

TRANSCRIPT FROM the Insightview.eu Podcast interview: What happens in Europe if the USA leaves NATO? Interview with Sten Rynning, director of the Danish Institute for Advanced Study (March 8, 2024)

INTRO NSIGHTVIEW.EU

1

00:00:04,974 --> 00:00:08,454

This is an Insightview.eu podcast.

2

00:00:17,102 --> 00:00:21,222

Over the past few months, it has become clear to most leading politicians in the EU,

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00:00:21,222 --> 00:00:25,292

that Russia could indeed pose a military threat to Denmark within

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00:00:25,292 --> 00:00:26,602

a very short number of years...

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00:00:26,602 --> 00:00:27,982

..and perhaps even sooner.

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00:00:27,982 --> 00:00:31,962

This is because the next President of the USA could again be Donald Trump, and he has now on several

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00:00:31,962 --> 00:00:35,008

occasions cast doubt on whether the USA will stand by NATO's musketeer oath.

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00:00:35,008 --> 00:00:39,112

This and what awaits in Europe in the coming year is what Insightview.eu discusses with

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00:00:39,112 --> 00:00:39,942

Sten Rynning.

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00:00:39,942 --> 00:00:44,142

Sten is a professor at the University of Southern Denmark and director of the Danish Institute for

11

00:00:44,142 --> 00:00:45,462

Advanced Study.

12

00:00:47,886 --> 00:00:51,406

Sten Rynning, I know that over the years, you have advocated for EU countries to

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00:00:51,406 --> 00:00:54,786

use deterrence as a
necessary tool to meet

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00:00:54,786 --> 00:00:56,106

the threat from Russia.

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00:00:56,106 --> 00:01:00,216

The only and ultimate deterrence must
be for EU countries to have their own

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00:01:00,216 --> 00:01:00,776

nuclear weapons.

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00:01:00,776 --> 00:01:01,426

Is that correct?

STEN RYNNING

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00:01:01,426 --> 00:01:06,896

That is absolutely correct, if we

work from a scenario where the USA

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00:01:06,896 --> 00:01:10,686

withdraws their nuclear umbrella from Europe.

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00:01:10,686 --> 00:01:14,746

The EU is a peace project that has grown in the shadow of this umbrella, so it is

21

00:01:14,746 --> 00:01:15,598

extremely important to remember.

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00:01:15,598 --> 00:01:16,598

And it cannot happen quickly enough?

STEN RYNNING

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00:01:16,598 --> 00:01:19,438

If the umbrella goes, then it cannot happen quickly enough.

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00:01:27,726 --> 00:01:31,246

Sten Rynning, thank you for once again
taking the time to participate in a podcast

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00:01:31,246 --> 00:01:32,316

with Insightview.eu.

STEN RYNNING

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00:01:32,316 --> 00:01:32,956

A pleasure.

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27

00:01:32,956 --> 00:01:36,206

First, congratulations on the new book about NATO's
history, which I understand will soon be

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00:01:36,206 --> 00:01:39,906

on the shelf at bookstores, or it can - at least
I've checked - right now

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00:01:39,906 --> 00:01:44,426

be ordered on Amazon, and there is a link attached to the text related to this podcast.

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00:01:44,426 --> 00:01:49,346

Sten, we spoke together in a podcast in 2022, less than two weeks before Russia's invasion

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00:01:49,346 --> 00:01:50,190

of Ukraine.

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00:01:50,190 --> 00:01:54,250

Here, you compared the geopolitical situation with the period in 1938, where the

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00:01:54,250 --> 00:01:58,650

Western powers repeatedly conceded to Hitler's territorial demands, thus with

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00:01:58,650 --> 00:02:02,770

Russia today playing the same role as Nazi

Germany did back then, in case anyone was in

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00:02:02,770 --> 00:02:03,150

doubt.

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00:02:03,150 --> 00:02:06,500

Allow me to start with a couple of
follow-up questions to the podcast from

37

00:02:06,500 --> 00:02:07,490

2022.

38

00:02:07,630 --> 00:02:11,450

Has the West handled Russia's invasion of
Ukraine better than you expected at that time?

STEN RYNNING

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00:02:11,450 --> 00:02:15,770

I find it a bit disappointing.

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00:02:15,770 --> 00:02:18,830

And that is the case for both the USA and...

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00:02:18,830 --> 00:02:21,410

the leading European powers.

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00:02:21,930 --> 00:02:25,010

I still think that the 1930s are the
correct parallel.

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00:02:25,010 --> 00:02:27,850

There's a debate whether the correct
parallel is the First

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00:02:27,850 --> 00:02:29,160

World War, the lead-up to the First

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00:02:29,160 --> 00:02:29,910

World War...

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00:02:29,910 --> 00:02:36,850

...where we also had great powers that walked
as if in sleep into a great war.

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00:02:37,290 --> 00:02:42,000

People could not see it, and what people today say is that we must learn from

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00:02:42,000 --> 00:02:46,430

1910 to 14, to be careful about what is happening.

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00:02:46,430 --> 00:02:47,726

I think that's a bad parallel.

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00:02:47,726 --> 00:02:49,706

Because we know well what is happening.

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00:02:49,706 --> 00:02:52,146

We can clearly see Russia's aggression.

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00:02:52,346 --> 00:02:56,726

We can hear what Putin and Medvedev and others over there are saying.

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00:02:56,726 --> 00:03:02,796

We know there is a great source of aggression in the middle of Europe or on the side of

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00:03:02,796 --> 00:03:03,546

Europe.

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00:03:03,546 --> 00:03:07,146

So that makes it actually not 1910-14.

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00:03:07,146 --> 00:03:10,086

It is the 1930s, where we have a source of aggression.

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00:03:10,086 --> 00:03:14,306

The question is, do we have the will and ability to handle it?

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00:03:14,306 --> 00:03:15,426

We have the ability.

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00:03:15,426 --> 00:03:16,878

It's the will that is lacking.

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00:03:16,878 --> 00:03:20,558

The Western countries have assisted Ukraine substantially at the start of the war, but it has

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00:03:20,558 --> 00:03:24,138

not seemed as if the White House actually wanted Ukraine to

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00:03:24,138 --> 00:03:25,318

defeat Russia.

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00:03:25,318 --> 00:03:29,268

It seems a bit like the USA has just provided enough military aid to keep

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00:03:29,268 --> 00:03:30,358

the Russians busy.

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00:03:30,358 --> 00:03:33,808

And in Germany, Chancellor Scholz has
almost tried to fine-tune

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00:03:33,808 --> 00:03:34,618

the military assistance.

