Chapter 6

TTIP's Implications for the Global Economic Integration of Central and Eastern Europe

Tamás Novák

Impact analyses and empirical results of existing studies on the economic impacts of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) show significant benefits for the participating countries. Eleven out of the 28 members of the European Union (EU) are from central Europe ("new" member states) and they are mostly small countries with open economies. The impact on less developed member states of the central European region can be even greater. It can contribute to their deeper integration into the global economic networks through investments, but their underdevelopment rightly calls for caution. The implications and the direction of potential policy responses are less clear in the rest of eastern Europe. According to some studies, third countries would be facing losses, and little has been said about the potential impacts on eastern Europe. Russia, one of the largest emerging countries, has formulated very ambitious foreign economic and policy objectives. It is trying to restore its economic and political sphere of influence. Russia and other countries from the region might forcefully respond to possible trade diversion effects and worsening competitiveness if the agreement contains significant changes.

Central and eastern Europe (CEE) has started integrating into the global markets only recently after the breakup of planned economic systems. This region has been compared to Latin American countries in the early 1970s in terms of its international economic integration pattern. Latin America and eastern Europe shared important macroeconomic characteristics in the final third of the twentieth century. In this period, both regions displayed similar economic performances, although their economic and political systems were vastly different. A common feature of the two regions was that they were at the periphery of the international economy and were facing comparable structural challenges while international economic developments exerted identical external pressures on them. Economic growth slowed, the terms of trade deteriorated, trade balances worsened. This led to dynamically increasing foreign debt, and its servicing consumed large parts of export revenues. Rising indebtedness did not serve to speed up structural change.[1] In both regions the 1990s brought about significant transformation, deep economic changes, and renewed efforts to achieve quicker economic growth. On average, Latin America and eastern Europe went through significant transformation, Russia and Brazil and other countries have been considered as rapidly growing large emerging markets. At the same time, regional integration efforts as well as WTO membership became important drivers of international economic integration for several countries in both regions. Despite the remarkable growth performance in international comparison and the major advances in catching up with developed countries, their peripheral/semi-peripheral position has not changed significantly. In many respects, they are facing the same challenges of globalization, regional integration, closing the gap and economic sovereignty.

After the collapse of the planned economic system, most advanced central European countries managed to adopt the key institutions of a market economy and liberal democracy. The European Union has become the most important trading partner for all of them, but policy orientations, economic growth and democratic transformation showed big differences across the region. Today, there are two fundamentally different and distinct country groups in eastern Europe. The first group consists of countries that have either become members of the European Union, or were intending to enter the EU and are already negotiating membership. Some other countries in this group have association agreements with the EU.[2] These countries have chosen the path of global integration through integration into a large single market by giving up several instruments of their external economic policy. The other group mostly comprises countries that do not possess a

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[1]Ivan T. Berend, "End of Century. Global Transition to a Market Economy: Laissez-Faire on the Peripheries?" in Ivan T. Berend, ed., *Transition to a Market Economy at the End of the 20th Century* (Munich: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 2004).

[2]In the region, negotiations are currently underway with Serbia and Montenegro. Candidate or potential candidate countries are the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

realistic perspective of EU membership, or nations that do not intend to join at all.[3]

EU member states from central Europe may be viewed as a broadly coherent group that shares similar interests, although their economic and political strategies may vary from time to time. Russia, after more than a decade-long decline, is the largest emerging economic and political power in eastern Europe today, and has a clear intention to shape the future of the region. This country is gaining more and more importance in the Eurasian space and pursues a dissimilar strategy to what is followed by EU member states. In recent years Russia has initiated an ambitious integration project with the final objective of creating a Eurasian Economic Union.[4] In addition, it has also sought to expand its influence westwards by using its natural resources and capital investments.

