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THE VISION OF FRENCH AND EUROPEAN PERSONALITIES ON FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES-EUROPE

Before and during the US 2020 elections, we asked many personalities from various horizons to write us a few lines on their objective and subjective visions and forecasts of what may or will change or not on future relations between the United States / Europe in political, economic and defense matters regardless of the winner of the elections

Here we provide you with a summary of the contributions and then the latter (with translations provided by I.R.C.E. in italics)

Tank you to :

for countries, in order of arrival:

H.E. Mr. François de KERCHOVE d'EXAERDE - Ambassador of Belgium in France - honorary member I.R.C.E. 2020

H.E. Jorge TORRES PEREIRA - Ambassador of Portugal in Paris

H.E M. Eduards STIPRAIS, Ambassador of Latvia in France

Ms. Françoise DUMAS - Member of National Assembly in Gard - President of the Committee for National Defense and the Armed Forces

Ms Marietta KARAMANLI - Member of the National Assembly in Sarthe - Secretary of the Committee on European Affairs - Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Mr. André GATTOLIN - Senator of Hauts-de-Seine, vice-president of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defense and Armed Forces

Mr. Alain JUILLET - Former High Representative of French Economic Intelligence - Honorary Member of I.R.C.E 2019

Mr. General of the Air Force (2S) Jean-Paul PALOMEROS - Former Commander for NATO Transformation (2012-2015) - Honorary member I.R.C.E 2018

Mr. Admiral (2S) Alain COLDEFY - Former Inspector General of the Armed Forces - Honorary member I.R.C.E. 2014

Mr. General Engineer Hors Classe (2S) Jean-Luc VOLPI - Former Central Director of the Army Essences Service - Honorary member of I.R.C.E 2018

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Mr. General Engineer Hors Class of Armament (2S) Louis LE PIVAIN - Vice President of GICAN

Mr. Hors Classe General Engineer Bruno SAINJON - President of ONERA - Honorary Member of I.R.C.E 2015

Vice Admiral of Wing (2S) Arnaud COUSTILLIERE - former Director General of NUMerics and information and communications systems of the Ministry of the Armed Forces

Mr. Comptroller General of the Armed Forces (2S) Jacques PERGET

Mr. General Engineer of Armaments (2S) Olivier GRAS - member of the Scientific Committee of the I.R.C.E.

Colonel AA Alfredo ORTEGA BOLADO (ret) - Advisor to the Spanish National Security Department - Former Defense and Air Attaché to the Spanish Embassies in France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg - Territorial member I.R.C.E.

Mr. André-Hubert ROUSSEL - Chairman of ArianeGroup and Eurospace

Mr. Marc WAUTHOZ - Former senior Belgian banking executive - member of the Scientific Committee of the I.R.C.E.

Mr. Jacques PASQUIER - former head of aerospace industrial programs - member of I.R.C.E.

as well as many other personalities in activity or withdrawn from the State, institutions, defense, not wishing to appear but wishing to contribute in a general way to the reflection

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On reading these contributions below, I will note and approve in particular that it is especially appropriate to talk about leaders with certain profiles of personalities, that the Covid will have disrupted the elections and may have been right about D. Trump who was elected by the same base as the one who voted twice for Brexit in the United Kingdom or the rise of nationalist parties in Europe, even National Socialists, which will have finally achieved a good internal record, with courageous decisions like G Bush junior reelected

Even if the speeches of Trump and Biden seem much more different than they appear in domestic politics, one can predict that with a Democratic president there will be no real changes of speech or substantive action towards Europe, paradoxically forgotten but watched and unloved like a real competitor and a rebellious child in search of their own identity, sometimes forgetting that its history was mainly born out of a European melting pot. It will not be about a return of Europe to the foreign policy of the United States in the continuation of the great vacuum of the speech for Europe of B. Obama.

The substance will be consolidated, as in elections in France, by maintaining the administration, perhaps leaving freedom as to the form that will undoubtedly allow a gentler dialogue in terms of negotiation. Without imagining a third Obama term, J. Biden, with extensive experience in foreign affairs and international diplomacy, will perhaps make a comeback in certain multilateral or bilateral relations or even in certain agreements such as that of the climate, the subject of immigration, digital optimization, cyber threats or the return to Iranian nuclear power, or even the global solution to the current health crisis, which will undoubtedly be vectors of a peaceful link with Europe and the world.

The deep isolationist and protectionist US nature will remain present and may be accentuated as a strategic retreat of declining global influence to strengthen its way of life from within the EU, and its countries in general, bilaterally or multilateral, will seek to appease in a continuity of normal trade and diplomatic relations while seeking perhaps more possibility of just reasoned reciprocity, as the United States knew how to do formerly with Japan and tries to do it with China, who is also looking for measures adaptable to her glasses and her identity.

Energy will also remain a major issue of autonomy that the United States will not neglect, in particular the use of its currency, which some believe should not be tackled. The same will apply to the spatial dynamic on which Europe will also have to defend its difference, its achievements, its policy, its capabilities and its ambitions.

In terms of defense, nothing has changed for a long time either, nor will it change appreciably with a new president who will seek to reassure the countries of central Europe by transferring troops, or even bringing in but juggling scheduled returns. But many presidents have finally changed their minds.

