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## THINK TANK REVIEW

Special Issue  
March 2014

*The [2014 EU-US Summit](#) takes place on 26 March. We mark the event with our first Special Issue, gathering papers on various aspects of EU-US relations which we harvested in over one year of Think Tank Reviews. Together, they offer a good perspective on the relation as seen from organisations on both sides of the Atlantic.*

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## **ISSUE 0 - NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2012**

BEPA

### **Monthly brief**

by Isabelle Ioannides (ed.)

November 2012

Link to the document in [English](#)

This BMB explores the challenges and potential of the transatlantic relationship. Contributors across the Atlantic were invited to engage in a discussion on the possible implications of the reelection of President Obama. Despite disagreements on the tactics across the Atlantic, they all point to the need for a stronger Europe, one that works collectively, and that could therefore influence the direction in which the wind of change is blowing.

## **ISSUE 3 - APRIL 2013**

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

### **Don't buy the hype on the transatlantic trade deal**

by Uri Dadush

18 March 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

Expectations for the US-EU free trade agreement are dangerously high, argues the author of the paper in his Q&A on the issue. According to him reaching a deal is likely to take longer and produce smaller gains than optimistic figures suggest.

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE / DEMOS EUROPA

### **Towards a transatlantic market**

by Paweł Świeboda

12 March 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

The success of the new trade and investment agreement between the US and the EU is necessary if they want to take advantage of their predominant role in the international economic system and try to use it as an impulse for economic growth, argues the paper. It adds that in parallel, they need a regular strategic economic dialogue in order to better understand each other's mutual challenges and more effectively coordinate macroeconomic policies.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **Crafting a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: what can be done**

by Jeffrey J. Schott and Cathleen Cimino

March 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

A comprehensive Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) has important implications for both US-EU bilateral trade and the world trading system. The paper argues that both sides can achieve the pact's ambitious agenda by (1) broadly aligning their respective trade pacts with South Korea and (2) deepening market access commitments covering both tariff and nontariff barriers to trade in goods, agriculture, and services.

THE SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **The transatlantic relationship**

by Jan Joel Andersson

20 March 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

Ever since US President Barak Obama announced that the United States would gradually shift its focus from Europe to Asia, there has been concern in Europe regarding the future of the transatlantic relationship. The author argues that it will continue to be at the core of global affairs and that the U.S. needs Europe more than it is often understood. Yet he also says that Europe must do more to ensure its continuing relevance and influence in both Washington and the world.

### **ISSUE 5 - JUNE 2013**

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **European Union economic relations: crisis and opportunity**

by Douglas A. Rediker

23 May 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

While frustrating, inefficient, complicated, and often painful to watch, the evolution of the European Union is something that Americans should encourage, argues the author in a testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He also comments that EU's future success serves the United States' direct economic, financial, and strategic interests.

INSTITUT EUROPÉEN DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Les défis de l'Union européenne. Cohésions nationales, fragmentation politique et risques systémiques**

by Jacques Lippert

3 May 2013

Link to the document in [French](#)

Many important events that could deeply affect the European Union as we know it now, are going to take place in the next few years, this paper underlines. The author argues that European leaders will face three key elements: economic and political integration, new separatist national movements, and Transatlantic relations. He also comments that the main role of the EU is to unite citizens, rather than member states.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### **Framing the transatlantic security discussion**

by Aaron Friedberg

16 May 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

On both sides of the Atlantic, the military services face strong, and potentially long-lasting downward pressure on their budgets. It is possible that the next several years will see a further widening of the gap in capabilities between the U.S. military and the armed forces of even the strongest European powers, argues the paper. The current geopolitical challenges require, more than ever, a coordinated transatlantic answer, comments the author.

STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

### **Europe, Afghanistan and the transatlantic relationship after 2014**

by Erik Brattberg

May 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

As the December 2014 deadline for the withdrawal of international forces from Afghanistan approaches, it is already clear that NATO's future footprint in the country will be markedly smaller, argues the paper. It explores the importance of ISAF to the alliance between Europe and the United States. The author also argues that, as Europe ponders its post-2014 role in Afghanistan, it is imperative that it considers its future role as a global actor within the context of the transatlantic relationship.

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

### **For a new transatlantic strategic sequence: in, near, and beyond Europe**

by Michel Foucher

16 May 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

There are still many gaps to be bridged between the United States and Europe in terms of strategic thinking and national versus global outlook, which leave the transatlantic partners poorly equipped to adapt to new economic realities and their strategic consequences, argues the paper. The United States and Europe now face the challenges of reconciling their strategic priorities in a context where the combination on the powers on both sides could prove instrumental in finding answers to the current geopolitical and economic challenges, says the author.

## **ISSUE 6 - JULY 2013**

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

### **EU defence integration: undermining NATO, transatlantic relations, and Europe's security**

by Luke Coffey

6 June 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

Far from improving the military capabilities of European countries, the CSDP decouples the US from European security and will ultimately weaken the NATO alliance, this paper argues. US policymakers should watch CSDP developments closely and discourage the EU from deepening defence integration. The consequences would be great, the author argues. It would mean an end to Europe being a serious security actor on the global stage, due to the veto power of the EU's five neutral members, coupled with bureaucratic inertia.

STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK

### **Trade agreement with side-effects? European Union and United States to negotiate Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership**

by Stormy-Annika Mildner and Claudia Schmucker

June 2013

Link to the document in [English](#) and in [German](#)

Negotiations between the EU and the US for a comprehensive TTIP are not entirely without risks for global trade and the multilateral trading system, this paper says. The talks could tie up a considerable portion of EU and US negotiating capacity and divert attention from the WTO Doha Round, and trade-diverting effects could hurt other trading partners. Such side-effects should be avoided, the writers argue. They also highlight the importance of multilateral trade liberalisation, and stress that the "high road" of international trade policy must remain the WTO.

MADARIAGA

### **From a destabilising commercial atlanticism to a strategic US-EU-China triologue**

by Pierre Defraigne

June 2013

Link to the document in [English](#) and in [French](#)

The TTIP, put forward from a narrow viewpoint of trade policy, raises crucial issues that have been neglected until now, this paper says. Commissioner Karel de Gucht describes the TTIP as a 'transatlantic internal market' and an editorial writer for Le Monde has called it an 'economic NATO', directed against China's commercial strength. Exposing the scope of these highly political options is the purpose of this paper.

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG

### **Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Who benefits from a free trade deal?**

by Gabriel Felbermayr, Benedikt Heid and Sybille Lehwald

17 June 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

The US and all EU member countries would significantly benefit from a comprehensive TTIP. If it is possible to largely eliminate not only tariffs but also non-tariff trade barriers, real gross domestic product per capita would significantly increase, and new jobs could be created. However, the social welfare gains in this largest free trade zone, with over 800 million inhabitants, would stand in contrast with real income and employment losses in the rest of the world, according to this Ifo Institute study commissioned by the Bertelsmann Foundation.

## **ISSUE 7 - OCTOBER 2013**

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **The EU's paradoxical efforts at tracking the financing of terrorism: from criticism to imitation of dataveillance**

by Anthony Amicelle

14 August 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

This paper takes stock of the wide range of controversies surrounding EU-US agreement on the US Terrorist Finance Tracking Program with 'dataveillance' capabilities. Following an examination of the project to create an EU system equivalent to the TFTP, the paper emphasises the fundamental paradox of transatlantic security matters, in which European criticism of US programmes tends to lead to EU imitation of US practices.

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Ripping into TTIP? Debates surrounding the upcoming EU–US negotiations**

by Maya Rostowska

9 July 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

An overview of the debate on either side of the Atlantic reveals both sides' respective interests and suggests which areas will prove particularly difficult to negotiate. These include public procurement provisions, data privacy, agricultural issues, and the financial services sector.

