



**I.R.C.E.**

Institut de Recherche et de Communication sur l'Europe  
*Le Think Tank des dynamiques européennes*

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Paris, 20 February 2025

Mr. Donald TRUMP  
President of the United States  
White House  
by email

Mr. President of the United States of America,

For the record, I.R.C.E. is a generalist and independent think and do tank, unlike what you know in your country. Our incriminating and exculpatory reflections are often taken up in France and Europe by the ministerial, diplomatic, institutional, industrial, financial and economic ecosystems, but also in the United States. I am writing to you as a Frenchman but especially as a European with the help of some other people from various fields.

First of all, receive our congratulations on your new election without appeal, responding to the aspiration of the majority of Americans. Allow me then to address a few major non-exhaustive themes, such as defence, competition, the economy, industry and energy, on which the United States of America and those of Europe, more united in diversity, may or may not confront each other, if possible in intelligent competition. While competition is often successful, you know that any confrontation creates damage to all parties, regardless of the objective.

Before addressing the substance, it is still necessary to understand the European realities. Europe could thank you for helping it to unite but it is currently rather afraid, as when the United States did not respond to its call or when it controlled us too much and accustomed us to referring to its system, especially in certain post-World War II constitutions, not to say second before a potential third that can be prepared. You currently bear some responsibility for this through the form of your actions, even if they may be legitimate. The European system is made up of institutions and its own well-identified governance, but also of countries of different sizes and wealth, with also groups of countries that are real laboratories with their knowledge, know-how and interpersonal skills that can be strong among themselves in any form of partnership, internal or external, whether it be cooperation, collaborations or alliances.

You are elected by the Americans and not by the Europeans on an internal program with initiatives and choices that are often surprising and offensive, in a perfectly assumed transactional relationship that is more bilateral than multilateral. Your internal policy is none of our business, but let us make no mistake, we have the same battles, whether economic, security or migratory, even if the Europeans, who have largely created your nation, still think that you can or even must come to their rescue. But it is

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true that, as with Artificial Intelligence, your nation is no longer the one of La Fayette's time and has created its own identity, which the Europeans have been able to preserve. We have forgotten the lessons of the COVID crisis except for certain initiatives also taken on our side.

Americans also have the right to change the global security now installed in Europe, where you seem to want stability while fueling a potential fire that you will no longer be able to control. This is inconsistent with the image of a greater responsible attitude of a head of state, with nevertheless certain questions about your territorial remarks that could also play into the hands of some other leaders, unless we think that you are only awakening certain realities and consciences, especially when we discover the list of your guests for your enthronement. To come back to an image, your old idea of intervening by helicopters carrying water to extinguish the fire of Notre Dame cathedral that amazes you may have been good but it would undoubtedly have contributed to the destruction of the building.

If your methods may be surprising, they should be better listened to, analyzed and observed in order to run states or communities with method, as used for the companies you know, but with certain realities that may be different. As a business leader and now a state leader again, you could help us define ourselves and function effectively, in particular to be stronger together, under what slogan, with what identity, with what strengths, by erasing what weaknesses? You can give us some lessons on how to operate and develop so that you can finally, as for you, be as strong on paper as in reality, even united in diversity.

Your character as a promoter, but also a fighter and moderator, seeking to make things move forward, recognized for germinating solutions, can also turn against you with your natural psychological way of blaming and manipulating as expected by some of your interlocutors, living partly on their fears but also knowing how to handle the judo hold, of which you must be wary.

Your way of falsely playing with numbers, as when it comes to NATO funding, and as the British have suffered to steer them towards Brexit, can also deceive your interlocutors, as well as yourself, and can also, unfortunately, discredit you. Finally, with regard to Europe, you act psychologically as a parent, sometimes normative, sometimes benevolent, but in the face of a free or adapted child Europe, and no doubt we should go back on objective and informative positions, and we seem to understand, without judging, that you consider that you do not currently have an interlocutor at your level in the EU, except in certain Member States.

In terms of the economy, how do you want to do your business in Europe? Do you also want a Keynesian or Schumpeterian Europe? Do you want Europe to move forward in order or in disorder? In a position of strength and aggressiveness or weak and dependent? As allies against China or allies of China? With central banks in agreement or disagreement to limit rates and inflation? With harsh standards or

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derogatory trade agreements? And isn't it time to renegotiate a New Transatlantic Deal by relaunching TTIP?

We are all concerned about industry in terms of value creation and jobs. The Presidency of the Council of the EU often uses the term reindustrialisation and competitiveness. What interdependent short-, medium- and long-term strategy could we put in place and on which products, in a spirit of cross-purchasing, of dependence in interdependence in Europe, when we could be strong in our diversity? Why do you need to protect yourself so much when you could rely on patriotism to buy American products as the Japanese know how to do? Couldn't we combine our research and our manufacturing when the United States needs to invest 10, the Europeans only need 5 and the Chinese need three, unless of course the Europeans finally get closer to the Chinese?

