



D-US_PV(2023)1122_1

MINUTES

of the meeting of 22 November 2023, 13.00 - 14.00

Strasbourg

The meeting opened at 13.00 on Wednesday, 22 November 2023, with Radosław Sikorski (Chair) presiding.

1. Adoption of the draft agenda

The draft agenda was adopted.

2. Adoption of the draft minutes of the meetings of 13 September and 17 October 2023

The draft minutes were adopted.

3. Communications by the Chair

The Chair announced that preparations were ongoing for the 87th Inter-Parliamentary Meeting of the Transatlantic Legislators' Dialogue (TLD) to be held in Washington DC on 30 November to 2 December 2023. The draft agenda would include working sessions on Ukraine, Decreasing energy dependence from Russia, Agricultural trade and food security, Artificial intelligence, China, and the situation in the Middle East.

In preparation of the 87th EU-US Inter-parliamentary meeting/ Transatlantic Legislators'

4. Exchange of views with Ms Majda Ruge, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, on US Foreign Policy and the 2024 US elections

Ms Ruge noted that the deep societal polarisation in the United States was affecting politics and boosting unpredictability, including volatility in foreign policy. Joe Biden and Donald Trump actually have converging views on trade and strategic industrial policy, such as reshoring key industries, on reducing overseas interventions and on China as an increasingly military and economic threat and strategic rival that needs to be contained. The two presidential frontrunners have diverging views in the areas of climate, energy, Russia and the importance of alliances. Trump wishes to promote the production of fossil fuels and nuclear power rather than renewables. The defeat of Russia is not a priority for him and instead advocates for a strategic deal to be struck with Russia. European allies are also viewed as wealthy freeloaders that need to be punished, rather than as assets or partners. Trump, if elected, was likely to continue to view international relations as a marketplace in which to negotiate from a position of strength and to express disdain for the EU and its promotion of shared norms.

The speaker said that the Republican presidential candidates' foreign policy positions fell into three 'tribes' – primacists, restrainers, and prioritisers. They hold different views on the role of the US as a global leader. The primacists favour continued US global leadership and the strategic defeat of Russia in Ukraine to effectively deter China in Taiwan. They support NATO and military assistance to Ukraine and greater burden sharing with the EU. This camp is represented by the work of Hudson Institute. The prioritisers assert that the main threat for the US is China and its ambitions in Taiwan. The EU should take the lead in Ukraine and the US should cease directing more resources to support Ukraine. This camp is represented by the work of the Marathon Initiative and the Heritage Foundation. The restrainers believe that political attention and resources should shift towards domestic concerns such as border security. They are sceptical of NATO and generally view European allies as “freeloaders.” They also share prioritisers' view of striking a strategic deal with Russia. The main think-tanks representing this camp are the America First Policy Institute, the Centre for Renewing America and the Defense Priorities Foundation.

Ms Ruge argued that should a Republican candidate, including Trump, be elected, it would have security and economic implications for the EU. There is debate inside the Republican Party on whether burden sharing with the EU in NATO is even desirable. Increasingly GOP members talk about burden shifting, i.e. that the political leadership of NATO and its military capabilities should be undertaken by the Europeans, with the US retaining a minimal role and focusing on the Indo-Pacific region (this view is part of the Heritage Foundation's 2025 agenda). It is therefore in the immediate national security interests of the EU to strengthen its military capabilities not only to tackle the war in Ukraine but also future tensions elsewhere such as the Western Balkans. With regard to trade, the US may seek to “punish” the EU if it did not adopt America's approach on China, given its strategic rivalry.

Questions by Members focussed on the implications for Ukraine of a second Trump administration, on the equivalent divisions within the Democratic Party and of any pressure on President Biden to shift towards a resolution of the conflict before the elections.

In her answers, Ms Ruge stated that she did not expect Donald Trump to change his narrative. He remains consistent in his sympathy for Vladimir Putin and disdain for Volodymyr

Zelenskyy. If elected, he would likely freeze budgetary support and pressure both sides in order to get a quick deal that would entail ceding parts of the territory (including Crimea) to Russia, or perhaps a power sharing federal agreement on the territories in the East. On the Democrat side, she noted that high ranking members of the Biden Administration believed that there would not be any attempts to end the conflict before 2025. Democrats remained unified in Congress with regard to the war in Ukraine including progressives such as Senator Bernie Sanders. Ms Ruge referred to her ECFR colleague's Celia Belin corresponding research on the three tribes within the Democratic Party: the leaders, realists, and progressives.