There is no doubt that the United States will continue to bet on unfortunately non-intelligent competition with European products rather than seek a fair compromise, supported by the mention of NATO in European acts, or even almost in the defense industrial research plan. and

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its article 2 of economic solidarity, undoubtedly more than the military solidarity of article 5 guaranteeing collective protection.

It will be the same at the operational level with recognition of capabilities but a watch as to leadership not to be left to certain strong European nations such as France, which does not know how to use it intelligently. They will seek to calm relations with a Turkey with a very risky double game, better controlled internally, with in particular the apparent firmness of D. Trump who had made the warning forget but also finally let B. Obama do it. beyond the red line.

Those familiar with how NATO works know that fundraising stories are skewed and that there is a need to re-establish healthy realities of realistic interdependence beyond what is arguably more favored with a Democrat. Faced with the multiple threats, we can think that if we talk about the return of troops, the United States will always be ready to intervene in Europe and around the Mediterranean and especially in Asia but undoubtedly always and especially if pushed to do so. , as in the two world wars. Let's also work so that the new president understands what can mean a European governance within NATO and not simply a pillar, which will not be there to break the structure but to imagine it differently with the realities of the moment.

I will complete that it should be remembered that a democrat in the United States corresponds to the traditional right in France and in Europe, that Europe united in diversity, with such a melting pot of policies and peoples, always has more advanced with a moderate left inside than with a more identifiable right but perhaps more with the more radical outside to make it react and strengthen itself with its common elements and its complementarities, or even recognized segmentations beyond a simple voluntary association process and not being afraid of displeasing America's uncle in a new dynamic of governance with a now normal federal hat, on a labeled Franco-German basis but also on the strength other country consistency groups.

It could also have been appropriate to reason from the matrix on acceptable or unacceptable risks, but let us rely more on an active listening relationship with better dialogue between the actors and a better understanding of the problems and their environment.

If the United States does not change the substance, Europe should undoubtedly change the substance and the form and put itself in working order not to adapt but to ensure that it is for others to do it.

François CHARLES - Economist, expert in strategy, management, European affairs, Former industrial affairs manager at the DGA - President of I.R.C.E.

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a. The elections: it has not yet been decided despite what the polls suggest, which are also often wrong with regard to the presidential election. In the aftermath of the election, if the result is not a clear victory for one and a clear defeat for the other, there is a risk of a long period of contestation (especially since the votes cast in ballot box, which will be counted before those sent in the mail, will likely give Trump a majority). It is to be feared that this uncertainty about who will lead the country will give rise to internal violence and, internationally, to over-activism by disruptive actors (Russia, China, Turkey, etc.) who will seek to push their pawns by benefiting from the power vacuum in the USA.

b. The major trends in American society: let's not kid ourselves. Trump, when it comes to US foreign policy, is not just himself. He was able to skillfully play on a deep current in American society which has existed since the beginning of American history, namely isolationism. We Europeans had a tendency to forget this, since 1941 (and already before with Wilsonian messianism) the interventionist current has been prevalent. However, for several years now, and especially since the USSR disappeared, the massive political and military presence of the USA in Europe and even more in the Middle East and Africa has been strongly questioned. Trump from this point of view only accelerated what his predecessors had already largely started.

c. The shift in priorities towards Asia-Pacific: here too, Trump has not innovated and his retention or departure as President will not change much. On the contrary, the US strategic priority (in the broad sense of the term) towards the Pacific basin and Asia will only increase.

d. Relations with the EU: we should not form any ideas in this area either. The Americans never really liked the EU, and many of them even saw it as some kind of rival to the United States. It took all the intelligence and lucidity of a Kissinger, initially however reluctant to the EU, to tip American diplomacy towards a line more favorable to the EU. So let's not expect Joe Biden, if he wins the presidential elections, to make the US miraculously pro-EU. However, the prospects with the Democrats are better because they will be keen (it has already been announced) to maintain better relations with their allies and not to give preference to their enemies, as Trump has too often done. who seemed to prefer negotiating with Putin, Erdogan or the North Korean leader!

e. Priorities in the transatlantic relationship: it seems essential to return first to a calmer commercial relationship between the USA and the EU. Of course, the interests on both sides of the Atlantic are not identical but our priority should be to re-establish a less strained relationship. The question of strategic relations (in the politico-military sense of the term) are obviously of crucial importance but it is likely that things will go more smoothly with Biden as Trump had sought to destabilize NATO. However, let's not kid ourselves, even in this area the USA will only consider Europe as a Defense better if we can prove that the EU can bring added value. Speeches without numbers will do nothing.

f. Belgian priorities in transatlantic trade relations: Under the Trump administration, Belgium was relatively spared from US sanctions. The list of sanctioned American products should also have a negligible impact on the Belgian economy. On the other hand, a possible American counter-reaction could hit us harder. Belgium has always been and remains in favor of a negotiated

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solution. Faced with American intransigence, however, there are no other solutions than to impose sanctions while hoping that they will force the United States to start serious negotiations. Like many member states, Belgium had asked the Commission not to take any decision before the American elections were held. This request having been respected, we therefore intend to support the proposal for a regulation, as formulated by the Commission, next week. However, we call on the Commission to continue to work towards de-escalation. It goes without saying that the measures taken by both the European Union and the United States should be suspended as soon as the EU and the United States negotiate a solution to these trade disputes.

g. Multilateralism in general: Americans were never really enthusiastic supporters of it, but at least, before Trump, they played the game as much as possible. What we can hope for with Joe Biden is the end of systematic and ideological accusations against multilateralism. No doubt we will also be able to count on a gradual re-adhesion to certain international agreements (Paris Climate Agreements for example), or even to certain organizations (WHO, WTO, etc.). As Europeans, we will have to make sure to solicit the Americans on this subject by specifying the agreements and the organizations where we would like them to return and at what level. All this goes hand in hand with the fight against the growing influence of China in many multinational organizations.