The EU and its states, with the possible exception of France, are not protectionist by nature but nevertheless have a legal and fiscal arsenal to react to complaints. As far as the trade balance and taxes are concerned, taken globally or with each State, is it the fault of the States if consumers prefer German cars that are not subsidised, as in China, the cheese and wine that you are trying to reproduce and French luxury, or other European products? Everyone, even France, buys American industrial products without buying European Act, unlike you, and without generalized compensation, trying from now on to ask us the right question of whether a European alternative is possible, at what price, at what availability, at what standards, outside of geopolitical considerations.

What do you think of China's complaint to the WTO that it does not respect, except when it suits it? Could you not help us to standardise the strategic and commercial market of Mercosur in order to facilitate trade and the quality of products, which can also combat the obesity of your and our fellow citizens? Even if you will agree that trade, which also seems to be a weapon for you, is the basis of global functioning, don't you think that cross-buying should not derogate from the rules of standardization in place in the country or the buying area? The question remains as to what are the acceptable or unacceptable risks? When you talk about cars, you only talk about those from Germany and Fords are on the road in France or other countries. Do you want to divide or antagonize one of your strongest allies in Europe or maybe you could analyze the global balance?

Europeans are finally surprised by the promotion of your champion E. Musk, who has not become stateless and no longer acts on his own behalf within the 7 wonderful ones beyond the GAFAMs, in international relations and the notion of sovereignty, the meaning of which does not seem to be common. They also forget that your ambassadors do not come from diplomatic training, with a very large sponsorship of companies. Concerning personal data, I will simply take up the internal distinctions within the EU between a France that protects but gladly buys technologies of American origin and the rest of the Member States that want to value data while recognizing the benefits of the GDPR, or even of Cloud security.

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As far as energy and the environment are concerned, we would have a lot of things to note that could make us think, in particular the choices and transactions of energy sources, whether or not linked to climate change and Russia. Greenland and the northern routes could also be an interesting topic, as could Panama and Africa.

In terms of defence, France within the EU is leading a psychological projection, the same fight and the same aspirations as the United States, except that it does not have the means to do so alone. The French and British armies, which are certainly outside the EU, but combative, are respected and know how to achieve the same objectives with half or even three times less budget, as is the case for our start-ups. Do you want to leave NATO? Like you, they are not on the front line in the face of the re-emerging Russian threat, but seem to be a protective element. Is it this military dimension that the EU lacks to be autonomous and diplomatically strong and that would free you up to devote yourself to Asia, perhaps also by calling on us for support?

All the other EU countries are counting on your support, especially in the war economy, whose energy we saw deployed in 1942, but can also now find themselves behind France, stronger, playing the game of "without you", as it did a long time ago and in particular following misunderstood decisions. European money exists and you benefit from it. We can now better mobilize it for our own needs if it is proven that it is the end of American power and benevolence, or even of American purchases that are still possible in Europe, even with mirror clauses of quid pro quo as you practice. But what will the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians think of it, once again abandoned even with equipment that may not work in the end, as when France acquired its lookout planes? Is this what you are looking for in your economy? And what anger will you unleash if the world doesn't move forward?

The EU's operating principles are different from other federal structures with a defence located outside the sharing of sovereignty and whose structuring is granted to NATO, where you are a major player. Rather than committing itself to security promises that it is not capable of keeping, and maintaining pseudo federal coordination staffs, which in the end only agree in a detached way within NATO, the EU should clearly show itself with NATO, which all nations recognize, even by France in a different way. By agreeing to review your NATO commitments to the benefit of the Europeans, you will strengthen both European diplomacy and its ties with the United States. Once defence is linked to the EU, NATO should also have a look at European integration if the French accept it. It will also remain to analyse the nuclear support for the benefit of the Europeans. Perhaps the old WEU, a French idea with stronger clauses, will come back to create the European pillar within NATO with its own governance. But are you also ready to accept it?

We are therefore waiting for your vision of the United States' place within NATO, but if possible with realistic and up-to-date figures, particularly on the distribution of expenditure. Why not abandon Europe and manage its Article 5 remotely, but what about Article 2 on economic cooperation and all your current and potential markets? Why put forward erroneous figures on the deficit of countries when each contributes to the functioning of NATO at its fair share decided, even if your warnings about the

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capacities to be implemented in the event of conflicts are unbalanced are legitimate, forcing the United States to provide more, whether it intervenes immediately or in the long term. Will you also keep your objectives of 4% currently not achieved? And what will become of your investments in Europe if Russia takes it over, will you be compensated? Moreover, do you believe in an agreement with Mr. Putin on the division of the world as in Yalta? What could be your notion of solidarity?