Impact of the TTIP and Economic Theories

The advantages of a TTIP agreement are supposed to be similar to those that were forecast before the creation of the European Single Market. The internal market in a simple form is based on the neoclassical approach: eliminating trade and investment barriers equals increasing trade and investment activity because of bigger expected returns, efficient labor market, etc. These advantages are supposed to come from eliminating the distortions of competition. In theory, consumers in each country gain from lower prices and any losses to the local producers will be more than compensated by the gains from greater competition. Increased competition and enlarged market opportunities stimulate the development and use of new technologies that improve productivity, decrease costs, increase living standards,

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[3]Tamás Novák, "Changes in Ukraine and the Future of Central and Eastern Europe," Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2014. accessed at: http://transatlantic.sais-jhu.edu/publications/NovakT-Changes%20in%20the%20Ukraine.pdf. The European Union has its Eastern Partnership (EAP) policy aimed at creating deep free trade with post-Soviet states: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine.

[4]The EurAsEC Customs Union became increasingly important for Russia since the launch of EAP. Its members: Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus. Armenia and Kyrgyzstan are expected to join the Union soon.

etc. By doing so economic growth rates will be higher and new jobs will be created.[5]

This strong belief in market forces and the positive-sum game of liberalization for each participant seems to be a bit strange at first sight, so soon after an economic crisis when more cautious strands of economic thinking are on the rise. The benefits of market forces and external liberalization have been questioned, weakening the unconditional mainstream belief in their beneficial effects.[6] As far as the benefits of single-market-type integration are concerned, we may argue from the opposite perspective as well in terms of costs: the single market idea involves channeling the negative implications of globalization, including (1) loss of jobs, because of increased competition; (2) disappearing industries because of weaker, smaller domestic economic actors; (3) negative impact on structurally weak regions. This last impact was expected to be eased by regional and structural policies, though these are seemingly without success as reflected in intensifying regional differences within the EU.

The objective of the EU Single Market was to deliver higher growth rates to keep up the pace and successfully compete with fast-growing emerging regions. Its impacts are not entirely about success and assessments are only superficially addressing these problems.[7] Even if there are arguments to support that the current problems of the EU have not all been caused by the operation of the Single Market, several politicians and the public perceive the Single Market as a failure.[8] During the past two decades, in relative terms, in comparison

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[5]Stefan Vetter, *The Single European Market. 20 Years on Achievements, Unfulfilled Expectations & Further Potential* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Bank AG, DB Research, 2013), p. 4.

[6]As Joseph Stiglitz writes, "Neo-liberal market fundamentalism was always a political doctrine serving certain interests. It was never supported by economic theory. Nor, it should now be clear, is it supported by historical experience. Learning this lesson may be the silver lining in the cloud now hanging over the global economy," accessed at: http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-end-of-neo-liberalism-

[7]Bas Straathof, Gert-Jan Linders, Arjan Lejour and Jan Möhlmann, *The Internal Market and the Dutch Economy: Implications for Trade and Economic Growth* (CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, 2008); Copenhagen Economics, *Delivering a Stronger Single Market* (Nordic Innovation Publication 2012, p. 11); Andrea Boltho and Barry Eichengreen, *The Economic Impact of European Integration*, CEPR Discussion Paper 6820, 2008.

[8]According to Commission calculations, between 1992 and 2008 an additional 2.13% GDP growth and 2.77 million jobs were created. See European Commission, Communication

with the rest of the world, the EU's economic performance has deteriorated, which may suggest that the primary objective of the Single Market has not been fulfilled. It is clear that all of the *ex-ante* assessments were unrealistically optimistic about the positive impacts of the Single Market[9] and were unable to properly address the negative impacts the less developed members would face.

Impact assessments to date generally show that each country participating in the TTIP gets benefits; the only question left to answer is the extent of such benefits, as they may vary from country to country and be largely a function of the content of the agreement.[10] If problem areas (agriculture, culture, etc.) were taken out of the deal, most of the benefits could not be felt and the advantages would be significantly lower.[11] Disregarding the fact that none of the impact assessments is capable of grasping the implications entirely, and even less able to calculate with unexpected political and economic changes, not to mention unpredictability of the reactions of third countries, the case of the EU internal market—and experiences of other FTAs (Free Trade Agreements)—prove that less developed countries may lose with liberalization and the

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from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, 3.10.2012. com(2012) 573 final, 2012. It would be interesting to see how many more jobs and how much more GDP was lost because of the deep integration among the countries. "The Single Market (...) is less popular than ever, while Europe needs it more than ever.... The Single Market is seen as 'yesterday's business' compared to other policy priorities." Mario Monti, *A New Strategy for the Single Market at the Service of Europe's Economy and Society.* Report to the President of the European Commission, 2010, http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/strategy/docs/monti_report_final_10_05_2010_en.pdf, p. 6.

