

# WARBORN IN THE USA

A tale of the demise  
of European democracy  
by an MEP under  
American influence





# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>3</b>
JÖRGEN WARBORN: PRIMARY TARGET TURNED ACCOMPLICE OF AMERICAN LOBBIES.....	3
THE EPP: THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE UNION OF THE EUROPEAN RIGHT AND FAR RIGHT .....	4
THE RADICALISED EUROPEAN RIGHT WING: A SYSTEMIC DANGER TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION .....	4
A REQUEST FOR A PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY COMMITTEE AND URGENT RECOMMENDATIONS TO PROTECT EU DEMOCRACIES AGAINST FOREIGN INTERFERENCE.....	5
<b>PREFACE .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>ACT 1: WASHINGTON WEAVES ITS WEB .....</b>	<b>7</b>
THE EUROPEAN CONSERVATIVES UNDER THE THUMB OF TRUMPISM .....	7
EUROPEAN CONSERVATIVES WANT TO “SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES” PRESENTED BY DONALD TRUMP’S ELECTION .....	10
<b>ACT 2: JÖRGEN WARBORN: THE TROJAN HORSE OF AMERICAN LOBBYISTS .....</b>	<b>11</b>
A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT THE FOREFRONT OF AMERICAN LOBBYING.....	11
AN UNPRECEDENTED PARLIAMENTARY STRATEGY, MODELLED ON THE OBJECTIVES OF AMERICAN LOBBIES.....	12
<b>ACT 3: BLACKMAIL, A PACT WITH THE FAR RIGHT, AND CLIMATE DENIAL .....</b>	<b>14</b>
UNPRECEDENTED BLACKMAIL IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT .....	14
IN THE MIDST OF TURMOIL, AN ALL-EXPENSES-PAID TRIP TO NAIROBI.....	15
JÖRGEN WARBORN’S PACT WITH THE FAR RIGHT .....	17
A TRIP TO WASHINGTON DURING A TENSE TRILOGUE.....	17
<b>EPILOGUE: A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN URGENT NEED OF DEFENCE AGAINST FOREIGN INTERFERENCE ....</b>	<b>19</b>
SUPERFICIAL TRANSPARENCY.....	19
THE DANGEROUS TIES BETWEEN THE CONSERVATIVE RIGHT, THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION AND AMERICAN LOBBY GROUPS .....	20
THE URGENT NEED TO OVERHAUL THE RULES ON LOBBYING AND FOREIGN INTERFERENCE .....	22

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**Between October and December 2025, BLOOM issued relentless warnings about the pending collapse of the *cordon sanitaire* in Brussels and the destruction of the European Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive (CSDDD). Today, in coordination with media outlets *Der Spiegel* (Germany) and *Aftonbladet* (Sweden), BLOOM publishes a major investigative report that traces the origins of the American interference that tipped European parliamentary democracy into the clutches of the far right and triggered a deregulation frenzy.**

In December 2025, a historically significant domino fell in the construction of European unity: the European Parliament adopted the first act to dismantle the Green Deal in an unprecedented union between the conservative right and the European far right. **This dangerous shift in the political balance in Brussels did not happen overnight: it was the result of the Trump administration's strategic action plan to bring about a white, Christian supremacist world order, backed by the extractive industries of fossil fuels and petrochemicals.**

**One man played a crucial role in this process of political destabilisation of European democracies and regression of social and environmental rights on the Old Continent: the Swedish MEP, Jörgen Warborn.**

In a strategy devised by fossil fuel lobbies and the Trump administration, this ultraliberal member of the conservative right EPP group (European People's Party) and rapporteur for the first Omnibus that led to the demolition of the European Directive on Corporate Due Diligence, worked to betray the higher interests of the European Union and turn our democracies into vassals of the fascist international agenda openly desired by Donald Trump.

**Our exclusive investigation delves into the authoritarian libertarian networks driving the large-scale destabilisation of the EU and sheds light on the harmful links between the European conservative right and Trumpist circles.**

## Jörgen Warborn: primary target turned accomplice of American lobbies

**On 16 January 2025, Jörgen Warborn met with the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium. This meeting marked the beginning of an unprecedented offensive by North American industrial lobbies on our European institutions.** Between January and October 2025, the Swedish MEP, rapporteur for the first Omnibus on corporate due diligence, met with American lobbyists more than ten times. As a prime target, Jörgen Warborn became their main interlocutor and accomplice: in less than one year, he met with the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium four times, a record for a Member of the European Parliament.

**As soon as parliamentary debates on the first Omnibus began, Jörgen Warborn served as a Trojan horse for American interests:** he adopted the strategy of the Trump administration and the fossil fuel industry (ExxonMobil, Chevron, Koch, TotalEnergies, Dow Chemical, JP Morgan) to torpedo corporate due diligence measures that would have forced multinationals to be held accountable in court for the human and environmental impacts of their entire value chain, and to align their strategy with the Paris Agreement objectives through the implementation of "climate transition plans".

**The plan of attack devised by the American lobbying firm Teneo on behalf of this climate-damaging industrial coalition was to dismantle the CSDDD, adopted in spring 2024 as a landmark victory of the Green Deal, by pushing an unprecedented alliance of the European right and far right against the rest of the European Parliament.**

## **The EPP: the driving force behind the union of the European right and far right**

In addition to his meetings in Brussels with American lobbyists in his capacity as MEP, Jörgen Warborn also took on the role of President of two lobbies promoting corporate interests, attending four international forums organised by the International Democracy Union (IDU), an organisation created in 1983 by Margaret Thatcher and George Bush, among others, to push a conservative and neoliberal agenda.

**Today, the IDU platform presents itself as “the Global Alliance of the Centre Right,” yet in reality it works to bring together conservative, Trumpist and neo-fascist right-wing parties from around the world.**

**The presidency of these lobbies places Jörgen Warborn in a conflict of interest,** with the first lobby, SME Europe, even appearing in the EU’s transparency register, while the other, SME Global, which claims to have “business representatives from across the globe”, is the corporate branch of the IDU.

While Jörgen Warborn’s travels reveal clear conflicts of interest and confusion between his roles as lobbyist and as Member of the European Parliament, they are above all an illustration of the inadequacy of the rules adopted by the European Parliament in the wake of Qatargate, a scandal involving corruption and foreign interference that shook the European Parliament from December 2022 onwards.

**Jörgen Warborn did not act alone in orchestrating the shift within the European Parliament towards the far right, which led to the Omnibus unprecedented act of normative regression. Several other senior politicians from the European right also worked to forge closer ties with the Trumpist movement** and travelled to the United States to meet with the Trump administration, several Republican elected officials, as well as other key players involved in the re-election of Donald Trump, among which the mighty Heritage Foundation:

- In December 2024, Manfred Weber, the German President of the EPP, met with Jörgen Warborn and the influential American think tank “The Heritage Foundation”.
- The Vice-President of the EPP, Spain’s Dolores Montserrat, accompanied Jörgen Warborn to Washington D.C. in December 2025 and was delighted to be congratulated by the American administration for the destruction of the Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive.
- The EPP President of the European Parliament, Roberta Metsola of Malta, also made numerous trips to the United States and told the American Chamber of Commerce that she wanted to torpedo the European CSDDD in order to please the American business community and the Trump administration.

## **The radicalised European right wing: a systemic danger to the sovereignty of the European Union**

**The European right wing had already shattered any ethical considerations of the public interest** by accepting funding from multinationals and participating in international forums financed by the North American fossil fuel industry and the Danube Institute, a foundation linked to Viktor Orbán’s regime, alongside Trumpist parliamentarians and members of the neo-fascist “Brothers of Italy” party.

## By aligning itself with the European and transatlantic far right, the radical conservative right is posing a systemic risk to the European Union.

Shattering the longstanding *cordon sanitaire* implemented to keep parties opposed to the rule of law at bay, and instead serving the interests of Trumpism and its fascist supremacist ideology, as clearly outlined in the US National Security Strategy<sup>1</sup>, poses a major threat to the sovereignty of the European Union, its security, peace, the stability of its economy and its climate future.

By aligning itself with the European and transatlantic far right, the radical conservative right is posing a systemic risk to the European Union: unsurprisingly, the EPP and Jörgen Warborn are now repeatedly calling for the parliamentary process on the US-EU trade agreement, which was put on hold after Donald Trump's threats to annex Greenland at the beginning of 2026, to be resumed as soon as possible.

## A request for a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee and urgent recommendations to protect EU democracies against foreign interference

In order to shed light on US interference and protect European democratic sovereignty, **BLOOM is calling on the European Parliament to urgently establish an Inquiry Committee.**

Additionally, we are forwarding our investigation to the **Advisory Committee on the Conduct for Members of the European Parliament**, in order to supplement the complaint filed in December 2025 against MEP Jörgen Warborn.