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00:03:34,618 --> 00:03:37,438

If that's true, then the question is,
why?

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00:03:37,438 --> 00:03:39,948

And what actually is the Western countries'
Ukraine strategy?

STEN RYNNING

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00:03:39,948 --> 00:03:45,222

Well, I completely agree with your assessment,
that they have...

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00:03:45,294 --> 00:03:49,214

...consistently not given Ukraine enough to win, but they have tried to

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00:03:49,214 --> 00:03:52,134

give enough to make Russia bleed.

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00:03:52,374 --> 00:03:57,164

And they want it to hurt Russia, to puncture Russian power and

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00:03:57,164 --> 00:04:00,344

Russian ambitions, but they wouldn't push...

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00:04:00,344 --> 00:04:04,934

what they fear is pushing Russia into a corner so much that it

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00:04:04,934 --> 00:04:09,814

leads to escalation and ultimately could lead to a nuclear war.

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00:04:09,814 --> 00:04:12,494

The fear of Russia escalating...

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00:04:12,494 --> 00:04:17,694

...has made these Western countries
in a way deter themselves from providing

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00:04:17,694 --> 00:04:21,034

substantial aid to Ukraine.

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00:04:21,034 --> 00:04:24,654

And I don't find that impressive.

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00:04:24,674 --> 00:04:29,034

And what worries me a bit is that
it seems as though it's not entirely

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00:04:29,034 --> 00:04:29,874

thought through.

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00:04:29,874 --> 00:04:34,844

Because we have repeatedly seen that
Western aid has escalated.

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00:04:34,844 --> 00:04:41,038

We went from delivering just some small arms and
some helmets to delivering...

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00:04:41,038 --> 00:04:44,678

...tanks and now soon also
fighter jets.

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00:04:44,678 --> 00:04:50,168

So, we can give Ukraine quite
substantial help, without Russia

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00:04:50,168 --> 00:04:52,518

escalating to nuclear scenarios.

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00:04:52,518 --> 00:04:58,298

And we haven't really had the
political will and cohesion to

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00:04:58,298 --> 00:04:59,058

think it through properly.

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00:04:59,058 --> 00:05:02,778

But what is NATO's and the Biden administration's goal in Ukraine?

STEN RYNNING

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00:05:02,778 --> 00:05:09,738

Well, we have this famous phrase, that they will be with Ukraine for

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00:05:09,738 --> 00:05:10,190

as long as

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00:05:10,190 --> 00:05:11,310

it takes.

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00:05:11,310 --> 00:05:12,690

For as long as it takes.

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00:05:12,690 --> 00:05:16,290

We all know that it's not true.

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00:05:17,250 --> 00:05:19,310

This cannot go on and on and on.

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00:05:19,310 --> 00:05:20,930

Firstly, Ukraine cannot withstand it.

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00:05:20,930 --> 00:05:24,510

Secondly, we ourselves are not patient enough to do it.

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00:05:24,510 --> 00:05:28,310

So, it would have been better if it had been said "as much as it takes".

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00:05:28,310 --> 00:05:33,830

We should give Ukraine "as much as it needs" to defeat Russia

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00:05:33,830 --> 00:05:35,790

on Ukrainian territory.

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00:05:35,790 --> 00:05:39,530

And I think the Western strategy has evolved, and that is only natural,

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00:05:39,530 --> 00:05:41,350

because it is a dynamic situation.

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00:05:41,350 --> 00:05:48,420

They have moved through phases, and they were very proactive in 2023, that is

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00:05:48,420 --> 00:05:52,540

last year, with what they should do for Ukraine, which was to assist them on

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00:05:52,540 --> 00:05:58,200

the ground in the offensive by cutting Russian troops off and isolating

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00:05:58,200 --> 00:06:01,070

the Crimean Peninsula and squeezing them that way.

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00:06:01,070 --> 00:06:02,478

But as we know, that didn't happen.

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00:06:02,478 --> 00:06:07,028

And now, I think it's the Ukrainians who
have the strategic vision for what needs

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00:06:07,028 --> 00:06:07,658

to happen.

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00:06:07,658 --> 00:06:14,738

Namely, some... we can talk a bit more about...
but some deep strikes behind the line against

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00:06:14,738 --> 00:06:18,318

Russia and thereby shake their
presence so much that they can't

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00:06:18,318 --> 00:06:19,338

withstand it.

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00:06:19,338 --> 00:06:23,668

But that's exactly where we hesitate in
the West to give them the tools for

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00:06:23,668 --> 00:06:24,258

it.

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00:06:24,258 --> 00:06:30,478

And we would rather deliver some artillery
and air defence protection for what

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00:06:30,478 --> 00:06:33,038

is happening today, but that is not a
change.

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00:06:33,038 --> 00:06:34,978

It's just wearing Ukraine down.

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00:06:34,978 --> 00:06:38,958

Lately, the West has not delivered
what they have promised to Ukraine.

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00:06:38,958 --> 00:06:42,848

It's starting to resemble the situation where
the Western countries again, I would say,

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00:06:42,848 --> 00:06:46,628

leave an "ally" in the lurch, as
was largely the case with

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00:06:46,628 --> 00:06:49,518

the Kurds in Iraq and the Kurds in Syria...

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00:06:49,518 --> 00:06:51,278

....not to forget Afghanistan.

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00:06:51,278 --> 00:06:52,108

Is that how you see it?

STEN RYNNING

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00:06:52,108 --> 00:06:54,878

Well, that's actually a good parallel.

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00:06:54,878 --> 00:06:57,862

I think that...

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00:06:57,902 --> 00:07:01,472

using the term "allies" in a
NATO context is incredibly important,

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00:07:01,472 --> 00:07:06,562

whether one is a full ally and thus under
the umbrella or just a partner

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00:07:06,562 --> 00:07:11,932

regardless of how close a partner one is, that's
the distinction made. And Ukraine is

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00:07:11,932 --> 00:07:22,262

obviously not yet a NATO ally.
But you are absolutely right that the West's

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00:07:22,262 --> 00:07:27,278

reputation for being reliable and strong suffers

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00:07:27,278 --> 00:07:34,388

each time there are strong partners,
with whom we work closely, but then

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00:07:34,388 --> 00:07:37,158

end up not being able to protect, and they fall.

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00:07:37,158 --> 00:07:41,708

And we saw... we have seen it with the Kurds,
as you say, and we have seen it in

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00:07:41,708 --> 00:07:42,618

Afghanistan.

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00:07:42,618 --> 00:07:45,378

And it could be the case with Ukraine.

