

***HIT-TO-KILL (SCREENPLAY)**

(2009, 65 min.); written/directed/edited by Tjaša Kancler; camera by Roberto Gant; sound/music by Bronislaw Szalanski; web programming by Pau Artigas; <http://www.hit-to-kill.net/>

Interviews with:

Katarzyna Puzon, Dr.Roman Kuźniar, Andrew Zebrowski, Ellisiv Ronglien, Filip Ilkowsky, Jerzy Wroniszewski, Jana Glivická, Jan Májíček, Dr.Erazim Kohák, Dr.Miroslav Hroch, Radim Válečník, Josef Hála, Václav Novotný, Eva Novotná, Martina Landergott, Roman Janouch, Dr.Marina Gržinić, Dr.Santiago López Petit.

Archive footage:

08/07/2008

Associated Press / CNN / Reuters / Pentagon Channel

17/09/2009

Associated Press / CNN / Russia Today / Al Jazeera / CCTV9

Frederick Wiseman: Missile, 1987

Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

Ne Základnám: Protest against the U.S. Radar, 05/04/2009

Greenpeace, Mám cíl, nebyť cíl, 01/05/2008, kóte 718, Brdy

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Hit-to-Kill emphasizes political and strategic elements of the deployment of U.S. antimissile shield in Europe, entailing a dialogue between concepts such as security, global dominance, democracy, propaganda and resistance.

SCREENPLAY:

Fragment 1

Driving through the Warsaw business centre

Voice over: Santiago López Petit, philosopher, (Spain)

“Global age means global capitalism which starts symbolically with September 11, 2001; global capitalism means that reality has become completely capitalist. The global age is a time of uncertainty, anything can happen anywhere in the world. The discourse of security is that which has permitted the reconstruction of the Nation-State in crisis and, in the form of “War Against Terrorism,” has allowed unthinkable legislation to be introduced. You can do everything then; the discourse of protection in the background is the other side of the discourse of control.”

Fragment 2

Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

Every new dawn there is an opportunity to realize new ideas, reach new heights of accomplishment and strengthen traditional foundations. Americans and their friends and allies have a long history of creating innovations that enhance the quality of life for all men kind. These friendly nations contain ground for metal resources, rich agricultural land, and prosperous commerce centres, although separated by national boundaries, and geographic barriers, the people of this different lands are bounded by ancestry, common ideals, shared ethics, celebrated cultures and the desire for peace and freedom. But the threats to our society still arise and take up new forms. Among the greatest threats we face today are weapons of mass destruction launched on ballistic missiles.

Fragment 3

Associated Press: fragment from the news, 08/07/2008

Condoleezza Rice’s speech after signing the Missile Defense Agreement in Czech Republic on 8th of July 2008.

“Most importantly we face with the Iranians and so do our allies and friends, a growing missile threat that is getting ever longer and ever deeper, and where the Iranian appetite for nuclear technology as to this point is still unchecked.”

Demonstrations against the U.S. Radar, organized by No Bases Initiative in Czech Republic on 8th of July 2008.

We listen to the introduction of the speech given by one of the activist from No Bases Initiative. She is holding a puppet of Condoleezza Rice in her hands and saying:

“Welcome!

I am very happy that we can ask you some questions. Are you ready? I guess so.

Madam Minister, we, the citizens of the Czech republic, wanted to ask you how it is possible that the country, which is exporting democracy and justice worldwide, is not respecting the fact that 70% of the Czech population do not want your bases here, how is this possible?

Thank you!

In continuation, split screen; Reuters, CNN, AP, Pentagon TV reporting on the signing of the agreement between USA, Czech Republic and Poland in summer, 2008.

Text that appears below the images is saying:

In summer 2008, the Missile Defense Agreement was signed between the U.S./ Czech and U.S./Polish governments to ensure as it was termed “our common security”.

Fragment 4

Interview with Ellisiv Ronglien, Stop War Initiative (Poland)

“I think after the agreement was signed by the Government, it did not get ratified by the Parliament and I think there was a period of kind of wait and see from the Government side, to see what will happen in the U.S. elections and what the possible new administration will come out with when it comes to this program. And in the way this situation is still what’s there because there is still this wait and see attitude from the Government and also that means that there is much less debate in the media and much less going on around the issue of the so called antimissile shield.

But when it comes to what Obama actually has said, and what’s the new situation, there’s definitely not like some people may think or hope that they put this project completely on the shelf, or to the side. They are still having it open to the continuation, I’m sure, with their research and with their money going into this project. And Obama has said that as long as the threat is there from Iran this project is absolutely necessary. But at the same time nothing concrete is happening. So I think also for them in a way is a wait and see situation, that they also are discussing with Russia, you know, other possible ways, maybe a radar in Azerbaijan.”

Chapter 1: The Politics of Security

Fragment 5

Voice over: Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst, (Poland)

“The missile defence is the right answer to the hostile enemy missiles; short, medium range, long distant range, and we all know that the whole idea of the missile defence started during the Cold War time in the 60’.”

Images from the U.S. newsreel: Universal News/Snark Missile Test, 1. intercontinental ballistic missile, (1957) and Operation Dew Line; Secretary Defense Wilson on tour of top secret bases. This 50s newsreel features stories on the building of radar defenses in the Arctic and the testing of first intercontinental missiles.

Voice over of the reporter

“With rocket booster blasting the Northrop Snark is heading over the ocean, once it reaches top speed, the awesome missile drops the rocket booster, cruises along on its engine, when the booster hit, duck....(*explosion of the rocket*).