To protect our democracies, the achievements of decades of European law-making, and a future compatible with respect for the climate and biodiversity, BLOOM is calling for:

- **The creation of a single, independent body** responsible for enforcing all rules relating to the integrity of European public officials, with the power to initiate investigations and impose sanctions
- **A ban on closed-door meetings between Parliamentarians and lobbyists**, so that all such meetings are subject to public hearings
- **A ban on oil and gas companies influencing European policies**, based on the model of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
- A ban on European Parliament rapporteurs and shadow rapporteurs travelling outside the EU to participate in institutional, diplomatic or political meetings outside of a cross-party delegation
- Extension of the jurisdiction of the European Public Prosecutor's Office to criminal offences affecting the democratic interests of the European Union.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/2025-National-Security-Strategy.pdf>

# PREFACE

In June 2024, the European Union enacted historic legislation on sustainability due diligence obligations for companies operating within the European Union. Adopted as part of the Green Deal, this corporate sustainability due diligence directive (CSDDD) established two fundamental principles. Firstly, the creation of a harmonised European regime of corporate civil liability in terms of due diligence, to allow victims of multinationals operating within the European Union access to the courts. Secondly, the obligation to implement climate transition plans, in order to align the strategies of large companies with the objectives of the Paris Agreement and climate neutrality by 2050.

The CSDDD thus poses a direct threat to the oil industry, which is developing new projects around the world despite the conclusions drawn by the International Energy Agency (IEA) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). As revealed by SOMO, the Dutch Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations, ExxonMobil launched a major lobbying campaign in 2024 to pressure European states to repeal or thwart the European CSDDD.<sup>2</sup>

Against a backdrop of the rise of the right and far right in the June 2024 European parliamentary elections, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen launched hostilities on 8 November 2024 by announcing a vast deregulation programme, targeting due diligence obligations in its opening move through an “Omnibus” package legislation.<sup>3</sup>

## This is a clear case of European democracy being trampled upon, flouted and denied.

On 16 December 2025, the European Parliament finally adopted the Omnibus by 428 votes to 218, methodically dismantling corporate sustainability due diligence obligations in an unprecedented alliance between the right and the far right.<sup>4</sup>

Following this disastrous legislative process, BLOOM is sounding the alarm. Our findings during the adoption of the Omnibus Directive reveal an urgent need for a comprehensive reform of the rules governing lobbying within the European Parliament in order to preserve the democratic sovereignty of the European Union. This is a clear case of European democracy being trampled upon, flouted and denied.

**We have established that the MEP in charge of this file, Jörgen Warborn, a key figure in the historic right-wing alliance within the Parliament, was the target and mouthpiece of North American industrial lobbies and a key player in the White House’s campaign of interference in Brussels. This was carried out with the support of Manfred Weber, the president of the conservative right-wing European People’s Party (EPP) in the European Parliament. Both men are working to unite the right and build closer ties with Trumpist circles within a rapidly expanding, reactionary international movement.**

<sup>2</sup> SOMO, How Big Oil kills sustainability and climate legislation, 2025, <https://www.somo.nl/how-big-oil-kills-sustainability-and-climate-legislation/>

<sup>3</sup> European Commission, Informal meeting of Heads of State and Government in Budapest, Hungary, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZUzRlsyDr8&t=7s>

<sup>4</sup> BLOOM, Omnibus I: Under Trump’s diktat, Europe enters democratic darkness, 2025, <https://www.bloomassociation.org/en/omnibus-i-under-trumps-leadership-europe-enters-democratic-darkness/>

# ACT 1: WASHINGTON WEAVES ITS WEB

**On 6 November 2024, the European Union and the world woke up to the shock of Donald Trump's re-election to the White House, which heralded the return of an imperialist American policy marked by the storming of the Capitol on 6 January 2021.**

After the missteps of Trump's first term, chronicled in Michael Wolff's book, *Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House*, this second term was a victory for both JD Vance and a conservative sphere seeking to make a historic shift. At the heart of this plan was the Heritage Foundation and its *Project 2025: Mandate for Leadership*,<sup>5</sup> a 920-page document detailing the programme to be implemented for "institutionalizing Trumpism".<sup>6</sup>

In a world governed by power politics that disregards international law, the famous motto "If you want peace, prepare

for war" sets the course: in the face of hostile foreign powers, diplomatic efforts must be backed by deterrence. From December 2024 onwards, the president of the European conservative right, Manfred Weber, and the spokesperson for the European conservative right on trade issues, Jörgen Warborn, have been running counter to this doctrine.

## The European conservatives under the thumb of Trumpism

On 3 December 2024, Manfred Weber posted a video on Instagram filmed in front of the White House, explaining that his trip across the Atlantic was "obviously to connect with our American friends before the Trump administration [takes office]", emphasising that, a few days after the new European Commission took office, "one message is clear: we want to do things together...We need a common plan to protect freedom, to protect our economic interests towards Putin, towards China and towards Iran".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Heritage Foundation. Project 2025. Mandate for leadership, 2023, [https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULL.pdf](https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> The New York Times, Inside the Heritage Foundation's Plans for "Institutionalizing Trumpism", 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/21/magazine/heritage-foundation-kevin-roberts.html>

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/reels/DDIX5\\_Ml4jG/](https://www.instagram.com/reels/DDIX5_Ml4jG/)

## A forum that serves as a social register of conservative and neo-fascist right-wingers on a global scale.

This American tour by the president of the European People's Party (EPP) enabled Manfred Weber to forge links with Trumpist networks, his trip coinciding with his participation in the annual forum of the International Democracy Union (IDU).<sup>8</sup> Other attendees included the chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC), Michael Whatley, who was “congratulated...on the RNC’s historic victory”,<sup>9</sup> Donald Trump’s national security adviser Michael Waltz,<sup>10</sup> and numerous Republican senators and elected officials, such as Newt Gingrich,<sup>11</sup> Pete Ricketts,<sup>12</sup> Rick Scott,<sup>13</sup> Darrell Issa,<sup>14</sup> and Jake Ellzey.<sup>15</sup>

A forum that serves as a social register of conservative and neo-fascist right-wingers on a global scale, the IDU has in recent years become the organisation promoting the unification of right-wing and far right parties on an international scale, with financial donors including the North American fossil fuel industry and a foundation linked to the far-right Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban (→ [see page 9](#)).

Also appearing alongside Manfred Weber was Swedish MEP Jörgen Warborn, spokesperson for the European conservative right on international trade issues...as well as president of SME Global, a lobby group directly linked to the International Democracy Union.<sup>16</sup> This lobby, which brings together “leaders from IDU [International Democracy Union] member parties as well as business representatives from around the world”,<sup>17</sup> aims to “advocate for SMEs and identify strategies to maximize their opportunities” through “reducing regulatory burdens, promoting digitalization, and facilitating participation in international trade”.<sup>18</sup>

At this international summit, Jörgen Warborn chaired a debate concluding that there is a need to “move beyond politicized trade”, particularly with regard to “climate and social policies”, which he considers “barriers to progress”.<sup>19</sup> **Emphasising that the participants in the debate saw the shift to the right and far right in the European Union as “a chance to reinvigorate its trade agenda, benefiting both the bloc and its partners”, Jörgen Warborn called for “easing regulatory burdens” on trade in order to support businesses.**

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DDK62gtXIm/?igsh=dXJnMGY1emNvMTV3>

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DDKasoGxDOy/?img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DDKasoGxDOy/?img_index=1)

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DDMvrUmRqTM/?img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DDMvrUmRqTM/?img_index=1)

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DDEf8lSIktE/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DC4rEBBIYot/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DDDiIRJydie/>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DDIGhaKo4t/>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DCKxHiFolzt/>

<sup>16</sup> International Democracy Union, SME Global. Small Business. Big Impact. <https://idu.org/about/economics-sme-global/>

<sup>17</sup> International Democracy Union, SME Global. Small Business. Big Impact. <https://idu.org/1508-2/>

<sup>18</sup> International Democracy Union, SME Global. Small Business. Big Impact. <https://idu.org/about/economics-sme-global/>

<sup>19</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DDgqxX5IMFX/?hl=fr&img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DDgqxX5IMFX/?hl=fr&img_index=1)

## The International Democracy Union: an international breeding ground for uniting the right

Founded in 1983 by leaders from the conservative and liberal right, including George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, Jacques Chirac and Helmut Kohl,<sup>20</sup> the International Democracy Union has now become, in terms of its membership, an essential cog in the unification of the right, counting among its members the German Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Swedish Christian Democrats and the European Parliament's conservative right-wing group (EPP). However, this platform also includes: the far-right European parliamentary group European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), Giorgia Meloni's Brothers of Italy party, the Flemish nationalist party New Flemish Alliance (N-VA), the American Republican Party, the Chilean Independent Democratic Union founded by Pinochet's advisers, from which Chilean President José Antonio Kast emerged, and the Argentine Republican Proposal party, a member of Javier Milei's governing coalition.<sup>21</sup> The international forums organised by the International Democracy Union offer a fascinating and frightening insight into the neo-fascist, reactionary international movement that is working behind the scenes to unite the right. For example, at the International Democracy Union forum in Brussels in May 2025,<sup>22</sup> attended by Manfred Weber and Jörgen Warborn,<sup>23</sup> other participants included Michael McCaul, Chairman of the US Congress Foreign Affairs Committee, Giorgia Meloni (via video-conference),<sup>24</sup> and Nicola Procaccini,<sup>25</sup> Co-Chairman of the far-right ECR group in the European Parliament.

