

Trans-Atlantic Scorecard
Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution
October 2021

Notes on survey

In order to provide a nuanced evaluation of the state of trans-Atlantic relations now and over time, Brookings’s Center on the United States and Europe has launched the Trans-Atlantic Scorecard, as part of the Brookings – Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative.

The Center on the United States and Europe polls its own resident and nonresident experts as well as select other scholars quarterly on the state of U.S.-European relations—divided into overall, political, security, and economic relations—as well as on the state of U.S. relations with Germany, France, Britain, Turkey, Russia, and the European Union. Scholars are asked to rate the state of relations on a scale from 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent); indicate whether that state is trending positive, negative, or neutral; and explain their answers in up to 100 words. Scholars are additionally asked to respond to subjective statements about issues in the news on a five-point scale: Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.

Scorecards are published in January, April, July, and October each year, including survey results as well as associated “Snapshots” detailing data relevant to trans-Atlantic relations from the previous three calendar months, which are assembled by Center on the United States and Europe research assistants and interns.

For the October 2021 edition of the Scorecard, 24 scholars participated in a poll conducted between October 5 and October 8, 2021. Each scholar was asked all 15 multi-part questions, but question 1 (parts A, B, and C) was the only mandatory question. Ratings were averaged and rounded to the nearest tenth of a point to yield the scores for questions 1 through 10. Written answers were published with light editing for style and clarity.

The survey was developed by Center on the United States and Europe staff and scholars and conducted by Agneska Bloch, Erik Brown, and Lucy Seavey.

Questions to scholars

U.S.—European relations overall

- 1A. Assess the present state of U.S.-European relations overall. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*
- 1B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?
- 1C. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

U.S.—European relations by topic

- 2A. Assess the present state of U.S.-European political relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*
- 2B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

2C. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

3A. Assess the present state of U.S.-European security relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

3B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

3C. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

4A. Assess the present state of U.S.-European economic relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

4B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

4C. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

Bilateral U.S.—European relationships

5A. Assess the present state of U.S.-German relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

5B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

6A. Assess the present state of U.S.-French relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

6B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

7A. Assess the present state of U.S.-British relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

7B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

8A. Assess the present state of U.S.-Turkish relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

8B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

9A. Assess the present state of U.S.-Russian relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

9B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

10A. Assess the present state of U.S.-European Union relations. *(Scale from 1=Poor to 10=Excellent)*

10B. Is it trending positive, negative, or neutral?

In the news

11A. Requiring vaccination against COVID-19 for travelers entering the US and EU should be made a permanent policy. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

11B. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

12A. After Afghanistan, America's NATO partners will never again join the United States in an out-of-area military intervention. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

12B. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

13A. The United States' treatment of France in the handling of the AUKUS deal was a betrayal of trust. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

13B. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

14A. Regardless of the makeup of the coalition, the next German government will pursue a more hard-edged China policy. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

14B. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

15A. The US and the EU will take a joint approach to the COP26 conference in order to pressure China to make greater commitments to combat climate change.

(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)

15B. Explain your answer in up to 100 words.

Scholars participating

Riccardo Alcaro	Research coordinator and Head of the Global Actors Programme, Istituto Affari Internazionali	Answering Questions 1-15
Emma Ashford	Senior Fellow, New American Engagement Initiative, Sowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, Atlantic Council	Answering Questions 1-14
Pavel K. Baev	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Carlo Bastasin	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-6; 10-12; 14
Célia Belin	Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-13; 15
Max Bergmann	Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress	Answering Questions 1-15
Sophia Besch	Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Reform	Answering Question 1
Nicholas Danforth	Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, ELIAMEP	Answering Questions 1-15
Giovanna De Maio	Visiting Fellow, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University	Answering Questions 1-15

Samuel Denney	German Chancellor Fellow, Heinrich Böll Foundation	Answering Questions 1; 4-15
James Goldgeier	Robert Bosch Senior Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-3; 5-7; 9-15
Lucian Kim	Fellow, The Wilson Center	Answering Questions 1-15
James Kirchick	Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-7; 9-15
Kemal Kirişci	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Anand Menon	Director, The UK in a Changing Europe	Answering Questions 1-15
Manuel Muniz	Dean, IE School of Global and Public Affairs	Answering Questions 1-15
Ted Piccone	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Steven Pifer	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Jana Puglierin	Head and Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations Berlin	Answering Questions 1-15
Douglas A. Rediker	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Jeremy Shapiro	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Constanze Stelzenmüller	Fritz Stern Chair and Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1; 3-15
Angela Stent	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15

Thomas Wright	Director, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
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