[9]The Cecchini Report calculated a potential wealth effect of 4.25-6.5% of GDP for the twelve member states in the Single Market. None of the ex-post assessments proves more than 2 percent, and "… an economic assessment of the Single Market … brings with it the conceptual difficulty of separating the impact of the Single Market not only from the consequences of globalization, but also from the introduction of the euro." Vetter, op. cit, p. 3.; Cecchini, Paolo & Catinat, Michel & Jacquemin, Alexis. 1988. *The European Challenge 1992: The Benefits of a Single Market.* Aldershot: Wildwood House Limited.

[10]Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), *Reducing Transatlantic Barriers to Trade and Investment. An Economic Assessment*. Final Project Report, March 2013; Gabriel Felbermayr, Benedikt Heid and Sybille Lehwald, *Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Who Benefits from a Free Trade Deal?* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2013); Gabriel J. Felbermayr and Mario Larch, "The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP): Potentials, Problems and Perspectives," *CESifo Forum* 2/2013 (June).

[11]CEPR, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

opening up of markets. The case of Greece and other southern countries of the EU clearly prove that problems with FTAs and other integration initiatives can be numerous. Less developed countries of the European Union, or those that are not competitive enough, would not gain as much as is forecasted; what is more, the risk of losing is not negligible, especially if inappropriate economic policies are pursued. The prospect of gaining less or even sustaining losses by underdeveloped countries is in line with economic theories that do not believe in positive sum impacts of international economic liberalization.[12]

EU Members from Central and Eastern Europe

The potential benefits of small, open economies that deeply integrated into the international division of labor, such as the "new EU members" that joined the EU in 2004, 2007, and 2013, are believed to be significant. Some of them have export openness indicators above the 75-80% range (export/GDP) and their import activities are also significant because of the high import intensity of their export production. This integration into the international division of labor and openness to trade explains why the calculations on the effects of TTIP indicate above average benefits for them. Apparently, they are interested in liberalization and trade facilitation that helps to further expand their exports. Increasing foreign sales are essentially important for their sustainable growth. Because of the small domestic market and the limited local purchasing power, if firms in these countries aim at increasing sales and creating more jobs, they simply have no alternatives to internationalization. Their exports are mostly based on the

[12]This strategy proved successful for example in the United States and Germany (when they were less developed than their trading partners), and much later in some of the emerging Far East regions. "In the first stage they must adopt free trade with the more advanced nations as a means of raising themselves from a state of barbarism and of making advances in agriculture. In the second stage they must resort to commercial restrictions to promote the growth of manufactures, fisheries, navigation, and foreign trade. In the last stage, after reaching the highest degree of wealth and power, they must gradually revert to the principle of free trade and of unrestricted competition in the home as well as in foreign markets, so that their agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants may be preserved from indolence and stimulated to retain the supremacy which they have acquired." Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy by Friedrich List.* Trans. Sampson S. Lloyd, with an Introduction by J. Shield Nicholson (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916) p. xx.

performance of FDI-related manufacturing and services firms, and they need to elaborate strategies that preserve and strengthen export orientation. (This should not mean the negligence of domestic demand factors—consumption and investment—but their primary role is to balance the growth pattern, rather than replace export orientation with domestic demand driven strategy, at least at the current level of economic development). The success of export-led growth strategy depends on several factors and there are a number of risks and challenges of such a strategy as well.[13] But countries that implement strategies that disregard export orientation will soon face sustainability problems.

Because central European countries cannot compete with really low-wage countries from the Far East (though their wages are still low in international comparison), long-term sustainable strategies cannot avoid upgrading technological capabilities by attracting more FDI. If the conditions of doing business are improved, the rule of law is upheld, productivity is increased, they could count on increasing investment from U.S. firms already before the TTIP enters into force.[14] Increased FDI from U.S. production and services firms is the most important source of possible benefit of the TTIP in the central European member states. The realistic and sustainable economic strategy of these countries should focus on the further modernization of their export structure and the upgrading of technology. This, however, would require large investments in human and physical infrastructure and the improvement of the business environment. If these conditions are fulfilled, theoretically, TTIP would again open a window of opportunity for several countries to utilize the agreement for the purpose of accelerating economic growth.

