutual understanding<sup>5</sup>. Providing support to democratization processes in the Czech society, the USA granted individual financing, aimed at improving economic and social climate in

<sup>3</sup> Hynek N. Konflikt a obnova v Afghánistánu: kontext, prostředí a zájmy / Nik Hynek, Jan Eichler, Lubomír Majerník. – Praha: Ústav Mezinárodních vztahů, 2012. – S. 83.

<sup>4</sup> KFOR – mirove operace 1999 – 2/2002, Kosovo, 980 přešlušníků (2004). Retrieved April 25, 2009 // Ministerstvo obrany České republiky [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=3709>. –

<sup>5</sup> Zpráva o zahraniční politice ČR 1998–1999 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí ČR [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/file/415493/Zprava1998\\_1999.pdf](http://www.mzv.cz/file/415493/Zprava1998_1999.pdf).

the region. The US congress passed a declaration on changes in CEE, in which admitted that support of self-determination of the states in the region and development of market economy occurred, because these “values are the most important for the American national aim and are fundamental for the world, where American interests must be protected”<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, all measures taken by the US government were not of virtue nature, but a part of a planned policy, aimed at promoting their interests in Europe. As Czech scientist O. Pick believes, political significance of providing support to the Czech Republic came out of the US desire to form and legitimately augment its influence on the union of democratic forces in Central Europe<sup>7</sup>.

In April 2000 the Czech and American Ministers of Defense signed an essential document – the Strategic Deal between the Czech Republic Ministry of Defense and the US Department of Defense, concerning interchange of scientific and technical information and technologies to provide security and identification of chemical substances and industrial toxic emissions<sup>8</sup>. The document, besides its political and economic components, contributed to enhancement of cooperation between Czech and American higher educational institutions. “Namely, due to scientific cooperation between the Czech Republic and the US, stated M. Calda, Czech educational institutions almost lack anti-American tendencies, which can be observed in some academic institutions in Western Europe”<sup>9</sup>.

However, along with positive tendencies in US supporting the CZ one should point out at a number of contradictions, existing at that period. In 2002 after a couple of years of unsuccessful negotiations over purchasing supersonic American fighter aircraft F-16 and F-18, the Czech government decided and bought fighter aircraft “Gripen”, produced by the Swedish-British consortium. Thus, under the offset contracts the Czech Republic military arsenal was renewed by 14 modern Swedish aircraft JAS-39 “Gripen” (with the contract cost of \$750 million, the Czech Republic got offset compensation from the company “SAAB” in the sum of \$975 million) and more than 100 Austrian armored fighting machines “Pandur II” (the Czech Republic paid the company “Steyr-Daimler-Puch Spezialfahrzeuge” \$650million and got 150% offset compensation)<sup>10</sup>. It aroused a wave of indignation among diplomats and representatives of the US defense sector. American ambassador in the Czech Republic C. Stapleton in December 2003 gave to understand that the choice of the Swedish aircraft “Gripen” would carry “consequences at the political and military levels”<sup>11</sup>. The Czech Republic reacted to such ambassador’s words with

<sup>6</sup> Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989. 101 US Congress // House of Representatives. Conference. – Report. 17 November, 1989. – Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989. – S. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Pick O. Zahraniční politika České republiky, 1993–2004. Úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy / Otto Pick, Vladimír Handl. – 1 vydání. – Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2004. – S. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Report to the Congress on the Military Requirements and Costs of NATO Enlargement // Journal of International Security Assistance Management. – 1998. – Vol. 20, №. 3. – P. 776–779.

<sup>9</sup> Calda M. Česko-americké vztahy: od vzdálené alternativy k blízkému spolenectví / M. Calda // Pick O., Handl, V. (eds.) a kol. Zahraniční politika České republiky 1993–2004: úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy. – Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů 2004. – S. 95.

<sup>10</sup> Offsets and Defense Procurement in the Czech Republic: A Case Study / Jomana Amara, Petr Pargac // Journal European Security. – Vol. 18, Issue 1. – March 2009. – P. 65-66.

<sup>11</sup> Ort A. Česká zahraniční politika / A. Ort. – Plzeň: Aleš Čeněk, 2005. – S. 17-20.

indignation and interpreted as “an attempt to exert pressure” on the partners. Prague explained its choice by national interests and profitable financial contracts. At the same time, a decision to spend a billion dollars for supersonic fighter aircraft from Sweden was an attempt of the Czech Republic to bring pressure on diplomats and political leaders of all interested countries<sup>12</sup>. Similar situation arose in relations between the Czech Republic and the US in 2004.

September 11, 2001 became a crucial moment for transatlantic security system. It changed security situation and led to transformation of threat perception both in the USA and the Czech Republic. The government of the Czech Republic confirming significance of the alliance with the US approved (first among the European countries) the Concept for defense against terrorism and a number of other documents, concerning prevention of terrorism. Analysis of the security, military and defense Strategy of the Czech Republic after 2001 demonstrates consequential adoption of the US defense policy principles. In Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ report it goes that the Czech Republic condemns terrorism and cooperation with the USA after the events of September 11, 2001 has got to a new level, and a new notion “strategic partnership” was introduced in the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (2013)<sup>13</sup>.