Voice over: Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst, (Poland)

We see the images of the signature of the ABM Treaty, between Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972, some of the failed missile tests within the U.S. research and development program of missile defense and afterwards the graphic presentation of SDI program, so called “Star wars” program that was initiated during the Reagan Administration in the 80s.

“So history is relatively long. It is quite good answer to the threats coming from the enemy missiles, and then the question comes, what kind of missile defence? There are plenty; we remember that there was a Soviet and then American idea at the late 60s, and the compromise that was found upon to limit it in the ABM Treaty, the first one. Then is the SDI project, completely different one, the purpose of the SDI project launched once by Ronald Reagan in the 80s was to bring Soviet Union to the collapse. To become so strong, to built such a strategic supremacy that the Soviets would not be able to match and...this happened, this was not obviously the only reason but it helped enormously”.

Ronald Reagan announces SDI, on 23rd of March, 1983

“I’m announcing the plan today, to revitalize our strategic forces, and maintain America’s ability to keep the peace well into the next century. Our plan is a comprehensive one.”

In continuation, voice over, Ronald Reagan. We see images of the massive protests in England and Germany in 1983, against the deployment of nuclear missiles in western Germany. Following with the fragment from the Frederick Wisseman film from 1987, Missile. The text says; QUITE TRAINING IN PROGRESS, and we see the American soldiers, at Vandenberg base in California, learning how to insert the launch keys that activate the launching of the ballistic missiles.

“It will strengthen and modernize the strategic tirade of land based missiles, sea based missiles and bombers. It will end a longstanding delays in some of this programs, and introduce new elements into the others, and just as important it will improve communications and control systems that are vital to the strategic forces. This program will achieve 3 objectives:

_it will act as a deterrent against any Soviet actions directed against the American people or our allies,

_it will provide us with the capability to respond with reasonable cost and with adequate time to any further growth in Soviet forces,

_it will signal our result, to maintain the strategic balance, and this is a key stone to any genuine arms reduction agreements with the Soviets.

Let me point out here that this is strategic program, that America can afford.”

The film of Frederick Wiseman is continuing. The American soldiers are learning how to use the launch control clock when inserting the launch keys for the activation of ballistic missiles.

The tutor is asking two soldiers, that are going through the training program, showing the clock on the wall:

“What time is it?”

Then he displace the pointer on the clock and asks again:

“What time is it now?”

Fragment 6

Warsaw. Old Coffee house. Slavoj Zizek is having a conference on Marxism and Cristianism.

The voice is coming from the speaker and the building is crowded. There was no place left in the room where he had a speech, so we remained in the big hall downstairs, listening to and watching him on the screen.

Voice over: Slavoj Zizek, philosopher, (Slovenia)

“I think that the Popperian era is over. The future is Berlusconi, I think. The future is this totally ridiculous power which is in reality no less ruthless, a kind of dream of, how should I put it, depoliticized postpolitical capitalism, which will be at the same time still very permissive, but precisely, where one shouldn't be permissive, in a wrong way. You know, like, you can have sex with dogs and goats whatever you want that's your problem, but, this private permissivity will be part of the very regulated society, society almost on the edge of, some kind of emergency state. So again, we should start to ask radical questions, not radical in the sense of; we need radical in the whole solution, but radical in the sense of questioning the very fundamentals.”

In the next shot- close up- we see the message on the mobile phone, saying:

“I'm sorry to write you that Slavoj Zizek cannot give you the interview due to other obligations while staying in Poland, my best regards, Karolina Walecnik-Krytyka Polityczna

Fragment 7

We start a trip to Redzikowo with Katarzyna Puzon (Stop War Initiative), driving out from Warsaw.

Then, split screen: 4 videos running at the same time. We see polish landscapes, construction on the road, and other details, while we are driving through cities and villages towards Redzikowo. Those images are juxtaposed to the others, showing Warsaw's business centre and advertisement, excavator working on construction field just next to the (Josef Stalin) Palace of Culture and Science, the symbol of past communist time, the activists calling for a referendum, and an activist speaking on a

demonstration in Słupsk, that took place on 20th of August, 2008, when Polish Government signed the Agreement.

We hear him saying:

“We invite all who oppose to this kind of manipulation of democracy in Poland”

Afterwards we see Andrew Zebrowski (Stop War Initiative) standing at the entrance to the Metro Centrum, located under the Parade Square in Warsaw, where Polish activists meet every Saturday to collect signatures for the referendum on antimissile shield. He is inviting people who are coming out of the subway, saying:

“For a referendum on anti-missile shield! *and showing at the small table, where it is possible to sign a petition.*

The split screen changes to one video running at time and we are again in the car with Katarzyna Puzon passing through Gdynia. We see a gas station Statoil, commercial centre Kaufland, suburbs...meanwhile we are approaching Redzikowo.

Voice over: Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

Also the plan under Clinton had this component of strategic defence which is against intercontinental incoming ballistic missiles holding nukes, but then they wanted to develop this in accordance somehow with the ABM, the Treaty that they signed with the Soviets in 1972. But finally, as we know, Bill Clinton decided not to continue, he decided to discontinue the whole thing and to let his successor to decide whether to go for it or not.

George Bush: Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

Americans and its allies face a deadly threat from ballistic missiles armed with the world's most dangerous weapons, and we will deploy the technologies necessary to protect our people.

Voice over: Roman Kuzniar

And obviously, as we know very well, the Bush Administration eagerly, with enthusiasm accepted it. Because Clinton was developing this project under the pressure of the extreme right, Republican right in the Congress which had at that time the majority in the Congress, and which wanted the administration to go for it, why? Mainly because the missile defense is a big business.

