

**JAN KOURA, ZÁPAS O VÝCHODNÍ STŘEDOMOŘÍ: ZAHRANIČNÍ POLITIKA SPOJENÝCH STÁTŮ AMERICKÝCH VŮČI ŘECKU A TURECKU V LETECH 1945–1953, PRAHA: FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA UK V PRAZE, 2013, ISBN 978-80-7308-468-4, 250 P.**

*Zápas o východní Středomoří* presents another piece in the *Fontes* series published by the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University in Prague. Jan Koura works as a lecturer at the Department of the World History of the Faculty of Arts. His research concentrates predominantly on the history of the Cold War. The publication covers three major thematic sections. The first one is of theoretical nature. It examines the policy of Containment from the theoretical point of view and defines the author's understanding of the term "grand strategy", setting thus the major methodological starting points of the work. This part of the text analyses also the ideological origins of Containment and outlines the key events that marked the emergence of the Cold War such as Churchill's speech at Fulton or the Iranian crisis of 1946.

In the following section, Koura examines the situation in the post-war Turkey and Greece setting thus context for the analysis of the creation of the Truman's Doctrine, which is the real core of the work. In addition, Koura looks into the actual application of Truman's doctrine analysing the most important aspects of American military and economic support to Greece and Turkey including its impact and consequences.

In the final bloc, Koura addresses the most important aspects of Greek and Turkish position at the time of preparation and implementation of the Marshall Plan and establishment of NATO. He also outlines the major factors that determined, and transformed, the attitudes of the US foreign policy to both Greece and Turkey concentrating among others on the role of the Eastern Mediterranean in transformation of the Containment policy at the turn of 1950s and on the gradual process of admission of Greece and Turkey into NATO.

Koura's work takes into account all of the three major approaches to the Cold War (traditional, revisionist and post-revisionist). On several occasions, he comments on their differing views presenting his own arguments related to the Eastern Mediterranean perspective. In the introduction, Koura states that his own opinions are closer to the "traditionalists". This fact corresponds for instance to his conclusions regarding the Truman's doctrine, which he perceives primarily as a response to the course of events in Greece and Turkey. Earlier in the text, the author remembers the Mayski Memorandum from January 1944 that voiced the foreign political ambitions of the Soviet Union. Still, Koura remains critical of the American foreign policy in several areas, the most important being the interfering into the internal political development in Greece that occurred in connection with the organisation and administration of the American aid which the government in Athens received as a result of the Truman's Doctrine.

Koura's work is based predominantly on a research of the documents held by the American National Archives at College Park (NACP) and by the Harry S. Truman Library (HSTL) in Independence. As a result, the work provides a valuable insight into the American decision-making process related to creation of the policy of Containment and Truman's speech in Congress (12<sup>th</sup> March 1947) in which he requested help for Greece and Turkey and which stated foreign policy principles which became

known as the Truman's Doctrine. This approach is especially valuable for recognising the differences between various streams in American contemporaneous political thinking whose interaction gave rise to US foreign policies during the Cold War and which are often merged into one under the label of the Containment policy (e.g. G. F. Kennan's political recommendations in contrast to those of Dean Acheson, Clark Clifford or George Elsey who, in particular, determined the shape of Truman's speech of 12<sup>th</sup> March 1947). It also helps to perceive different "layers" of Truman's Doctrine that corresponded to various audiences ranging from American public and the Congress to Soviet political leadership.

The work sets American foreign policy into the context of the political development in Greece and Turkey and outlines the changing role of the region in the shaping of American foreign policy. Moreover, it attempts to establish the impact of "American experience" from this region on the creation of wider American foreign policy. In this respect, Koura suggests that the involvement of the USA in Greece and Turkey revealed to the United States the new nature of the emerging conflict with the Soviet Union, which was to resemble, rather than a traditional military struggle, a confrontation of different political and economic systems and their ideologies. Most importantly, as Koura puts out, the US foreign policy officials drew the conclusion that military help would prove insufficient in such a conflict unless it is complemented by economic support that would enable economic and social stabilisation, which consequently influenced American government in shaping the policies towards Western Europe (the Marshall Plan).

*Zápas o východní Středomoří* provides a useful insight not only into the development of American foreign policy toward Greece and Turkey but also into the process of forging wider US foreign political strategies in the age of the early Cold War. In the final chapter, Koura reflects on the impact of Greek and Turkish membership in NATO implying that the feeling of global security might contribute to the increase of local rivalries between the two respective countries. Koura's work thus opens space for discussion on the various aspects of the NATO membership of Greece and Turkey and suggests potential areas of further research into American foreign policy towards the Eastern Mediterranean.

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