

## Netanyahu's wars, Zelenskyy's failures & the threat of a Nuclear War - Prof. Kuznick

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**Zain Raza (ZR):** Thank you for tuning in today and welcome back to another episode of The Source. I'm your host, Zain Raza. If you've been watching our channel regularly, you would know from our content that YouTube, which is owned by Google, has a long history of shadow banning and censoring content of independent and critical media such as ours. If that day ever comes where we get censored, we won't be able to reach you even with an announcement. Hence, as a precautionary measure, we are asking all of our viewers to subscribe to our alternative channels such as Rumble, Telegram and our podcast called Podbean. You will find the links to all of these platforms in the description of this video below. It takes you no money and only a few minutes to subscribe to all of these channels. Today I'll be talking to Peter Kuznick, who is a professor of history and the director of the Nuclear Studies Institute at American University. He's also an author and has written a book with Hollywood film director and producer Oliver Stone called *The Untold History of the United States*. Peter, welcome back to the show.

## Peter Kuznick (PK): Thanks, Zain.

**ZR:** I would like to begin this interview by reviewing the situation between Iran, Hezbollah and Israel for our viewers. On October 1st, Iran responded to the Israeli assassinations of Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh on Iranian soil in July and of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in Beirut in September by firing 200 rockets into Israel, claiming it had targeted and successfully hit a number of military installations there. Israel has vowed to respond forcefully and is expected to target either Iranian oil fields, nuclear facilities or even try to take out its leadership. The war between Hezbollah and Israel in southern Lebanon is also in full swing, with on ground fighting taking place, Israeli air strikes and rocket barrage by Hezbollah are also taking place as we speak. A few days ago, Hezbollah successfully attacked a military base in northwestern Israel using drones, killing four soldiers and wounding another 60. It is estimated that more than 1500 Lebanese civilians have been killed and over 8000 wounded since the Israeli military offensive began against Hezbollah in Lebanon on September 16th. In addition the United Nations peacekeeping mission in

Lebanon, also known as UNIFIL, which stands for United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, has come under fire from Israel, resulting in several injuries to its personnel. The UNIFIL peacekeeping mission was established in 1978, has 10,000 peacekeepers from 46 nations who are tasked with demilitarizing Hezbollah, supporting Lebanese army operations against insurgents and weapons smuggling and ensuring Israel withdrawal from Lebanon. The United Nations Security Council recently responded to the Israeli attacks on Unifil by affirming its unanimous support. However, Israel has repeatedly asked Unifil to leave the area. Could you comment on the conflict between Iran, Hezbollah with Israel, and the dangers it poses to global security, especially if Israel decides to attack Iran?

**PK:** Well, we know that Israel is planning to attack Iran. And the question is what form that attack is going to take. The feeble and vacillating US President Joseph Biden, has again issued a warning to Israel, telling them not to attack Iran's nuclear facilities and also telling them not to attack Iran's oil facilities and oil processing sites. However, Netanyahu in his response has said, well, we appreciate the advice from President Biden, but we're going to make our own decision based upon our own military and security priorities, which means go fuck yourself, Biden. And he's been doing that over and over again. And what's infuriating to people in this country and elsewhere is that Biden's response is so tepid, so weak, that he doesn't enforce anything, and he's become an international laughingstock. Making matters worse, Kamala Harris has not distanced herself from Biden. She's effectively playing the same game, which means a green light to Netanyahu to do what he wants. The latest is that Biden has said that if Israel doesn't improve the humanitarian situation inside Gaza, especially, then the United States is going to consider cutting off some weapon systems to somehow punish Israel. However, we just authorized the introduction of the THAAD missile defense system into Israel. I think the United States has six of these and we are giving one of them to Israel, plus 100 US troops to man it. So while the United States says, oh, what Israel is doing is so objectionable in the slaughter of innocent women and children and the escalation of the hostilities – and we'll talk about Gaza more later – but we still at the same time our encouraging them, reinforcing, giving additional weapons systems. So this cynical ploy by the United States, saying they've got 30 days now, 30 days, and then we reconsider if the humanitarian aid doesn't improve. Well, the election is long over by then. And this strategy is backfiring, because not only is Kamala losing support among younger Americans - my students, for example, are furious with the Democrats for enabling the Israeli genocide. And many of them are not going to vote. Normally, the students in the United States on the campuses and young people are overwhelmingly pro Democratic, but not in this case. Now, they're not going to vote for Trump because they see him as a fascist and even more objectionable. However, many of them are not going to vote for Kamala. They won't vote. They will vote for Jill Stein or Robert Kennedy Jr. or Cornel West. Plus the fact that in a key swing state like Michigan, which has got hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Americans and Muslim American voters who voted 70% for Biden in 2020, now Kamala's support among them is 12%. That in itself could throw the election, because it's razor thin there, the margin in a state like Michigan. So the blindness, the immorality, the stupidity of US policy on this is self-destructive. Now, the points I think that are crucial when we're dealing with Iran is, number one, while the United States has been warning Israel about hitting Iran's nuclear sites,