The list of donors financing these international forums highlights the influence of the European far right, North

American fossil fuel companies and tech leaders, with notable names including:<sup>26</sup>

- **The Danube Institute**, a non-governmental propaganda outlet based in Budapest that promotes Viktor Orban's policies<sup>27</sup>
- **Koch**, the second largest unlisted conglomerate in the United States, which stands at the forefront of the American fossil fuel industry and is a driving force behind climate scepticism<sup>28</sup>
- **TC Energy**, formerly TransCanada, owner of the Canadian gas pipeline network that transports Canadian gas to the east coast and major liquefied natural gas terminals, and promoter of the highly controversial Keystone XL pipeline project<sup>29</sup>
- **Google**
- **Microsoft**

The composition of the International Democracy Union and its financial allegiances have tangible consequences, reflecting the concrete influence of the Trump administration and American fossil fuel multinationals on the policies pursued by its members. This is evidenced by the International Democracy Union's resolution adopted on 5 December 2025 on transatlantic trade in liquefied natural gas (LNG) between the United States and the European Union, which runs counter to scientific recommendations and the objectives of the Green Deal.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>20</sup> International Democracy Union, History. <https://idu.org/about/history/>

<sup>21</sup> International Democracy Union, Member Parties. <https://idu.org/members/>

<sup>22</sup> International Democracy Union, IDU Forum Brussels 2025. <https://idu.org/4568-2/>

<sup>23</sup> Jörgen Warborn participated in a round table discussion with members of the [Tholos Foundation](#), a Washington-based think tank founded in 1985 at the request of President Ronald Reagan, now associated with Americans for Tax Reform. See <https://www.instagram.com/reels/DJuGtFCweQ/> and [https://www.instagram.com/p/DKJkkURhA?hl=fr&img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DKJkkURhA?hl=fr&img_index=1)

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/reels/DJteU7VtuHv/>

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.instagram.com/p/DJcmZ5PoOir/>

<sup>26</sup> International Democracy Union, IDU Forum Partners. <https://idu.org/idu-forum-partners-dc-2024/>

<sup>27</sup> Atlatzso, Hungarian government proxy is spending a fortune to influence public opinion in the US, 2024, <https://english.atlatzso.hu/2024/10/23/hungarian-government-proxy-is-spending-a-fortune-to-influence-public-opinion-in-the-us/>

<sup>28</sup> Vice, How Koch Industries, Fake Scientists, and Rush Limbaugh Invented Climate Denial, 2022, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/how-koch-industries-fake-scientists-and-rush-limbaugh-invented-climate-denial/>

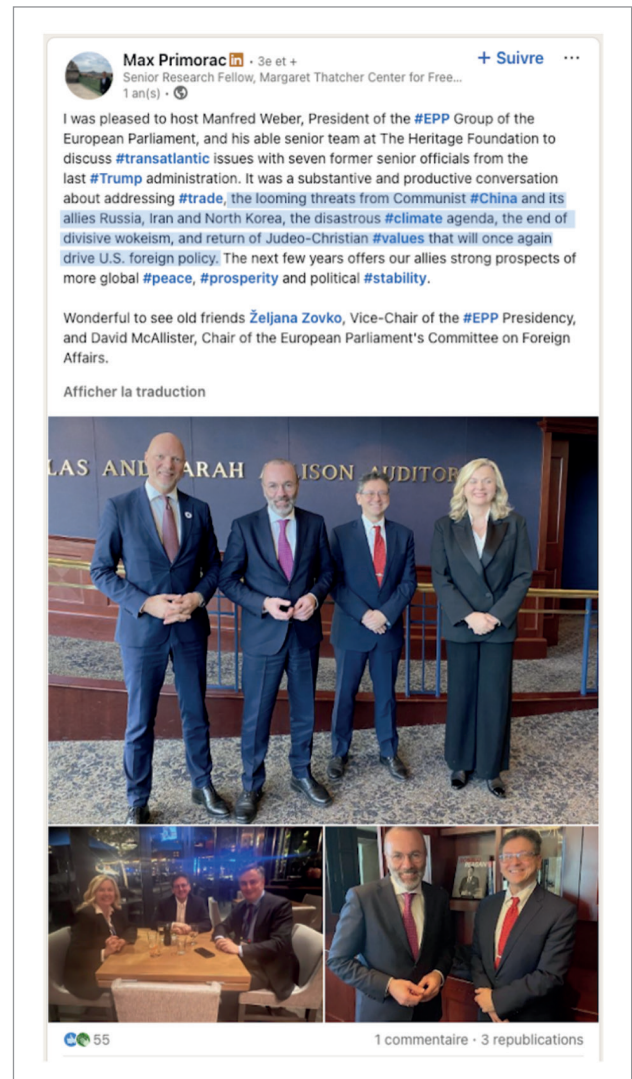
<sup>29</sup> Le Monde, Trump calls for revival of Keystone XL Pipeline project axed by Biden, 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/02/25/trump-calls-for-revival-of-keystone-xl-pipeline-project-axed-by-biden\\_6738535\\_4.html?search-type=classic&se\\_click\\_rank=1](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/02/25/trump-calls-for-revival-of-keystone-xl-pipeline-project-axed-by-biden_6738535_4.html?search-type=classic&se_click_rank=1)

<sup>30</sup> International Democracy Union, Resolution on Transatlantic Energy Security and LNG Cooperation, 2025, <https://idu.org/resolution-on-transatlantic-energy-security-and-lng-cooperation/>

However, during their stay in the United States, Manfred Weber and Jörgen Warborn took things a step further. They also had lunch at the Capitol Hill Club with North American politicians and lobbyists, whose names have not been disclosed,<sup>31</sup> and attended a meeting at the Heritage Foundation.<sup>32</sup> As their host, Max Primorac, a researcher at the Heritage Foundation’s Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom, explained, this meeting allowed the two MEPs to exchange views with “seven former senior officials from the last Trump administration” on “trade, the looming threats from Communist China and its allies, Russia, Iran and North Korea, the disastrous climate agenda, the end of divisive wokeism, and return of Judeo-Christian values that will once again drive U.S. foreign policy”.<sup>33</sup>

### European conservatives want to “seize the opportunities” presented by Donald Trump’s election

Returning from their trip across the Atlantic, Manfred Weber and Jörgen Warborn opted for surrender, disregarding the principle of deterrence and firmness that is essential to strategic autonomy and the defence of European sovereignty. On 20 January 2025, during Donald Trump’s inauguration, Manfred Weber spoke of a “decisive day today. Donald Trump is coming back to the White House...We are together with the Americans... [We must] seize the opportunities... [that arise in terms of] better trade relationships”.<sup>35</sup> The very next day, he emphasised that “Europe has to offer the dealmaker Trump a deal...We must stick together on security, competitiveness and China”.<sup>36</sup> A few days later, in terms similar to those used by the Trump administration, Jörgen Warborn presented the Omnibus Directive as a tool to “avoid excessive regulatory requirements that hinder global trade and risk being perceived as protectionism”.<sup>37</sup>



Message posted by Max Primorac on his LinkedIn account in December 2024.<sup>34</sup>

Following this whirlwind trip to Washington D.C., where Manfred Weber and Jörgen Warborn demonstrated their receptiveness to the Heritage Foundation’s agenda and their closeness to Republican politicians, the stage was now set for North American oil lobbies and the Trump administration to deploy their influence strategy throughout 2025 to torpedo the CSDDD during the review of the Omnibus Directive.

31 [https://www.instagram.com/p/DDcSLK1oAD/?hl=fr&img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DDcSLK1oAD/?hl=fr&img_index=1)

32 <https://www.instagram.com/p/DDKcIposO8H/>

33 [https://www.linkedin.com/posts/max-primorac-21503712\\_epp-transatlantic-trump-activity-7271864969682419712-iHzq](https://www.linkedin.com/posts/max-primorac-21503712_epp-transatlantic-trump-activity-7271864969682419712-iHzq)

34 [https://www.linkedin.com/posts/max-primorac-21503712\\_epp-transatlantic-trump-activity-7271864969682419712-iHzq/](https://www.linkedin.com/posts/max-primorac-21503712_epp-transatlantic-trump-activity-7271864969682419712-iHzq/)

35 [https://www.instagram.com/reels/DFD4GW\\_l2Fw/](https://www.instagram.com/reels/DFD4GW_l2Fw/)

36 [https://www.instagram.com/p/DFEJpLwlm\\_o/?igsh=MW5nd3dtNnBjdXY3dw%3D%3D](https://www.instagram.com/p/DFEJpLwlm_o/?igsh=MW5nd3dtNnBjdXY3dw%3D%3D)

37 [https://www.instagram.com/p/DFxHm36iZaN/?img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DFxHm36iZaN/?img_index=1)

# ACT 2: JÖRGEN WARBORN: THE TROJAN HORSE OF AMERICAN LOBBYISTS

**On 16 January 2025, the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium organised an initial meeting with Jörgen Warborn.<sup>38</sup>**

This meeting marked the beginning of an impressive offensive by North American industrial lobbies, which made the Swedish MEP their prime target ahead of the publication of the Omnibus Directive and even before Jörgen Warborn was appointed rapporteur, as well as during the parliamentary review of this legislation.