Significance of Czech-American relationship can be designated by frequency and high level of official visits made by the representatives of the states. The Czech Republic is the first post-communist country, where in 2002 took place NATO summit involving the president of the USA G. Bush. Czech scientist D. Kral believed that arrival of the US president became possible due to personal participation of the Czech President V. Havel and former ambassador in the United States, special envoy of the Summit A. Vondra. That year V. Havel paid an official visit to the United States and conducted meetings in Washington, New York, Miami and the state of Florida<sup>14</sup>. In this light quite symbolical nature had an official visit of the Prime Minister V. Spidla, minister of foreign affairs K. Svoboda, minister of defense M. Kostelka, minister of industry and trade M. Urban and their meeting with president George Bush in the White House<sup>15</sup>. As a result of negotiations the USA appropriated money for equipment and training of the Czech military forces, which participated in NATO missions. Composition of the delegation and the documents, which were published later on, let us suppose that in the course of the meeting the arrangements and details of deploying anti-ballistic missile defense in Europe have been discussed. Since 2004 the number of visits made by the US representatives to the CZ significantly grew. Besides, K. Svoboda conducted a meeting with the Secretary of State C. Powell, National Security Advisor C. Rice and Deputy Secretary of Defense P. Wolfowitz and discussed common threats and challenges on the part of the countries, which possess weapon

<sup>12</sup> Drulák P., Strítecký V. Hledání Českých zájmů. Mezinárodní bezpečnost / P. Drulák, V. Strítecký. – Ústav mezinárodních vztahů. Praha, 2010. – S. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2001 do prosince 2001. – Praha : Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2002. – S. 140-142.

<sup>14</sup> Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2002 do prosince 2002. – Praha : Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2003. – 395 s.

<sup>15</sup> Svoboda chce pro Česko protiraketový deštník // Právo. – 31.7.2003. – S. 6.

of mass destruction, issues of security in Europe, anti-ballistic missile defense and mutual fight against terrorism<sup>16</sup>.

In 2005 close cooperation between the Czech Republic and the United States in the sphere of security and defense extended due to their mutual participation in NATO missions and the Development program on human rights protection. The Czech Republic appropriated a huge sum of humanitarian aid in order to help overcoming negative consequences of Hurricane "Katrina" in September 2005<sup>17</sup>. For the first time NATO provided an air-bridge to transport aid from the CZ to the US. The climax in the 2005 contacts was marked by March negotiations conducted in the White House by V. Klaus and G. Bush concerning the transatlantic security issues.

However, despite the declared success of the political dialogue, perception of the United States among the Czech citizens was more negative, than some politicians would rather see. NATO missions ("KFOR" in Kosovo, "ISAF" in Afghanistan) required financial and military assistance on the part of the partners and raised in the society a question concerning the expediency of the Czechs participation in these operations. Such opinion is supported by critical articles, published not only in mass media, but also analytical weekly papers "Foreign policy", "International relations" and others. There are several reasons: various approaches of the political elite towards participation in the international operation in Kosovo (immediately when the CZ joined NATO); undercut of the US attention towards the countries of the region; the RF rhetoric, aimed at preventing CEE countries participation in NATO activity.

Thus, the first stage of the bilateral Czech-American relations can be determined as preservation of positive tendencies of political dialogue in the sphere of security and defense, advanced enhancement of the proficiency level of the Czech army, the US financial support etc. Participation of the Czech Republic in peace-support operations became a turning point in cooperation between Prague and Washington. Negative effect on Czech-American relations was made by a change of political elites and the format of their bilateral contacts. At the beginning of the stage "a connecting link" in this cooperation was represented by V. Havel (up to 2003) and B. Clinton (up to 2001). Durability of their contacts was based on their personal friendship. But the format of V. Klaus and G. Bush's meetings was quite the opposite. V. Klaus did not maintain bilateral relations with the US in the security sphere, while G. Bush considered the Czech Republic as one of the "new NATO ally". An important role of a "lobbyist" of the Czech interests in the American administration was played by the US representative in the UN M. Albright, whose father after the WWII emigrated from the Czech Republic to the United States.

---

<sup>16</sup> Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2003 do prosince 2003. – Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2004. – S. 105.

<sup>17</sup> Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2004 do prosince 2004. – Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2005. – S. 98

A “Road Map” of the second period in Czech-American cooperation (2006-2009) was an issue of deploying the American anti-ballistic missile defense systems in the Czech Republic. This was the most active phase of Czech-American cooperation and the biggest reflection of the European partners and the Russian Federation as to their partnership. This period is characterized by certain symmetry of the high level contacts, what highlighted the US interest towards deployment of the ABM systems in the CZ. Over 2007-2008 25 US delegations (President’s, Secretary of State’s, ministers’, security and defense expert groups’, military calls) made high level visits to the Czech Republic. In 2006-2008 the CZ hit the headlines of all US mass media: news, experts’ reports on key topics of foreign policy and internal situations etc. Czech scientist O. Pick’s said that relations between two countries over this period showed the nature of Czech-American alliance, based on mutual values and transatlantic ties, close US-EU relations<sup>18</sup>. Quite representative was an increase in the US investment and the Agreement between the United States of America and the Czech Republic for Scientific and Technological Cooperation<sup>19</sup>.

Over the analyzed period the US and CZ shaped a new form of partnership – “Strategic dialogue the Czech Republic – the USA” – a bilateral program of cooperation, aimed at information exchange in the sphere of external security, human rights, economic cooperation etc<sup>20</sup>. The program is a result of negotiations between the CZ Minister M. Topolánek and President G. Bush in Washington (2008), and predetermined a series of annual inter-ministers meetings. A peculiarity of the strategic dialogue is that only 10 countries in the world implemented it together with the US. J. Schneider supposes that existence of the strategic dialogue emphasizes a particular importance of the Czech Republic for the US among other Central European countries<sup>21</sup>.