S.E. M. François de KERCHOVE d'EXAERDE - Ambassador of Belgium in France

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Portugal attaches crucial importance to relations with the USA. The Atlantic Alliance is the basis of our collective security and the good transatlantic relationship is a perennial objective of Portuguese foreign policy, whatever the Administration in Washington. Portugal also has an expressive community of Luso-descendants in the USA, a large part coming from the Azores from which come some members of the House of Representatives who may be re-elected and candidates for election to the same chamber.

Our membership in the Atlantic area and our condition of ally, which derive from Portugal's geopolitical position, does not prevent us from getting involved with determination in discussions within the EU which could result in increasing autonomy. strategic position of Europe, Portugal being, simultaneously, defender of enhanced NATO-EU cooperation.

S.E. M. Jorge TORRES PEREIRA - Portuguese Ambassador in Paris

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We are looking forward to the official results of the U.S. presidential elections. We realise that it may take longer than usual due to the high voter turnout and early voting, as well as the substantial number of absentee ballots which have been sent in by mail.

We have full confidence in the U.S. electoral system. In the past, whatever disputes may have arisen, for example, on vote counting, have always been successfully resolved in line with the

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U.S. Constitution and the existing national legal norms and acts. The U.S. has plenty of experience in handling such cases if and when they arise.

The U.S. is Latvia's strategic ally. No matter which U.S. presidential candidate wins the election, Latvia will continue engaging in cooperation with the United States as closely and intensively as it has up till now. Over the past decades, we have a good track record working with Presidents from both parties and with their administrations, whether they are Democrats or Republicans.

Latvia and the U.S. share common long-term strategic goals, although our approaches may differ at times. Latvia will continue to closely work with the next U.S. administration in pursuit of our common goals and in strengthening transatlantic relations

H.E M. Eduards STIPRAIS, Ambassador of Latvia in France

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Whatever the outcome of the American election, the United States will remain a dominant power but increasingly reluctant to intervene in the world and pay for the security of its allies. We should not be delusional: the retention of Donald Trump or the coming to power of Joe Biden should not radically change the current inclination of the United States, initiated under Obama.

President Trump's unilateral diplomacy has undoubtedly damaged the multilateral order that France promotes and caused turmoil within NATO itself.

But it is above all the shift of the geostrategic interests of the United States towards the Indo-Pacific zone and the accentuation of their confrontation with China that explain the evolution of our strategic relations with the United States.

I remain attached to the promises of the Atlantic Alliance, but we must not hide the limits currently reached: it will be necessary in particular to respond concretely to the severe but realistic observation made by the President of the Republic.

We must seize the strategic moment which is ours and which stems strongly from the American evolution: Europe must strengthen its strategic autonomy to escape the commodification of its alliances or its security.

Europe must assert itself as a power, protector of its citizens, sovereign of its choices and speaking to the world. It must make the political and financial effort to defend its own interests and security.

Whoever the future president is, this is undoubtedly our way forward.

Mrs Françoise DUMAS – member of the national assembly - Gard - President of the Committee for National Defense and the Armed Forces

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G. TRUMP was and remains opposed to multilateralism, the European Union and the trade treaties signed by his predecessors; he treated and treats dictators and democratic state governments alike. He told the Europeans that he did not intend to guarantee their safety. He revived a tradition of isolationism that the United States has cultivated. In other words, his will not to depend on others has opposed and opposes an international order tending to be regulated by law. It thus decided to withdraw the United States from the Paris Climate Agreements (COP 21). This only half worked because the European Union generally resisted; This is also the case on the Iranian file, where the American withdrawal and its policy of sanctions hardly worked.

J. BIDEN announced that if he won the United States would return to multilateralism, to international diplomacy and to the agreements and institutions denounced by G. Trump. Still, part of American opinion is convinced that the United States should take care of the Americans and nothing but them. It will already have a lot to do internally.

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With J. BIDEN, the European Union would certainly find a quality interlocutor and dialogue, but it will in any case have to "move forward" to assert itself as a world power. Speaking on behalf of 27 states that have no real common foreign policy, no defense and no pro-active trade policy is no easy matter; yet Europe appears to be the vehicle not only useful but also essential for providing lasting solutions. New avenues must therefore be explored and implemented.

As we can see, the TRUMP administration has shed light on European strengths and weaknesses, and strangely, opportunities that will find their place in a new constructive and balanced transatlantic dialogue. At least that's what I want.

Mrs Marietta KARAMANLI – member of the national assembly - Sarthe - Secretary of the European Affairs Committee of the National Assembly - Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

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2020 elections: it will not be the big return of Europe in the foreign policy of the United States. Whatever the outcome of the 2020 presidential election, I don't believe that one can expect a big pro-European turnaround in US foreign policy. Either way, US foreign policy will remain heavily influenced by the considerable power of the Senate in this area, which largely represents the economic interests of the agrifood industry in the country's rural states.

