

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

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

Práci předložil(a) student(ka): **Lucie Zboženská**

Název práce: **Americká zahraniční politika vůči Argentině a Chile během Kissingerovy éry (1969-1977)**

Oponoval (u externích oponentů 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):

**The main aim of this dissertation is to analyze U.S. foreign policy towards Latin America in the era of Henry Kissinger (1969-1977). As Kissinger served in two presidential administrations (Nixon and Ford), American interests were the basis according to which U.S. relations with Latin America were transformed. The student ponders the cases of Argentina and Chile.**

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

**The topic is challenging, the structure is logical, and the argumentation is sound.**

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

**There do not seem to be any major problems insofar as presentation is concerned. The bibliography and citation of sources is both satisfactory.**

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

**Lucie Zboženská has produced a B.A. dissertation dealing with American foreign policy towards Argentina and Chile in the Kissinger era. Her supervisor, doc. Miloš Calda, is an expert on Kissinger and has translated some of Kissinger's books. The treatise contains an Introduction (Chapter 1), four main chapters (Chapters 2-5), and a Conclusion (Chapter 6). I will offer some comments on each part of the work in the ensuing paragraphs.**

**The Introduction (Chapter 1) is rather brief (1.5 pages in length), but sufficient. Lucie sets out her aim, which is to demonstrate how U.S. interests impacted the evolution of U.S.-Latin American relations. While the student lists the major sources she works with in the Introduction, she does not elaborate why each source is significant. Nevertheless, the Introduction is acceptable.**

**In Chapter 2, Lucie examines United States foreign policy vis-à-vis Latin America between 1969 and 1977. She correctly places the topic in the historical context of the Cold War and promoting the United States' national interests. Both symbolic and economic factors are emphasized in the chapter's first section. Lucie then proceeds to discuss the regional problems of Latin America. In the Cold War context, the United States often supported authoritarian regimes. Also, the role of the military in Latin American society is elucidated. The populist regimes of Juan Domingo Peron (Argentina) and Salvador Allende (Chile) are depicted and the American dislike for both Peron and Allende is explained in terms of the Cold War context. President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress is mentioned, as is the Cuban Revolution and the rise of leftist movements elsewhere in Latin America. While the chapter contains information that is technically correct, I do feel that Lucie could have devoted more effort rather than merely providing a mere summary of well-known facts.**

**A synopsis of the Kissinger era and his approach to foreign policy forms the content of Chapter 3. The reader is presented with Kissinger's academic background, the Nixon Doctrine, which involved reliance on friendly regimes to further American interests. Lucie points to American military assistance on training of Latin American armies and mentions that a number of Nazi war criminals also assisted authoritarian regimes in Latin America. Of course mention is made of how the Nixon White House tried to limit the role of excessive bureaucracy in the foreign policy decision-making process. Then some background is provided on the relationship between Henry Kissinger and Presidents Nixon and later Ford. I have no problem with this chapter.**

**In Chapter 4, Lucie examines the relationship between Henry Kissinger and Chile. The first section deals with the Nixon Administration's battle against Chilean Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens.**

Elected in September 1970, Allende was not liked by the Americans. That same month, the so-called Committee of 40 met in the White House and launched Operation FUBELT. Two possible solutions emerged how to stop Allende's ascent to power. The first involved bribing Chilean legislators to vote for the second candidate, independent rightist Jorge Alessandri, who would then resign and new elections would take place, which, in turn, would be won by trusted President Eduardo Frei Montalva. The second option involved the CIA (together with the American Mission in Chile) organizing a military coup by the Chilean army. The military coup option won out and, after two chaotic years in office, Allende was ousted on 11 September 1973. The new leader was General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, who believed he was saving Chilean and Western Christianity from Marxism. Though direct American involvement in the 1973 coup has never been proven, it is clear that the Americans had been hostile to Allende and American assistance to Chile was renewed shortly after the takeover. In collaboration with other Latin American countries, Operation Condor was launched, which involved countries finding out where their left-wing opponents had found domicile and exchanged them to face imprisonment and murder at home. Though neither Nixon nor Kissinger directly participated in Operation Condor, later self-reflection, especially on the part of Kissinger, acknowledged that American foreign policy had created the conditions for the existence of the operation.

Chapter 5 is devoted to U.S. policy towards Argentina. Quite logically, the first section deals with President Juan Domingo Perón, who first became president in 1946. Ousted by the Argentine military in 1955, Perón went into Spanish exile. The country oscillated between military and civilian rule and the economy reached a standstill in 1970. The military decided that the Perónist movement must be allowed to contest free elections. Perón was allowed home from exile after supporter Hector Cámpora was elected president in 1973. Cámpora soon resigned the presidency and Perón was elected president and his third wife, Isabel Martinez Perón, became his vice president. This recalls the 1940s and 1950s when Perón's second wife, Evita, created a personality cult. Following Perón's death in 1974, Isabel became president. The problem was that the Perónist movement had been founded as a rightist popular movement and by the time Perón came back to power, the movement had split into left-wing and right-wing factions. The left-wing groups quickly became terrorists relying on violence. To make a long-story short, the economic situation in Argentina became so dire under Isabel's presidency that the military felt it needed to step in again. Isabel was ousted in a military coup in 1976 and sent into exile. The military then launched the so-called dirty war, which resulted in the death or disappearance of tens of thousands of people. The Americans had good relations with the Argentine junta throughout. This chapter is not as good as the preceding one. First of all, Kissinger ceased to be secretary of state in 1977 and little information is provided about American involvement in the events.

In the Conclusion, Lucie recapitulates her main points and emphasizes the role of hidden interventions by Kissinger and Presidents Nixon and Ford. In my view, the Conclusion could be more specific. This work meets the requirements for a B.A. dissertation. I recommend a classification of **VERY GOOD (C)**.

5. OTÁZKY A PŘIPOMÍNKY DOPORUČENÉ K BLIŽŠÍMU VYSVĚTLENÍ PŘI OBHAJOBĚ (jedna až tři):  
In your opinion, was Salvador Allende really in control of events in Chile during his presidency? Why or why not?

When one thinks of military rule in Latin America in past decades, are there any common characteristics of the individual juntas and are the circumstances during which the military takes power similar?

6. **DOPORUČENÍ / NEDOPORUČENÍ K OBHAJOBĚ A NAVRHOVANÁ ZNÁMKA**  
(výborně, velmi dobře, dobře, nevyhověl): C

Datum: 3.6.2019

Podpis:

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Pozn.: Hodnocení píše k jednotlivým bodům, pokud nepíšete v textovém editoru, použijte při nedostatku místa zadní stranu nebo příložený 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.