Voice over: Katarzyna Puzon, Stop War Initiative (Poland)

While she is speaking we arrive to Redzikowo and leave the car on the lake shore.

“It can be seen from two sides. On the one hand, you can see it like a kind of danger that is right around the corner, but on the other hand, you can be persuaded that you have been chosen. It's you, it's your town (Słupsk/Redzikowo, Poland), you know, there are so many places, but it's your town, there are so many other towns that could benefit from this, but it's your town. I think this kind of discourse was present from the very beginning, in the media as well. (We were just promised so many things, it

was a question of visa, of being a friend of a superpower, and many issues were raised, look at Iraq!”)

Fragment 8

Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

The missile defense Agency employs several test ranges such as Hawaii specific missile range facility, Reagan test site on the U.S. Army Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands, New Mexico white sands missile range, Vandenberg Air Force Base in California in addition to Fort Greely and Kodiak Alaska. Global test platforms such as Wass, Hilo and Mats complement the range sensor suits by adding greater depth to data collection and analysis. Currently under lab and flight testing the airborne laser is a rapidly deployable boost-phased defense capability that can engage all ranges of ballistic missiles in a successful series of tests, the ABL demonstrated that it is capable of achieving the power levels necessary to destroy a ballistic missile.

Fragment 9

We are following Katarzyna through the small forest, from the lake to the block of flats in Redzikowo, where, afterwards, we meet the village leader.

Voice over: Erazim Kohak, philosopher (Czech Republic)

So, there is an interest in building the shield. The mere fact that it doesn't work, that it doesn't protect us and that we don't know against whom we need to be protected anyway, that doesn't matter. We are going to build it because it provides us with contracts.

The first question whenever there is a new weapon, the first question is how do you protect yourself against it, and the image of the umbrella, we want to put the umbrella, so the evil Russian rockets cannot hit us.

Of course, it always starts with fear, so we create an artificial sense of security. If I depend on my control of others, then as long as there is anyone whom I don't control I will feel threatened. Personal acts out of fear. Classic example of this was Stalin. Stalin was very badly paranoid, Germans have the term Abwehr Psychose, the defensive psychosis. Stalin felt threatened by anyone whom he did not control, and I am afraid that the United States, since Reagan has been going in that direction. The feeling that the only country that is safe is the country where America has a base, which America controls.

Sound of the street, car passing by, Katarzyna is approaching the shop where she meets Jerzy Wroniszewski, the village leader:

Fragment 10

Interview with Jerzy Wroniszewski (village leader of Redzikowo)

Prime Minister Tusk was here and he promised to give us a sum of money for the heat insulation of these blocks of flats. The works are to begin at the end of May. And we'll also get some more help because there is Redzikowo village there.

Katarzyna Puzon: How far is it to the military base from here?

900 metres. We're at the edge of the airport. The military housing estate is also about 800-900 metres from here. So, the distance from both housing estates to the military base is the same. You know that they will install the shield here, don't you?

Fragment 11

Interview with an older woman who lives in the area

Katarzyna Puzon: What do you think about the installation of the anti-missile shield?

W: It doesn't depend on us. I think the decision was taken long ago and at a much higher level. Maybe it would be good, then our block of flats would be insulated against cold. Prime Minister Tusk visited us and he promised to give funds for it. This block of flat was painted and there was scaffolding, but it was dismantled and now we are waiting for the heat insulation. The village leader lives here, so he met with him. The Prime Minister said he would fulfill his promise. The shield is to be located here, nearby. It will be there near... There used to be an army unit, an airport, and you could hear the drone all the time, but now it's peaceful and quiet.

Katarzyna Puzon: And the development of the school?

We are driving through the village, passing the school near by...

W: We have school; there is a beautiful school nearby. A gymnasium.

Katarzyna Puzon: Was it built thanks to Prime Minister Tusk ?

W: No, no, no. It was here before. The plan of an aqua park came later. It is being built now. And a ring road, too. Yes, the ring road.

Katarzyna Puzon: The works have begun quite recently?

W: It has been being built for over a year.

Fragment 12

Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

How are the United States and its global partners preparing to protect themselves against such deadly attacks?

We see images of different hit-to-kill tests and military trainings

"First target is destroyed" , says one of the soldiers

4,3,2,1 fire authorized...

They launch a ballistic missile that we see flying over the sky...

The next shot is showing the image that we filmed at the entrance to the Polish military base in Redzikowo, which might be in the future the U.S. base for the ten silo-based long-range missile defense interceptors, part of the U.S. antimissile shield project. From there we cross Redzikowo village and drive through the area where they are constructing a highway, a ring road.

Voice over: Jan Majicek, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

To catch ten rockets you have to launch 100 anti-missiles. So it's 1 to 10 to catch something. And we exactly don't know what will be the results of this contact between the two missiles. It's one of the very important questions, and problem is that nobody really tested it, because it is impossible, you know, to really launch a nuclear missile and try to hit it and destroy it. The supporters of the system told us that it will be burnt in the atmosphere, that nothing will touch the earth, that nothing will fall from the sky because everything will be burnt. But on the other side there are scientists who say that there will be of course some pollution and radiation, some fallout from this hitting the nuclear material.

Fragment 13

Interview with Jerzy Wroniszewski (village leader of Redzikowo)

Wroniszewski: On 28th the Prime Minister visited us.

Katarzyna Puzon: In April?

