

Trans-Atlantic Scorecard  
Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution  
January 2022

### **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.

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 January 2022 edition of the Scorecard, 26 scholars participated in a poll conducted between January 11 and January 14, 2022. 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. Are U.S.-European relations overall 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. Are U.S.-European political relations 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. Are U.S.-European security relations 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. Are U.S.-European economic relations 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. Are U.S.-German relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

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

6B. Are U.S.-French relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

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

7B. Are U.S.-British relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

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

8B. Are U.S.-Turkish relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

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

9B. Are U.S.-Russian relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

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

10B. Are U.S.-European Union relations trending positive, negative, or neutral?

***In the news***

11A. Russia will launch a further military incursion into Ukraine by March 31, 2022. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

12A. The new German government will cancel the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

13A. Negotiations in Vienna on a return to the JCPOA will fail to result in agreement. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

14A. China’s pressure on Lithuania will result in greater solidarity amongst EU member states in the face of coercive measures from Beijing. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

15A. Following David Frost’s resignation from the UK government, the United Kingdom will no longer seek to replace the Northern Ireland protocol as part of its agreement with the EU.

*(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           |
| 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 1-15           |
| Max Bergmann      | Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress  | Answering Questions 1-15           |
| 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 1-15           |
| James Goldgeier   | Robert Bosch Senior Visiting Fellow, Center on the United  | Answering Questions 1-15           |

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|                         | States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings  |                                       |
| Daniel S. Hamilton      | Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings                | Answering Questions 1-15              |
| Ryan Hass               | Michael H. Armacost Chair and Senior Fellow, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Foreign Policy, Brookings | Answering Questions 1-7; 9; 11; 13-14 |
| Bruce Jones             | Director, Project on International and Strategy, Foreign Policy, Brookings                                  | Answering Questions 1-15              |
| Lucian Kim              | Fellow, The Wilson Center   | Answering Questions 1-10              |
| James Kirchick          | Columnist, Tablet Magazine  | Answering Questions 1-3; 5-7; 9-15    |
| Anand Menon             | Director, The UK in a Changing Europe   | Answering Questions 1-15              |
| Manuel Muñiz            | 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 1-12; 14-15       |
| Douglas A. Rediker      | Nonresident Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings  | Answering Questions 1-15              |
| Rachel Rizzo            | Nonresident Senior Fellow, Europe Center, Atlantic Council  | 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 1-15              |

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|-----------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Angela Stent    | Nonresident Senior Fellow,<br>Center on the United States and<br>Europe, Foreign Policy,<br>Brookings | Answering Questions 1-15       |
| Georgina Wright | Director, Europe Program,<br>Institut Montaigne   | Answering Questions 1-7; 10-15 |
| Thomas Wright   | Director, Center on the United<br>States and Europe, Foreign<br>Policy, Brookings                     | Answering Questions 1-15       |