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00:07:45,378 --> 00:07:52,588

And that is the effect, once a
famous mathematician and thinker, Thomas

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00:07:52,588 --> 00:07:56,188

Schelling, said that one of the few things
worth going to war for is one's

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00:07:56,188 --> 00:07:57,056

good name.

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00:07:57,056 --> 00:08:00,146

Because it generates
respect.

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00:08:00,146 --> 00:08:06,246

And if the West destroys its good name, then
Russia has no respect, and they will

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00:08:06,246 --> 00:08:10,266

continue to test how much they can
shake the Western cohesion.

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00:08:10,626 --> 00:08:18,056

And if Russia is allowed to destroy
Ukraine, and does it in a way that

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00:08:18,056 --> 00:08:24,286

makes it clear that in the end, the
West would not follow through with

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00:08:24,286 --> 00:08:26,318

Ukraine, then...

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00:08:26,318 --> 00:08:33,088

a split in NATO will emerge between
the Eastern European allies, who are close

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00:08:33,088 --> 00:08:35,438

and know that next time it could be them.

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00:08:35,438 --> 00:08:40,578

And they will no longer trust that
Western Europeans, Germany, France,

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00:08:40,578 --> 00:08:45,848

Britain or even the USA, are
strong enough, or have enough will, to

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00:08:45,848 --> 00:08:46,778

come and help them.

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00:08:46,778 --> 00:08:51,638

So, they will start to provide themselves
with the tools to protect themselves.

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00:08:51,638 --> 00:08:55,308

It will lead them to Washington first,
because that's where they will go,

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00:08:55,308 --> 00:08:56,406

but it will create

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00:08:56,406 --> 00:08:59,046

friction with Western Europeans.

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00:08:59,166 --> 00:09:04,176

And then, in parallel, in a second instance,
they will seek to acquire their own

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00:09:04,176 --> 00:09:09,966

nuclear weapons. And this represents a fundamentally
different map of Europe than the one we're coming

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00:09:09,966 --> 00:09:10,566

from.

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00:09:10,566 --> 00:09:14,374

And Ukraine will determine which
direction this goes.

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00:09:17,230 --> 00:09:20,050

We'll get back to the topic
of nuclear weapons shortly.

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00:09:20,050 --> 00:09:24,170

We will discuss Denmark, the EU countries, and

NATO, and what might be in store for

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00:09:24,170 --> 00:09:24,980

Europe in the coming year.

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00:09:24,980 --> 00:09:28,090

But let's start by looking at the USA from a historical perspective.

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00:09:28,090 --> 00:09:31,990

At first glance, Trump represents something that has always

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00:09:31,990 --> 00:09:32,950

existed in the USA.

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00:09:32,950 --> 00:09:35,150

Isolationism, as some would call it.

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00:09:35,150 --> 00:09:38,370

The USA reluctantly entered the Second World War, which only happened in

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00:09:38,370 --> 00:09:42,600

December 1941, after Japan's attack on
Pearl Harbor - more than two years after

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00:09:42,600 --> 00:09:43,402

the war began.

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00:09:43,402 --> 00:09:43,950

The USA

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00:09:43,950 --> 00:09:49,020

also entered the first world war reluctantly
in 1917, three years after

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00:09:49,020 --> 00:09:49,770

the war began.

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00:09:49,770 --> 00:09:52,910

Do you understand why many American
politicians and voters have lost the desire

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00:09:52,910 --> 00:09:56,470

to defend Europe, perhaps

assessing that Europeans often lie as

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00:09:56,470 --> 00:09:57,170

they have made their bed?

STEN RYNNING

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00:09:57,170 --> 00:09:59,230

Both yes and no.

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00:09:59,370 --> 00:10:03,030

That is, the USA is in Europe out of its own
strategic interest.

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00:10:03,810 --> 00:10:04,790

Can you elaborate on that?

STEN RYNNING

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00:10:04,790 --> 00:10:06,800

Yes, well...

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00:10:06,800 --> 00:10:09,430

The USA is geopolitically peripheral.

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00:10:09,430 --> 00:10:13,678

They are the world's leading power but are geopolitically peripheral.

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00:10:13,678 --> 00:10:16,038

They are located on the American continent.

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00:10:16,038 --> 00:10:22,748

Their landmass, the vast productive welfare-economic potential there, it

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00:10:22,748 --> 00:10:25,418

extends down through the two American continents.

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00:10:25,418 --> 00:10:29,898

What is in Europe and Asia, that is, on the Eurasian continent, has far greater

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00:10:29,898 --> 00:10:30,758

potential.

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00:10:30,758 --> 00:10:32,878

And that is the geopolitical centre.

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00:10:32,878 --> 00:10:39,068

And for the USA to influence how this centre develops, with both China and

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00:10:39,068 --> 00:10:41,998

Russia involved, they need to have a presence, and they need to establish

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00:10:41,998 --> 00:10:43,406

close political relations

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00:10:43,406 --> 00:10:44,746

within that center.

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00:10:44,746 --> 00:10:49,606

And that is what they have built with their
multilateral alliances in Europe, NATO, and

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00:10:49,606 --> 00:10:53,006

with a series of bilateral
alliances in Asia.

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00:10:53,006 --> 00:11:00,026

It is a core strategic interest for
the USA to be present and influence the game in

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00:11:00,026 --> 00:11:00,686

Eurasia.

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00:11:00,686 --> 00:11:08,356

What Trump represents is a
north-south axis in American thinking, which

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00:11:08,356 --> 00:11:10,616

is not about strategic interest.

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00:11:10,616 --> 00:11:11,982

It's east-west.

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00:11:11,982 --> 00:11:14,042

It's towards Asia and Europe.

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00:11:14,042 --> 00:11:19,352

The north-south axis is about
population movements, immigration, and

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00:11:19,352 --> 00:11:20,362

identity.

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00:11:20,362 --> 00:11:26,182

And Trump is incredibly good at launching
himself a populist on identity issues.

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00:11:26,182 --> 00:11:32,102

And he doesn't understand the east-west axis, but

by God, he understands the north-south axis.

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00:11:32,522 --> 00:11:33,637

And that's what he plays on.

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00:11:33,637 --> 00:11:36,982

That doesn't change the fact that Americans have an interest in Asia.

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00:11:37,262 --> 00:11:41,358

And if we go through another Trump presidency, then it will be...

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00:11:41,358 --> 00:11:45,638

very interesting to see how the south-axis in their policy will

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00:11:45,638 --> 00:11:47,658

interact with the east-west axis.

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00:11:47,658 --> 00:11:52,118

It's worth noting that we are very

dependent on what happens there.