Wroniszewski: No no no, in August last year. Well, the Prime Minister clearly stated "*Gentlemen, the anti-missile shield will be here. As compensation you can ask for whatever you want*". Then there was a discussion and I finally said: "*Prime Minister, since you are the boss it would be good if you talked to the people in concrete terms*". After a short talk with his adviser Nowak, the Prime Minister announced that they would come to Redzikowo on 28th August. When they arrived, we showed them the airport. The apron, hangars and we visited my district. Then we went to Słupsk for the meeting in the amphitheatre. There the Prime Minister buttoned everything up and clarified the whole situation. Well, things calmed down after the visit of the Prime Minister. The situation was clear to us. And then the US ambassador visited us and also explained everything, he knew a lot. And now...

Katarzyna Puzon: And what did you think then? Things calmed down here, but maybe you believed that nothing can be done? Were the arguments convincing?

Voice over, Jerzy Wroniszewski (village leader of Redzikowo)

Split screen. Two videos juxtaposed. The first image is showing the activists located under the Parade Square at Metro Centrum in Warsaw, collecting signatures for the referendum. On the other we see the demonstrations that took place last summer on 20th of August 2008 when Condoleezza Rice was visiting Warsaw and the deal was signed.

Well, the Prime Minister was clear about the installation of the shield and we understood that there are no chances to win. I realized and said that the government made the decision without us. As for the referendum, I can tell you one thing: why weren't they to do like in the US? The government decided about the rocket silos, didn't they? The same thing happened here, they took a decision for the nation. There is no fight because everything has become clear. If a referendum was held, people wouldn't agree to have rocket silos in Poland.

Fragment 14

Interview with two women fishing on the lake shore in Redzikowo

Katarzyna Puzon: How did the people react?

W1: Some people are for and some are against. But they are right saying that it won't do any good to us.

Katarzyna Puzon: Were there any protests organized here?

W1: We haven't seen any.

W2: Look I can't find any decent corn.

Katarzyna: Did you receive any information about the shield? Why do they plan to install it here? What for?

W1: Well, I don't know. They have chosen this place because it was an empty airport area.

Katarzyna Puzon: But the airport is on the way to Redzikowo?

W2: Yes, you have to go to Redzikowo. To the housing estate.

There is a small street there and it's about 100 meters to the gate, you can't enter this place. Yes, it must be somewhere here.

Actually, it is just next to the housing estate.

There is only this small street and how long can it be? 100 metres? It is as long as the distance from the bridge to the end of the pond. Such a distance isn't a big distance. Who is this interview for?

Fragment 14

Interview with Katarzyna Puzon (Stop War Initiative) in Redzikowo

And while giving the examples of Iran and Russia it's very easy. Because obviously we have bad experience with Russians, and many people still perceive them as a kind of enemy. I don't really believe that personally, and the second thing is Iran. So the country can use easily the arguments for the deployment of the antimissile shield here, because you know, you've got wars going on in the middle east, you know what is going on in Iran, and with all this terrorists etc,..well Iran is not given as a typical example, but still, ... this region is pretty much dangerous, the most aggressive countries, aggressive-how they are presented by the media and used very easily to say why we want to have it here, it's such a manipulation actually, it all about that.

At the end of the interview with Katarzyna there is a transition while she is speaking, and we see her appear on the screen of the computer. Her interview is being reproduced, showed on the meeting with Czech activists a month after, when we visited Czech Republic. The meeting took place in Chinese restaurant where they usually meet on Wednesdays. The images show the activists from No Bases Initiative watching the interview. From this point we continue our trip to visit the area of the "future" Radar base which, if once decided will be placed in the region Brdy just 40km outside of Prague.

Chapter 2: The quest for global dominance

Fragment 15

We are driving in the car, with two activists from No Bases Initiative which are guiding us from Prague to the Brdy area. On the way we interviewed Jana Glivicka.

Interview with Jana Glivicka, No Bases Initiative, (Czech Republic)

For me it was really horrible when I found out that there is such a huge number of U.S. bases all around the world. Because until the time that there were no negotiations around this Czech base, no one talked about this, I really wasn't aware as I think most of the people in the world. So when I found out that there is 1000 military, 100?, yes, 1000 military bases all around the world it seems horrible, because it's not something natural, I think that the biggest problem is that many people who know about this think that it is natural, because U.S. is this only superpower in the world and it is natural to have the U.S. bases all around the world, and its soldiers, so as they could react and, you know, they have combat troops everywhere and within 12 hours they can be in Afganistan...

Voice over: Jan Majicek, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

We see another fragment of the video A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense (Missile Defense Agency) showing some of the already existing elements of the anti-missile shield infrastructure, while Jan Majicek is pointing out the importance of the U.S. military bases in Europe.

The United States has a lot of military bases in Germany, in Great Britain, they have it in Spain, some in Italy, and they would like to enlarge this military presence on Central and Eastern Europe, which is quite important for the strategic reason of encircling Russia. And it is not just about having particularly this system, but anything, just to have the military presence here.

Missile Defense Agency: A Day in the Life of Global Ballistic Missile Defense

Ground based early warning radars detect and track potential threats, then communicate their data to command centres. Located at the extreme western end of the Alaska Aleutian Islands chain is the upgraded Cobra DM Radar. It monitors a two thousand mile corridor that expands over South East Asia and the Pacific rim. In the United Kingdom, the Fylingdale's Radar three sided contour covers a full 360 degrees, surveying deep into Europe against potential mid-eastern threats and over the Atlantic Ocean. California's Beale Air Force Base is the site for one of the pave paws early warning radars. It's software and hardware have been significantly upgraded to provide superior threat recognition and tracking capabilities.