You need to focus on Asia, but you must first help us structure ourselves to avoid coming back a third and perhaps last time, because you will do so as a savior of your interests even if you blame us heavily. Russia will strengthen itself as it did before 1991, but there is no guarantee that it will attack, as we expected in 1989, on almost permanent alert in our regiments. However, this time it will not be bothered by the defections of third countries, now in the Western camp, except perhaps internally in certain regions. You must help us to coordinate the areas of synergy with operational, industrial and economic coherence, which will de facto strengthen the European identity and legitimize the budget increases that you are calling for to strengthen capacities in the event that you decide not to intervene.

Finally, your action will serve European interests by giving us the time to be able to manufacture our own equipment without being dependent on yours or other suppliers, all other things being equal in terms of quality, price, delivery times, ease of maintenance and above all performance. Without being afraid to offend you or to take their responsibilities, the Europeans will keep NATO's structures and their standards, perhaps subjecting you to a tougher rule this time. The American blackmail of the checkbook does not date back to your term of office, when you never stopped investing, but already from the 90s when we succeeded in creating a team of industrial Europeans by forcing you to cooperate rather than impose yourself.

As far as the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is concerned, I know that some publications are inspiring to you and that it is necessary to reduce this risk of an abyss that could drag many nations down, especially for the control of resources, rare earths and an economic space more than a military aspect, with NATO already in fact on Russia's borders. But in the same way that you swear before God and American values, it may be interesting to choose which other values you could bet on while knowing how to act realistically, achievably and determinedly in time and not to elaborate ideas of omnipotence. If it will not be easy to return to the 2014 borders, it will not be easy to withdraw NATO from the 1991 borders.

What solutions could you recommend, such as those with which we managed to conclude the Minsk agreements, as well as before with Georgia, to actually stop the fighting more than to find a lasting solution. Like V. Putin, you operate without limit, you in action, he in public opinion, and you know that in order to last or change your strategy, there can be no permission without protection. It remains to be seen in what form you want to remain in world history? Unless you have a special agreement with V. Putin, what return on investment will you have on the sums paid for Ukraine if its wealth does not allow you to be reimbursed? Some are also asking for your facilitation in expanding the Abraham Accords.

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You are right, we must stop this war in a reasonable way without extremism which can lead to disaster, especially if China appears. Russia has never been beaten for a long time at home when it has been able to transform itself. But the Soviets have left Afghanistan, and the Russians could also leave Ukraine. If I never understood why we were banned from auditing the Donbass on pain of being persona non grata in Ukraine, this faded with the violence of the war led by the Russians, who did not, this time, lose their way as they said between 2014 and 2022. But this stop should not be done just like and especially not by disappointing your current allies too much. As a professional negotiator, if it is necessary to put all the elements on the table, and consider the psychological aspects, you have to be gentle with people even with the reality of the fighting, but the facts.

You know my writings on Ukraine and the various origins of the crisis, on Alsaces Lorraine, Crimea, advocacy, the Minsk agreements, the firebreak. But what will you do if the Europeans decide to continue to help without American aid, which is inferior to what you announce? Will you go to war against the Europeans through agreements – possibly secret like Hitler – with Moscow? What is the hidden deal with the EU or some of its member states? Why negotiate on NATO when it already exists on Russia's borders, unless of course to push it back to the borders of the Cold War, and therefore give the possibility to Russia, now reorganized after its debacle in 2022, to be able to invade other countries that are now unprotected? But no doubt this is a manoeuvre to allow the EU to rearm?

Do you think that the countries of Central Europe, which no longer want to return to Soviet fear, will continue to buy American equipment, especially according to Article 2 of the NATO treaty, unless you are no longer part of it? What would your voters say if they ran out of orders?

With regard to Ukraine's integration into NATO, whose naval base was a trigger for the war, we agree that it can very well remain an associated country for the time being and not forget that Austria did not enter it with a promise. As far as integration into the EU is concerned, which has also been a cause of the war, we can see that Ukraine is not ready for it anyway, nor is the EU, and that this time it is necessary to take time, even if Russia seems to be saying that the country can now join in full sovereignty, that it has never lost.

While one of your predecessors managed to put Russia at the end of its rope, you seem to want to work with it to the detriment of China but also of Europe, which seems to be the goose that lays the golden eggs that everyone wants and which has (had) chosen the transatlantic alliance. With your views on Greenland, you seem to follow V. Putin's reasoning for the seizure of territory. Maybe you're right about Panama, but why invite the Chinese president to your prose of office? Vladimir Putin still considers that the house that was sold at the end of his still belongs to him, except that apparently Ukraine could now join the EU in full sovereignty as if it had to ask for it? Maybe in exchange for an end to trade sanctions or rare earths, which are not so rare if we know how to dig a little, especially in Europe.

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Hoping to have caught your attention,

Receive my sincere greetings and my deep respect.

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