At the first meeting in Washington on September 4, 2008 subjects of promoting democracy, human rights, and enhancement of Czech-American relations in the security sphere were dealt with. At this stage the CZ and US approved crucial Agreements in military and defense spheres. The first Agreement between the United States and the Czech Republic on Establishing a United States Ballistic Missile Defense Radar Site in the Czech Republic (Main Agreement) was signed in Prague on July 8, 2007<sup>22</sup>. The second Agreement between the United States and the Czech Republic on stationing the US troops on the territory of the Czech Republic

<sup>18</sup> Report on the foreign policy of the Czech Republic 2007. – Ministry of foreign affairs. – Prague, 2008 – S. 341-342.

<sup>19</sup> Agreement Between the United States of America and the Czech Republic for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, signed at Prague September 6, 2007 (the S&T Agreement) [Electronic resource] // U.S. Department of States. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/130461.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Strategický dialog ČR – USA // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/udalosti\\_a\\_media/archiv\\_zprav/rok\\_2010/x2010\\_01\\_13\\_strategicky\\_dialog\\_cr\\_usa.htm](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/udalosti_a_media/archiv_zprav/rok_2010/x2010_01_13_strategicky_dialog_cr_usa.htm)

<sup>21</sup> Schneider J. The U.S. – Czech Strategic Relationship: A Roadmap for the Future in Security and Defense. A Broken Glass or Alliance of Common Purpose Sealed by Joint Missions / J.Schneider // CEVRO Institute. – Report. – 2014. – № 2. – 4 s.

<sup>22</sup> Agreement Between the United States and the Czech Republic on Establishing a United States Ballistic Missile Defence Radar Site in the Czech Republic // Government of the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <https://www.fas.org/irp/news/2008/07/radar.pdf>.

(hereinafter – SOFA) was signed on September 19, 2008 in London. It was discussed in the Czech parliament and approved as an Annex to the Main Agreement. The third Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning Ballistic Missile Defense cooperation was signed on October 31, 2008 in Prague. Implementation of the Agreement gave an opportunity for Czech enterprises to participate in constructing ABM systems<sup>23</sup>.

In London was signed another significant document – “Declaration on strategic cooperation in defense between the Czech Republic and the United States”, which predetermined creation of a “High Level Defense Group”. Article 1 of the Declaration states that the Czech Republic and the United States have established a strategic dialogue to facilitate consultations on international security matters, including missile threats and international terrorism, that may affect the security and defense capability of the Czech Republic or the United States<sup>24</sup>. It also presupposed support for the Czech army in the course of military operations abroad, exchange of information, advanced training of personnel and staff, consultations on important initiatives, which will undergo consideration within NATO framework, creation of conditions for exchange of intelligence data and abilities to attract common investment in military industry.

In Article 2 of the Declaration it goes that “the Czech Republic and the United States will work together to counter emerging military or non-military threats posed by third parties or to minimize the effects of such threats”<sup>25</sup>. Practical significance of the document is highlighted by the fact that in 2008 the Czech army received cost-free 300 American aircraft “Humvee”, vehicles for the Czech group dealing with renewing of territory in Logar province and members of the special forces police units “SOG” in south part of Afghanistan in order to modernize Czech military forces in Afghanistan<sup>26</sup>.

In 2008 a problem of visa-free regime for the Czechs visiting the USA was solved. Bilateral negotiations concerning visa-waiver agreement have been conducted since 1990, when Czechoslovakia on a unilateral basis abolished visa requirement for the US citizens. The Memorandum of mutual understanding was signed in February 2008. It presupposed joining of the Czech Republic to the “Visa Waiver” program, which regulates conditions of visa-free regime between the United States and other countries<sup>27</sup>. Let us state that the question of visa-free regime with the US was considered in a batch with Poland and other 26 European countries, just the Czech

<sup>23</sup> Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning Ballistic Missile Defense cooperation // U.S. Department of State [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/137119.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> Declaration on strategic cooperation in defense between the Czech Republic and the United States // Embassy of the United States in the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.aic.cz/press/Declaration\\_on\\_strategic\\_defense\\_cooperation.pdf](http://www.aic.cz/press/Declaration_on_strategic_defense_cooperation.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> PRT Logar projects (2008–2012) // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. 30.11.2012. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/foreign\\_relations/development\\_cooperation\\_and\\_humanitarian/bilateral\\_development\\_cooperation/programme\\_countries/afghanistan\\_1/prt\\_logar\\_projects\\_2008\\_2012.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/foreign_relations/development_cooperation_and_humanitarian/bilateral_development_cooperation/programme_countries/afghanistan_1/prt_logar_projects_2008_2012.html)

<sup>27</sup> Češi se přiblížili zrušení víz do USA // IHNED.cz. 02.11.2007 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://zpravy.ihned.cz/c1-22344690>

Republic was the first to receive a positive decision<sup>28</sup>. The Prime Minister M. Topolánek emphasized that signing of the Memorandum can be treated as a “historical moment”, “indicator of American confidence” in the Czech Republic as it was the first one among European countries which signed this document with the US. President of the US, pointing out the significance of this event for Czech-American relations, stated “I hope that the Czechs realize that their government and country lead the way in visa abolishment process. I congratulate you on this leading position”<sup>29</sup>. Thus, despite the fact that diplomatic representatives of the Czech Republic and US denied any connection between ABM system deployment and visa abolishment process, we suppose that in this situation Washington took the decision to approve ABM deployment project in Lower Chamber of the Czech Republic and directed it to enhance support of the American project in the Czech society.