Fragment 16

Interview with Marina Grzinic, philosopher and artist (Slovenia)

It's about provoking a certain war, it's about having a very clear deregulative politics in the background, but also, I would like to make a quotation (Andrew Ross) that practically where they are installed, all over the world, they are also there to get this data concerning demography, maps, routes of migrations, sites of hunger, and

practically it's a certain doctrine to prevent the war, but on the other part we see that , that this prevention is also to take the advantage of this data and actually provoke the war. Why? Because capitalism works constantly with deregulation. This idea of a balance between offensive and defensive policy is actually a fake one. So it works and lives from, in one way, of getting this sensitive data and then provoking the war, because then through this other, so to call, complexes of industry that are vital not only for USA, but also for Europe, especially the developed Europe, is actually then implemented, and from there they are making an extra profit, they got works and so on.

Fragment 17

Voice over: Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

The video is showing a big anti-war graffiti on one of the buildings in Prague city centre that we filmed while staying there. The image is composed by tanks and excavators and refers to the constant, endless cycle of destruction and reconstruction within (global) capitalism.

Roman Kuzniar: So the interest of big business and the ideology of American hegemony throughout the 21st century combined and then they started to develop this. But they started to develop the global one, i.e., the global missile defense system, the one which, when constructed, credible and reliable, would give the United States a strategic hegemony, not even primacy, but hegemony for decades to come.

Fragment 18

Split screen; the first video is showing the entrance in Czech Republic passing Austrian-Czech former check point, and continuing our trip to Prague. The other video is showing villages and landscapes around the Brdy region while we are approaching to the military base area where the U.S. Radar was to be built.

On our way to Misov (Brdy) with Jana Glivicka and Vaclav Novotny, both from No Bases initiative, we stopped in Pribram to make an interview with Josef Halá, the mayor of Jince, and a member of the League of Mayors against Radar.

Voice over: Josef Hala, mayor of Jince (Czech Republic)

In January 2007, the first day after their appointment actually, the government announced their intention to build a Radar in the Czech Republic.

We were a bit shocked, because for 15 years we were sure, that there won't be any foreign bases, as the government in 1990 has promised. This was a big turn, we were surprised and we presumed that the Parliament and the Senate will give their opinion on this, and that they will stop this vision.

The government has announced their intention that the Radar will be in the military area of Brdy, which is a region, that is very precious, as far as nature, animals and flora are concerned. Shocking was the fact, that in the nearby area (it is about 50 km from Prague and 40 km from Plzen, the main regional town) hundreds of thousands of people are living, not mentioning the actual Brdy region, where tenths of thousands people are living, for example in the regional town of Pribram about 35 000 people.

Fragment 19

Interview with Jana Glivicka, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

Jana Glivicka: interview in the car, while we are driving towards the military area in Brdy.

That is not the world that we would like it, after the Cold War in Czech Republic, or at that time in Czechoslovakia. There was the feeling that we now have no big brother, we sent last Soviet soldiers home, and one of the demands of the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989 in the Czech Republic was, No More Foreign Troops, No More Foreign Soldiers. Over the last 20 years, this gradually changed; and those people like Václav Havel, our first president, who in the beginning of 1990s was talking about the dissolution of NATO (saying that if we do not have the Warsaw Pact anymore, then we don't need NATO), was in fact one of the architects of our membership in NATO. So all this is gradually changing towards some feeling that it is natural, and that Europe is naturally the closest ally of the United States, no matter what the United States does. They could attack Afghanistan, they attacked Iraq, which according to the United Nations is an illegal war, but we do not care about this, we participate in these wars, and no one doubts it.

Fragment 20

Interview with Josef Hala, the Mayor of Jince (Czech Republic)

Jana Glivicka: Another thing came to my mind,...when it became evident, that the people do not want the Radar to be placed in Brdy, the Government has started to offer things, such as, that because Brdy is an neglected area, they would subsidy a billion and a half CZK to it. The latest news is that the Government has changed its mind, and the mayors that have started developing some projects are now left behind and nobody knows what to do next. Why has the Government promised the money and now saying, you don't get anything, as if it has been some tactics?

Josef Hala: The Government did not know how to handle the League of the Mayors, various methods failed on their side, so they tried to throw money among us, for some to reach them and others not being able to reach. So they have traced out an area about 10km, and granted those villages about half a billion CZK. Paradoxically, this was not Czech money. They have promised money from the European Union, while they still haven't had their contracts with the EU signed. They have taken 250 millions for the reparation of the approach roads to the area where the radar meant to stand and the rest they have allocated among the villages within the radius of 10km. The radius itself, however, has about 30km in length. This is how they have tried to divide us, but we have arranged among ourselves so that all of us stated, that the region needs money for development, which region actually wouldn't need them? So we said, of course we accept the money, but not in the exchange for the Radar, and us being silent about it. The Government could not step back in this point.

Two commissions started operating, one in the central Bohemian region and one in the western Bohemian region. A commission at the governmental level has also been established with the deputy ministers. The commissions started to convene, but when it came to the realization of those projects, meeting has been called, but the commission has been dissolved. Then, I think, another meeting was called, but

basically through this prolonging manoeuvres we got to that point, when the Government fell and there is nobody to negotiate with about it anymore, and nothing has been basically implemented.

Chapter 3: You, Yes You. You control the information age.