## A Member of the European Parliament at the forefront of American lobbying

On 12 February and 11 March 2025, ExxonMobil met with Jörgen Warborn twice in quick succession. On 26 February 2025, the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium organised another meeting with Jörgen Warborn on “EU-US relations”, just as the European Commission unveiled the Omnibus Directive.

On 18 March 2025, Jörgen Warborn was officially appointed rapporteur in the European Parliament for the Omnibus Directive.<sup>39</sup>

**In the weeks and months that followed, whether to discuss vague topics or the Omnibus, Jörgen Warborn expanded his contacts with American companies and held numerous meetings with American Chambers of Commerce:**

- **On 27 March 2025**, with the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium, again, on the subject of “US Trade”
- **On 14 April 2025**, with Teneo, a lobbying firm, on the Omnibus Directive
- **On 14 May 2025**, with the US Chamber of Commerce, on “Trade relations with the US”
- **On 5 June 2025**, with the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium, on the subject of “US Tariffs”
- **On 9 September 2025**, with Koch, the second largest unlisted conglomerate in the United States and a key player in the American fossil fuel industry, on the Omnibus Directive
- **On 23 September 2025**, with the American Chamber of Commerce to the EU, on the Omnibus Directive
- **On 10 October 2025**, with the International Chamber of Commerce, on “International Trade”.

In a survey published on 3 December 2025, the Dutch Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) revealed that these meetings with ExxonMobil, Teneo, Koch and the American Chambers of Commerce were the result of a strategy developed by the consulting firm Teneo on behalf of the “Competitiveness Roundtable”, an ad hoc alliance of American leaders in the fossil fuel industry (ExxonMobil, Chevron, Koch), as well as Dow Chemical, JP Morgan Chase, and TotalEnergies.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> European Parliament, Jörgen Warborn, Past meetings, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/197405/JORGEN\\_WARBORN/meetings/past](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/197405/JORGEN_WARBORN/meetings/past)

<sup>39</sup> Legislative Observatory, Corporate sustainability reporting and due diligence requirements, [https://oeil.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/en/procedure-file?reference=2025/0045\(COD\)](https://oeil.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/en/procedure-file?reference=2025/0045(COD))

<sup>40</sup> SOMO, The secretive cabal of US polluters that is rewriting the EU's human rights and climate law, 2025, <https://www.somo.nl/the-secretive-cabal-of-us-polluters-that-is-rewriting-the-eus-human-rights-and-climate-law/>

Although Teneo did indeed designate Jörgen Warborn as its main target in the European Parliament in its internal documents,<sup>41</sup> the American lobbying firm also proposed mobilising the American Chambers of Commerce as primary intermediaries to fight against European legislation on corporate due diligence.<sup>42</sup>

These objectives were successfully achieved, as Jörgen Warborn was the main point of contact for the American Chambers of Commerce in 2025. Of the fifteen meetings organised by the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium in 2025, four were held with Jörgen Warborn (note that no other MEP met with this lobby more than once within the same year). Taking into account meetings with the American Chamber of Commerce to the EU, the US Chamber of Commerce and the International Chamber of Commerce, **Jörgen Warborn held almost monthly exchanges with the American Chamber of Commerce, which is one of the most anti-environmental lobbies in Brussels<sup>43</sup> (on 16 January, 26 February, 27 March, 14 May, 5 June, 23 September and 10 October).**

**This coincided with the Trump administration stepping up its efforts to torpedo the CSDDD, which included trade threats from US Secretary of Commerce Howard Lutnick,<sup>44</sup> a bill introduced in the US Congress,<sup>45</sup> trade negotiations with**

the European Commission,<sup>46</sup> threats from US prosecutors against American tech giants,<sup>47</sup> a joint letter from the US and Qatari energy departments,<sup>48</sup> and a letter from Donald Trump to Ursula von der Leyen.<sup>49</sup>

## An unprecedented parliamentary strategy, modelled on the objectives of American lobbies

**Despite this large-scale campaign of interference, Jörgen Warborn never distanced himself from the Trump administration. On the contrary, from 26 to 30 May 2025, he travelled to Washington again as part of an official ad hoc parliamentary delegation,<sup>50</sup> resulting in further meetings with Republican elected representatives, members of the Trump administration and American industrial lobbies,<sup>51</sup> including the American Chamber of Commerce.<sup>52</sup>**

On 15 December 2025, ten NGOs alerted the Advisory Committee on the Conduct of Members of the European Parliament to a possible conflict of interest, as Jörgen Warborn had not declared, when he took up his position as rapporteur on the Omnibus legislation, his presidency of SME Europe, despite being registered as an interest representative in the European Union's transparency register.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Teneo names Jörgen Warborn as its "main target"

<sup>42</sup> Teneo sets itself the objective of "Supporting the US Chamber's activities"

<sup>43</sup> InfluenceMap, Industry Influence on Biodiversity Policy, 2022, <https://influencemap.org/report/Industry-Associations-Biodiversity-Policy-19612>

<sup>44</sup> Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, Nomination Hearing, Howard Lutnick, 2025, <https://www.commerce.senate.gov/services/files/716AD67A-D991-4888-8542-299F69ECB48D>

<sup>45</sup> Congress, Protect USA Act of 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-bill/985/text>

<sup>46</sup> European Commission, Joint Statement on a United States-European Union framework on an agreement on reciprocal, fair and balanced trade, 2025, [https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/news/joint-statement-united-states-european-union-framework-agreement-reciprocal-fair-and-balanced-trade-2025-08-21\\_en?utm\\_source=chatgpt.com](https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/news/joint-statement-united-states-european-union-framework-agreement-reciprocal-fair-and-balanced-trade-2025-08-21_en?utm_source=chatgpt.com)

<sup>47</sup> ESGToday, Multi-State coalition warns Microsoft, Google, Meta against complying with EU's CSRD, CSDDD Sustainability Laws, 2025, <https://www.esgtoday.com/multi-state-coalition-warns-microsoft-google-meta-against-complying-with-eus-csrd-csddd-sustainability-laws/>

<sup>48</sup> US Department of Energy, Minister of State for Energy Affairs, An open letter to the Heads of State of European Union (EU) Member States, 2025, <https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2025-10/USA-Qatar-Joint-Letter.pdf>

<sup>49</sup> Financial Times, US demands EU dismantle green regulations in threat to trade deal, 2025, <https://www.ft.com/content/678f7c25-2eff-4e98-9c7c-e0772fa69236?syn-25a6b1a6=1>

<sup>50</sup> Jörgen Warborn, Declaration on awareness of conflicts of interest, 2025, [https://data.europarl.europa.eu/distribution/doc/DCI-197405-2025-05-14-461225\\_en.pdf](https://data.europarl.europa.eu/distribution/doc/DCI-197405-2025-05-14-461225_en.pdf)

<sup>51</sup> European Parliament, Mission report following the INTA ad hoc delegation to Washington DC (USA), 2025, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/297744/USA\\_Washington\\_INTA-CR-775463\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/297744/USA_Washington_INTA-CR-775463_EN.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DKblkrYMWvZ/?hl=fr&img\\_index=2](https://www.instagram.com/p/DKblkrYMWvZ/?hl=fr&img_index=2)

<sup>53</sup> Transparency International et al, Ten civil society organisations submit conflict-of-interest complaint on leading Omnibus MEP, 2025, <https://transparency.eu/ten-civil-society-organisations-submit-conflict-of-interest-complaint-on-leading-omnibus-mep/>

## The European Parliament must recognise the urgency of the situation and undertake a major overhaul of its code of conduct.

At the same time, BLOOM filed a report with the same Advisory Committee for conflict of interest on the grounds of foreign interference,<sup>54</sup> in an effort to shed light on Jörgen Warborn's close ties with North American industry lobbies and the Trump administration. **Jörgen Warborn had deployed an unprecedented parliamentary strategy, modelled on the one championed by the Trump administration and American companies in the "Competitiveness Roundtable", which aimed to torpedo the CSDDD through an alliance between the conservative right (EPP) and the European far right.**<sup>55</sup>

The MEP remained silent in response to this report, refusing to answer questions from the Swedish media outlet *Aftonbladet* regarding his meetings with Teneo and his alignment with the sinister aims of the "Competitiveness Roundtable".<sup>56</sup>

**Today, as Donald Trump's attacks on European sovereignty intensify, with sanctions against Thierry Breton<sup>57</sup> and threats to annex Greenland,<sup>58</sup> the European Parliament must recognise the urgency of the situation and undertake a major overhaul of its code of conduct and legislation on lobbying, conflicts of interest and influence peddling in order to protect itself from foreign interference.**

Our investigation over the past few weeks has reinforced our fears that a Member of the European Parliament and the conservative right wing is acting as a proxy for North American interference within institutions in Brussels.