5. Any other business

None.

6. Date and time of the next meeting

The next meeting was scheduled to take place during the December 2023 Plenary session in Strasbourg.

The meeting closed at 14.00.

**ПРИСЪСТВЕН ЛИСТ/LISTA DE ASISTENCIA/PREZENČNÍ LISTINA/DELTAGERLISTE/
ANWESENHEITSLISTE/KOHALOLIJATE NIMEKIRI/KATAΣΤΑΣΗ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΩΝ/RECORD OF ATTENDANCE/
LISTE DE PRÉSENCE/POPIS NAZOČNIH/ELENCO DI PRESENZA/APMEKLĒJUMU REĢISTRŠ/DALYVIŲ SAŖAŠAS/
JELENLÉTI ÍV/REGĪSTRU TA' ATTENDENZA/PRESENTIELIJST/LISTA OBECNOŠCI/LISTA DE PRESENÇAS/
LISTĂ DE PREZENȚĂ/PREZENČNÁ LISTINA/SEZNAM NAVZOČIH/LÄSNÄOLOLISTA/NÄRVAROLISTA**

<p>Бюро/Mesa/Předsednictvo/Formandskabet/Vorstand/Juhatus/Προεδρείο/Bureau/Predsjedništvo/Ufficio di presidenza/Prezidijs/ Biuras/Elnökség/Prezidium/Birou/Predsednictvo/Predsedstvo/Puheenjohtajisto/Presidiet (*)</p>
<p>Radosław Sikorski, Miapetra Kumpula Natri</p>
<p>Членове/Diputados/Poslanci/Medlemmer/Mitglieder/Parlamendiliikmed/Βουλευτές/Members/Députés/Zastupnici/Deputati/Deputāti/ Nariai/Képviselek/Membri/Leden/Posłowie/Deputados/Deputați/Jäsenet/Ledamöter</p>
<p>Reinhard Bütikofer, Danuta Maria Hübner, Dietmar Köster</p>
<p>Заместници/Suplentes/Náhradníci/Stedfortrædere/Stellvertreter/Asendusliikmed/Αναπληρωτές/Substitutes/Suppléants/Zamjenici/ Supplenti/Aizstājēji/Pavaduojantysnariai/Pötagok/Sostituti/Plaatsvervangers/Zastępcy/Membros suplentes/Supleanți/Náhradníci/ Namestniki/Varajäsenet/Suppleanter</p>
<p>Andrey Kovatchev, Riho Terras, Loránt Vincze, Željana Zovko</p>

<p>209 (7)</p>
<p>216 (3)</p>
<p>56 (8) (Точка от дневния ред/Punto del orden del día/Bod pořadu jednání (OJ)/Punkt på dagsordenen/Tagesordnungspunkt/ Päevakorra punkt/Σημείο της ημερήσιας διάταξης/Agenda item/Point OJ/Τοčka dnevnog reda/Punto all'ordine del giorno/Darba kārtības punkts/Darbotvarkēs punktas/Napirendi pont/Punt Agenda/Agendapunt/Punkt porządku dziennego/Ponto OD/Punct de pe ordinea de zi/Bod programu schôdze/Τοčka UL/Esityslistan kohta/Punkt på föredragningslistan)</p>

Наблюдатели/Observadores/Pozorovatelé/Observatører/Beobachter/Vaatlejad/Παρατηρητές/Observers/Observateurs/Promatrači/Osservatori/Novĕrotáji/Stebĕtojai/Megfigyelők/Osservatori/Waarnemers/Obszerwatorzy/Observadores/Observatori/Pozorovatelia/Opazovalci/Tarkkailijat/Observatörer

По покана на председателя/Por invitación del presidente/Na pozvání předsedy/Efter indbydelse fra formanden/Auf Einladung des Vorsitzenden/Esimehe kutsel/Με πρόσκληση του Προέδρου/At the invitation of the Chair/Sur l'invitation du président/ Na poziv predsjednika/Su invito del presidente/Πεε priekšsēdētāja uzaicinājuma/Pirmininkui pakvietus/Az elnök meghívására/ Fuq stedina tač-'Chairman'/Op uitnodiging van de voorzitter/Na zaproszenie Przewodniczącego/A convite do Presidente/La invitația președintelui/ Na pozvanie predsedu/Na povabilo predsednika/Puheenjohtajan kutsusta/På ordförandens inbjudan
Majda Ruge