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00:11:52,118 --> 00:11:55,438

But we have the same issues in Europe.

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00:11:55,438 --> 00:11:58,373

The north-south axis is about immigration and identity.

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00:11:58,373 --> 00:12:04,258

All European countries have gone through a process where the political extremes are

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00:12:04,258 --> 00:12:06,838

strengthened by immigration and identity.

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00:12:06,838 --> 00:12:10,318

Some want to open up completely, others want to shut down completely, and the political centre

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00:12:10,318 --> 00:12:11,526

is having a tough time.

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00:12:11,534 --> 00:12:15,614

And it's the political centre that needs to maintain the East axis against Russia.

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00:12:15,614 --> 00:12:22,254

So, we are in the same quagmire, but we are just very dependent on what happens

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00:12:22,254 --> 00:12:23,014

in the USA.

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00:12:23,014 --> 00:12:26,474

Later this year, NATO is set to celebrate its 75th anniversary.

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00:12:26,474 --> 00:12:30,764

A few months later, NATO could plunge into its biggest crisis ever,

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00:12:30,764 --> 00:12:33,994

if Donald Trump, as you mentioned, is
reelected as President of the USA, thereby

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00:12:33,994 --> 00:12:36,274

making serious his threats to leave
NATO.

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00:12:36,274 --> 00:12:39,114

What do you fear will happen if Trump
makes good on his threats?

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00:12:39,114 --> 00:12:40,556

Will NATO continue

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00:12:40,556 --> 00:12:45,126

without the USA, or will the remaining countries
continue in a defence cooperation within

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00:12:45,126 --> 00:12:45,566

the EU framework?

STEN RYNNING

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00:12:45,566 --> 00:12:50,106

Well, I don't believe it will transition to an EU framework in any way.

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00:12:50,106 --> 00:12:54,646

I think there could be a "Europeanised NATO".

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00:12:54,646 --> 00:12:58,816

That is, in the worst case if Trump becomes president and decides that he

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00:12:58,816 --> 00:12:59,946

wouldn't want to have shares in it.

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00:12:59,946 --> 00:13:04,926

But let's remember that the British are not in the EU, and the British are a very

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00:13:04,926 --> 00:13:08,026

significant defence policy player in

Europe.

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00:13:08,106 --> 00:13:09,356

They also have nuclear weapons.

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00:13:09,356 --> 00:13:10,026

They have...

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00:13:10,026 --> 00:13:13,086

still a notable navy, etc.

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00:13:13,086 --> 00:13:20,296

So, they need to be included, and the way to
keep the Turks close to Western Europe, is

235

00:13:20,296 --> 00:13:24,246

to continue NATO with European
leadership.

236

00:13:24,246 --> 00:13:28,846

And hopefully make a deal with
the Americans that they don't completely

237

00:13:28,846 --> 00:13:32,306

withdraw, but they play a kind of
backstop role.

238

00:13:32,386 --> 00:13:35,626

It's hard to specify exactly
what that should be.

239

00:13:36,366 --> 00:13:39,182

But to reform NATO rather than just smash
it to pieces...

240

00:13:39,182 --> 00:13:45,642

...I could see that being the approach if
Trump leads to

241

00:13:45,642 --> 00:13:48,542

major changes.

INSIGHTVIEW.EU

242

00:13:48,542 --> 00:13:51,402

Like the Weimar Alliance (Weimar Triangle)
they talk about?

STEN RYNNING

243

00:13:51,402 --> 00:13:57,012

We'll see, because during Trump's first term,
those first four years he was

244

00:13:57,012 --> 00:13:58,952

incredibly harsh on Europe.

245

00:13:58,952 --> 00:14:00,282

He really didn't like Europe.

246

00:14:00,282 --> 00:14:01,592

Especially didn't like Germany.

247

00:14:01,592 --> 00:14:05,676

But his administration did invest more
money and more defence in Europe.

248

00:14:05,676 --> 00:14:08,466

Hopefully, we'll see the same again,
if he comes back.

249

00:14:08,466 --> 00:14:13,406

Indeed, quite a bit of political drama on
the surface, but some quite solid ties beneath

250

00:14:13,406 --> 00:14:16,906

when it comes to actual military
deterrence.

251

00:14:16,906 --> 00:14:20,306

But it's a bit difficult to predict, what
could happen.

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252

00:14:20,306 --> 00:14:23,836

From a historical perspective, I get
the sense from you

253

00:14:23,836 --> 00:14:25,726

that a familiar pattern is emerging,

254

00:14:25,726 --> 00:14:29,616

which means, as you also mention, that

Poland once again

255

00:14:29,616 --> 00:14:31,598

risks being in the wrong place between

Russia and Germany.

256

00:14:31,598 --> 00:14:34,828

Poland's new Foreign Minister,

Radek Sikorski, seems to sense this too.

257

00:14:34,828 --> 00:14:39,448

Therefore, Sikorski now talks about the possibility of

acquiring, as you mentioned earlier, nuclear weapons,

258

00:14:39,448 --> 00:14:41,038

if one can no longer rely on the USA.

259

00:14:41,038 --> 00:14:44,658

Isn't the reality then, that it would be
in every country's interest to have nuclear weapons,

260

00:14:44,658 --> 00:14:47,678

since it is essentially the only
deterrent available right now?

261

00:14:47,678 --> 00:14:50,578

Or does one truly dare to rely on France's
nuclear umbrella?

STEN RYNNING

262

00:14:50,578 --> 00:14:54,968

Well, it's going to be the big
question if the USA's

263

00:14:54,968 --> 00:14:57,038

nuclear umbrella no longer applies.

264

00:14:57,038 --> 00:15:00,846

Poland would be the first to act...

265

00:15:00,846 --> 00:15:02,306

..because they feel so vulnerable.

266

00:15:02,306 --> 00:15:06,146

Remember, Poland is a neighbour
to Russia, because Russia is also in

267

00:15:06,146 --> 00:15:10,816

Kaliningrad, and Russia has a very strong
presence in Belarus, which also shares a

268

00:15:10,816 --> 00:15:11,966

long border with Poland.

269

00:15:11,966 --> 00:15:18,386

So, Poland feels very exposed, and they
would in no way trust Germany and

270

00:15:18,386 --> 00:15:19,046

France.

271

00:15:19,046 --> 00:15:23,066

There's too much history... showing
they are hesitant.

272

00:15:23,066 --> 00:15:27,996

And it has hurt France that
Macron was so proactive in dialogue with

273

00:15:27,996 --> 00:15:29,998

Putin in the run-up to the war.