An additional benefit may be related to investments made by third countries. Participation in integration initiatives influences transaction costs for third countries that raise the question of production within

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[13]Andras Inotai, "Sustainable Growth Based on Export-oriented Economic Strategy," *Economic Policy Analyses,* FES-EPI, 2013, p. 5, accessed at: http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/sofia/10070.pdf.

[14]Daniel Hamilton, "The Changing Nature of the Transatlantic Link: U.S. Approaches and Implications for Central and Eastern Europe," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46, 2013, p. 308.

the integration area or export there. Integration initiatives (even in their simplest form, i.e. free trade area) are creating incentives for third countries to invest within integrated areas in order to avoid trade-related costs. Theoretically, they can encourage firms—that may eventually want to export to the United States—to invest in central Europe.[15] An investment boom of this kind was evident prior to the EU accession of the central European countries. The impact of FDI was largely tangible before the accession took place, not least because of the extra-EU investments.[16] The volume of such investments would not be too large, but it is potentially to be reckoned with.

On the other hand, however, the risk of smaller than expected impacts is high, which makes the picture for "new members" and other peripheral EU countries a little more obscure.[17] The problem is that in several countries the economy has a dual structure; a few large transnational firms are integrated into the international production chains, while the rest of the economy is unable to participate in international trade, because it lacks exportable, competitive products. In addition, not least because of the internal problems of the European Union and the increasing Russian influence in the region, the regional political commitment to liberal economic order and democracy is not at all guaranteed. And this is an increasingly serious issue in a region where economic and political transformation was thought to firmly integrate countries into the system of Western institutions and values. The changes in political and economic policy strategies may increase business risks in certain countries.

Taking all factors taken into consideration, the benefits for the less developed central European countries in terms of export, FDI and GDP growth is probably larger than the disadvantages.[18] It is explained

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[15]Daniel S. Hamilton and Joseph P. Quinlan, *The Transatlantic Economy 2013. Annual Survey of Jobs, Trade and Investment between the United States and Europe* (Washington, DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, 2013), p. vi.

[16]Alan A. Bevan and Saul Estrin, "The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment into European Transition Economies," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 32, 2004, p. 777.

[17]Central and Eastern Europe Development Institute (CEED), *The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Agreement (TTIP)—Key Issues and Challenges Ahead*, Bulletin of Central and Eastern Europe No. 4, 2013, p. 5.

[18]Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA), "TTIP: What Will It Do for Central Europe?" Central Europe Digest, August 6, 2013, p. 6.

by their pattern of division of labor that is based on export orientation of foreign-owned firms. All these favorable impacts, however, can be utilized only if the business environment is favorable enough. There is, however a substantial risk that policies in the region may become inward-looking and more protectionist. This risk is strengthened by the weak performance of the European economy and the unfulfilled expectations of the EU membership in terms of catching up.

The choice of economic and political models of Central European governments may be influenced by the economic performance of advanced and emerging countries. There is a danger that regional governments and politicians see the EU as a weak economic center whose economic and political model is inadequate to respond to current and future global challenges. The increasing skepticism may lead to the conclusion that, instead of the European model, they should follow potentially more successful strategies. Anti-EU economic and political strategies in the countries shattered by economic difficulties, characterized by relatively poor economic outlook, and declining standards of living, however, are on the increase. Developments over the past few years could easily lead to the introduction of measures that are shockingly different from European traditions and that would probably weaken the ties that have developed over the past more than two decades. Economic integration can be considered "too deep" because the original objective of economic and political transformation has not been achieved[19] and, instead of convergence on the living standards of more developed countries, a more complicated balance has been experienced. The situation could easily worsen. Tempted by the almost unlimited power of leaders in some post-Soviet countries, democratic systems could morph into something "new," into very destructive, obsolete structures in which country identity is defined in opposition to the European development model. If that happens, the possible favorable implications of TTIP will not be felt in the affected countries.