Quite relevant is a thought proposed by Czech and American researchers, who believe that 2007-2009 was the most fruitful period in relations between the countries, and high level agreements and declarations were a sign of consolidation of long-standing US interests in the Czech Republic and Europe in general. In this context we may object to skeptics who, after president Obama’s declaration of a new doctrine of ABM deployment program, spoke of potential loss in Czech-American partnership when the plan to deploy ABM systems in Brdy was dropped. Deimplementation of a large-scale ABM project meant initiating of a number of branch projects in the spheres of nuclear technology research, improvement of a military sector and defense infrastructure etc<sup>30</sup>. Opportunities for cooperation laid in the signed agreements broaden a range not only in the security and defense spheres, but also in energy industry, innovation research fields etc.

The third stage of Czech-American relations (2009-2014) is characterized by pragmatic nature and search for new formats of partnership. The stage was marked by “disappointment” of the Czech government as to ambitious partnership with the US in the sphere of ABM systems. On May 5, 2009 at the meeting with leading representatives of the EU the US president B. Obama in his renowned “Prague Vision” declared about reconsideration of the US defense doctrine and anti-ballistic missile defense, abandonment of a plan to construct radar in the CZ and air-defense interceptors in Poland<sup>31</sup>. Obama’s decision provoked a range of contradictions among the CZ politicians: opponents to ADM deployment in Brdy (communists, civic initiatives “Let’s prevent!”) took delight in refusal of the project implementation; governmental political forces were striving to prolong the CZ participation in it; politicians carrying

<sup>28</sup> Zahraniční politika České republiky. – Data, 04–08/2007 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o\\_ministerstvu/uredni\\_deska/archivy/mesicnik\\_zahranicni\\_politika\\_ceske](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o_ministerstvu/uredni_deska/archivy/mesicnik_zahranicni_politika_ceske)

<sup>29</sup> Zahraniční politika České republiky. – Data, 02/2008 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o\\_ministerstvu/uredni\\_deska/archivy/mesicnik\\_zahranicni\\_politika\\_ceske](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o_ministerstvu/uredni_deska/archivy/mesicnik_zahranicni_politika_ceske).

<sup>30</sup> Česká republika a USA budou spolupracovat v oblasti jaderné energetiky [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://www.tretiruka.cz/news/ceska-republika-a-usa-budou-spolupracovat-v-oblasti-jaderne-energetiky>

<sup>31</sup> Remarks by President Barack Obama / Prague, the Czech Republic. – The White House, Washington D. C. – April 5, 2009 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/)

intermediary position as to ABM systems, passed in mass media the opinion, concerning the RF interests' priority for the United States and "reset" relations. But further support for the anti-ballistic missile defense project within the frames of NATO was planned in the Czech Republic Defense Strategy in 2011<sup>32</sup>.

O. Ditrych appraising the situation states that B. Obama's "Prague Vision" raised a question of ABM systems as one of the most significant problems of the Czech internal and external policy, and thus it became rather symbolic in rearranging Czech inner political life<sup>33</sup>. This position is inherent to modern diplomats and scientists (J. Schneider, T. Weiss, Ya. Kurfurst, N. Hynek, A. Vondri and others).

Despite complicated Czech-American relationship in late 2009 the parts realized the necessity to deploy ABM systems in Europe and in January 2010 in Prague took place the Second strategic dialogue, where two countries signed a common declaration on extending cooperation in the sphere of scientific research of civil nuclear energy, strengthening of inter-state trade relations. To perform arrangements the US and CZ Ministers of Defense on June 10, 2010 in Brussels signed the Agreement between the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the United States of America for Research, Development, Testing and Evaluation Activities<sup>34</sup>. "Signing of the Agreement means open access to the projects realized in the US and opportunities for their mutual implementation. For the US its a chance to introduce its scientific potential on the central-European market"<sup>35</sup>. This Agreement created conditions for advances in the spheres of cybernetics, IT technologies and autonomous systems, opportunities to realize projects in the fields of nuclear physics, engineering, and biomedical sciences – strategic spheres of sciences.

The third phase of the strategic dialogue the Czech Republic – the United States took place on May 3-4, 2011 and various subjects of security policy and diversification of energy sources were discussed<sup>36</sup>. As the result of the negotiations in October 2011 the Agreement on establishing Joint civil nuclear cooperation center in Prague<sup>37</sup>, what contributed to simplification and coordination of joint actions, support of regional initiatives in the sphere of nuclear security and regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapon.

<sup>32</sup> Christensen S. The Post-Missile Defense Era in U.S.-Czech Relations / Stephen Christensen [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.youngtca.org/?p=438>. – 8.07.2013

<sup>33</sup> Ditrych O. More Europe, More Security. How the Czech Republic should respond to the U.S. strategic shift / Ondřej Ditrych // EUROPEUM Policy Brief. Audust, 2012 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.europeum.org/images/paper/pb\\_ditrych.pdf](http://www.europeum.org/images/paper/pb_ditrych.pdf).

<sup>34</sup> Agreement between the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the United States of America for Research, Development, Testing and Evaluation Activities. 2010-06-10 Brusel. // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/encyklopedie\\_statu/severni\\_amerika/usa/smlouvy/index.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/encyklopedie_statu/severni_amerika/usa/smlouvy/index.html)

<sup>35</sup> Česká zahraniční politika v roce 2010: Analýza ÚMV / eds. Michal Kořan. – Praha : Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2011. – S. 146.