Fragment 21

Radim Valecnik, economist (Czech Republic)

Propaganda is there of course, it is lead with big money, but it is completely ineffective. The number of people that are against is constantly between two and three thirds, it basically does not change. So any propaganda can hardly change anything, because its basic principle is nonsense, the reason for the defense has no fundamentals and it's difficult to convince somebody that is capable to think clearly that the Radar has any sense.

Fragment 22

Roman Janouch, journalist (Czech Republic)

The government structures, as well as the presidential structures are fundamentally linked together with the mass media, and those are simply copying the position of the Government, and the position of the Presidential Office. The possibility that their reader could find something else, apart from “the eternal bonds with the United States” and their role as helpers and bearers of better future, freedom and democracy,...without any fundamental change in the society I think this is unreal.

Fragment 23

Miroslav Hroch, historian (Czech Republic)

My opinion is strongly influenced by the fact that we have no information that we can trust. There have been at least three different explanations of what the Radar means, or, in other words, against whom we need to be protected. One version was, it is being built to protect the United States, this is the first version. By the way the fact that the Radar, has to be brought from pacific, it means that it was really to protect America, not to protect us, this is the first version. The other version was, it has to protect us, the Czech Republic – if somebody sends missiles against the Czech Republic, it would protect us. I wonder who would send missiles to the Czech Republic. Why? Maybe in order to destroy this Radar; in this case, that would be a good reason to do it. And third was to protect Europe, which was the most nebulous explanation, but I have no information that I can trust about what I need to be protected against or if it is going to protect me at all.

Fragment 24

Roman Janouch, journalist (Czech Republic)

Part of this one-sided propaganda is also the statement, that the anti missile shield should be here also to protect us from the alleged danger of Iranian nuclear programme, from the bombs from North Chorea and so called States of the Axis of Evil.

Fragment 25

Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

But I am a strategic analyst and I cannot believe in bullshit like that. So, if not against Iran, seriously speaking, then against whom? Against whom? Good question! They do not give us the answer against whom.

Fragment 26

Andrew Zebrowski, Stop War initiative (Poland)

I think what's interesting about the Polish media is that it doesn't really say very much about this kind of foreign policy issues. I think that one time that it talked a lot about it was during the Georgian war, and it's no accident that the deal with America on the missile shield was signed in that period, because at that point was the only time that we've experienced, where there were more than 50% of people in favour of the missile shield, before it was just a bit more against, so it's always more than 50% against the missile shield, now they don't want to do anymore opinion pulse, I haven't seen any recently, maybe there has been something.

Fragment 27

Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

If Russia, then tell us, because if it's Russia, then that would mean that we are in structural collision, in contradiction with Russia; they want to bring short-range missiles to the Kaliningrad area, just in case, you see, you initiate something against Russia, they destroy the base in Poland. So that's risky for us, obviously, if they hit your base, fine! But if they hit the city (Słupsk), which is next to the base, then we are in trouble obviously, so it's better to avoid it.

Fragment 28

A student interviewed during Slavoj Žižek's conference on Marxism and Cristianism in the Old Coffee house in Warsaw

Katarzyna Puzon: Do you think that the Polish people receive enough information concerning this issue?

Student: I don't think so. It isn't a question of the access to the information. The problem lies in the way it is presented, it's difficult to form a moderate opinion, maybe it's a bad word, but I mean an opinion supported by the arguments. That is to get to know the arguments of the opponents and the supporters and then decide. We usually hear slogans such as "*yes, we should build the shield because we have to fight with terrorists*" or "*no, we shouldn't build the shield because we are pacifists*". We can see politicians and demonstrations but usually no explanation is added. The worst thing was that the opinion of the local community of the place where the shield will be installed wasn't taken into consideration. I heard that firstly, the people there don't know exactly what is going on. Secondly, they weren't convinced that it was a good idea and thirdly, nobody really cared about convincing them, they were only told that "well, there's money in it".

Fragment 29

Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

The intentions are not transparent, not obvious and that's why, because our government was a little bit disoriented, although eager to accept it, so was not able to explain our people, what are the reasons, what is this whole thing about, etc, what are the dangers, risks, from where, from Iran, nobody believes, from Russia, better to avoid, if there is terrorist attack,.. I mean, if we have this base, then foreign intelligence from many countries is very much interested, so they come, obviously that it's not good for us.

Fragment 30

Roman Janouch, journalist (Czech Republic)

Naturally the American Radar and respectively American bases, that are meant to be build in Czech Republic and Poland are directed against the Russian Federation. It should be a kind of new high-tech space for gathering information about the current development of the Russian Federation, not only in the military and information area. Iran, North Chorea and their so called nuclear threat is only a false pretence.

Fragment 31

Marina Grzinic, philosopher and artist (Slovenia)

So this instability, this getting profit and making profit is something that is going on, on every layer, that means that mass media are functioning hand in hand with the needs of the system. So, as I tried to explain that capitalism function with this deregulative processes, disinformation is one of the mayor points.

Fragment 32

Roman Kuzniar, strategic analyst (Poland)

Our American partners, our American allies, they were asking our Government not to tell our people what this question is about, they were trying, ..and that was quite funny thing, and our Government was accepting it, the previous I mean, not this one, because this one is transparent one.