In the event of Joe Biden's victory, the multilateral organizations that Mr. Trump left with a bang (Paris Climate Agreement, Iranian Nuclear Agreement, Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, WHO, UNESCO ...), could witness a return from the United States, but not in all cases. If Mr. Trump wins, his strategy of breaking up multilateralism will certainly be renewed.

Mr. Biden will undoubtedly not venture into perilous negotiations on Iran's nuclear program, nor will he give up demanding of Europeans military spending at a minimum level of 2% of their GDP, as Mr. Trump, in a very virulent way, in recent years. He will defend tooth and nail the interests and current market positions of GAFAM, against which Brussels is crusading as part of its policy on competition and digital sovereignty.

A Democratic presidency could still be a good sign for the old continent because during his long career in the United States Senate, Mr. Biden was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but also head of the sub-committee in charge of European Affairs. As such, he has traveled extensively in Europe and knows the Balkans particularly well. More accustomed to the codes of diplomacy than his rival, Joe Biden has indeed publicly expressed very firm positions with regard to Turkish President Erdogan, but also Chinese President Xi, with whom he could nevertheless try to negotiate commercial counterparts to the enormous flow of Chinese imports to the United States. Joe Biden will also not dig out transatlantic free trade negotiations with the EU, but could instead aim to reach specific or sectoral agreements, subject to post-Brexit negotiations with the UK. In short, either way, it will not be Europe's big comeback in US foreign policy.

Mr. André GATTOLIN - Senator of Hauts-de-Seine, vice-president of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defense and Armed Forces



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The American election is undoubtedly one of the toughest in the history of this country between a Republican president who would have won without discussion if it had not been for the Covid crisis and a Democratic candidate who is supported by a party which, having refused the last result of the ballot box, devoted all its forces and by all the means, including illegal ones, to attack the president during all his mandate. If he has often deserved to take blows, we have to admit that nothing will have been spared him even when he managed to unblock the situation between Israel and the Arab countries or reduce the rate of job seekers to the lowest level. of recent years.

French journalists, whose tropism for New York and California is known, dutifully showed Trump's turpitudes, absurdities and failures while forgetting to address the bizarre affairs of Vice President Biden and his son in the framework of aid provided to States by the Americans. In their hatred of Republican America, which is reminiscent of that of some of our diplomats, they censored reality which prevents the 82% of French people who have become anti-Trump from understanding how such an incapable and hated president can stand a small chance to win.

Just as in France the bobos of the big cities believe that they are France while forgetting the rest of the territory, so in America the middle west has nothing to do with the Americans who serve us as references. Moreover, this deep America is not just a grouping of little whites. There are also men and women from diverse backgrounds who do not necessarily vote democratic and who often have lower standards of living than the French. To talk about recent high-profile events like the Black Lives Matter which are an active minority in the United States, do we know that the outgoing president, despite his sweeping statements, is considered to have done more for the black population and Hispanic than its predecessor.

Let's stop dreaming, in international politics the two camps have the same objectives: it is the apparent method that changes. Whichever president is elected, foreign policy will change only marginally. Whether she is assaulted and despised by Donald Trump or stroked the grain by Joe Biden the end result will be the same. America is at war with China to keep its world leadership, which it is projected to lose in the next 25 years. In this struggle for world supremacy, all blows are permitted and the fight is taking place in Asia-Pacific, as Europe had already discovered at the time of President Obama, who superbly ignored us. Trumps was rude, often brutal and at times hateful. Biden is better educated but that will not change the current objectives and methods, especially as ethics is not their primary virtue. Both will sacrifice Europe without hesitation if it can get them to score points in this planetary battle between the two hyperpowers.

Let us not forget that in the United States, as also in Europe as our President suggests, it is not the presidents who command but the deep state, this administration which blocks any initiative which does not go in its direction and which for the moment has only one absolute priority: to hold on to win.

Mr. Alain JUILLET - Former High Representative of French State Economic Intelligence

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The result of the American elections: a “game changer” for European defense? On the form, certainly on the substance, it is much less obvious.

There is no doubt that the outcome of the American elections will have an impact on the relations that the United States has with the European Union in general, including in matters of defense. However, on this point, before any hasty conclusions, in particular in the perspective of a victory for the Democratic candidate, it is advisable to remain cautious. Indeed, the arrival of a new master in the White House and a new administration should not be a major game-changer except in form.

As far as the defense of Europe is concerned, from his election in 2016, President Trump made it clear: the United States could no longer bear the bulk of the burden, Europeans must invest more in their defense.

This message could not surprise the latter since it had been hammered continuously by all American officials since the creation of the Atlantic Alliance in 1949. On the other hand, the Allies, in particular those neighboring Russia, were very marked by the aggressive speech by Donald Trump and the explicit threats it contained as to the systematic non-application by the United States of the famous Article 5 guaranteeing the collective defense of the Alliance if the Europeans did not accept the "new defense deal »: Spend more and buy American. No American president has in the past explicitly taken this step, that of "commercial" contracting the role of the United States in NATO.