<sup>36</sup> Třetí kolo Strategického dialogu ČR – USA // Embassy of the United States in the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://prague.usembassy.gov/2014-us-czech-strategic-dialogue.html>

<sup>37</sup> Agenda pro českou zahraniční politiku 2011 / ed. V. Dostal, T. Karasek, M. Thim. – Praha : Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky, 2011. – S. 32.

In order to perform the Agreement the US Ministry of Energy transferred 75 kg of chloride salt from the US Department national laboratory “Oak Ridge” to the Czech scientific-research institute of nuclear energy “Řež” to conduct experiments on researching new generation reactors<sup>38</sup>. US adherence to cooperation in the sphere of studying “peaceful atom” was testified by switching the reactor “Řež” to low-enriched uranium with further utilization of vestiges of high-enriched uranium in the Czech Republic. In April 2013 the US obliged to appropriate \$500 000 for financing projects in the sphere of nuclear energy together with the IAEA funding. Financial resources were intended for the Joint civil nuclear cooperation center, formation of its professional staff, holding working meetings, workshops, training events and apprenticeships. The Czech Republic was to join the project. In June 2013 the Czech Republic and the United States signed the Memorandum of understanding between the Department of the United States of America and the Ministry of education, youth and sports of the Czech Republic concerning establishment of a civil nuclear cooperation Center<sup>39</sup>. At that time the information web-server of the Czech-American Joint civic nuclear cooperation center began functioning.

The fourth meeting of the strategic dialogue the Czech Republic – the United States took place in March 2012 in Prague and was dedicated to the issues of security policy, preparation for NATO summit in Chicago and cooperation in Afghanistan. There was discussed a new agreement, which allowed Czech companies obtain the same status as the US suppliers had, what in fact meant access to the American military market and weapon. Negotiations over the Agreement had been conducted since 2008, when the project of ABM radar deployment and details of “SOFA” Agreement were discussed, however due to some circumstances the Agreement was not signed.

In April Ministers of Defense A. Vondra and L. Panetta in Brussels signed the intergovernmental Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning reciprocal defense procurement<sup>40</sup>. US Minister L. Panetta considered “the Czech Republic along with Poland to be the first Central-Eastern European states, which gained the same opportunities at weapon market as Great Britain, Germany or Israel have”. At the same time, under the Agreement army men in 2012-2013 planned to purchase military weapons and equipment in the amount of almost \$180 billion<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Schneider J. The U.S. – Czech Strategic Relationship: A Roadmap for the Future in Security and Defense. A Broken Glass or Alliance of Common Purpose Sealed by Joint Missions / Jiří Schneider // CEVRO Institute. – Report. № 2. – 2014. – S. 2-4.

<sup>39</sup> Memorandum of understanding between the Department of the United States of America, the Department of state of the United States of America and the Ministry of education, youth and sports of the Czech Republic concerning establishment of a civil nuclear cooperation Center // U.S. – Czech civil nuclear cooperation center [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://us-cz-cncc.cz/downloads/US-CZ\\_Center\\_MoU\\_signed\\_EN.PDF](http://us-cz-cncc.cz/downloads/US-CZ_Center_MoU_signed_EN.PDF)

<sup>40</sup> Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning reciprocal defense procurement // Velvyslanectví Srojených Statů Amerických [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/czech-republic/119398/Documents/RDPE-Agreement-USA-CR.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> Zbrojáři z Česka budou moci získávat v USA veřejné vojenské zakázky // Deník.cz. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.denik.cz/ze\\_sveta/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418.html](http://www.denik.cz/ze_sveta/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418.html)

“The Agreement is of crucial significance for enterprises of the military-industrial complex, as it opens the door to receive contracts at public tenders in the United States. We are among closest 21 allies, who signed this agreement with the US”, – told A. Vondra estimating the importance of the agreement<sup>42</sup>. As almost 40% of world defense expenses are put on the US, then anticipations of the Czech companies is difficult to be overestimated. L. Panetta supposes that signing the agreement on military trade became the most important event in the Czech Republic – United States relations – it is “a good step in right direction”<sup>43</sup>.

One of the most promising spheres of bilateral cooperation at this stage is offset policy<sup>44</sup>. Despite a considerable reduction of armaments after WWII sale of the Czech armaments to the US has the upper hand. If we compare flows of armaments from the Czech Republic to the US and from the Czech Republic to Canada, then in the first case it is twice as much<sup>45</sup>. Analysis of military export in 2010-2011 showed the highest figures over the whole history of CZ-US relations. Significance of such cooperation was proved by signing the Agreement between the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the United States of America for Research, Development, Testing and Evaluation Activities and Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning reciprocal defense procurement which took place in June 2013 in New York. The agreement predetermined conditions of doing business regulations for Czech exporters at the international arena, established rules for exporters and importers of armaments and applied them to all types of conventional arms, which are enlisted in the UN register (battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, large caliber artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles and missile launchers), as well as small and light arms<sup>46</sup>.

Practical functionality of the CZ-US agreement was confirmed by passing over three supersonic aircraft “L-159” in 2013<sup>47</sup>. The peculiarity of the contract was in its implementation on a confidential and non-disclosure basis. It is known that transfer of aircraft is a part of the contract with the Spanish company “EADSCASA”, which supplied equipment for the Czech air forces, what was announced by the director of the National armament bureau P. Bulant.

