

Sélection de publications

Etats-Unis : défense et politique étrangère

Novembre 2011

Par Maya Kandel,

chargée de recherche « Etats-Unis - Relations transatlantiques » à l'Irsem.

Vous trouverez, ci-après, une liste d'articles recensés de façon subjective : leur originalité, (angle, sujet, opinion) a été la raison de leur sélection.

Note : Certains des liens renvoient à des sites nécessitant un abonnement ou un enregistrement.

- **The New York Times**, “America’s Deadly Dynamics With Iran”, By David E. Sanger, November 5, 2011

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/06/sunday-review/the-secret-war-with-iran.html?pagewanted=all>

Article très intéressant, même si peu de confirmations officielles de ce qui est avancé – pour des raisons évidentes, le sujet de l’article porte sur la « guerre de l’ombre » (*shadow war*) entre US et Iran.

Extraits: “Iran may be the most challenging test of the Obama administration’s focus on new, cheap technologies that could avoid expensive boots on the ground; drones are the most obvious, cyberweapons the least discussed. It does not quite add up to a new Obama Doctrine, but the methods are defining a **new era of nearly constant confrontation and containment**.

... Much of this resembles the **worst days of the cold war, when Americans and Soviets were plotting against each other** — and killing each other — in a now hazy attempt to preserve an upper hand.”

- **Foreign Policy**, “China passes the buck in Afghanistan”, Raffaello Pantucci, October 28, 2011

http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/10/28/china_passes_the_buck_in_afghanistan

Eclairage intéressant sur l'Afghanistan via la relation Chine-Pakistan et tout particulièrement l'intensification des investissements chinois en Afghanistan, avec un comportement de « passager clandestin » puisque les Chinois se reposent sur l'OTAN et le Pakistan pour ce qui est de sécuriser leurs investissements (et choisissent les régions en fonction).

Conclusion: “while from a western analysis this should mean a greater Chinese interest in stabilizing the current government, from Beijing's perspective it is far better to let things play themselves out while focusing on specific interests. This will not necessarily help western aims to re-shape Afghanistan, but it will strengthen China's hand when the west finally leaves.”

- **The New York Review of Books**, “Killing Our Citizens Without Trial”, David Cole, NOVEMBER 24, 2011

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/nov/24/killing-our-citizens-without-trial/?pagination=false>

Montre la continuité (et l'intensification) de l'approche de Bush à Obama sur l'utilisation des drones, et les questions (juridiques/légales – et essentielles / quel droit dans la guerre des drones ?) soulevées par les attaques de drones, ainsi que par leurs possibles disséminations à d'autres acteurs.

- **CQ WEEKLY – IN FOCUS**, “Amid the Arab Spring, a Balancing Act in Bahrain”, By John M. Donnelly, Nov. 5, 2011

<http://public.cq.com/docs/weeklyreport/weeklyreport-000003976649.html>

Article intéressant sur les relations US-Bahrain et les limites du soutien américain aux printemps arabes en raison de l'importance de l'Arabie Saoudite. MAIS note également que Marco Rubio est en pointe pour interdire la vente à un « régime opprimant sa population » (Bahrain donc). Ce qui pourrait devenir intéressant puisqu'il est souvent cité comme potentiel colistier (VP) de Romney pour 2012.

- **CQ WEEKLY – IN FOCUS**, “Turning America's Gaze Toward Asia”, By Emily Cadei, Nov. 12, 2011

<http://public.cq.com/docs/weeklyreport/weeklyreport-000003980270.html>

Excellent illustration (avec exemples à l'appui) du rôle que peuvent jouer (individuellement) les membres du Congrès américain, ici en l'occurrence le sénateur Jim Webb, personnellement très impliqué sur l'Asie et dont l'expertise est de plus en plus recherché à la Maison Blanche (et on pourrait

l'y retrouver puisqu'il a déclaré ne pas se présenter pour un second mandat au Sénat).

- **The New York Times**, "As U.S. Looks to Asia, It Sees China Everywhere", By IAN JOHNSON and JACKIE CALMES, November 15, 2011

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/16/world/asia/united-states-sees-china-everywhere-as-it-shifts-attention-to-asia.html?pagewanted=all>

Pointe une autre "valeur ajoutée" du repositionnement stratégique sur l'Asie – comme argument contre des coupes trop drastiques au Pentagone ("For the Pentagon, which faces sweeping budget cuts in Congress, shifting its focus toward Asia provides a strong argument against cutting back its naval presence in the Pacific — something that Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta explicitly ruled out in a recent visit to the region").