That said, as a result 4 years later, of course, mutual trust within the Alliance has largely eroded, Turkey's attitude helping, but basically nothing has really changed, the American forces are still present on the Alliance's eastern front and the Europeans are still intimately dependent on the United States for their collective defense. However, we can rightly advance the observation that the attitude of President Trump associated with a more acute perception of contemporary threats has pushed Europeans to take a collective interest in their defense and to take interesting initiatives but whose concrete results are still struggling. manifest.

What will happen if Joe Biden becomes the US "Commander In Chief"? From his past functions, he knows Europe and Europeans well and we can expect a charming offensive from him aimed at reassuring his European friends and allies by renewing his country's will to stand by its Allies in all circumstances. There is no doubt, however, that the concern for a balanced defense burden will always be present, even expressed in a much more diplomatic way. All the more so since for the future administration, whatever the political stripe, the main existential threat will continue to come from China. As such, we must remember the famous "pivot to Asia" announced at the time by President Obama, without, moreover, manifesting itself in as spectacular a manner as some had predicted.

In fact the real question for Europeans behind the results of the American election is to know what will be their weight in the future foreign policy of the United States and in general in major

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world issues. As such, a change of American president could give a new constructive impetus to the American-European relations in particular in the diplomatic field, even economic.

But let's not kid ourselves, the equation of the future of Europe, of its power, of its strategic autonomy, of the means of its defense will remain in the hands of Europeans, whatever happens across the Atlantic on November 3, They would be wrong to imagine that peaceful relations with the big American brother will resolve the fundamental questions which arise for them, in particular for their defense vis-a-vis the multiple forms of threats which they are confronted. Only a strong, self-confident and determined Europe can constitute a credible, reliable and respected partner, whether for the current tenant of the White House or his successor, if there is a successor!

Mr General of the French Air Force (2S) Jean-Paul PALOMEROS - Former Commander for NATO Transformation (2012-2015)

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The 59th presidential election in the United States, on November 3, 2020, exceeds, by its international stakes, the only domestic rivalry between Democrats and Republicans which, as always, will make the result. The question facing Europeans and the French in particular is to determine whether the axes of divergence of Donald Trump's policy from that of Barak Obama are likely to be strengthened with a second term for Trump or to be modified with a Biden administration. . Hence these few lines, very reductive, to help form an opinion.

It has often been written that Trump's obsession was to destroy Obama's legacy in foreign policy (as he effectively did in domestic policy). In fact, it opened a new era in international relations, dubbed "post-end of the cold war". Thus the global war against terrorism has left the first place it occupied since Bush Jr and the attacks of 2001 and it has not engaged the American armed forces in any new foreign operation, in contrast to a constantly aggressive discourse. even transgressive. However, while many initiatives such as the end of the Vienna nuclear agreement on IRAN, the Paris climate agreement will doubtless not be modified by a Biden administration that is too happy to take advantage of it, the subject burning Middle East may experience new initiatives with a new president.

This foreign policy of Dr. Trump was during his mandate defined as that of competition, implied between powers or "great power competition", with the slogan "America first" which translates into unilateralism and nationalism: it is therefore the programmed death of multilateralism and international institutions. Europeans have not really realized this, either by fighting this development or by taking note of it.

It is consequently the end of a Western desire until then intact to expand democracy, its values and its markets - let us not forget this commercial side of the Anglo-Saxons - widely supported in Europe, to make from Russia, China, and various dictatorships, suitable partners. These countries are now treated as rivals, primarily China. Europeans must be aware of this, France is beginning to take the measure. Nothing will change this course of history, unfortunately. The famous pivot of foreign policy towards the Pacific and China does not date from Trump.

When it comes to Europe, Trump has always put forward the trade deficit with the EU and Germany first to justify heightened protectionism. The Europeans must unite because that will not change with Biden, far from it.

With regard to NATO, the repeated American declarations on the weak defense effort of the European countries have not been followed up because many of our partners of the EU still believe in the protection "ne varietur" of the gendarme. from Washington. If the criticisms can be toned down with Biden, they delude themselves deeply into the illusion of a step backwards and effectively weaken a brain-dead European defense as well.

Concerning France, it has a double window of fire with the concomitant departure of the British under Brexit. By making more "team" with its neighbors, instead of playing "solo", it can take again a kind of political "leadership" on the Old Continent thanks to its nuclear deterrence among others. With Trump and the Republicans, the relationship is most often a balance of power, which

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allows you to be respected when you yourself are strong. With a Democratic administration, dialogue is easier, but the reality is less.

The stakes are not settled, but all is not well, whatever the future POTUS 'President of the United States', for the security of Europeans and the sustainability of their social model.

Admiral (2S) Alain COLDEFY - Former Inspector General of the Armed Forces

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Whatever the winner of these elections, the United States will retain a will to continue to base its power on the three pillars of energy control, the economy (dollar) and military power. The position will remain hard on Nord Stream 2.

The dialogue with Joe Biden in case of success in the presidential election, will perhaps be softer but not for all that more open. If the shape changes, the background will not change anyway. In a certain continuity, relations will remain friendly with the countries of the European Union as long as the latter agree to buy American products off the shelf, in particular defense products with the link displayed with NATO and made sacred in European constitutional texts.

It is also not certain that the ambiguity posed by the Turkish equation finds a solution in this possible alternation. Some lend the United States a paradoxical position by pushing its EU partners to better share the burden by taking more responsibility for their defense, but at the same time, keeping them dependent on armaments. American. It is not so. Spending more to buy American makes relentless logic.