2014-2016 became quite fruitful for Czech-American relations if one speaks of projects implementation. Seriousness of their intentions within the frames of bilateral cooperation in

<sup>42</sup> *Ministři obrany ČR a USA podepsali Dohodu o vzájemném pořizování materiálu a služeb pro účely obrany* [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://czech.prague.usembassy.gov/dohoda-o-vzajemnem-porizovani-materialu-a-sluzeb-pro-ucely-obrany.html>

<sup>43</sup> *Zbrojáři z Česka budou moci získávat v USA veřejné vojenské zakázky* // *Deník.cz*. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.denik.cz/ze\\_sвета/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418.html](http://www.denik.cz/ze_sвета/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418.html)

<sup>44</sup> Offset is a type of compensatory agreement on military equipment, crucial condition of which is advancing a counterclaim as to investment of a part of money from the sum of a contract into economy of a country-importer.

<sup>45</sup> *Ofsetna polityka derzhav v umovakh hlobalizatsii. Otsinky ta prohnozy. Monography* / V. M. Begma, S. P. Mokliak, O. O. Sverhunov, Yu. V. Tolochnyi; Ed. by. V. M. Begma. – Kyiv: NISD, 2011. – P. 144.

<sup>46</sup> *Smlouva o obchodu se zbraněmi // MZV. Zahraniční vztahy. Bezpečnostní politika. Kontrola exportu zbraní* [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni\\_vztahy/bezpecnostni\\_politika/kontrola\\_exportu\\_zbrani/rb\\_osn\\_rezoluce/index.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/bezpecnostni_politika/kontrola_exportu_zbrani/rb_osn_rezoluce/index.html)

<sup>47</sup> *Agenda pro českou zahraniční politiku 2013* / editor Vit Dostal, Jakub Eberle, Tomáš Karasek. – Praha: Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky, 2013. – S. 32.

the sphere of energetic research was proved by the Agreement between the United States of America and the Czech Republic about Civil Research and Development Nuclear Energy, signed in Prague in March, 2014<sup>48</sup>. The joint Czech-American civil nuclear cooperation center at technical university in Prague (at the initiative of the US President, 2011) was opened. At the opening the US ambassador in the Czech Republic N. Eisen declared that “our cooperation in the sphere of civil nuclear research is an adequate form of partnership in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Within the frames of such cooperation we not only unify advanced scientific-research institutions, but also provide employment opportunities both in the United States and in the Czech Republic”<sup>49</sup>. Under the agreement expenses on the Center activity is defrayed by the states’ budgets. The USA committed to invest \$500 000 (9,95 million korunas) in 2013-2015; technical university invested almost 1 million korunas, while the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports invested 3.5 million korunas. On developments in the sphere of energy the American government planned to spend almost \$170 million<sup>50</sup>. The US Minister of Energy E. Moniz said that “almost one third of energy in the Czech Republic is nuclear, and that is why the center will become a catalyzer in the sphere of the CZ nuclear industry”<sup>51</sup>.

In Washington in April 2014 took place another symbolic opening of a new round of the strategic dialogue the Czech Republic – the USA, what contributed to research in the field of nuclear energy. At this round of the Strategic dialogue modern problems of transatlantic security system, situation in Eastern Europe and the Middle East were discussed. That year the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs V. Nuland visited Prague to elaborate position on settling situation in Ukraine, find common solutions in the sphere of European security<sup>52</sup>. Fruitful cooperation between the Czech Republic and the United States facilitated during the following period.

Therefore, the character and essence of Czech-American relations have been changing forms and significance for each party in the course of their formation. The highest level of support the United States has been demonstrating in the process of integration of the Czech Republic into the Alliance and planning to deploy ABM systems in the Czech Republic. Investment and political support provided to the Czech Republic at the initial phases of state building was a kind of a ground for loyalty in the state’s foreign policy and readiness to support global

<sup>48</sup> Agreement Between the United States of America and the Czech Republic about Civil Research and Development Nuclear Energy Signed at Prague March 26, 2014 // Nuclear energy Civil Research and Development [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/227387.pdf>

<sup>49</sup> Američtí vědci věnují miliony dolarů na jadernou spolupráci s ČR // Američtí vědci věnují miliony dolarů na jadernou spolupráci s ČR [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://czech.prague.usembassy.gov/cesko-americka-spoluprace-v-oblasti-jaderné-energie.htm>

<sup>50</sup> United States and Czech Republic Establish a Joint Civil Nuclear Cooperation Center in Prague // ENERGY.GOV [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://energy.gov/articles/united-states-and-czech-republic-establish-joint-civil-nuclear-cooperation-center-prague>

<sup>51</sup> US, Czechs open joint research centre for civil nuclear co-operation in Prague // The Associated Press. – March 26, 2014 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.princegeorgecitizen.com/news/business/us-czechs-open-joint-research-centre-for-civil-nuclear-co-operation-in-prague-1.920658#sthash.oA4psiPs.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> Pojar T. Czech-American Relations and Support of Liberal Democratic Forces Around the Globe: Another Argument Why It Should Be In the US Interest to Forget (Central) Europe / Tomáš Pojar // CEVRO Institute research [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.cevroinstitut.cz/upload/ck/files/PCTR/Publikace/Policy%20paper\\_Pojar.pdf](http://www.cevroinstitut.cz/upload/ck/files/PCTR/Publikace/Policy%20paper_Pojar.pdf)

leader's decisions. In 2007 when the US offered the Czech Republic to deploy missile defense system, their interests were much the same and established the basis for further "road-map" for mutual cooperation. Signing of treaties with the USA in the sphere of military industry and trade allowed the Czech Republic to modernize military forces, industry and trade, and traditions to conduct bilateral discussions within the frame of the Strategic dialogue raised the level of responsibility and general grounds for further mutual activity between a small state and a global leader.