<sup>54</sup> BLOOM, BLOOM files a complaint against the Omnibus rapporteur Jörgen Warborn for conflict of interest amid foreign interference, 2025, <https://www.bloomassociation.org/en/bloom-files-a-complaint-against-the-omnibus-rapporteur-jorgen-warborn-for-conflict-of-interest-amid-foreign-interference/>

<sup>55</sup> In its internal documents, Teneo sets itself the objectives of "Secure a right-leaning majority", "Encourage strong EPP and ECR collaboration", "Push the rapporteur to side with the right-wing parties as much as possible", "Understand the committee composition is generally unfavourable for an extreme position". See SOMO, The secretive cabal of US polluters that is rewriting the EU's human rights and climate law, 2025, <https://www.somo.nl/the-secretive-cabal-of-us-polluters-that-is-rewriting-the-eus-human-rights-and-climate-law/>

<sup>56</sup> Aftonbladet, Moderate EU leader reported - "has worked for foreign interests", 2025, <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/Rjxegx/eu-toppen-jorgen-warborn-m-animals-jobbat-for-utlandska-intressen>

<sup>57</sup> Le Monde, US targets Thierry Breton and other Europeans for their role in tech regulation, 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/pixels/article/2025/12/24/washington-targets-thierry-breton-and-other-europeans-for-their-role-in-tech-regulation\\_6748799\\_13.html?search-type=classic&ise\\_click\\_rank=2](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/pixels/article/2025/12/24/washington-targets-thierry-breton-and-other-europeans-for-their-role-in-tech-regulation_6748799_13.html?search-type=classic&ise_click_rank=2)

<sup>58</sup> Le Monde, Trump renews threats to annex Greenland, 2026, [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2026/01/05/trump-renews-threats-to-annex-greenland\\_6749065\\_5.html?search-type=classic&ise\\_click\\_rank=7](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2026/01/05/trump-renews-threats-to-annex-greenland_6749065_5.html?search-type=classic&ise_click_rank=7)

# ACT 3: BLACKMAIL, A PACT WITH THE FAR RIGHT, AND CLIMATE DENIAL

The parliamentary debate on the Omnibus Directive will go down in European parliamentary history, having culminated in an unprecedented alliance between the European right and far right to legislate against the rest of the European Parliament.

Over the course of October, November and December 2025, Jörgen Warborn became the architect of this alliance, recklessly placing the far right at the centre of the political spectrum from the outset of the parliamentary process.

Amidst this historic shift, which caused tension throughout European institutions, Jörgen Warborn met twice with Trumpist networks in his capacity as president of SME Global and SME Europe.

## Unprecedented blackmail in the European Parliament

On 1 October 2025, at the opening of parliamentary debates on the Omnibus legislation, Jörgen Warborn caused an uproar in the European Parliament by announcing that he would be putting “two proposals” on the table.<sup>59</sup>

Explaining that he had already sealed “a clear majority” agreement with the European far right (ECR, PFE, ESN),<sup>60</sup> Jörgen Warborn shattered the *cordon sanitaire* that had kept the far right out of the European legislative process for decades.<sup>61</sup>



Message posted by Jörgen Warborn on his LinkedIn account on 1 October 2025.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.linkedin.com/feed/update/urn:li:activity:7378853205587415040/>

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.linkedin.com/feed/update/urn:li:activity:7378853205587415040/>

<sup>61</sup> The conservative right (EPP), the liberal right (Renew), the socialists (S&D), the ecologists (Greens) and the left (The Left) had previously always refused to rely on the votes of far-right groups to build majorities in Parliament

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.linkedin.com/feed/update/urn:li:activity:7378853205587415040/>

**Jörgen Warborn thus faithfully applied the Competitiveness Roundtable strategy and took an irrevocable step backwards, ushering in a new era for the European Parliament.** The liberal, socialist and green party negotiators then began the parliamentary debate under the constant threat of a U-turn by Jörgen Warborn and an alliance between the right and the far right.

Many socialist delegations refused to give in to Jörgen Warborn's blackmail and asked him to turn his back on the far right and enter into negotiations in good faith. Other socialist delegations, following the line imposed by Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez, announced that they would submit to Jörgen Warborn's proposal. With the socialist group on the verge of implosion, the liberal right (Renew) announced, through Pascal Canfin, that it would also submit to the EPP's blackmail, explaining that it had *"always aimed for a VDL coalition on the file"*.<sup>63</sup>

Disregarding decades of Parliamentary tradition, based on the patient compromise-building between the left-wing, green, socialist, liberal and conservative groups, Jörgen Warborn justified his intransigence in the pages of Politico, arguing that it is now *"very clear for all the political groups that the majorities have changed in the Parliament, and all the political groups have to adapt to the new reality"*.<sup>64</sup>

## In the midst of turmoil, an all-expenses-paid trip to Nairobi

Following the vote in the European Parliament's Committee on Legal Affairs, which concluded on 13 October 2025 with

the granting of a negotiating mandate to Jörgen Warborn to begin interinstitutional negotiations as soon as possible, left-wing MEPs (The Left), the Greens and certain socialist delegations called for a plenary vote to challenge this mandate on the grounds that it was based on blackmail.

**On 22 October 2025, in a tense vote, MEPs rejected Jörgen Warborn's negotiating mandate in the Committee on Legal Affairs by 318 votes to 309, forcing the Swedish MEP to start from scratch, with a plenary vote set for 13 November 2025.**<sup>65</sup>

Following this rejection, the left-wing (The Left), Greens, socialist (S&D) and liberal (Renew) groups hoped that Jörgen Warborn would return to parliamentary customs and practices in order to begin real negotiations and reach a genuine compromise.

**In the midst of the turmoil, however, Jörgen Warborn flew to Nairobi to participate in the Democracy Union of Africa Forum,<sup>66</sup> from 27 to 30 October 2025, the African arm of the International Democracy Union forums. It was an all-expenses-paid trip, with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, a German Foundation close to Manfred Weber's CDU/CSU, covering the cost of Jörgen Warborn's business class flights and accommodation.**<sup>67</sup>

In his dual role as MEP and president of the SME Global lobby, Jörgen Warborn was invited to speak on international trade at a panel discussion to which Max Primorac, of the Heritage Foundation, whom he had met nearly a year earlier in Washington with Manfred Weber, was also announced.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Politico, Socialists cave to center-right demands to slash EU green rules, 2025, <https://www.politico.eu/article/socialists-liberals-epp-eu-green-rules/>

<sup>64</sup> Politico, Socialists cave to centre-right demands to slash EU green rules, 2025, <https://www.politico.eu/article/socialists-liberals-epp-eu-green-rules/>

<sup>65</sup> BLOOM, First victory for the corporate sustainability due diligence directive at the European Parliament, 2025, <https://www.bloomassociation.org/en/first-victory-european-parliament-stands-up-to-trump-and-industry-lobbies-by-refusing-to-destroy-the-corporate-sustainability-due-diligence-directive/>

<sup>66</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DQj2ql7DFOW/?hl=fr&img\\_index=1](https://www.instagram.com/p/DQj2ql7DFOW/?hl=fr&img_index=1)

<sup>67</sup> Jörgen Warborn, declaration of Members' attendance pursuant to an invitation at events organised by third parties, 2025, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/erpl-app-public/mep-documents/DAT/10/10f23d69-a68f-45ae-854a-7836f48bfed3\\_1762854840457.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/erpl-app-public/mep-documents/DAT/10/10f23d69-a68f-45ae-854a-7836f48bfed3_1762854840457.pdf)

<sup>68</sup> DUA Forum 2025, Programme outline, 2025, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/erpl-app-public/mep-documents/DAT/attachments/10/0869ac69-6946-4c75-af04-6e1fb5e4c-faf\\_1762854840625.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/erpl-app-public/mep-documents/DAT/attachments/10/0869ac69-6946-4c75-af04-6e1fb5e4c-faf_1762854840625.pdf)

## The Heritage Foundation against corporate sustainability due diligence

The meeting between Manfred Weber, Jürgen Warborn and members of the Heritage Foundation in Washington in December 2024, followed by Jürgen Warborn's participation in a round table discussion with the announced presence of a Heritage Foundation researcher in Nairobi in October 2025, reads like something out of a dystopian novel.