A positive element, however, in the event of alternation, is the possible return of the United States to international commitments from which Trump had withdrawn them, including those related to environmental policies. But let's not doubt that their progress will be according to their agenda.

General Engineer Hors Classe (2S) Jean-Luc VOLPI - Former Central Director of the French Armies Essences Service

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This election will not change much in the American strategy of digital supremacy and conservation dependent on Europe. It materializes through certification, auditability or even extraterritoriality actions supported by an extremely powerful digital industry in all aspects: infrastructure, cloud, development, cyber, AI It is clearly a strategy global which we should not be fooled or even less naive. Do we wish to be partners or vassals? This is the heart of the matter and the answers are different depending on the sector

This election will not change much for our business interests. Let there be no illusions that the United States has not been a friendly partner of Europeans for many years. They are sometimes in rivalry even in confrontation when we are struck by American sanctions”, launched this morning Bruno Le Maire, Minister of the Economy, on Radio Classique. "Europe is, for the United States, an adjustment variable", adds the tenant of Bercy. "We must be aware of that and it is time for the Europeans to take their responsibilities and build a strong European sovereignty and a strong economic and technological political group" to weigh between China and the United States, launched Bruno The mayor. "So whether the Americans choose Donald Trump or Joe Biden, that will not change this strategic fact (...) it is time for the Europeans to finally take their political and economic responsibilities in trade with Europe"

Democrats or Republicans, the finality will not change, the form alone will be different. The positive point is awareness of this at European level and in particular Franco-German. For digital, there can be no strategic autonomy without addressing all aspects; we too often speak of start-ups or AI, forgetting that without mastered infrastructures this only serves to increase our dependence.

This is why the debates around 5G, IoT or even the Cloud are fundamental even if very arid and quickly technical.

Hence the strategic importance of the FR / GE initiative GAIA-X is its foundation stone, which is the OVH-T.SYSTEM strategic agreement. It is through this type of concrete short-term action carried by a core of a core of economic players who believe in the market that the dynamic can then be amplified.

Vice Admiral of a Squadron (2S) Arnaud COUSTILLIERE - former Director General of NUMerics and information and communications systems of the Ministry of the Armed Forces

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If Donald Trump is re-elected, we know what to expect ... and that's not good. A weakening of American funding to NATO, with a clearly displayed desire to put into practice the motto "I want my money back!" By all means, including strong pressure on European governments to buy American defense equipment. If Joe Biden is elected, can we expect a return to the policies practiced during the Barack Obama era? It's possible.

Finally, in both cases, there is uncertainty in the short term: what will be the attitude of the United States towards Turkey? It is certainly a more specifically French problem, but to which our European allies, members of NATO, cannot be indifferent.

General Engineer Hors Class of Armaments (2S) Louis LE PIVAIN - Vice President of GICAN

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From an institutional point of view, ONERA makes an effort to maintain the relationship with all of its American partners, whether civilians such as NASA (directly and via IFAR (world association of aeronautical research establishments) or military (institutions under DoD, NATO), of course in agreement with the supervisory authority .

The situation should remain the same regardless of the outcome of the elections. The most impacting in our international relations, whatever the continent, is of course the health situation and all the constraints, legitimate, which result from it.

General Engineer Hors Classe of Armament Bruno SAINJON - President of ONERA

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US policy has never really changed over the past 40 years with a target set in the late 1970s. The substance remains the same, the form has changed and will undoubtedly change again

The American influence is diminished in the world, but with a reaffirmed desire for strong ties to Europe. European countries, including France now, wanted to benefit from NATO protection without making any efforts

the face of NATO has changed. there is no question of talking about a European army without a European identity. The disorder provokes the strength of emerging powers

Comptroller General of the Armed Forces (2S) Jacques PERGET

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The United States has historically constituted itself as refraining from intervening in all intra-European quarrels, somehow mastered by the European concert of nations in the 19th century.

In this regard, President Monroe's statement should be interpreted as "everyone at home": Europe to Europeans, America to Americans.

The Americans found themselves involved in the two world wars reluctantly.

Their dearest wish, which has been a guideline of their foreign policy, is that the nations of Europe live in peace and be prosperous enough to fuel transatlantic trade. In this respect, the Marshall Plan made economic and financial assistance from European countries conditional on closer European cooperation.

A second factor, essential and invariant, is geography.

The United States, a continent-wide country, does not have an immediate belligerent neighbor. Cuba, which posed a threat in the 1960s, is no longer a real one. They are surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and share their military and economic interests between the countries bordering these two oceans.

The United States, the world's leading economic and military power, has competitors, Russia and China in particular.

The European Union, with ill-defined borders, is surrounded by neighbors who can be hostile. The terribly fragmented history of the peoples of Europe makes the Russian neighbor perceived as a historical threat to the Poles and the Balts. It is the same for the Hungarians or the Greeks who freed themselves from the Turkish yoke by the arms. The immense African territory that the Mediterranean unites to the European Union is a continent full of promises but also of serious uncertainties and certain threats.

These fundamental geographical differences introduce a cleavage in the transatlantic relationship which remains for many European countries, members of the Atlantic Alliance, the pillar of their collective security.

