

**UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE**  
**Fakulta sociálních věd**  
**Institut mezinárodních studií**

**PROTOKOL O HODNOCENÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE**  
**(Posudek vedoucího)**

Práci předložil(a) student(ka): **Josef Bernard**

Název práce: **Proměna zahraniční politiky USA v letech 1945-1948: perspektiva neoklasického realismu**

Vedoucí práce (u externích vedoucích uveďte též adresu a funkci v rámci instituce):  
**doc. PhDr. Francis D. Raška, PhD.**

1. **OBSAH A CÍL PRÁCE** (stručná informace o práci, formulace cíle):

**This work examines these most important aspects of the U.S. foreign policy transformation in the period starting from the end of the Second World War to the days before the First Berlin Crisis. In doing so, it utilizes the analytical model provided by neoclassical realist theory.**

2. **VĚCNÉ ZPRACOVÁNÍ** (náročnost, tvůrčí přístup, argumentace, logická struktura, teoretické a metodologické ukotvení, práce s prameny a literaturou, vhodnost příloh apod.):

**The topic is quite challenging. The student makes sound and valid arguments based on logic. Sources are cited properly. Moreover, the theoretical underpinning involving neoclassical realism is most appropriate.**

3. **FORMÁLNÍ A JAZYKOVÉ ZPRACOVÁNÍ** (jazykový projev, správnost citace a odkazů na literaturu, grafická úprava, formální náležitosti práce apod.):

**I have no problem with the presentation. The language and grammar are fine and all formal requirements have been met.**

4. **STRUČNÝ KOMENTÁŘ HODNOTITELE** (celkový dojem z bakalářské práce, silné a slabé stránky, originalita myšlenek, naplnění cíle apod.):

**Josef Bernard has written his B.A. dissertation on immediate post-World War II United States foreign policy up until the First Berlin Crisis. The work contains proper referencing and good argumentation. The treatise consists of an Introduction, four main chapters, and a Conclusion. In the next paragraphs, I will offer my comments on each part of the dissertation.**

**The Introduction provides the reader with a roadmap indicating the purpose and content of the work. Josef clearly states what each chapter deals with. In addition, there is an essential overview of the literature, which indicates the amount of effort Josef invested in reading the relevant sources on American post-World War II foreign policy. I like the fact that, besides secondary works, Josef actually consulted online sources. My impression of the Introduction is that it smoothly guides the attention of the reader and furnishes a clear idea as to what the body of the treatise discusses.**

**In Chapter 1, Josef addresses the theoretical underpinning, namely neoclassical realism and its application in the field of foreign policy. The role of realism in international relations is elucidated and the importance of the scholarship of Kenneth N. Waltz is emphasized. The inadequacies and shortcomings of Waltz's theory are addressed in detail as well. Josef then explains where neoclassical realism comes in. This chapter provides a good theoretical background to the rest of the dissertation.**

**The international system and the role of the United States in it after World War II forms the subject of Chapter 2. Josef emphasizes that the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union remained the three relevant powers in the aftermath of World War II. The United States emerged as the only**

Western superpower and the only country that could pose a challenge to the United States was the Soviet Union. Also mentioned is the great technological transformation brought about by the war. President Truman's relative inexperience in foreign policy is recalled as is the changed role of the American presidency. The traditional pillars of American strategic culture, namely liberal ideology and limited engagement are discussed. Wartime events led to an ideological shift. While liberal ideology was maintained the concept of limited engagement was challenged and underwent significant changes because it was clear at the end of the war that there could be no return to American isolationism. This chapter is well-conceived and of good quality.

Chapter 3 bears the title "Period of Uncertainty: 1945-1946." Josef explains how technical-scientific developments led the Americans to realize that their past notions of being an untouchable country nestled between two oceans no longer held true. On the contrary, the wartime experience made it clear that developments in distant lands indeed could have an impact on the United States. Engagement in foreign lands came to be seen as desirable and necessary not only to protect the United States itself, but also to defend the international community in line with American interests. There was a strong economic consideration as well that manifested itself in opposition to protectionism and closed trading blocs. In 1945, the United States had mixed feelings towards the Soviet Union, which had allied with the United States to defeat Nazi Germany. Soviet domination in East-Central Europe, as well as demands elsewhere ignited American (and Western) fears that the Soviets were seeking to dominate Europe. The Soviets drove a hard bargain in meetings in London and Moscow in 1945 and, as the situation seemed to be deteriorating in 1946, the Americans opted for a hard line. George F. Kennan's infamous "Long Telegram" and its call for the containment of Soviet Communist ambitions indeed lay the groundwork for future policy. The chapter contains persuasive argumentation and leads the reader straight into Chapter 4.

In Chapter 4, Josef provides detail concerning the transformation of American institutions in order to adapt to the new postwar reality. New institutions such as the Department of Defense and the National Security Council were provided for in the National Security Act, as was the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The rest of the chapter depicts the Truman Doctrine and containment, as well as the Marshall Plan to revive the economic fortunes of Western Europe. Neither Italy, nor Greece would be permitted to fall to Communism. The events of 1948, namely the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin Crisis, are also scrutinized. The Americans wanted postwar Germany to be anchored firmly in the West. Soviet ideas regarding a neutral Germany were unacceptable. The steps uniting the Western zones of Germany economically are also mentioned as the economic revival of Germany was seen as a key necessity for the recovery of Europe. Josef states that the Americans were in Europe to stay. Though the facts presented in the chapter are known, Josef's presentation is very good.

The Conclusion represents a recapitulation of the main points of the individual chapters and restates Josef's view that utilization of neoclassical realism is necessary to explain American postwar foreign policy. The individual parts of the dissertation are consistent and correct. The explanation of the American interpretation of Soviet intentions likewise is accurate.

My overall impression of the work is positive. I recommend that a mark of A or B be awarded contingent on the quality of the oral defense.

4. OTÁZKY A PŘIPOMÍNKY DOPORUČENÉ K BLIŽŠÍMU VYSVĚTLENÍ PŘI OBHAJOBĚ (jedna až tři):

Given what we know today, how accurate were American predictions regarding Soviet intentions? Please explain.

Do you think that Soviet policy would have proceeded similarly had Stalin not been the Soviet leader throughout and would this have, in turn, changed the direction of American policy? Please explain.

6. DOPORUČENÍ / NEDOPORUČENÍ K OBHAJOBĚ A NAVRHOVANÁ ZNÁMKA  
(A-F): A or B depending on the quality of the oral defense

Datum: **12.8.2020**

Podpis:

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Pozn.: Hodnocení pište k jednotlivým bodům, pokud nepíšete v textovém editoru, použijte při nedostatku místa zadní stranu nebo přiložený list. V hodnocení práce se pokuste oddělit ty její nedostatky, které jsou, podle vašeho mínění, obhajobou neodstranitelné (např. chybí kritické zhodnocení pramenů a literatury), od těch věcí, které student může dobrou obhajobou napravit; poměr těchto dvou položek berte prosím v úvahu při stanovení konečné známky.