The Heritage Foundation is the conservative think tank that defined Donald Trump's campaign programme for his second term with its *Project 2025: Mandate for Leadership*.<sup>69</sup> Following in the footsteps of ExxonMobil, the Heritage Foundation also identified the European CSDDD as a target for attack:

- **In December 2024**, the Heritage Foundation published a report describing corporate accountability standards as “*pernicious*” and European legislation on CSDDD as a “*serious problem*”.<sup>70</sup>
- **On 9 September 2025**, Diana Furchtgott-Roch, director of the Heritage Foundation's Center on Energy, Climate and the Environment, testified

before the US Congress denouncing due diligence, which would “*impose draconian environmental restrictions on the global operations of any major company operating in Europe*”, emphasising that it was “*crucial that America remain insulated from the EU's self-imposed disastrous energy policies, deindustrialization, and environmental regulations*”.<sup>71</sup>

- **A few days later**, the Heritage Foundation published a memo denouncing the EU's attempt to “*drag America back into the regulatory morass of net zero compliance*”, targeting due diligence and climate transition plans, concluding with conviction and oblivious to the climate crisis: “*Europe apparently wants America to share in the pain of its green crusade. Just as high minimum-wage states push for federal minimum wage hikes, Brussels seems to be seeking to export its energy-scarcity policies across the Atlantic. But America declared independence nearly 250 years ago—it must not surrender its energy sovereignty now*”.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> The Heritage Foundation. Project 2025. Mandate for leadership, 2023, [https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025\\_MandateForLeadership\\_FULL.pdf](https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf)

<sup>70</sup> The Heritage Foundation, ESG, DEI, and What to Do About Them, 2024, <https://www.heritage.org/progressivism/report/esg-dei-and-what-do-about-them>

<sup>71</sup> Diana Furchtgott-Roch, Exploring the Economic Potential of the Golden Age of American Energy Dominance, Testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, U.S. House Committee on Natural Resources, 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/119/meeting/house/118557/witnesses/HHRG-119-115-Wstate-Furchtgott-RochD-20250909-SD001.pdf>

<sup>72</sup> The Heritage Foundation, Net zero is crippling the EU. Now Brussels wants to export its madness globally, 2025, <https://www.heritage.org/energy/commentary/net-zero-crippling-the-eu-now-brussels-wants-export-its-madness-globally>

## Jörgen Warborn's pact with the far right

Back in Brussels after this whirlwind tour of conservative politicians from Kenya, Germany, Uganda, Tanzania, the United Kingdom, Italy, Sierra Leone, the United States, Ghana, Nigeria, Mozambique, Malaysia, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, during which the emphasis was once again placed on lifting all regulatory constraints,<sup>73</sup> Jörgen Warborn returned to the corridors of the European Parliament.<sup>74</sup>

**However, far from revising his strategy, he maintained his position and in early November tabled 30 identical amendments with the far-right ECR group,<sup>75</sup> with members including Marion Maréchal Le Pen and MEPs from Brothers of Italy, Law and Justice (Poland) and the New Flemish Alliance N-VA (Belgium), among others.**

On 10 November 2025, *Politico* revealed that negotiations were continuing despite everything, with the “von der Leyen majority” groups desperately trying to bring Jörgen Warborn and the conservative right back to the negotiating table. **On the far-right side of the Patriots for Europe (Pfe), there were calls for a united right-wing front: “What [the EPP] put on the table is actually our amendments”.**<sup>76</sup>

**On 13 November 2025, MEPs from the conservative right (EPP) and the European far right (ECR, Pfe, ESN) voted unanimously, by 382 votes to 249, to destroy the CSDDD.**

**This historic vote was a major upheaval and watershed moment in European parliamentary history,<sup>77</sup> prompting enthusiastic tweets from White House spokesperson Karoline Leavitt and US Secretary of the Interior Doug Burgum, who welcomed the US influence campaign and the scrapping of climate transition plans.**<sup>78</sup>

## A trip to Washington during a tense trilogue

Interinstitutional negotiations between the European Parliament, Council and Commission began amid extreme tension,<sup>79</sup> with the Commission and the Council having to decide during the trilogue whether to compromise their hard-line positions, particularly with regard to climate transition plans, and align themselves instead with the mandate given to Jörgen Warborn by an alliance of the right and far-right parties.

**And yet, in the final stretch of his own trilogue, Jörgen Warborn jetted off once again to Washington.<sup>80</sup> From 2 to 4 December, this time in his capacity of president of SME Global, Jörgen Warborn attended the annual forum of the International Democracy Union, which brings together conservative, Trumpist and far-right politicians from around the world.** These figures included the vice-president of the far-right ECR group Carlo Fidanza,<sup>81</sup> EPP Secretary-General Dolors Montserrat,<sup>82</sup> former British Home Secretary

<sup>73</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/p/DQj\\_aTmCLX3/?hl=fr](https://www.instagram.com/p/DQj_aTmCLX3/?hl=fr)

<sup>74</sup> [https://www.linkedin.com/posts/jorgenwarborn\\_thank-you-to-the-organizers-and-all-participants-activity-7390012352449949696-jS4i/](https://www.linkedin.com/posts/jorgenwarborn_thank-you-to-the-organizers-and-all-participants-activity-7390012352449949696-jS4i/)

<sup>75</sup> European Parliament, Indicative voting list, Certain corporate sustainability reporting and due diligence requirements, 2025, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/sedcms/votingList/\(A10-0197\\_2025\)\\_Warborn.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/sedcms/votingList/(A10-0197_2025)_Warborn.pdf)

<sup>76</sup> Politico, EU Parliament's centrists scramble to cut far right out of green rules plan, 2025, <https://www.politico.eu/article/european-peoples-party-european-parliament-far-right-green-rules-plan/>

<sup>77</sup> Politico, In Brussels, the far right can no longer be ignored, 2025, <https://www.politico.eu/article/european-parliament-far-right-conservatives-cordon-sanitaire/>

<sup>78</sup> While Karoline Leavitt referred to a “US Pressure Campaign”, <https://x.com/PressSec/status/1989056922369036770>, Doug Burgum welcomed legislation that would encourage “greater demand for reliable & affordable U.S. energy”, <https://x.com/secretaryburgum/status/1989062352118116602?s=46>

<sup>79</sup> Politico, Red-tape cutting has become a « terrible political spectacle », EU's Ribera says, 2025, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-red-tape-cutting-terrible-political-spectacle-teresa-ribera-says/>

<sup>80</sup> [https://www.linkedin.com/posts/jorgenwarborn\\_during-my-visit-to-washington-for-the-idu-activity-7402305712716156928-7dvm/?utm](https://www.linkedin.com/posts/jorgenwarborn_during-my-visit-to-washington-for-the-idu-activity-7402305712716156928-7dvm/?utm)

<sup>81</sup> <https://x.com/idualliance/status/1988730110061707697?s=20>

<sup>82</sup> <https://x.com/idualliance/status/1995123021472743836?s=20>

under Boris Johnson Priti Patel,<sup>83</sup> US Republican Senators Dave McCormick,<sup>84</sup> Brian Fitzpatrick<sup>85</sup> and Don Bacon,<sup>86</sup> Republican Governor of New Hampshire Chris Sununu,<sup>87</sup> and former US Ambassador Robert O'Brien, who is now a member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board.<sup>88</sup>

**Jürgen Warborn's participation in this conference as president of the SME Global lobby, an offshoot of the International Democracy Union, which claims to have "business representatives from across the globe",<sup>89</sup> while at the same time acting as rapporteur for the Omnibus Directive, demonstrates the futility of the ethical framework and European legislation in combating foreign pressure and interference.**

**Alarm bells should have sounded when a resolution on "Transatlantic Energy Security and LNG Cooperation" was adopted at the end of this forum.** It was stated that *"the IDU welcomes the strengthening of transatlantic energy cooperation, exemplified by the recent US-Greece LNG agreement...Europe's transition from Russian energy must be absolute and irreversible; credible unity and robust cooperation across the Atlantic are the surest guarantees of affordable, reliable, and politically secure energy for decades to come"*.<sup>90</sup>

## The EU institutions concluded the trilogue with a disastrous agreement, notably confirming the scrapping of climate transition plans.