General Armament Engineer (2S) Olivier GRAS - Former industrial affairs manager at the DGA - member of the Scientific Committee of the I.R.C.E.

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There will be no real substantive changes except a disturbing personality change. If D. Trump is at an economic war with Europe and has changed the way he treats his allies and enemies, J Biden will not necessarily announce the return to the old world because the United States has changed. If J. Biden is elected, there will be no inflection in military relations because the US military is convinced that it needs their allies politically and even operationally with an appreciation of European capabilities. D. Trump wanted to reassure the allies in Eastern Europe with a transfer, or even a supply of troops, at the same time as a focus on Asia. The troops love D. Trump, but the officers would prefer another leader.

An active General Officer

* * *

I can't help but have a certain feeling of loss of past stability.

The main element of any relationship is the desire to maintain and strengthen a bond. When this will is subjected to the attack of disintegrating forces, internal and external, intentional or not, the strength of the bond is tested. We can see that at present, the United States - Europe bond is suffering and the natural tendency to take care of oneself in difficult situations has strengthened. If this situation persists, it can end up corroding relationships and sweeping away the vision of the community.

It is in these difficult times that we need these smart and determined leaders to see the situation and fix it before the deterioration undermines the pillars of the relationship and the building, built for so many years, collapses as a sugar cane attacked by the liquid.

Greatness and openness are needed to bring countries into this situation, although the question still remains whether we got there precisely because of poor and incompetent leaders.

The United States - Europe link is based on the defense of common values. These values have remained almost unchanged for many years, but the enormous development of the Internet has led to the massive and uncontrolled dissemination of information all over the world and in a way we have all mutated, we are not. not like before. Our concerns are now climate change, immigration, cyberactivism, social networks, "fake-news", etc.

This new world has especially reinforced individualism, which is a first-rate element of disintegration. It is not strange that populisms, nationalisms, regionalisms appear or that religious feelings are reinforced; that the decline of national and international institutions occur; and that international relations are weakening.

The COVID19 pandemic has mainly strengthened all the disintegrating elements and represents, for several countries, an opportunity to change the current world order.

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Hopefully our leaders in Europe and the United States will be able to properly assess the situation and rise to the occasion. Do you bet?

Colonel AA Alfredo Ortega BOLADO (r) - Advisor to the Spanish National Security Department. Former Defense and Air Attaché at the Spanish Embassies in France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

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The first televised debate between candidates Trump and Biden for the presidential election was broadcast live on French news channels continuously. Two weeks earlier, the speech of the President of the European Commission Ursula Von der Leyen on the State of the Union had not been entitled to such a podium.

The next American election captivates, beyond the borders, by the confrontation between two candidates carrying two largely antagonistic programs, the outcome of which could profoundly change the future of relations between the United States and its allies, including Europe.

European space actors are also watching with interest what is happening on the other side of the Atlantic, but note that American space policy was little discussed during the campaign. Whichever administration takes the oath in effect next January, the bipartisan agreement that space is essential to the US economy and defense is unanimous and is not questioned by either candidates.

Beyond the very visible exploration programs, space has become a major strategic issue in the United States: under the Trump administration in particular, through its national space strategy, the desire to ensure and maintain American domination in space is everywhere. The creation of the Space National Council, which deals with both the definition of space policy, commercial and regulatory issues (such as the allocation of frequencies and bandwidth), space traffic management and cybersecurity is an obvious illustration. The creation of the Space Force which consecrated space as a "theater" for national defense or the American decree paving the way for the exploitation of extraterrestrial resources are others.

This strategy, driven by strategic and defense considerations, has recently been accompanied by an industrial policy that simultaneously promotes the development of commercial activities, with the recurring establishment of public-private partnerships and fixed-price contracts with private companies (for example with SpaceX for sending astronauts from American soil to the ISS). The "New Space" phenomenon, of which SpaceX is a leading figure, is also a reflection of this trend which not only allows the State to be more responsive, to free up funds to finance new strategic capacity development activities and , in addition, to have an aggressive policy on commercial markets, which is financially interesting but also to exert continuous pressure on the activities of non-American competitors.

The risk for space Europe is therefore, and whatever the future president of the United States, that its actors can no longer be considered as credible interlocutors, including as allies, if we do not equip ourselves similar capabilities, which are supported by a real commitment of institutional actors for an ambitious European space policy, including in its "defense" aspects. And there can

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be no ambitious space policy, whatever the powers and whatever their leaders, unless backed by a solid and coherent industrial policy.

André-Hubert ROUSSEL - Chairman of ArianeGroup and Eurospace

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The Trump and Biden programs are much more different than they seem (taxation, stimulus, climate, multilateralism, ...), but whoever is elected, he will first take care of his local garden . Globalization is no longer fashionable, and the Chinese have done everything, beyond what is acceptable, to make it so.

In this context, it is absolutely necessary that Europe wakes up, exists, and weighs its true weight: economic, financial but also societal and social, cultural, visionary. Carl Gustav JUNG said: "Crises ... do not arise by chance. They serve us as indicators to rectify a trajectory, to explore new directions ...". We will have the chance to be able to take advantage of the great Circus of these American elections, of its excesses, its excesses, to mark Europe with a real positive personality.