Fragment 33

Voice over: Jana Glivicka, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

We are driving along Brdy's military area. There are many signs reminding us that the entrance to the zone is prohibited. We parked the car in Misov and try walk to the place where the "future" U.S. Radar should be placed. We had a copy of the document, provided by the Czech activists No Bases Initiative showing a construction map for the future Radar base in Brdy, spot height 718 metres, part of the U.S. antimissile shield enlargement in Europe. While we were looking at it to decide in which direction to go, Vaclav Novotny was pointing to the area that was initially presented as the territory needed for the instalment of the Radar in the Czech Republic, but, as document shows, the U.S. military base, once constructed, would occupy a much wider space. We walked through the forest towards the place, but it started to rain heavily. In the meantime we decided that it might be better to stay outside, and do the interview with Jana Glivicka at the entrance to the military area.

Interview with Jana Glivicka

What is strange about the first agreement- it's the agreement about building some specific military base- is that there are no parameters for building this Radar, there is not solved how big the area that they will use will be. But what is really problem for me is that there is written that they can gradually develop all the installations that there will be, so for me it means that it's just a bianco cheque signed by the U.S. military, they can install the Radar now and in ten years they can decide that they will put the rockets there because they have to protect the Radar, and then they can add something else that they will develop during some 20 years, you know you never know what they will really install to this base, because according to this agreement Czech police and Czech officials they basically have no right to do inspections there, for example if Czech police wants to arrest someone at this base , they have to ask for the special permission from the –us military officials, and things like that, so this is the biggest problem for me in the main agreement. And about the second agreement, the SOFA agreement, it's not specifically tied to only this Radar base, but to all U.S. military presence in Czech Republic. So also it will be in the future much less complicated to install any new bases, new installations, or to just do as they now call it joint trainings, which means the permanent presence of U.S army.

Voice over: Jan Majicek, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

As a part of these two treaties, there was the third treaty being signed and it's the cooperation between the Czech Academy of Science and some American military companies. What is the problem is that we are now in the situation of the militarization of science. So, part of the Czech Academy of Science will be participating in military researches for new technologies.

Chapter 4: Translating democracy

Fragment 34

We are back to another fragment from the Frederick Wisseman film, Missile (1987). Now we are listening to the introduction of the seminar that was given to the U.S. soldiers while going through the training programme at Vandenberg Air Force Base.

What we are going to do today is talk about the awesome responsibility that you are going to have as a crew members, and we are going to have a little seminar and hopefully we'll get good dialogue going here. You know, the moral responsibilities, and then at the end of this day we are going to ask you to sign a piece of paper, that says that you have thought of all the moral implications about inserting launch keys, and that you have no reservations, that if the president of the United States deems that our way of life is threatened, and that is about to be over, that you have no hesitation, once that you've authenticated the message , you know that there is the president talking, that you insert those launch keys and launch your missiles. And you know full well the consequences of launching those missiles which are equipped with nuclear warheads, and the great devastation that that would bring. And we want you to think about that , we don't want you to capriciously go through this program and be robots in inserting launch keys. We want you to fully comprehend the awesomeness of this responsibility.

Fragment 34

Interview with Jan Majicek, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

So basically we give them a sovereignty on the part of our country, and without any means of how to control it. So this is really the core of this treaties.

Fragment 35

Interview with Erazim Kohak, philosopher (Czech Republic)

Have you ever seen an imperial power that did not do the same thing? The Soviet Union acted the same way, the British Empire, for goodness sake, very civilized, it propagated the British way of life at home, and in colonies acted as a colonial power. The Soviets spoke about socialism and what they propagated, we know. Americans are acting the way in which I expect the mayor power to act. It has one face for it's internal consumption, and America has really deep democratic roots. But for purposes of foreign policy this become a window dressing. So I think that when it comes to American propagation of democracy I think that it does a disfavour to democracy, it seems that the democracy has to be considered on it's own merits, and not as tool of British , Soviet, American propaganda. And America genuinely is a democratic country.

Fragment 36

Interview with Santiago Lopez Petit, philosopher (Spain)

I think that the concept of democracy, as many others, is already absolutely marked by capitalism. It has become the mechanism that makes things possible, -but not only ideological mechanism, it's not an ideological discourse as before, with Marx, a superstructure, - but democracy is a mechanism, the material basis that allows this, because is built through practice. Democracy is a set of practices which articulates a sphere, that was once a separated political sphere, but today, it is fully inserted. Democracy is the mechanism of global capitalism.

Fragment 37

Interview with Ellisiv Ronglien, Stop War Initiative (Poland)

We have at least tens of thousands of signatures, but I don't know exactly how many because there are also people from different organizations collecting. So I think signatures is one thing of course, the other thing are demonstrations, and kind of movement from below. We see it in Czech Republic that they have a very strong movement, and they have been actually a part in forcing the prime minister to resign. So I think that is very good, kind of ideal to have, what has been happening in the Czech republic and I think If this whole case irrupts again then I think it's possible to mobilize people on the streets and also locally in the area where they actually want to place the bases, to protest to try to bloc the whole project.

Fragment 38

Interview with Santiago Lopez Petit, philosopher (Spain)

Today, the critical political discourse is not constructed so much on the horizons that we need to reach – big goals, big ideologies – but on what I would call “fragments of sense,” which are articulated around these gestures of rejection, of saying “It’s enough!”, and at the same time, around the truth that we inhabit, which makes you say, “This reality is alien to me”.

Fragment 39

The helicopter is flying above, monitoring the demonstrations which took place at the Wenceslas Square in Prague on 8th of July, 2008, while Condoleezza Rice was visiting Czech Republic and the signature of the agreement between two countries was about to take place. One of the activists is playing percussions, but you cannot here the sound, big placard on the floor saying ; Referendum=Democracie.