Съвет/Consejo/Rada/Rådet/Rat/Nōukogu/Συμβούλιο/Council/Conseil/Vijeće/Consiglio/Padome/Taryba/Tanács/Kunsill/Raad/Conselho/Consiliu/Svet/Neuvosto/Rådet (*)
Комисия/Comisión/Komise/Kommissionen/Kommission/Komisjon/Επιτροπή/Commission/Komisija/Commissione/Bizottság/Kummissjoni/Commissie/Komisja/Comissão/Comisie/Komisja/Komissio/Kommissionen (*)
Европейска служба за външна дейност/Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior/Evropská služba pro vnější činnost/EU-Udenrigstjenesten/Europäischer Auswärtiger Dienst/Euroopa väliteenistus/Ευρωπαϊκή Υπηρεσία Εξωτερικής Δράσης/European External Action service/Service européen pour l'action extérieure/Evropska služba za vanjsko djelovanje/Servizio europeo per l'azione esterna/Eiropas Ārējās darbības dienests/Europos išorės veiksmy tarnyba/Európai Külügyi Szolgálat/Servizz Ewropew għall-Azzjoni Esterna/Europese dienst voor extern optreden/Europejska Służba Działañ Zewnętrznych/Serviço Europeu para a Acção Externa/Serviciul european pentru acțiune externă/Evropska služba pre vonkajšiu činnost/Evropska služba za zunanje delovanje/Euroopan ulkosuhdehallinto/Europeiska avdelningen för yttre åtgärd (*)
Други институции и органи/Otras instituciones y organismos/Ostatní orgány a instituce/Andre institutioner og organer/Andere Organe und Einrichtungen/Muud institutsioonid ja organid/Λοιπά θεσμικά όργανα και οργανισμοί/Other institutions and bodies/Autres institutions et organes/Druge institucije i tijela/Altre istituzioni e altri organi/Citas iestādes un struktūras/Kitos institucijos ir įstaigos/Más intézmények és szervek/Istuzzjonijiet u korpi oħra/Andere instellingen en organen/Inne instytucje i organy/Outras instituiçōes e outros órgãos/Alte instituții și organe/Iné inštitúcie a orgány/Muut toimeimet ja elimet/Andra institutioner och organ

Други учасници/Otros participantes/Ostatní účastníci/Endvidere deltog/Andere Teilnehmer/Muud osalejad/Επίσης παρόντες/Other participants/Autres participants/Drugi sudionici/Altri partecipanti/Citi klātesošie/Kiti dalyviai/Más résztvevők/Partecipanti oħra/Andere aanwezig/en/Inni uczestnicy/Outros participantes/Alți participanți/Ini účastníci/Drugi udeleženci/Muut osallistujat/Övriga deltagare

Секретариат на политическите групи/Secretaría de los Grupos políticos/Sekretariát politických skupin/Gruppernes sekretariat/Sekretariat der Fraktionen/Fraktsioonide sekretariaat/Γραμματεία των Πολιτικών Ομάδων/Secretariats of political groups/Secrétariat des groupes politiques/Tajništva klubova zastupnika/Segreteria gruppi politici/Politisko grupu sekretariāts/Frakciju sekretoriai/Képviseletcsoportok titkársága/Sekretarjat gruppi poliṭiċi/Fractiesecretariaten/Sekretariat Grup Politycznych/Secretariado dos grupos políticos/Secretariate grupuri politice/Sekretariát politických skupin/Sekretariat političnih skupin/Poliitisten ryhmiien sihteeristö/De politiska gruppernas sekretariat

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Кабинет на председателя/Gabinete del Presidente/Kancelář předsedy/Formandens Kabinet/Kabinett des Präsidenten/Presidendi kantselei/Γραφείο του Προέδρου/President's Office/Cabinet du Président/Ured predsednika/Gabinetto del Presidente/Priekšsēdētāja kabinets/Pirmininko kabinetas/Elnöki hivatal/Kabinett tal-President/Kabinet van de Voorzitter/Gabinet Przewodniczącego/Gabinete do Presidente/Cabinet Președinte/Kancelária predsedu/Urad predsednika/Puhemiehen kabinetti/Talmannens kansli