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00:15:29,998 --> 00:15:32,988

We probably all remember the images of
Putin sitting at the long table with

275

00:15:32,988 --> 00:15:36,238

Macron, negotiating and negotiating and
negotiating, leading nowhere.

276

00:15:36,238 --> 00:15:41,158

And this French instinct to
figure out and talk with Moscow, is not

277

00:15:41,158 --> 00:15:42,078

trusted by the Poles.

278

00:15:42,078 --> 00:15:45,758

So, they would move towards nuclear, at least in terms of the discussion.

279

00:15:45,758 --> 00:15:50,348

In Germany, it is also clear that the reason they have been able to maintain their

280

00:15:50,348 --> 00:15:56,138

civil power status and say that they will just build up some conventional muscle

281

00:15:56,138 --> 00:15:59,342

now, is that they benefit from the American umbrella.

282

00:15:59,342 --> 00:16:04,382

And thus, if Germany must

engage with Russia in such a military

283

00:16:04,382 --> 00:16:09,412

confrontation, that is, to threaten with something but
not go through with war, but to threaten, they utilize

284

00:16:09,412 --> 00:16:14,122

this threat scenario: If
it escalates, then they fall back

285

00:16:14,122 --> 00:16:17,862

on the Americans and nuclear. In other words,
they are not shaken by

286

00:16:17,862 --> 00:16:18,802

Russia.

287

00:16:18,802 --> 00:16:22,802

But if the Americans are not there in the
background, then Germany is vulnerable,

288

00:16:22,802 --> 00:16:26,602

and then we will also have a German debate about,
"does that mean we should have our own

289

00:16:26,602 --> 00:16:27,268

nuclear weapons?".

290

00:16:27,268 --> 00:16:29,358

Because France has no tradition of

291

00:16:29,358 --> 00:16:32,638

extending its deterrence beyond their
national territory.

292

00:16:32,638 --> 00:16:36,988

They have touched upon it a little, whether they
should have a European dimension in their

293

00:16:36,988 --> 00:16:42,338

nuclear deterrence, but it is quite a
distance from discussing it back home in Paris

294

00:16:42,338 --> 00:16:47,288

to the Poles basing their
national survival on a French

295

00:16:47,288 --> 00:16:48,678

nuclear deterrence.

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00:16:48,678 --> 00:16:53,168

So, when Macron calls - he doesn't say it directly,
but it's close to saying directly - that

297

00:16:53,168 --> 00:16:57,068

Scholz is a coward, he speaks with a
double tongue.

STEN RYNNING

298

00:16:57,068 --> 00:16:59,342

Yes, that is indeed forward.

299

00:16:59,342 --> 00:17:04,432

Macron is strongly positioning himself as a leader who can

300

00:17:04,432 --> 00:17:08,412

grasp the nettle and speak firmly to
Russia and be the man with chest hair

301

00:17:08,412 --> 00:17:14,372

who can stand in front when the storm rages.
But no one in Eastern Europe,

302

00:17:14,372 --> 00:17:21,342

at least, can overlook that France's
military aid to Ukraine is very low.

303

00:17:21,562 --> 00:17:25,782

And again, the French nuclear doctrine is
national.

304

00:17:25,782 --> 00:17:28,622

So, Macron may have chest hair,

305

00:17:28,622 --> 00:17:36,212

but he lacks the means and the tradition

to provide protection to other countries that

306

00:17:36,212 --> 00:17:38,202

they feel they can rely on.

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307

00:17:38,202 --> 00:17:42,732

But what you're recommending, is it that collectively
as a union to achieve a common

308

00:17:42,732 --> 00:17:46,562

nuclear armament, or should each country
ensure its own nuclear armament..,

309

00:17:46,562 --> 00:17:48,912

...for example, Poland, Finland, Sweden, etc.?

STEN RYNNING

310

00:17:48,912 --> 00:17:50,922

I would rather not see that.

311

00:17:50,922 --> 00:17:53,502

A nuclear arms race in Europe...

312

00:17:53,502 --> 00:17:55,142

...you can see how it could go wrong.

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00:17:55,142 --> 00:17:57,870

If we now speak from a scenario where,
the USA pulls back,

314

00:17:57,870 --> 00:18:00,910

Trump pops the balloon. We need a
Europeanised NATO.

315

00:18:00,910 --> 00:18:06,010

Then my ideal scenario would be for
Britain and France to step into a

316

00:18:06,010 --> 00:18:11,410

joint leadership, supported by the others, and
figure out how they can not just

317

00:18:11,410 --> 00:18:17,210

have a few national nuclear forces for
covering their own territory, but that they

318

00:18:17,210 --> 00:18:22,820

invest in both tactical, especially tactical
nuclear weapons, i.e., small nuclear weapons, which they can

319

00:18:22,820 --> 00:18:26,254

place in Poland or Romania.

320

00:18:26,254 --> 00:18:28,804

Of course, under their own control.

Americans also control

321

00:18:28,804 --> 00:18:30,594

American nuclear weapons.

322

00:18:30,594 --> 00:18:35,024

But with some form of participation
from Polish and Romanian forces, or wherever

323

00:18:35,024 --> 00:18:35,814

it might be,

324

00:18:35,814 --> 00:18:41,614

So, they train with and are brought into
the logic of deterrence.

325

00:18:41,614 --> 00:18:46,794

And it demonstrates to Russia that
this is shared, and it is effective,

326

00:18:46,794 --> 00:18:48,404

and it is extended.

327

00:18:48,404 --> 00:18:53,174

That is, it covers the whole NATO Europe's
territory.

328

00:18:53,174 --> 00:18:55,502

It's a form of copying the...

329

00:18:55,502 --> 00:18:59,762

...extended deterrence, which the Americans have, except that it should originate from

330

00:18:59,762 --> 00:19:00,892

Britain and France.

331

00:19:00,892 --> 00:19:04,372

That would be the ideal scenario, if Trump really breaks it all apart.

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332

00:19:04,372 --> 00:19:05,902

But it requires willingness to cooperate in Europe.

STEN RYNNING

333

00:19:05,902 --> 00:19:10,272

It requires a great willingness to cooperate, and it requires a really big change also from

334

00:19:10,272 --> 00:19:11,558

Britain and France.

INSIGHTVIEW.EU

335

00:19:14,414 --> 00:19:18,364

Sten, from my perspective, the problem of EU countries is that the geopolitical assessments of democratic nations

336

00:19:18,364 --> 00:19:22,894

often are based on an assumption of rationality on the other side.

337

00:19:22,894 --> 00:19:27,629

That is, the authoritarian leader acts rationally and follows the common

338

00:19:27,629 --> 00:19:29,754

ruleset of the “civilised” world.