Split screen: the first video is showing images we filmed during the summer of 2008, when I first visited Czech Republic to get some information directly from the people living there. We see Eftimia Anesti, one of the activists from No Bases Initiative with whom we went to Jince just before the demonstrations took place, and on the way we were sticking flyers calling for demonstrations on 8th of July 2008. Afterwards we see the tent that was placed on the Wenceslas Square during all summer in 2008; the activist stayed there 24h, changing shifts, to collect signatures for the referendum against the U.S. Radar in Czech Republic. Then the demonstration took place. The other video is showing the police control during the Obama’s visit of Prague on 5th of April 2009, and the demonstrations that took place that day.

Voice over: Excerpt from the Obama’s speech in Prague on 5th of April, 2009

If the Iranian threat is eliminated, we will have a stronger basis for security, and the driving force for missile defense construction in Europe will be removed.

We shift to the demonstrations, 5th of April, 2009. It was the period of the fall of Topolanek’s Government. We see activists protesting and Jan Majicek is saying through the megaphone:

The Government fell, the Radar will fall!

The last image is showing protesters saying goodbye to the police convoy, that was monitoring the demonstrations that day.

Interview with Jana Glivicka, No Bases Initiative (Czech Republic)

Europe and also USA understood Obama as a figure who is able to change the whole concept of the U.S. foreign policy, and there have been many hopes about this. As I understand the U.S. foreign policy it’s not only about Obama and the new U.S. administration, there are other lobbies groups, you know this famous military industrial complex, many generals in Pentagon, so there are different groups fighting and I believe that now we have no chance to really understand the problem. But for us the question still stays the same, it doesn’t matter if it’s the Radar under Obama administration or under Bush Administration, it’s still a foreign military presence in Czech Republic and for us is clear, we just do not want it.

Fragment 40

Interview with Filip Ilkowsky, Stop War Initiative (Poland)

Of course, we don't know what will be with the whole project of missile defence. Not that the project of missile defence will be just destroyed, I don't believe it, it's too much money invested and too high strategic interests for the United States are here, you know, too much worth of the strategic interest are, but of course it can change somehow, you never know if the bases will be built here or maybe somewhere else, and what was said by one of the Obama advisers that maybe more infrastructure will be built on the sea, which is more effective, than this interceptor missile, so in fact we don't know. And we have additionally the whole crisis in the U.S. economy that also can narrow some possibilities to build all this or at least to make this whole project progress slower. But I think we also have to worry a little bit and not to believe that everything is all over, because what Obama said really in this Prague's speech, he said a lot about Iran. That if the Iranian danger is still here, so you know is this kind of the same logic, the logic is not really different of the logic that there are some, you know, rough states that we have to prevent and if they behave properly we won't do anything but if they won't behave properly then we have to build this. So everything is still possible.

Fragment 41

Split screen: Russia Today is reporting that the U.S. shelved missile defense saying Iranian threat is not so great. Associated Press is showing the map of Europe, pointing at Czech Republic, Poland and Russia, and afterwards shows the endlessly repeated images during last years, of Iranian missile tests. Al Jazeera is giving the historic insight into the missile defense project.

The text below is saying:

On September 17th, 2009, U.S. President Barack Obama suspended the plans for placing missile interceptors in Poland and the Radar base in Czech Republic. A new approach was announced...

Fragment 42

Fragments from the news on 17/09/2009, on CNN, Associated Press and CCTV9

Barack Obama (the President of the USA)

As I said during the campaign, President Bush was right that Iran's ballistic missile program poses a significant threat. That's why I'm committed to deploying strong missile defence systems, which are adaptable to the threats of the 21st century.

Robert Gates (U.S Secretary of Defense)

This allows us to deploy a distributive sensor network, rather than a single fix site, like the kind slated for the Czech Republic, enabling greater survivability and adaptability.

Barack Obama

Our new approach will therefore deploy technologies that are proven and cost effective and the counter of the current threat and do so sooner than the previous program.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen (NATO Secretary General)

The American plans on missile defense will involve NATO as such, to a higher degree in the future concerning the establishment of missile defense.

Barack Obama

We will continue to work cooperatively, with our close friends and allies, The Czech Republic and Poland, who had agreed to host elements of the previous program. I've spoken to the prime ministers of both the Czech Republic and Poland about this decision and reaffirmed our deep and close ties. Together we are committed to a broad range of cooperative efforts, to strengthen our collective defense and we are bound by the solemn commitment of NATO's article 5, that an attack on one is an attack on all.

Fragment 43

The fragment from the video clip: Obama's presidential campaign in 2008

Nothing can stand in the way of the power of millions of voices calling for change.

We want change! We want change, We want change!

CHANGE

We have been told we cannot do this by a chorus of cynics who will only grow louder and more dissonant.

We've been asked to pause for a reality check.

We've been warned against offering the people of this nation false hope.

But in the unlikely story that is America, there has never been anything false about hope.

HOPE

Fragment 44

Interview with Marina Grzinic, philosopher and artist (Slovenia)

So the effect of this is some kind of post ideological, emptied space, space that is actually it's just a space where all about is to have a free market, to produce profit, and also with the law and many other measures actually to stop any resistance. All what is given by the capitalist system for the legal resistance, is something that is pacified and it is already made in such a way that it will not work anyway.

So I think it is necessary to think of other formats of resistance, that I think is difficult, because the capitalism function from the deregulation, actually is changing

more and more from a certain biopolitics to a necropolitics, what I want to say, we had a feeling that it is about life, to have a better life, to have security, but actually, may be, it's time to start to think that it is not about the good life, it's only the good life for capital.

(fade out)

Credits...