Кабинет на генералния секретар/Gabinete del Secretario General/Kancelář generálního tajemníka/Generalsekretærens Kabinet/Kabinett des Generalsekretärs/Peasekretäri büroo/Γραφείο του Γενικού Γραμματέα/Secretary-General's Office/Cabinet du secrétaire général/Ured glavnog tajnika/Gabinetto del Segretario generale/Ġeneralsekretära kabinets/Generalinio sekretoriaus kabinetas/Főtitkári hivatal/Kabinett tas-Segretarju Ġenerali/Kabinet van de secretaris-generaal/Gabinet Sekretarza Generalnego/Gabinete do Secretário-Geral/Cabinet Secretar General/Kancelária generálneho tajomníka/Urad generalnega sekretarja/Pääsihteerin kabinetti/Generalsekreterarens kansli

Генерална дирекция/Dirección General/Generální ředitelství/Generaldirektorat/Generaldirektion/Peadirrektoraat/Γενική Διεύθυνση/ Directorate-General/Direction générale/Glavna uprava/Direzione generale/Generāldirektorāts/Generalinis direktoratas/Fóigazgatóság/ Direttorat Generali/Direktoraten-generaal/Dyrekcja Generalna/Direcção-Geral/Direcții Generale/Generálne riaditeľstvo/Generalni direktorat/Pääosasto/Generaldirektorat	
DG PRES DG IPOL DG EXPO DG EPRS DG COMM DG PART DG PERS DG INLO DG TRAD DG LINC DG FINS DG ITEC DG SAFE	
Правна служба/Servicio Jurídico/Právní služba/Juridisk Tjeneste/Juristischer Dienst/Óigústeenistus/Νομική Υπηρεσία/Legal Service/ Service juridique/Pravna služba/Servizio giuridico/Juridiskais dienests/Teisės tarnyba/Jogi szolgálat/Servizz legali/Juridische Dienst/ Wydział prawny/Serviço Jurídico/Serviciu Juridic/Právny servis/Oikeudellinen yksikkö/Rättstjänsten	
Секретариат на комисията/Secretaría de la comisión/Sekretariát výboru/Udvalgssekretariatet/Ausschussekreteriatet/Komisjoni sekretariaat/Γραμματεία της επιτροπής/Committee secretariat/Secrétariat de la commission/Tajništvo odbora/Segreteria della commissione/ Komitejas sekretariāts/Komiteto sekretoriatas/A bizottság titkársága/Sekretarjat tal-kumitat/Commissiesecretariaat/ Sekretariát komisji/Sekretariado da comissão/Sekretariat comisie/Sekretariat odbora/Valiokunnan sihteeristö/Utskottssekretariatet	
Alexandros Karides, Tuula Turunen	
Сътрудник/Asistente/Asistent/Assistent/Assistenz/Βοηθός/Assistant/Assistente/Palīgs/Padējējas/Asszisztens/Asyistent/Pomočnik/ Avustaja/Assistenten	

- * (P) = Председател/Presidente/Předseda/Formand/Vorsitzender/Esimees/Πρόεδρος/Chairman/Président/Predsjednik/Priekšsēdētājs/
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 Vice-Chair/Potpredsjednik/Vice-Président/Potpredsjednik/Priekšsēdētāja vietnieks/Pirmininko pavaduotojas/Alelnök/ Vīci
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 Varapuheenjohtaja/Vice ordförande
- (M) = Член/Miembro/Člen/Medlem/Mitglied/Parlamendiliige/Βουλευτής/Member/Membre/Član/Membro/Deputāts/Narys/Képviselő/
 Membru/Lid/Członek/Membro/Membru/Člen/Poslanec/Jäsen/Ledamot
- (F) = Длъжностно лице/Funcionario/Úředník/Tjenestemand/Beamter/Ametnik/Υπάλληλος/Official/Fonctionnaire/Dužnosnik/
 Funzionario/Ierēdnis/Pareigūnas/Tisztviselő/Ufficial/Ambtenaar/Urzędnik/Funcionário/Funcionar/Úradník/Uradnik/Virkamies/
 Tjänsteman