Russia

The original idea that the TTIP agreement can be beneficial for each country in the long run relies on the presumption that "the eco-

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[19]The argument of too deep integration is not only a way of thinking of central Europe, but similar dilemmas are worded in more developed EU members too.

nomic importance of the EU and the United States will mean that their partners will also have an incentive to move towards the new transatlantic standards."[20] In other words, third countries would face such immense losses that it would be their very interest to join the TTIP. This is an overly optimistic forecast of the prospective developments. Turning to the third countries in central and eastern Europe, the key question is Russia, which would definitely take the TTIP for what it really means for this country—a geopolitical aspiration that may threaten Russia's position in Europe. The important political objective behind the TTIP is that this large-scale bilateral agreement increases the incentives of third parties to achieve further liberalization steps at the multilateral level. This way the TTIP (the advanced countries) becomes a rule setter in international trade for third countries. It would lead the EU and the United States to regain a leading position in international trade and economic development. This expectation is realistic only if third countries feel that it is in their interest to accept the rules elaborated by developed economies. This situation would be similar to the decades preceding the economic rise of large emerging countries, when developing or less developed countries were not able to defend their interests against the advanced countries in international economic organizations. This is also the fundamental issue concerning countries such as China, Russia, India, and Brazil or other large emerging markets.

None of the scenarios in the existing analyses calculate openly with potential countermeasures taken by third countries. A more realistic approach is to examine three scenarios: (1) large emerging countries may think that they will not lose too much if the agreement finally remains limited in scope; (2) the TTIP may be a strong incentive for new agreements and instruments within the framework of WTO negotiations with the objective of reducing the negative implications; (3) third countries will increasingly look for countermeasures. The first two alternatives are clearly far more beneficial for the advanced world. Regarding the third choice, this would result in the intensification of creating trade blocs (that may lead to the increasing disruption of global trade) and/or instruments which make export and invest-

[20]European Commission, 2013. Member States Endorse EU-US Trade and Investment Negotiations. European Commission—MEMO/13/564, accessed at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-564_en.htm.

ment from advanced countries more difficult. In addition, more concerted efforts and countermeasures from large emerging countries cannot be ruled out if international economic relations are aggravated. Closer cooperation between large emerging countries regarding international trade would suffice to establish a common ground for asserting similar interests. Should that come about, it will probably disrupt global trade and the current institutional system.

Russia has been able to strengthen its position in international relations and become strong enough to try to regain and increase its influence in some parts of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). Russia's efforts to reintegrate a part of the CIS will continue and strengthen as a number one priority in its foreign policy. Regarding economic issues, Russia is becoming an increasingly important player in the eastern part of Europe and in Asia.[21] In recent years, the country has become one of the most important capital investors in the world, mostly through state-owned enterprises, though obviously not independently from politics, and it has become the number one investor in the east European region.[22] In coming years it is most likely to strengthen further its efforts to be involved in European business. In addition to achieving economic penetration, it is also more and more in Moscow's interest to stop the spread of Western-style democracy, perhaps even in countries where it seemed to be solidly rooted.[23]

In addition to geopolitical considerations, the most important issue for Russia relates to the energy sector. If TTIP eases access to U.S. gas, it will benefit both European consumers and the industry. (On the other hand, cheap gas exports to Europe would erode the competitive advantage of U.S. firms over European competitors.) At the same time, this new source of natural gas would substantially diminish

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[21]Ilan Berman, *Implosion: The End of Russia and What It Means for America*. New York: Regnery Publishing, 2013.

[22]United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *World Investment Report.* New York: United Nations, 2013, pp. 8, 13.

[23]See for example the citation from an interview with Francis Fukuyama: "I think that's right, that Russia doesn't have an interest in having a healthy democracy on its borders because that's going to give the wrong signals to its own people. So I think it's probably right that Russia would prefer to have other authoritarian neighbors around it." Francis Fukuyama, 2013. Democratization in Eastern Europe. RFE/RL, accessed at: http://www.rferl.org/content/interview-fukuyama-democratization-eastern-europe/25087539.html.