- **Roll Call**, "Defense Industry Prepares to Defend Itself", Eliza Newlin Carney, Nov. 17, 2011

http://www.rollcall.com/issues/57_61/Defense-Firms-Rally-Against-Cuts-210421-1.html

La contre-attaque a commencé contre les coupes automatiques (*sequesters*). L'article décortique l'alliance qui en découle et regroupe parlementaires, think tanks conservateurs, lobbies de l'industrie de défense et autres groupes *ad hoc*, le tout focalisé sur la colline du Capitole...

- **Foreign Affairs**, SNAPSHOT: "The 2012 Election and the Republicans' Foreign Policy; Why the GOP's Worldview Looks More Like Obama's Than Anyone Cares to Admit", James M. Lindsay, November 14, 2011

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136664/james-m-lindsay/the-2012-election-and-the-republicans-foreign-policy>

Lindsay constate une proximité (entre Obama et les candidats républicains) dans la vision du monde et des intérêts américains – plus que dans les propositions préconisées pour défendre ces intérêts. Mais, note-t-il, le problème des « solutions » républicaines c'est qu'elles refusent d'admettre les limites des moyens américains pour arriver à leurs fins (« Obama's failures have had much more to do with the fact that **U.S. leverage is more limited than the GOP candidates acknowledge.** »)

Il note également que : « Romney is the only candidate to produce a white paper spelling out his foreign policy vision in detail. As such documents go, it is a fine piece of work that soberly acknowledges the array of challenges facing Washington in the coming years. **Romney is also the only candidate to assemble what amounts to a shadow National Security Council staff.** His

advisers have impressive credentials and extensive government experience, many having served previous Republican presidents.”

- **Council on Foreign Relations** – INTERVIEW, “Strengthening the U.S. Role in Asia”, Evan A. Feigenbaum, Adjunct Senior Fellow for East, Central, and South Asia, November 16, 2011

<http://www.cfr.org/asia/strengthening-us-role-asia/p26520>

Entretien dont le principal intérêt est de replacer dans une perspective historique plus large ce que tous les commentateurs considèrent comme une réorientation stratégique majeure.

Extrait : “**I think that notion of a "shift" is overstated.** The United States has been essentially at the center of the security system in Asia since the end of the Second World War. There's no question that the United States is paying a lot of attention to what's happening in Asia, but this notion of some gigantic pivot obscures the degree to which there are some really central pillars of American policy in the Pacific that have roots that go back decades.”

- **Brookings**, “What Happens if the Super Committee Fails?”, Isabel V. Sawhill, NOVEMBER 16, 2011

http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/1116_supercommittee_fails_sawhill.aspx

Un memo qui clarifie des notions budgétaires parfois obscures de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique, entre dépenses « discrétionnaires » vs. « obligatoires » du budget américain, et précise bien sûr la place des dépenses militaires. Montre le poids respectifs de chacune (dans le budget et donc le débat sur le déficit budgétaire) et l'importance des « *entitlements* » (dépenses de la sécurité sociale existante càd essentiellement les programmes Medicare et Medicaid).

- **Brookings**, “Russia Can Be a NATO Ally”, Steven Pifer, NOVEMBER 14, 2011

http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/1114_russia_nato_pifer.aspx

Encore un article sur le rôle obstructionniste du Congrès dans la politique américaine vis-à-vis de la Russie.

Extrait : “The major obstacle blocking missile defense cooperation stems from Moscow's demand for a legal guarantee that U.S. interceptors would not be directed against Russian strategic missiles. The **Obama administration is prepared to offer a written political assurance** at the highest level, **but a legal guarantee would not work.** Any legal agreement that even hinted at a limit on missile defense would have **zero chance of ratification in the U.S.**

Senate, where for many Republican support for missile defense is as axiomatic as opposition to tax increases.”

- **Foreign Policy Magazine**, “The Elephants in the Room”, BY JAMES TRAUB | NOVEMBER 2011

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/the_elephants_in_the_room

Les conceptions de politique étrangère au sein du parti républicain et chez les candidats. Conséquence sur l’élection 2012, la Chine, et les interventions en général.

Extraits : “One of the underlying realities of 2011 is that **the GOP rank and file has less taste for gung-ho internationalism than party elites do**. . . . The Republican establishment has long been defined by non-ideological moderates and "realists" like Brent Scowcroft, Richard Armitage, and Richard Haass. These are the figures, associated more with the first than the second President Bush, whom Huntsman has been consulting and whose views he largely represents. And yet he, and they, are now considered beyond the pale. A new conservative elite has by now almost wholly supplanted the graybeards within the GOP's ranks, and has gravitated to Romney and Perry. The graybeards support the New START nuclear arms deal with Russia negotiated by Obama and ratified this year; the GOP candidates and most of their advisors do not. **The old elite supports engagement with China; the new ones regard China as a military threat.**

MAIS:

Years of slaughter in Iraq and the demoralizing stalemate in Afghanistan have increasingly convinced Americans of both parties that there is little good the United States can do in the world. **Democracy promotion, the keystone in the arch of Bush-era foreign policy, has come to be seen as folly, nation-building as hubris, and intervention as an invitation to disaster.”**

- **Foreign Policy**, « 8 myths about American grand strategy”, By Peter Feaver, November 23, 2011

http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/11/23/8_myths_about_american_grand_strategy

Excellent! car tord le cou à un certain nombre de “tartes à la crème” et autres clichés trop souvent entendus/lus/répétés sur la stratégie américaine (ou l’absence de). L’article a aussi le mérite de décrire en détail les grandes lignes et surtout les continuités de la politique suivie depuis la fin de la guerre froide. On regrette que le dernier paragraphe demeure énigmatique –

car il donne envie d'en savoir plus (« Obama has made some very consequential and risky bets. If they do not pay out, they could force a reconsideration of our grand strategy. Indeed, the ferment in the strategic community about grand strategy suggests that such a reconsideration is well underway»).

- **Foreign Policy**, “Explaining Obama’s Asia Policy”, Stephen Walt, Nov 18 2011

http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/11/18/explaining_obamas_asia_policy

Walt le réaliste se réjouit du focus renouvelé des US sur l’Asie, en quoi il voit de la « realpolitik » pure et le retour d’une politique de « *containment* » qui a si bien réussi aux US quand elle concernait l’URSS.

Extrait :

“There is a perfectly sound realist justification for this strategic shift, and the clearest expression can be found in George F. Kennan’s book [American Diplomacy](#). Kennan argued that there were several key centers of industrial power in the world -- Western Europe, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States -- and that the primary strategic objective of the United States was to keep the Soviet Union from seizing any of those centers of power that lay outside its grasp. That’s what containment was really all about, even if it was distorted and misapplied by people who thought areas like Indochina were critical. More broadly, **this logic reflects the realist view that it is to U.S. advantage to keep Eurasia divided among many separate powers, and to help prevent any single power from establishing the same sort of regional hegemony that the United States has long enjoyed in the Western hemisphere.”**

- **Brookings**, “The 2011 Arab Public Opinion Poll”, [Shibley Telhami](#), NOVEMBER 21, 2011

http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2011/1121_arab_public_opinion_telhami.aspx

Tout à fait passionnant (mais seul un spécialiste pourrait confirmer la validité des chiffres et de la méthode, même si l’on peut en général faire confiance à la Brookings).

Montre l’évolution de l’opinion de ce qu’on appelait avant la « rue arabe » (et aujourd’hui ?) en particulier l’évolution de l’image des Etats-Unis, et de la France (moins brillant pour nous...).

Extraits :

"While a majority of Arabs polled continue to express unfavorable views of the **United States** (59%) the number of those who have favorable views of the US has increased from 10% in 2010 to 26% in 2011. This improvement could be related to the perception of the American handling of the Arab Spring, as **24% of those polled identified the US as one of the two countries they believe played the most constructive role in the Arab Spring.**

Although France remains relatively popular, it has suffered a major setback in Arab public opinion in comparison with the past several years. While 23% said they preferred France if there were only one superpower in 2009, this has dropped to only 10% This was also matched by a decline in the number of people who want to live in France (from 36% in 2009 to 28% in 2011). This appears to be related to the fact that **Arabs are divided on the issue of the international intervention in Libya**: A plurality of Arabs in the five countries polled (46%) say that, in retrospect, the international intervention was a mistake, although there is variation from country to country.

- **Brookings**, Middle East Memo, "Recalibrating a Relationship", Mirette Mabrouk, November 2011

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2011/11_israel_egypt_mabrouk/11_israel_egypt_mabrouk.pdf

Article qui revient sur les bouleversements "tectoniques" qui affectent le Moyen-Orient, et en particulier l'un de ses triangles d'or, soit les relations Israël/Turquie/Egypte, et la possible rivalité Turquie-Egypte pour le leadership régional. Bon background et récapitulatif, même si le papier se borne en conclusion à conseiller aux US une attitude « réceptive » plutôt que « proactive » étant données les incertitudes qui demeurent.

- **The Boston Globe**, "Arab Awakening, Act 2", Nicholas Burns, November 25, 2011

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2011/11/25/arab-awakening-act/KsmIIfBgz3j2bsEjQoGOOL/story.html>

Là encore, un article qui conseille la prudence aux US au Moyen-Orient, où l'ancien ordre est en train de disparaître sans qu'un nouveau n'ait encore émergé. Obama a su trouver un grand écart entre le soutien à certaines rébellions, et le maintien de l'appui américain à l'Arabie Saoudite et aux pays du Golfe. Toute la question est de savoir si ce grand écart pourra être maintenu en 2012 – ou si Washington devra trancher.