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG / ATLANTIC COUNCIL

### **TTIP and the fifty states: jobs and growth from coast to coast**

September 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

An ambitious Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership could provide hundreds of thousands of American jobs, benefiting every US state, this paper says. Such a pact would also increase exports to the EU for each state and industrial sector.

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **The global Arctic: the growing Arctic interests of Russia, China, the United States and the European Union**

by Juha Käpylä and Harri Mikkola

13 August 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

With exciting economic opportunities and serious environmental challenges, the Arctic is transforming and re-emerging as a geopolitically important region. Major global players within and without the Arctic are paying greater attention to the region. China, the US and the EU have also expressed their Arctic interests more explicitly. Arctic governance is also likely to turn more complex and complicated as the economic and political stakes are raised.

## **ISSUE 8 - NOVEMBER 2013**

NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **Challenges and prospects of a transatlantic free trade area**

by Bertrand de Largentaye

10 October 2013

Link to the document in [English](#) and in [French](#)

The paper analyses the challenges and perspectives of the FTA under discussion between the EU and the USA. Before discussing the outlines of the upcoming negotiations, the author starts by setting the scene and looking at the current situation. He then makes some critical observations on the prospects opened up by the partnership. To conclude, he formulates possible scenarios and make recommendations.

PETERSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

### **Financial services in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership**

by Simon Johnson and Jeffrey J. Schott

October 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

The TTIP can deepen the already substantial ties that bind the US and the EU in the world's largest economic and strategic alliance. The authors believe that the TTIP can complement the extensive efforts already in train in financial forums by making regulatory policies more transparent and by creating opportunities for trade and investment in financial services in both markets. A broader role for TTIP in harmonizing financial regulation is not an appealing idea - according to the Institute - and not one that sits well with current US official thinking.



CLINGENDAEL

### **The geopolitics of TTIP**

by Peter van Ham

October 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

The author argues that the TTIP will play a major role in deciding the future of transatlantic security and defence. Its logic is geopolitical, seeking to compete with a rising Asia, rather than betting on global normative convergence. It is more than a game-changer, but the best chance the transatlantic West has to advance a liberal world order for the 21st century. It is to be seen whether the TTIP will reinforce or undermine the EU's path towards federalism.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **The EU-China partnership: 10 years on**

by Nicola Casarini

11 October 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

The establishment of the EU-China 'strategic partnership' on 30 October 2003 came at a time of converging priorities between the two actors. It also coincided with one of the worst crises in transatlantic relations, mainly due to disagreements over the US-led war in Iraq and the foreign policy stance of the first Bush administration. Ten years on, which direction will the partnership now take?

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **Holes in the skies over NATO's central European member states**

by Andrzej Wilk, Tomasz Dąbrowski and Jakub Groszkowski

22 October 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) and in [Polish](#)

The paper overviews the recent purchase of combat aircraft by Romania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria. The region's saturation with combat aircraft is the lowest on the continent, with the exception of the Baltic states. Moreover, the machines to be used in the coming decade will be the oldest and the least advanced technologically. Thus, the defence of the airspace of NATO member states in Central Europe can be termed an ever more porous sky.

## **ISSUE 9 - DECEMBER 2013**

EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

### **Why Europe needs a new global strategy**

by Susi Dennison, Richard Gowan, Hans Kundnani, Mark Leonard and Nick Witney

27 November 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

It is now a decade since European leaders approved the first-ever European Security Strategy (ESS), which began with the statement that "Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free". But Europe and the world have changed so dramatically in the last decade that it is increasingly hard to argue that the EU can simply stick to the strategy it agreed in 2003.