Table 1. Geographical Pattern of Russian Merchandise Trade

(% of total export or import)

Export	2005	2012	Import	2005	2012
Total	100.00	100.00	Total	100.00	100.00
EU	53.63	48.96	EU	42.79	40.34
Germany	8.17	6.79	Germany	13.45	12.11
Netherlands	10.19	14.63	Italy	4.47	4.24
Italy	7.89	6.18	France	3.72	4.36
CEE6*	10.59	8.41	CEE6*	5.91	6.98
CIS	13.51	14.94	CIS	19.24	13.77
China	5.40	6.81	China	7.36	16.39
USA	2.62	2.47	USA	4.62	4.85
Rest of the World	24.84	26.82	Rest of the World	25.99	24.65

Source: Own calculation, Central Bank of Russia.

*Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Romania.

Europe's dependence on Russian gas, which is disadvantageous to Russia from macroeconomic and geopolitical perspectives. As European demand decreases, Russia will be increasingly forced to reorient its energy exports to other markets, and gain influence mostly through investments in the European energy and financial sectors. There are clear signs that Russia seeks exert influence over as many European assets as possible. The biggest opportunity for Russia to do that is in the central European region with which it can partly substitute its losses in natural gas exports provided that U.S. gas is imported more easily. In addition, Russia can restrict its imports from Europe in response, since Moscow uses trade policy as a political tool, despite its recent WTO membership. If Russia considers that its loss is too big in Europe and it is not possible to regain a share of it in other parts of the globe, then it can use its imports from Europe as a bargaining power.

To sum up, energy is a sensitive issue for the Russian economy and the danger of worsening Russian positions in the European market may cause Russia to control as many countries as it is possible through oil, gas, nuclear power generation or financial sector investments. The TTIP could be an important element in the changes of the global energy landscape. After the conclusion of the TTIP, sooner or later U.S. natural gas exports will definitely and significantly increase. It

Table 2. Russia's Trade with the EU by SITC section 2012

(% of total export or import)

		Export	Import
0	Food and live animals	0.6	6.7
1	Beverages and tobacco	0.0	1.3
2	Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	0.9	1.4
3	Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	76.3	1.1
4	Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.2	0.4
5	Chemicals and related products, n.e.c	3.0	15.8
6	Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	6.4	10.3
7	Machinery and transport equipment	0.9	49.6
8	Miscellaneous manufactured articles	0.2	11.9
9	Commodities and transactions n.e.c	2.8	0.8

Source: European Commission, Directorate-General for Trade.

could have serious geopolitical implications for Europe's own relationship with Russia.

Conclusion

The impact of the TTIP on central and eastern Europe depends on the details of the final agreement. There are three scenarios; each has very different implications both for members and third countries.

(1) Since the aim of the TTIP is political, the discussion will concentrate on regulations and standards (trade, consumer safety, environment, etc.), but because of the conflicts between the EU and the United States concerning the underlying principles, without achieving sizeable results.

(2) The TTIP breaks away from prevailing international trade patterns because it leads to new standards that are protectionist against third countries such as China, India, Russia, etc. Global trade becomes fragmented with intensifying role of regional blocs.

(3) The third alternative is an open TTIP that encourages third countries to join. As a result, the TTIP would become the core of a new global trading system where the rule setters are once again the most advanced economies.

It is impossible to see today which of these alternatives will become a reality. If TTIP develops into a deep, comprehensive agreement, its impact will be far greater. In this case central European member countries of the EU would theoretically gain a lot due to their integration into the division of labor, mostly through transnational firms at different levels of their supplier chain. If the governments of these countries pursue outward-looking economic policies and improve their business environment, this would attract additional foreign direct investments, mostly from U.S. firms, but an increase in investment from third countries can also not be ruled out entirely. However, the risk of inward-looking policies in this region is intensifying, which would render the utilization of opportunities even more difficult.

Regarding third countries from the region, the strategy Russia chooses to adopt seems to be the most important. The negative implications of a deep TTIP would be intense. The first impact would be related to trade diversion in the short run. The long term implication is, however, much more serious and relates to Russian energy exports that make up around 75% of Russian sales to the EU. As the TTIP would improve the market access of U.S. energy to Europe, Russian energy exports would be seriously hit. To counterbalance these negative implications, in addition to export reorientation towards other countries, Moscow may seek to increase its influence in other sectors through investments into European assets. In an extreme case, the TTIP may trigger stronger cooperation among large emerging countries to formulate concerted efforts to neutralize negative consequences of the agreement.