339

00:19:29,754 --> 00:19:33,254

But history has shown, time and again, that authoritarian leaders, who acquire

340

00:19:33,254 --> 00:19:37,474

power and exercise power based on
irrationality, surprise or

341

00:19:37,474 --> 00:19:37,998

trap...

342

00:19:37,998 --> 00:19:41,298

...unfortunately often democratic societies
off guard time and again.

343

00:19:41,298 --> 00:19:45,460

Are our democratic societies equipped to
defend against authoritarian countries and

344

00:19:45,460 --> 00:19:45,978

leaders?

STEN RYNNING

345

00:19:45,978 --> 00:19:48,158

Well, we have to believe so.

346

00:19:48,158 --> 00:19:53,358

So, we have our weaknesses in that
our political rationality is very

347

00:19:53,358 --> 00:19:55,638

tied to how the population is doing.

348

00:19:55,638 --> 00:20:00,558

Because our system is open and politicians
are up for election...

349

00:20:00,558 --> 00:20:02,278

very regularly.

350

00:20:02,278 --> 00:20:07,594

And what we miss again and again with
authoritarian leaders is that they can...

351

00:20:07,594 --> 00:20:11,554

absorb a lot of pain for their
societies because it does not affect them personally.

352

00:20:11,554 --> 00:20:18,474

So, in the name of their ideology, they can accept that society goes through very

353

00:20:18,474 --> 00:20:22,634

hard times in a way that we find irrational.

354

00:20:22,634 --> 00:20:25,034

But for them, it's politically rational.

355

00:20:25,754 --> 00:20:31,774

And like in China, it's the Communist Party that rules there and

356

00:20:31,774 --> 00:20:34,284

has built its structure with control...

357

00:20:34,284 --> 00:20:36,934

...while in Russia it's a...

358

00:20:37,594 --> 00:20:42,234

state that has been captured by
the security services.

359

00:20:42,234 --> 00:20:45,354

A KGB state, one might call it an FSB
state.

360

00:20:46,234 --> 00:20:53,934

And they are willing to go very far
in pursuing a security policy conflict

361

00:20:53,934 --> 00:21:00,574

with the architecture of stability that
"big NATO" has established.

362

00:21:00,574 --> 00:21:03,384

And that it's going to cost the Russians...

363

00:21:03,384 --> 00:21:05,974

...a lot, they take it in stride.

364

00:21:05,974 --> 00:21:08,414

Should democracies take off the kid gloves?

STEN RYNNING

365

00:21:08,414 --> 00:21:09,394

Yes, we should.

366

00:21:09,394 --> 00:21:13,274

But I also think we should stand by
who we are.

367

00:21:13,274 --> 00:21:20,834

So, we should threaten that aggressive behaviour
will be met with real military strength.

368

00:21:20,834 --> 00:21:26,974

But we should also say that we will always
fight based on the values that we stand for.

369

00:21:26,974 --> 00:21:27,394

for.

370

00:21:27,394 --> 00:21:31,934

And that means international law, i.e.,
the laws of war, we respect the people,

371

00:21:31,934 --> 00:21:33,102

who also live close to...

372

00:21:33,102 --> 00:21:36,162

...crisis/conflict zones, and we will
help them as much as possible.

373

00:21:36,162 --> 00:21:41,642

I think it was epitomised by what
happened in Israel and Gaza.

374

00:21:41,642 --> 00:21:47,042

There you see how the Western countries are
beginning to be more and more explicit in,

375

00:21:47,042 --> 00:21:51,872

that Israel must also respect these
laws of war towards Gaza's

376

00:21:51,872 --> 00:21:54,522

civil population, because that's who we are.

377

00:21:54,522 --> 00:22:00,732

We cannot stand to see the humanitarian
aspect removed from war, because then we betray

378

00:22:00,732 --> 00:22:01,230

ourselves.

379

00:22:01,230 --> 00:22:02,770

And this is becoming more and more clear.

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380

00:22:02,770 --> 00:22:06,620

If one accepts that irrationality
has gained a foothold, or let's just

381

00:22:06,620 --> 00:22:10,660

say authoritarian regimes, then I can't help

but ask if an irrational

382

00:22:10,660 --> 00:22:13,030

scenario, from a Western perspective, could

arise.

383

00:22:13,030 --> 00:22:17,080

We must assume that the EU

countries are now arming themselves to the teeth,

384

00:22:17,080 --> 00:22:21,010

which will make the EU militarily

significantly stronger in 4-5 years.

385

00:22:21,010 --> 00:22:25,880

Assume that Ukraine loses significant ground to

the Russians in 2024, because we help

386

00:22:25,880 --> 00:22:29,838

them less than before, and Donald Trump

wins and then repeats...

387

00:22:29,838 --> 00:22:32,418

on election night, what he has said about NATO membership.

388

00:22:32,418 --> 00:22:37,088

Should one fear then, that Putin invades the Baltic states, because Russia

389

00:22:37,088 --> 00:22:39,218

will not have a better opportunity in the future?

STEN RYNNING

390

00:22:39,218 --> 00:22:42,988

I believe, if the scenario you're sketching here, where everything starts to fall

391

00:22:42,988 --> 00:22:47,818

apart, then the Russians - again now we're speaking from a rational interest -

392

00:22:47,818 --> 00:22:51,168

but then they would not have an interest in
putting themselves on the frontline

393

00:22:51,168 --> 00:22:57,148

by entering the Baltics with troops and
making themselves a lightning rod that

394

00:22:57,148 --> 00:22:57,774

could...

395

00:22:57,774 --> 00:23:01,504

..make Trump hesitate and possibly
mobilise American opinion against

396

00:23:01,504 --> 00:23:02,034

Russia.

397

00:23:02,034 --> 00:23:08,564

They would rather engage in “gray zone”
interference, trying to influence our

398

00:23:08,564 --> 00:23:09,474

opinion etc.

399

00:23:09,474 --> 00:23:12,794

more along the fractures that exist in the West.

400

00:23:12,794 --> 00:23:18,074

That is, support Hungary, support Trump's voters
and ensure that now when it's about to

401

00:23:18,074 --> 00:23:20,994

fall apart, it seriously falls apart.

402

00:23:20,994 --> 00:23:26,324

Because then in a couple of years, they can
march into the Baltics for free and it

403

00:23:26,324 --> 00:23:26,702

won't cost them anything.

404

00:23:26,702 --> 00:23:33,072

So, I believe more that this political
influence and manipulation will go into

405

00:23:33,072 --> 00:23:35,062

overdrive from the Russian side.