In particular, six of the ideas that were central to the ESS are now said to be holding Europe back: European soft power struggles in an era of global awakening; European aid and economic assistance are losing impact in an era of big spenders; "effective multilateralism" is harder in an era of neo-Westphalian rising powers; liberal interventionism is more difficult because of fatigue and defence cuts; US disengagement is changing the transatlantic relationship; and economic power alone is not enough in Asia. Given these changes, European leaders should use the European Council in December to commission a major strategic rethink.

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Financial services and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership**

by Karel Lannoo

20 November 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

Lannoo argues in this Policy Brief that the TTIP provides a good opportunity to put in place a more institutionalised framework. In his view, inclusion of financial services could also be an opportunity to strengthen prudential rules and consumer protection provisions on both sides. Rather than leading to a reduction of consumer protection, it could lead to an examination, exchange and recognition of best practices in regulation and enforcement.

### **ISSUE 10 - FEBRUARY 2014**

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Trade agreements across the Atlantic: what lessons from CETA for TTIP?**

by Maya Rostowska

December 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

Negotiations are ongoing for two of the most significant trade and investment agreements that the EU has ever entered into. Both the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with Canada and the TTIP with the US are set to be ambitious agreements, and are already causing controversy beyond the limits of the negotiating table. Given that the CETA talks are more advanced, they can provide some valuable and much-needed insight for TTIP, both in terms of process and substance.

EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE / NOTRE EUROPE - JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

### **The TTIP negotiations - A Pirandello play**

by Elvire Fabry, Giorgio Garbasso and Romain Pardo

January 2014

Link to the document in [English](#) and in [French](#)

This report is based on the most important issues aired in the course a debate organised by Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute and the European Policy Centre during which experts, including Pascal Lamy, honorary president of Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute and former Director of the WTO explored the key issues of the current TTIP negotiations.

EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

### **Peacebuilding in 3D: EU and US approaches**

by Eva Gross

December 2013

Link to the document in [English](#)

This Paper examines the concept of peacebuilding and the emergence in recent years of a comprehensive approach to conflict management that combines both civilian and military instruments. It highlights the importance of peacebuilding as a foreign policy goal and analyses US and EU approaches to the issue, focusing on the likely future trajectory of transatlantic cooperation in this area.

CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

### **The NSA: the impact of the wiretapping scandal on German-American relations**

by Marta Zawilska-Florczuk and Kamil Frymark

January 2014

Link to the document in [English](#) and in [Polish](#)

Following the wiretapping scandal, Berlin would like to secure a pact with US, similar to the Five Eyes alliance – agreements signed between the US, the UK, Canada, New Zealand and Australia in the second half of the 1940s, aimed at intelligence sharing and banning mutual bugging. The US is however opposed to such far-reaching changes. If it fails to sign agreements satisfactory for Berlin, it would lead to a protracted crisis of confidence in German-American relations.

### **ISSUE 11 - MARCH 2014**

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

### **US nuclear weapons in Europe: critical for transatlantic security**

by Michaela Dodge

18 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

In 2013, the Obama Administration initiated the Life Extension Program (LEP) for the B61 tactical nuclear weapon, which is the last nuclear weapon the US keeps in Europe, and the only remaining tactical nuclear weapon in the US arsenal. The LEP will extend the life of the B61 by 20 to 30 years, and could cost over \$8 billion. The US and NATO have a continued interest in maintaining the US nuclear presence in Europe since they contribute to the cohesion of the alliance. The US must maintain a strong position in order to protect its national security interests, assure allies, and deter adversaries.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES / OCP POLICY CENTER

### **Alice in trade-land: the politics of TTIP**

by Jim Kolbe

13 February 2014

Link to the document in [English](#)

The TTIP has alternately been proclaimed the historic joining of the world's two largest economies, and ridiculed as a desperate lifeline for them. By most economic measurements, TTIP should be seen as a clear winner on both sides of the Atlantic. But the TTIP prize at the end of the rainbow is not so much about trade and economics as it is about politics. And politics come in many hues and shades, with endless riddles and diversionary paths.