This coincided with the White House's National Security Strategy welcoming the rise of the European far right with "great optimism" and stating its goal to restore "American energy dominance", "reject the disastrous 'climate change' and 'Net Zero' ideologies that have so greatly harmed Europe", and "help Europe correct its current trajectory".<sup>91</sup>

On the night of 8 to 9 December 2025, once Jürgen Warborn was back in Brussels, the EU institutions concluded the trilogue with a disastrous agreement, notably confirming the scrapping of climate transition plans and the obligation for large companies operating in the European market to implement strategies aligned with the objectives of the Paris Agreement and carbon neutrality by 2050.<sup>92</sup> **This agreement not only went beyond the red line established by the Commission and the Council on this pillar of the Green Deal, but also failed to address the issue of the EU's dependence on American gas, now a major concern in light of Donald Trump's threats to annex Greenland.**<sup>93</sup>

<sup>83</sup> <https://x.com/idualliance/status/1993066553160417687?s=20>

<sup>84</sup> <https://x.com/idualliance/status/1994875560263131610?s=20>

<sup>85</sup> <https://x.com/RepBrianFitz/status/199661649001183691?s=20>

<sup>86</sup> <https://x.com/RepDonBacon/status/1997048076738129951?s=20>

<sup>87</sup> <https://x.com/idualliance/status/1995657434124136472?s=20>

<sup>88</sup> The White House, President Trump Announces the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/02/president-trump-announces-the-presidents-intelligence-advisory-board/>

<sup>89</sup> International Democracy Union, SME Global. Small Business. Big Impact. <https://idu.org/about/economics-sme-global/>

<sup>90</sup> International Democracy Union, Resolution on Transatlantic Energy Security and LNG Cooperation, 2025, <https://idu.org/resolution-on-transatlantic-energy-security-and-lng-cooperation/>

<sup>91</sup> The White House, National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2025 <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/2025-National-Security-Strategy.pdf>

<sup>92</sup> BLOOM, Death of the Green Deal, Far-Right Victory, Collapse of the Conservative Bloc: Europe's Descent into Hell, 2025, <https://www.bloomassociation.org/en/death-of-the-green-deal-far-right-victory-collapse-of-the-conservative-bloc-europes-descent-into-hell/>

<sup>93</sup> Politico, Fears grow over Europe's soaring dependence on US gas imports, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/europe-soaring-dependence-us-gas-imports/>

# EPILOGUE: A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN URGENT NEED OF DEFENCE AGAINST FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

**These are the tracks of a man who travelled extensively to attend the conferences of a neo-fascist international organisation and discussed the future of international trade with spokespeople for the Trump administration, before forming an alliance with the European far right. Based on these details of a rapporteur who became the number one target of North American industrial lobbies, there is plenty of reason to suspect Jörgen Warborn's role in American foreign interference.**

As president of the SME Europe and SME Global lobbies, **Jörgen Warborn also finds himself in a conflict of interest**, with the European Union General Court specifying that the concept of conflict of interest covers situations in which the private interests of an elected representative in the European Parliament may, *"in the eyes of the public, appear to influence the impartial and objective performance of their official duties"*.<sup>94</sup>

After Qatargate, a corruption scandal that rocked Brussels in December 2022, the European Parliament took a series of measures, promising to put an end to the risks of foreign interference and conflicts of interest. This has clearly not been successful.

## Superficial transparency

Although the transparency rules in force in the European Parliament are supposed to allow access to *"all scheduled meetings relating to parliamentary business"* with interest representatives and representatives of public authorities from non-EU countries,<sup>95</sup> **there are many grey areas concerning Jörgen Warborn's parliamentary activity:**

- What was the content of the exchanges, documents and correspondence between Jörgen Warborn, businesses and lobbies throughout 2025, particularly with regard to the Competitiveness Roundtable and the American Chambers of Commerce?
- Which members of the Trump administration, which US senators and elected officials, and which companies and lobbyists did Jörgen Warborn and Manfred Weber meet in Brussels, Nairobi and Washington during the International Democracy Union Forums, or as part of the ad hoc parliamentary delegation?
- What was the content of the exchanges and correspondence between Jörgen Warborn and interest representatives, Republican elected officials, members of the Trump administration and the Heritage Foundation since December 2024?
- Who financed Jörgen Warborn's flights and accommodation in Washington for the International Democracy Union forums in December 2024 and December 2025?
- Did Jörgen Warborn participate in the debates surrounding the adoption of the 5 December 2025 resolution on transatlantic energy security and liquefied natural gas cooperation? Were there any discussions on this subject with Members of the European Parliament in Washington in December 2025?

<sup>94</sup> Court of Justice of the European Union, *Dennekamp v Parliament*, Case T-115/13, paragraph 106, <https://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf?text=&docid=165829&pageIndex=0&doclang=EN&mode=lst&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=7358553>

<sup>95</sup> European Parliament, Code of Conduct for Members of the European Parliament regarding Integrity and Transparency, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/meps/Code\\_of\\_Conduct\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/meps/Code_of_Conduct_EN.pdf)

- What are the sources of funding for SME Global and SME Europe, chaired by Jörgen Warborn? What are Jörgen Warborn's functions and commitments, both as chair of SME Europe, registered as an interest representative in the European Union's transparency register, and even more importantly, as chair of SME Global, a lobby group directly affiliated with the International Democracy Union?

**Beyond Jörgen Warborn, fears are growing about the links and allegiances of the European conservative right with the Trump administration and the European far right, casting doubt on the entire European legislative process.**

## The dangerous ties between the conservative right, the Trump administration and American lobby groups

In the space of a fortnight, between 9 and 26 January 2026, the European Union saw Jörgen Warborn and the vice-president of the European conservative right, Željana Zovko, refuse to suspend trade negotiations with the United States in response to the risk of Greenland's annexation.<sup>96</sup> Manfred Weber then announced a change of doctrine following Donald Trump's new tariff threats concerning Greenland,<sup>97</sup> after which Roberta Metsola unexpectedly declared that she wanted to restart the parliamentary process following the withdrawal of Donald Trump's threats of new tariffs in Davos.<sup>98</sup> Following this, Jörgen Warborn finally resumed his efforts to "move forward", as this was "best for businesses... to create some more stability".<sup>99</sup>

**This sequence is only the latest illustration of the conservative right's subservience to Donald Trump and its inability to maintain a firm policy in the face of attacks from the White House or to take a stand against a campaign of foreign interference.**

Throughout 2025, Roberta Metsola made numerous trips to the United States and held meetings with the American Chamber of Commerce.<sup>100</sup> On one such visit that took place on 12 June 2025, Roberta Metsola attended the Annual Gala of the American Chamber of Commerce to the EU, sponsored by Amazon and ExxonMobil,<sup>101</sup> where she spoke with the president of ExxonMobil Europe.<sup>102</sup>

**Without offering the slightest criticism of the American interference campaign or defending existing European law, Roberta Metsola proved herself a staunch advocate for the wave of deregulation underway in Brussels:**

*"Europe is open for business. The European Parliament is simplifying, we are consolidating, and we are working to see our transatlantic economy grow even stronger... Last year, the CEO of a leading telecoms company in Europe told me that the vast majority of his board meetings are dedicated to compliance, and that, I think, is not sustainable. So that's why... we want this legislature to focus on strengthening Europe's competitiveness, on building a Europe that is flexible, that is agile, that is able to adapt, that is unafraid to change or even reverse course if needed... so ultimately I would like to see Europe where bureaucracy is cut".<sup>103</sup>*

<sup>96</sup> Politico, EU Parliament eyes freezing US trade deal over Trump's Greenland threats, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-parliament-eyes-freezing-us-trade-deal-over-donald-trump-greenland-threats/>

<sup>97</sup> Politico, EU-US trade deal 'on hold' after new Trump tariffs, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-us-trade-deal-on-hold-after-new-trump-tariffs/>

<sup>98</sup> Politico, Brussels Playbook, Onto the next crisis, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/newsletter/brussels-playbook/onto-the-next-crisis/>

<sup>99</sup> Politico, EU Parliament delays decision to unfreeze US trade deal, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-parliament-delays-decision-unfreeze-us-trade-deal/>

<sup>100</sup> Council on Foreign Relations, A Conversation With European Parliament President Roberta Metsola, 2025, <https://www.cfr.org/event/conversation-european-parliament-president-roberta-metsola>

<sup>101</sup> AmCham EU, Annual Gala 2025, 2025, <https://www.amchameu.eu/events/gala-2025>

<sup>102</sup> SOMO, How Big Oil kills sustainability and climate legislation, 2025, <https://www.somo.nl/how-big-oil-kills-sustainability-and-climate-legislation/>

<sup>103</sup> European Parliament, Annual Gala 2025 of the American Chamber of Commerce to the European Union: keynote speech by Roberta METSOLA, EP President, 2025, <https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/fr/video/annual-gala-2025-of-the-american-chamber-of-commerce-to-the-european-union-keynote-speech-by-roberta-metsola-ep-president-1273251>

She went on to praise the new political balance in a Parliament that is supposedly “*faster, more decisive and more effective*”, and welcomed the ongoing dismantling of the CSDDD, which he described as “*unrealistic and impractical*”:

*“Just exactly a year ago, voters elected a very new, very different Parliament. We’ve reformed, we’re much faster, we’re more decisive, and we’re more effective. You saw, I hope you saw, how quickly we were able to postpone certain Corporate and Sustainable reporting requirements...What are our next steps? Our next steps are now set on further simplifying...CSRD and CSDDD...A lot of you have told us, and we’ve heard, we have no choice, we have heard that these two pieces of legislation are to a much and a large extent, unworkable and unfeasible...If our continent is not the one that is able to break down barriers, rather than put up new ones, to provide solutions and not to become part of the problem, then we are not doing our job well. I was reminded of this again during the meetings I had with the US Chamber of Commerce and with the New York Stock Exchange this week.”*<sup>104</sup>

She concluded, in an unapologetically pro-business speech, that “*the best is yet to come*”.