### References

1. Agenda pro českou zahraniční politiku 2011 / ed. V. Dostal, T. Karasek, M. Thim. – Praha : Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky, 2011. – S. 32.
2. Agenda pro českou zahraniční politiku 2013 / ed. V. Dostal, J. Eberle, T. Karasek. – Praha : Asociace pro mezinárodní otázky, 2013. – S. 32.
3. Agreement between the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of the United States of America for Research, Development, Testing and Evaluation Activities. 2010-06-10 Brusel. // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/encyklopedie\\_statu/severni\\_amerika/usa/smlouvy/index.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/encyklopedie_statu/severni_amerika/usa/smlouvy/index.html)
4. Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning Anti-ballistic Missile Defense cooperation // U.S. Department of State [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/137119.pdf>.
5. Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Czech Republic concerning reciprocal defence procurement // Velvyslanectví Srojených Statů Amerických [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/czech-republic/119398/Documents/RDPE-Agreement-USA-CR.pdf>
6. Agreement Between the United States and the Czech Republic on Establishing a United States Anti-ballistic Missile Defence Radar Site in the Czech Republic // Government of the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <https://www.fas.org/irp/news/2008/07/radar.pdf>.
7. Agreement Between the United States of America and the Czech Republic for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, signed at Prague September 6, 2007 (the S&T Agreement) [Electronic resource] // U.S. Department of States. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/130461.pdf>.
8. Agreement Between the United States of America and the Czech Republic about Civil Research and Development Nuclear Energy Signed at Prague March 26, 2014 // Nuclear energy Civil Research and Development [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/227387.pdf>

9. Američtí vědci věnují miliony dolarů na jadernou spolupráci s ČR // Američtí vědci věnují miliony dolarů na jadernou spolupráci s ČR [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://czech.prague.usembassy.gov/cesko-americka-spoluprace-v-oblasti-jaderne-energie.htm>
10. Cabada L. Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in world politics / Ladislav Cabada, Šárka Waisová. – Lanham [etc.] : Lexington Books, 2011. – 221 s.
11. Calda M. Česko-americké vztahy: od vzdálené alternativy k blízkému spolenectví / M. Calda // Pick O., Handl V. (eds.) a kol. Zahraniční politika České republiky 1993–2004: úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy. – Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů 2004. – S. 93–98.
12. Češi se přiblížili zrušení víz do USA // IHNED.cz. 02.11.2007 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://zpravy.ihned.cz/c1-22344690>
13. Česká republika a USA budou spolupracovat v oblasti jaderné energetiky [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://www.tretiruka.cz/news/ceska-republika-a-usa-budou-spolupracovat-v-oblasti-jaderne-energetiky/>.
14. Česká zahraniční politika v roce 2010: Analýza ÚMV / eds. Michal Kořan. – Praha : Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2011. – 383 s.
15. Christensen S. The Post-Missile Defense Era in U.S.-Czech Relations / Stephen Christensen [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.youngtca.org/?p=438>
16. Declaration on strategic cooperation in defense between the Czech Republic and the United States // Embassy of the United States in the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.aic.cz/press/Declaration\\_on\\_strategic\\_defense\\_cooperation.pdf](http://www.aic.cz/press/Declaration_on_strategic_defense_cooperation.pdf).
17. Ditrych O. More Europe, More Security. How the Czech Republic should respond to the U.S. strategic shift / Ondřej Ditrych // EUROPEUM Policy Brief. Audust, 2012 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.europeum.org/images/paper/pb\\_ditrych.pdf](http://www.europeum.org/images/paper/pb_ditrych.pdf).
18. Drulák P., Střítecký V. Hledání Českých zájmů. Mezinárodní bezpečnost / P. Drulák, V. Střítecký. – Ústav mezinárodních vztahů. Praha, 2010. – 201 s.
19. Hynek N. Konflikt a obnova v Afghánistánu: kontext, prostředí a zájmy / Hynek Nik, Eichler Jan a Majerník Lubomír.
20. KFOR – mirove operace 1999 – 2/2002, Kosovo, 980 přešlušniků (2004). Retrieved April 25, 2009 // Ministerstvo obrany České republiky [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=3709>. –
21. Khol R. Česka bezpečnostní politika 1993-2004 / R. Khol // Pick O., Handl V. (Eds.). Zahraniční politika České republiky 1993–2004. Úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy. – Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2004. – S. 38-51.
22. Memorandum of understanding between the Department of the United States of America, the Department of state of the United States of America and the Ministry of education, youth and sports of the Czech Republic concerning establishment of a civil nuclear cooperation Center // U.S. – Czech civil nuclear cooperation center [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://us-cz-cncc.cz/downloads/US-CZ\\_Center\\_MoU\\_signed\\_EN.PDF](http://us-cz-cncc.cz/downloads/US-CZ_Center_MoU_signed_EN.PDF).