406

00:23:35,062 --> 00:23:35,562

That's for sure.

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407

00:23:35,562 --> 00:23:36,402

I hope you're right.

408

00:23:36,402 --> 00:23:40,612

Sten, we have quite an uncertain political
situation in the EU countries, where France and

409

00:23:40,612 --> 00:23:44,192

Germany could soon see the first signs of
a dramatic turn to the right, when the EU

410

00:23:44,192 --> 00:23:46,102

Parliament elections are held in June.

411

00:23:46,102 --> 00:23:49,992

Currently, a large and growing majority of German voters support aid to

412

00:23:49,992 --> 00:23:53,522

Ukraine and a significant military build-up in Germany.

413

00:23:53,522 --> 00:23:56,386

But public sentiment is a dynamic entity, which can...

414

00:23:56,386 --> 00:23:59,996

...for example, not exclude the possibility of AfD becoming "acceptable" and entering into

415

00:23:59,996 --> 00:24:04,646

a coalition government with CDU/CSU after the Bundestag election in 2025.

416

00:24:04,646 --> 00:24:07,166

How does that leave the EU and our ability
to stand united?

STEN RYNNING

417

00:24:07,166 --> 00:24:14,246

It's part of the democratic game
for political majorities to change.

418

00:24:14,246 --> 00:24:19,831

The AfD situation is again an expression of
growth in Europe's southern flank,

419

00:24:19,831 --> 00:24:24,814

because it's about identity, immigration,
and being German.

420

00:24:24,814 --> 00:24:26,374

That will take up a lot of space.

421

00:24:26,374 --> 00:24:31,094

I think, whether the majority is right or left,
there's a huge

422

00:24:31,094 --> 00:24:36,054

need for leadership to transfer political
energy into good sustainable

423

00:24:36,054 --> 00:24:38,514

decisions about how to deal with the
outside world.

424

00:24:38,514 --> 00:24:42,554

I have no doubt,
that can also be managed with a EU

425

00:24:42,554 --> 00:24:44,104

Parliament leaning to the right.

426

00:24:44,104 --> 00:24:50,104

What worries me is that
Scholz, Chancellor Scholz in

427

00:24:50,104 --> 00:24:53,966

Germany, seems to succumb so much to
the somewhat...

428

00:24:53,966 --> 00:24:59,226

...old thinking on
the left in Germany, which is about,

429

00:24:59,226 --> 00:25:03,206

ultimately making some sort of
deal with Russia.

430

00:25:03,206 --> 00:25:04,236

And that's not leadership.

431

00:25:04,236 --> 00:25:08,986

It's saying that we place leadership
with Russia, in Russia.

432

00:25:09,066 --> 00:25:13,236

A shift to the right in the
European Parliament might help to

433

00:25:13,236 --> 00:25:17,026

shake the idea that if we just close our eyes,
everything will be fine.

434

00:25:17,026 --> 00:25:21,778

And it would be positive for Europe to have
voices that

435

00:25:21,778 --> 00:25:21,966

say

436

00:25:21,966 --> 00:25:23,876

...we need to take responsibility and set
some direction.

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437

00:25:23,876 --> 00:25:28,766

When I listen to you and your fear that
old power politics might make a comeback

438

00:25:28,766 --> 00:25:33,252

in Europe, if the USA leaves NATO, then the fate of
small countries like Denmark is once again

439

00:25:33,252 --> 00:25:35,566

in the hands of Europe's

440

00:25:35,566 --> 00:25:35,906

major powers.

441

00:25:35,906 --> 00:25:37,536

Is that how you see the future in Europe?

STEN RYNNING

442

00:25:37,536 --> 00:25:43,186

Well, there's no doubt that Danish
politicians have seen this, and since the

443

00:25:43,186 --> 00:25:48,336

90s as a country, we've invested enormously
in keeping the Americans in

444

00:25:48,336 --> 00:25:48,646

Europe.

445

00:25:48,646 --> 00:25:50,222

We are as...

446

00:25:50,222 --> 00:25:54,322

...the trading nation we are, have tried to
do it as cheaply as possible.

447

00:25:54,362 --> 00:25:56,822

And we realise now that we have been
too cheap.

448

00:25:56,822 --> 00:26:00,682

So, now we have a big backlog in
defence, and we are not geared to

449

00:26:00,682 --> 00:26:01,052

deliver.

450

00:26:01,052 --> 00:26:05,742

So, we have bought indulgences by delivering
a lot to Ukraine, and there I will

451

00:26:05,742 --> 00:26:10,982

take my hat off for how original and
decisive we have been.

452

00:26:10,982 --> 00:26:14,182

We have delivered a lot to Ukraine, we have
led as a small country.

453

00:26:14,182 --> 00:26:15,212

It is possible to lead.

454

00:26:15,212 --> 00:26:19,672

But again, it happens within an Atlantic
security structure, which we very much want to

455

00:26:19,672 --> 00:26:20,292

preserve.

456

00:26:20,806 --> 00:26:25,166

Should the Americans start to hesitate,
pull out again, Trump wins,

457

00:26:25,166 --> 00:26:26,826

he pulls the plug.

458

00:26:26,826 --> 00:26:29,926

Then there's no doubt that Denmark would
look two places.

459

00:26:29,926 --> 00:26:33,786

One is to the USA.

460

00:26:33,786 --> 00:26:37,646

It may be that the USA pulls out
of NATO, but the USA still needs

461

00:26:37,646 --> 00:26:39,466

Greenland and the North Atlantic.

462

00:26:39,466 --> 00:26:42,216

We will try to play that card, so we get

some form of bilateral

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00:26:42,216 --> 00:26:44,624

security guarantee - close partner.

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00:26:45,386 --> 00:26:46,894

And then we will complement that with...

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00:26:46,894 --> 00:26:51,454

with the close relationship we have with
Great Britain and the axis that goes from

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00:26:51,454 --> 00:26:54,654

Great Britain through Denmark into the
Baltic area.

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00:26:54,654 --> 00:26:58,434

We have built a lot of military
cooperation on that, just within the big

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00:26:58,434 --> 00:26:59,974

institutions, NATO and the EU.

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00:26:59,974 --> 00:27:04,034

But it will be a main axis that we will
try to build on.

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00:27:04,034 --> 00:27:06,214

But it will be less effective and
less secure.

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00:27:06,214 --> 00:27:09,174

It's clear, and we will be more
exposed as a small country.

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00:27:09,174 --> 00:27:09,504

Clearly.

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00:27:09,504 --> 00:27:12,234

We haven't talked about China, which
is moving closer to Russia.

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00:27:12,234 --> 00:27:13,934

What does that really mean for the equation?