This speech, which amounts to surrender in response to pressure from industrial lobbies and the Trump administration, demonstrates the European Parliament President’s unwavering determination to torpedo corporate sustainability due diligence in order to win the support of the American Chamber of Commerce. **On 23 October, the day after the European Parliament voted to refuse to grant Jörgen Warborn a negotiating mandate based on**

**blackmail, Roberta Metsola continued down this path at the Council of the European Union, paving the way for a future right-wing alliance to destroy due diligence obligations, explaining that “majorities are always the strongest from the centre out, because we believe that this is the way to move Europe forward. But if this is not possible, Parliament must deliver, regardless”**<sup>105</sup>

This unprecedented statement from the President of the European Parliament is a clear sign of the loss of all ethical bearings and political orientation within the conservative right, coming just three days after the United States and Qatar sent a letter to the EU-27 calling for the repeal of corporate sustainability due diligence legislation.<sup>106</sup>

A few weeks later, it was the turn of the Spanish vice-president of the conservative right, Dolors Montserrat, to make a similar statement. **Attending the International Democracy Forum in December 2025 alongside Jörgen Warborn, Dolors Montserrat posted a message on Instagram from Washington explaining that she had been congratulated by the US administration for successfully passing the Omnibus legislation:**

*“Back to Europe with three things in mind: first, we need to keep our transatlantic cooperation, because the European Union and the United States are partners and allies. Second, let’s cut the red tape, less bureaucracy for our SMEs, entrepreneurs, and industry. And I have to say to you that here, from the United States administration, they congratulate us [on achieving] the Omnibus legislation. Why? Because Europe can, and will be more competitive, with less bureaucracy. And third, our Christian values and principles must guide us across the European Union and the United States.”*<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

<sup>105</sup> European Parliament, Parliament will deliver - President Metsola to EU leaders, 2025, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20251023IPR31092/parliament-will-deliver-president-metsola-to-eu-leaders>

<sup>106</sup> US Department of Energy, Minister of State for Energy Affairs, An open letter to the Heads of State of European Union (EU) Member States, 2025, <https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2025-10/USA-Qatar-Joint-Letter.pdf>

<sup>107</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/dolorsmontserrat\\_/reel/DR6mrHYjOgs/](https://www.instagram.com/dolorsmontserrat_/reel/DR6mrHYjOgs/)

Manfred Weber struck a similar note on 15 January 2026, amid the crisis over Greenland, when he said that he did not see the unification of the right-wing parties achieved in the Omnibus as a historic mistake, but rather as a dynamic to be pursued, urging the liberal right and the socialists to fall in line behind the conservative right and work with Brothers of Italy and the far-right European Conservatives and Reformists.<sup>108</sup> **Criticising the liberals for their “ideological debate”, Manfred Weber then defended Giorgia Meloni, who was “ready to find compromises”. This is a dangerous discourse of normalisation of the far right, which ignores the involvement of Brothers of Italy and ECR in the Trumpist and neo-fascist sphere, with ECR having refused to condemn US sanctions against former European Commissioner Thierry Breton,<sup>109</sup> and organising conferences in the European Parliament with the far-right group Patriots for Europe.** These include a summit on “free speech” on 2 and 3 February 2026, with donors including Viktor Orban’s party Fidesz, the Heritage Foundation and the Tholos Foundation, to promote the acceptance in the public sphere of discourse that is currently labelled as “extremist” and “hate speech”.<sup>110</sup>

**Faced with pressure from North American companies and the Trump administration, the European Parliament must undertake a major review of its internal rules. Failure to do so could lead to the worst-case scenario, from conflicts of interest and influence peddling to foreign interference, while the Omnibus train continues to steam ahead in Brussels under constant pressure from industrial lobbies.**<sup>111</sup>

## The urgent need to overhaul the rules on lobbying and foreign interference

In one of the most widely ratified treaties in the history of the United Nations, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, adopted in 2003, States “[recognising] the need to be alert to any efforts by the tobacco industry to undermine or subvert tobacco control efforts,” and established that governments must limit contact with the tobacco industry to the strict minimum, stipulating that “in setting and implementing their public health policies with respect to tobacco control, Parties shall act to protect these policies from commercial and other vested interests of the tobacco industry in accordance with national law”.<sup>112</sup>

Furthermore, in the wake of Qatargate, the Observatory of Public Ethics and Transparency International issued a series of proposals on corruption, conflicts of interest and dual mandates, in a bid to protect European democracy from influence peddling, corruption, conflicts of interest and foreign interference.<sup>113</sup>

**With this in mind, BLOOM calls on the European Parliament to undertake various reforms.**

<sup>108</sup> Politico, Europe shifted right — it’s time centrists do too, says Manfred Weber, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/europe-manfred-weber-epf-renew-giorgia-meloni/>

<sup>109</sup> Politico, EU Parliament backs Thierry Breton in free speech spat with Washington, 2026, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-parliament-condemns-us-washington-travel-ban-breton-free-speech-visa/>

<sup>110</sup> Political Network for Values, Free speech vs Regulated speech, 2026, <https://politicalnetworkforvalues.org/en/what-we-do/transatlantic-summit/brussels-2026/>

<sup>111</sup> Business Europe, The BusinessEurope Omnibook to reduce regulatory burdens, 2026, <https://www.busineurope.eu/publications/the-busineurope-omnibook-to-reduce-regulatory-burdens/>

<sup>112</sup> United Nations, WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, 2003, [https://treaties.un.org/pages/viewdetails.aspx?src=treaty&mtdsg\\_no=ix-4&chapter=9&clang=en](https://treaties.un.org/pages/viewdetails.aspx?src=treaty&mtdsg_no=ix-4&chapter=9&clang=en)

<sup>113</sup> Observatoire de l’éthique publique, Un an après le Qatargate, comment mieux protéger l’Union européenne contre les conflits d’intérêts et la corruption? Livre blanc de l’Observatoire de l’Éthique Publique, 2023, <https://www.observatoireethiquepublique.com/nos-propositions/livres-blancs/un-an-apres-le-qatargate-comment-mieux-protoger-lunion-europeenne-contre-les-conflits-dinterets-et-la-corrupcion.html>, Transparency International, Position de Transparency International UE sur le scandale de corruption au Parlement européen, 2022, <https://transparency-france.org/2022/12/12/position-de-transparency-international-ue-sur-le-scandale-de-corrupcion-au-parlement-europeen/>, Transparency International, Activités annexes : la plaie du parlement européen, 2024, <https://transparency-france.org/2024/05/23/analyse-activites-annexes-la-plaie-de-du-parlement-europeen/>

### 1 In the interests of transparency and regulation of lobbying:

- **Create a single, independent European body** responsible for enforcing all rules relating to the integrity of European public officials (conflicts of interest, compliance with transparency obligations, etc.), with the power to launch investigations and impose sanctions.
- **Prohibit meetings taking place behind closed doors** between Members of the European Parliament and interest representatives so that all such meetings are subject to public hearings.
- **Require complete transparency** regarding correspondence and documents exchanged between Members of the European Parliament and interest representatives.
- **Enforce Article 7** of the Code of Conduct for Members of the European Parliament so that the obligation for all meetings between elected representatives in the European Parliament and interest representatives to be published online is finally respected.

### 2 In order to combat climate change:

- **Protect European democracy** from the influence of fossil fuel companies by prohibiting oil and gas companies from influencing European policies, following the model of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.

### 3 In the interests of transparency and combating foreign interference:

- **Establish an inquiry group** to shed light on the interference of the Trump administration in the European Parliament.
- **Enforce Article 7** of the Code of Conduct for Members of the European Parliament so that the obligation for all meetings between Members of the European Parliament and “representatives of public authorities of third countries, including their diplomatic missions and embassies”<sup>114</sup> to be published online is finally respected.

- **Require complete transparency** regarding the content of discussions, correspondence and documents exchanged between for Members of the European Parliament and representatives of non-European public authorities or elected officials.
- **Prohibit** European Parliament rapporteurs and shadow rapporteurs from travelling outside the EU to participate in institutional, diplomatic or political meetings outside of a cross-party delegation.
- **Protect** European Parliament rapporteurs and shadow rapporteurs from foreign interference through training in cybersecurity and the risks of interference.

### 4 In order to prevent conflicts of interest:

- **Prohibit** MEPs from taking on any new related professional activities.
- **Prohibit** MEPs from holding any representative office or professional activity within an organisation registered in the European Union’s transparency register and/or the purpose of which is to influence European decision-making processes.

### 5 In order to combat influence peddling and corruption:

- **Extend the jurisdiction of the European Public Prosecutor’s Office** to offenses against the democratic interests of the European Union, in particular with regard to the integrity of Members of the European Parliament and public officials of the European Union.

→ This is a matter of urgency.



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