

Trans-Atlantic Scorecard  
Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution  
October 2020

### **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 2020 edition of the Scorecard, 20 scholars participated in a poll conducted between October 12 and October 15, 2020. 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, Sam Denney, Caroline Klaff, and Filippas Letsas.

### **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. The Trump administration's equivocation about the U.S.'s NATO Article V commitments and punitive approach to defense spending have led to improved European defense capacities. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

12A. A renewed emphasis on national sovereignty and protectionism in the trans-Atlantic relationship has permanently damaged prospects for international cooperation on transnational issues like pandemics, refugee flows, and climate change. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

13A. The friendly relationship between President Trump and autocratic leaders like President Erdoğan, Prime Minister Orbán, and President Putin has undermined the health of European democracy. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

14A. The desire to create an increasingly assertive, “geopolitical” Europe is purely a response to U.S. foreign policy under the Trump administration. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

15A. Over the past four years, European views of China have moved significantly closer to that of the United States, rather than further apart. *(Select one: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree)*

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

**Scholars participating**

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 1-5, 10, 11, 14
Célia Belin	Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15

Giovanna De Maio	Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
James Goldgeier	Robert Bosch Senior Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-7, 9-10, 11-15
Ryan Hass	Fellow, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, John L. Thornton China Center, Interim Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies	Answering Questions 1-2, 11-12, 14-15
Fiona Hill	Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-8, 10-15
Bruce Jones	Director and Senior Fellow, Project on International Order and Strategy, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
James Kirchick	Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Kemal Kirişci	Nonresident Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Michael E. O’Hanlon	Director of Research, Co-Director - Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology, Africa Security Initiative, Senior Fellow, Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology, The Sydney Stein, Jr. Chair, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-4, 11-15
Ted Piccone	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Security and Strategy, 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
Douglas A. Rediker	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15

Rachel Rizzo	Director of Programs, Truman National Security Project	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	Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Angela Stent	Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15
Torrey Taussig	Nonresident Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-12, 15
Thomas Wright	Director, Center on the United States and Europe, Foreign Policy, Brookings	Answering Questions 1-15