As long as we are content to think that all that is good is thanks to us, thanks to France, and that all that hurts or is useless is because of Brussels, we will not go very far . And we will crumble miserably, as the British take the road. We have the opportunity, and the chance, to advance the idea of a stronger, more united and better equipped Europe to face the global challenges that lie ahead, with certainty. The July summit, and the recovery plan (financed by the B.C.E.), is a unique opportunity to take a step in the right direction, towards a positive and productive federalism. The basic principle of the creation of Europe (ECSC, Treaty of Rome, various extensions) was the principle of Association. So strict voluntary service.

It is time to consolidate these achievements (see Trichet speech) and move on to a more proactive, more exciting, and more integrative phase 2. We see every day, under our windows, from Warsaw to Lisbon, that this ineffective volunteering is no longer enough and does not work to face the challenges of tomorrow. Viruses cross borders, social networks ignore them, terrorist ideas are happily taking hold, the excesses of finance and poverty make us ashamed.

It is time, and the right moment, for the European Parliament and the Commission to agree on a certain number of priorities to be shared, with a modus operandi decided democratically as well as serious and responsible monitoring. No country, even the so-called frugal cannot do without billions from the ECB for their recovery. There is an opportunity to seize to take a step, motivated and justified, with elegance and efficiency, towards more European federalism. The Franco-German couple must be in the driver's seat (37% Eur. GDP), helped by the 3 other "big ones": Italy, Spain and Benelux. The others will always be able to wrap themselves in the rights of the Treaty of Lisbon to follow, or to get off the ship. But we must move forward.

Marc WAUTHOZ - Ancien haut cadre bancaire belge - membre du Comité Scientifique de l'I.R.C.E.

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I will start with a quote that struck me: "This is one of the signs by which we recognize our attachment to a country: we would like to vote there" (J rome Chapuis in La Croix l'Hebdo). And by a complementary reflection that inspires me the next 50th anniversary of the death of General De Gaulle: it is perhaps also because we failed in his message of independence that we are so anxious about the result. And that we are exaggerating the strategic importance to us. Our monetary, legal, strategic, military, technological, media and cultural dependence (think of me too and Blacks live matter) and maybe medical (see next vaccine) remains absolutely considerable.

It's not very original but I don't think that in terms of defense and economics, the difference is really major between the 2 possible winners. Even if, like many French and Europeans, I hope for Biden's victory with positive consequences on climate policy and perhaps a certain commercial appeasement. I do not really believe in an "Atlantic / Western" rapprochement with China, which will remain the first concern of the USA. whatever happens. And Europe would be well advised to take very, very seriously about its defense, which I do not really perceive in particular by the next stimulus plan.

What I hope mainly from a victory for Biden is to see finally fall an extravagant and dangerous populist, which Europe, and incidentally my 2 American grandchildren, urgently need. Will we soon have to prepare ourselves, since we import everything from the west, to barricade our businesses on election night as at the announcement of a storm or a demonstration of yellow vests? If Trump wins I would console myself in the hope of a reawakening of Europe and its dangerous illusions of protection by its American "big brother".

Jacques PASQUIER - former head of aerospace industrial programs

With J. Biden, it is possible to hope for better cooperation on an important EU priority, which is the climate. J. Biden will a priori be generally more favorable to multilateralism, cooperation imaginable at the WTO, even if it will not be easy, and at the WHO. There will be a more favorable view of the EU. Abandonment of the Trumpian approach seeing the EU as an enemy and focusing on the US trade deficit. Cooperation possible on China and other trade issues, even if bilateral conflicts (Airbus / Boeing, digital services tax) will not disappear with a wave of a magic wand. No big TTIP-type partnership, even if some might dream of it (but the reasons for the impossibility to conclude under Obama are still there and will probably only be accentuated with Biden). Possibly more favorable vision of European strategic autonomy (Europe takes charge of stabilizing its neighborhood and allows the US to focus on Asia). With this nuance that the international engagement of the US could be strongly constrained / limited to what is strictly necessary because of the scope of the subjects to be treated at the domestic level.

A person from the European Institutions

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It should be remembered the importance of the NordStream2 dossier and the importation of American shale gas which should decrease over time regardless of the outcome of the elections because companies are not profitable;

If Biden wins, there should be no more new licenses, synonymous with shutdown as companies funded themselves from banks based on the potential of new wells. If there is no more export interest, the US battle against NS2 loses at least an economic justification.

Whatever the outcome, the energy transition will advance, either driven by industry and finance or also supported by public policies. For the moment the FERC is blocking some progress and although it is an independent agency it will have to align itself with federal objectives where appropriate.

A person formerly in post at the European Institutions

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For the allies of the United States, in particular Europe and the member countries of NATO, Joe Biden makes it known that the commitment of the United States vis-à-vis them is sacred and unconditional. The United States will return to the Paris Climate Agreement and commit to the goal of a fully carbon-free economy by 2050. It will also join the Iran Nuclear Agreement if that country's leaders honor their commitments . Joe Biden speaks out for nuclear non-proliferation and for reaching an agreement with Russia on the limitation of atomic weapons. He will continue to defend liberalism and Western values with the slogan "Why America must continue to lead the world".

In conclusion, it is certain that if Joe Biden is elected President of the United States, international relations will be calmer, and a new world order will be erected, especially after the great Covid 19 epidemic which hit the planet in this year 2020. .

A Colorado family of one of our members

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