STEN RYNNING

475

00:27:13,934 --> 00:27:16,646

China indeed supports Russia's war in Ukraine.

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00:27:16,974 --> 00:27:19,874

They try to do it subtly, but they are doing it.

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00:27:19,874 --> 00:27:25,814

If the Russians have been more effective than the Ukrainians in digging trenches,

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00:27:25,814 --> 00:27:30,384

defensive structures and so on in Ukraine, then it's because they have received a lot of

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00:27:30,384 --> 00:27:34,074

machinery from China for digging and moving earth.

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00:27:34,114 --> 00:27:38,444

So, it may be that China doesn't deliver tanks, but they certainly provide

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00:27:38,444 --> 00:27:39,494

materials for the war.

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00:27:39,494 --> 00:27:44,604

And from China's perspective, it's somehow in their interest... that it's a bit

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00:27:44,604 --> 00:27:45,934

like the opposite of what

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00:27:45,934 --> 00:27:49,454

the USA and others think, that it's good that Russia bleeds, but it preferably should not go

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00:27:49,454 --> 00:27:53,294

completely wrong, like moving us outside
of what we can handle.

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00:27:53,294 --> 00:27:54,474

It's the same for China.

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00:27:54,474 --> 00:27:59,714

The more the West can spend its energies on
local conflicts and lose its momentum,

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00:27:59,754 --> 00:28:03,974

create deficits in economies, become a bit
worn, the better it is for their

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00:28:03,974 --> 00:28:04,484

leadership.

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00:28:04,484 --> 00:28:09,824

And there's no doubt that they are playing on
this, and they also see that

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00:28:09,824 --> 00:28:13,944

the Russia that will be left standing
will be weaker, and thus easier for

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00:28:13,944 --> 00:28:14,574

China...

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00:28:14,574 --> 00:28:18,434

...to handle in the Eurasian
partnership they have...

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00:28:18,434 --> 00:28:21,354

...to counter the major Western
institutions.

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00:28:21,354 --> 00:28:27,544

So, China plays the long game on this, and
at the same time tries to keep their profile

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00:28:27,544 --> 00:28:29,674

low, so they don't get caught in the crossfire.

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00:28:29,674 --> 00:28:36,794

That's what happened during the Covid-19 pandemic. China started very modestly

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00:28:36,794 --> 00:28:41,654

...started by saying, first of all, it wasn't their virus. And

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00:28:41,654 --> 00:28:43,814

secondly, they had vaccines...

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00:28:43,822 --> 00:28:47,802

...and thirdly, they were better at taking care of the Third World than anyone else.

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00:28:47,802 --> 00:28:51,622

And that caused a diplomatic backlash in the Western countries.

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00:28:51,622 --> 00:28:56,062

And they've learned from that, and are trying to be a bit more subtle than that.

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00:28:56,062 --> 00:28:58,672

But do you think China has played its cards right?

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00:28:58,672 --> 00:29:02,712

If you look at Japan, for example, the conflict in Ukraine has led to Japan

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00:29:02,712 --> 00:29:04,762

now doubling its military budget.

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00:29:04,762 --> 00:29:08,302

Europe has also started massive military investments.

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00:29:08,302 --> 00:29:10,222

South Korea, you name it.

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00:29:10,222 --> 00:29:12,052

Has China really played its cards well?

STEN RYNNING

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00:29:12,052 --> 00:29:15,572

I think China, if they were to
play their cards right, should

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00:29:15,572 --> 00:29:20,462

invest in the open architecture that
Western countries have played and which creates

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00:29:20,462 --> 00:29:25,062

more welfare, cooperation, and international trade.

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00:29:25,062 --> 00:29:31,252

We can just see that what China has done in
the South China Sea, a lot is about

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00:29:31,252 --> 00:29:32,562

wanting the USA out.

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00:29:32,562 --> 00:29:36,312

They see a multipolar order that should...

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00:29:36,312 --> 00:29:41,498

be more based on the major
powers having their regional spaces to act from.

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00:29:41,498 --> 00:29:42,022

from.

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00:29:42,022 --> 00:29:47,702

In that picture, again from a Chinese
perspective, it makes sense that they try

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00:29:47,702 --> 00:29:52,962

to shake the USA and Europe and see how far
they can get by building this axis with

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00:29:52,962 --> 00:29:55,752

Russia in the contest with international
institutions.

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00:29:55,752 --> 00:29:57,502

Just one last question, Sten.

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00:29:57,502 --> 00:30:01,492

I still hear many say that we
are back to the Cold War.

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00:30:01,492 --> 00:30:03,790

But is that really an accurate
description?

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00:30:03,790 --> 00:30:07,010

From my perspective, the Cold War seems
almost like a walk in the park.

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00:30:07,010 --> 00:30:11,010

Aren't we actually in a much
more dangerous situation today?

STEN RYNNING

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00:30:11,170 --> 00:30:15,400

I think what is the core
element of the Cold War, from

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00:30:15,400 --> 00:30:20,390

my perspective, is actually how intense the Cold War was also on an ideological level.

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00:30:20,390 --> 00:30:25,560

There were strong ideologies, like capitalism on one side and

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00:30:25,560 --> 00:30:29,720

communism on the other or planned economy against liberalism and communism and so

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00:30:29,720 --> 00:30:30,050

on.

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00:30:30,050 --> 00:30:32,550

There were also national interests, there were American interests

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00:30:32,550 --> 00:30:32,942

against Russian interests etc.

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00:30:32,942 --> 00:30:47,944

But the comparison of the two made the
Cold War very intense on an ideological level.

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00:30:47,944 --> 00:30:54,758

And I find it a bit harder to see how
Russia can mobilise others to

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00:30:54,758 --> 00:30:56,542

support themselves in this, because Putin's project
is very Russian. He is leading a “hot war” - the

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00:30:56,542 --> 00:31:02,124

Cold War was cold - but his ability to
keep it going and again mobilise

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00:31:02,124 --> 00:31:06,894

international... ongoing international
support for his project, I believe, is

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00:31:06,894 --> 00:31:07,534

less.

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00:31:07,534 --> 00:31:10,074

So, in the short term, it's more dangerous.

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00:31:10,074 --> 00:31:13,834

In the long term, Russia will deflate and be more alone.

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00:31:13,834 --> 00:31:16,214

And then we should look at China, as we just talked about.

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00:31:16,214 --> 00:31:19,994

Thank you, Sten Rynning, and I look forward to reading your new book.

00:31:28,766 --> 00:31:32,934

Music title is 'Digital Progress' – by Ihsan Dincer