23. Ministři obrany ČR a USA podepsali Dohodu o vzájemném pořizování materiálu a služeb pro účely obrany [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://czech.prague.usembassy.gov/dohoda-o-vzajemnem-porizovani-materialu-a-sluzeb-pro-ucely-obrany.html>
24. Offsets and Defense Procurement in the Czech Republic: A Case Study / Jomana Amara, Petr Pargac // Journal European Security. – Vol. 18, Issue 1. – March 2009. – P. 63–80.
25. Ort A. Česká zahraniční politika / A. Ort. – Plzeň : Aleš Čeněk, 2005. – S. 17-20.
26. Pick O. Zahraniční politika České republiky, 1993–2004. Úspěchy, problémy a perspektivy / Otto Pick, Vladimír Handl. – 1 vydání. – Praha : Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, 2004. – 268 s.
27. Pojar T. Czech-American Relations and Support of Liberal Democratic Forces Around the Globe: Another Argument Why It Should Be In the US Interest to Forget (Central) Europe / Tomáš Pojar // CEVRO Institute research [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.cevroinstitut.cz/upload/ck/files/PCTR/Publikace/Policy%20paper\\_Pojar.pdf](http://www.cevroinstitut.cz/upload/ck/files/PCTR/Publikace/Policy%20paper_Pojar.pdf)
28. PRT Logar projects (2008–2012) // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. 30.11.2012. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/foreign\\_relations/development\\_cooperation\\_and\\_humanitarian/bilateral\\_development\\_cooperation/programme\\_countries/afghanistan\\_1/prt\\_logar\\_projects\\_2008\\_2012.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/foreign_relations/development_cooperation_and_humanitarian/bilateral_development_cooperation/programme_countries/afghanistan_1/prt_logar_projects_2008_2012.html)
29. Remarks by President Barack Obama / Prague, the Czech Republic. – The White House, Washington D. C. – April 5, 2009 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered/)
30. Report on the foreign policy of the Czech Republic 2007. – Ministry of foreign affairs. – Prague, 2008 – 390 s.
31. Report to the Congress on the Military Requirements and Costs of NATO Enlargement // Journal of International Security Assistance Management. – 1998. – Vol. 20, №. 3. – P. 776–779.
32. Schneider J. The U.S. – Czech Strategic Relationship: A Roadmap for the Future in Security and Defense. A Broken Glass or Alliance of Common Purpose Sealed by Joint Missions / J. Schneider // CEVRO Institute. – Report. – 2014 – № 2. – 4s.
33. Smlouva o obchodu se zbraněmi // MZV. Zahraniční vztahy. Bezpečnostní politika. Kontrola exportu zbraní [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni\\_vztahy/bezpecnostni\\_politika/kontrola\\_exportu\\_zbrani/rb\\_osn\\_rezolute/index.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/bezpecnostni_politika/kontrola_exportu_zbrani/rb_osn_rezolute/index.html)
34. Strategický dialog ČR – USA // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/udalosti\\_a\\_media/archiv\\_zprav/rok\\_2010/x2010\\_01\\_13\\_strategicky\\_dialog\\_cr\\_usa.htm](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/udalosti_a_media/archiv_zprav/rok_2010/x2010_01_13_strategicky_dialog_cr_usa.htm)
35. Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989. 101 US Congress // House of Representatives. Conference. – Report. 17 November, 1989. – Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989. – 53 s.
36. Svoboda chce pro Česko protiraketový deštník // Právo. – 31.7.2003. – S. 6.

37. Třetí kolo Strategického dialogu ČR – USA // Embassy of the United States in the Czech Republic [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://prague.usembassy.gov/2014-us-czech-strategic-dialogue.html>
38. United States and Czech Republic Establish a Joint Civil Nuclear Cooperation Center in Prague // ENERGY.GOV [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://energy.gov/articles/united-states-and-czech-republic-establish-joint-civil-nuclear-cooperation-center-prague>
39. US, Czechs open joint research centre for civil nuclear co-operation in Prague // The Associated Press. – March 26, 2014 [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.princegeorgecitizen.com/news/business/us-czechs-open-joint-research-centre-for-civil-nuclear-co-operation-in-prague-1.920658#sthash.oA4psiPs>
40. Zahraniční politika České republiky. – Data, 02/2008 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o\\_ministerstvu/uredni\\_deska/archivy/mesicnik\\_zahranicni\\_politika\\_ceske](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o_ministerstvu/uredni_deska/archivy/mesicnik_zahranicni_politika_ceske).
41. Zahraniční politika České republiky. – Data, 04–08/2007 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o\\_ministerstvu/uredni\\_deska/archivy/mesicnik\\_zahranicni\\_politika\\_ceske](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/o_ministerstvu/uredni_deska/archivy/mesicnik_zahranicni_politika_ceske)
42. Zbrojaři z Česka budou moci získávat v USA veřejné vojenské zakázky // Deník.cz. [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.denik.cz/ze\\_sveta/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418](http://www.denik.cz/ze_sveta/zbrojari-z-ceska-budou-moci-ziskavat-v-usa-verejne-vojenske-zakazky-20120418)
43. Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2001 do prosince 2001. – Praha : Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2002. – 457 s.
44. Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2002 do prosince 2002. – Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2003. – 395 s.
45. Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2003 do prosince 2003. – Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2004. – 432 s.
46. Zpráva o zahraniční politice České republiky za období od ledna 2004 do prosince 2004. – Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 2005. – 430 s.
47. Zpráva o zahraniční politice ČR 1998–1999 // Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí ČR [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: [http://www.mzv.cz/file/415493/Zprava1998\\_1999.pdf](http://www.mzv.cz/file/415493/Zprava1998_1999.pdf).
48. Ofsetna polityka derzhav v umovakh hlobalizatsii. Otsinky ta prohnozy. Monography / V. M. Begma, S. P. Mokliak, O. O. Sverhunov, Yu. V. Tolochnyi; Ed. by . V. M. Begma. – Kyiv: NISD, 2011. – 352 p.