you've got Donald Trump, you've got Jared Kushner, urging Israel to do just that, saying that should be the number one target. And we know that the Israeli right wingers and hard liners are saying the same thing. So Netanyahu is trying to make it look like he's listening to the United States. But we know in reality, he is not listening to the United States. What complicates the situation is that those sites are deeply underground, Fordow, Natanz, Arak are deeply underground. And it's not clear that Israel – and they're hardened –and it's not clear that Israel has the capability of actually taking them out. So what does that mean? So look at Netanyahu's goals. Number one, get Donald Trump back in office. He's been doing this with the Democrats and Republicans, the US for a decade. Remember when Obama was negotiating the Iran nuclear deal, the JCPOA, Netanyahu came to the United States addressed Congress and denounced the nuclear deal. We talk about Russia's intervention in the 2016 election. Israel's intervention was much more direct, much more open and much more determinative than was Russia's attempted intervention. So, number one, he wants to get Trump back in there. Because as obsequious, as groveling, as the Biden administration has been in supporting Netanyahu, Trump will be even more so. So Trump has attacked Biden for even trying in any way to limit what Israel is doing. The second point that he has is that he wants to get the United States into a war with Iran. This has long been his goal, a war between the United States and Iran. That would look, Iran's got, what? 19 million people, Israel's got ten million, maybe six or seven million Jewish citizens, and many of them can't be part of the military because of their religious ideas. So the religious extremists don't get drafted in Israel. So for Israel to defeat Iran, Israel's weapons are far superior, as we've seen. Israel's intelligence is far superior, as we've seen, with their pagers and their targeting of Hezbollah leaders and Iranian nuclear scientists and Hamas leaders. Israel's intelligence is outstanding and their technology is outstanding and their weapons - the United States has made sure that Israel will have the most advanced weapons of any country in the region. And so in that sense, despite its limitations in terms of manpower, Israel is very, very powerful, more powerful than Iran. But there's no guarantee that Israel has the capability to take out Iran's nuclear sites unless Israel uses its nuclear arsenal. The secret that everybody knows is that Israel has well, we don't know how many nuclear weapons they have in Dimona, but we estimate at least 90. And some estimates take away more than that. So would Israel be willing to contemplate using its nuclear arsenal? I don't have any doubt that Netanyahu is the most extremist and unhinged leader in the world. Netanyahu makes Kim Jong Un look like a pacifist. So Netanyahu, I think, if his back was against the war, would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons. And the United States would effectively back him up. Publicly admonish him and take him out for a whipping. But privately, the United States would not do anything against Israel. We say, well, he was forced to do so by aggression by Iran and his proxies. But we don't know where Russia and China come in. Both Russia and China have been strengthening their ties to Iran in recent days, weeks and months. And I don't know that they give Israel a pass, either attacking the nuclear facilities, the oil facilities or the possibility of using nuclear weapons. So even without use of nuclear weapons, and even without American involvement, the danger of escalation throughout the region is palpable and growing by the day. And what we've seen is Israel's incursions into Lebanon growing. And the danger is that Israel will turn southern Lebanon and beyond, up to and beyond Beirut, into a Gaza, into a rubble field. Already, 1.2 million Lebanese have been forced to evacuate in that part of

Lebanon. The danger, of course, is that Israel is unfettered. And it's hard to believe that there are people to the right of Netanyahu in that cabinet, in that administration, who are urging him to be even more aggressive in going after Israel's enemies. So there are Israelis who see this as their moment. And they say this is part of Israel's defense. So they use the horrific attack of October 7th, more than a year ago as an excuse to do what Israel wanted to do, which is to clean house throughout the region.

Now, in the original April Iranian attack, Israel got support from the Saudis and others in the region. But ever since then, those countries have become much more neutral as the atrocities have continued, as the escalation has continued throughout the region and as Israel has become more and more hawkish. Those countries are now expressing more neutrality. China was able to bridge some of the gap between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Ongoing talks between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Emiratis and others in the region mean that it's not clear that Israel will have carte blanche to use their airspace to attack Iran or to count on them to help shoot down Iranian missiles. So the Iranians say if any of their economic or security priorities are hit, they're going to strike back. If Iran strikes back even bigger, what we saw on October 1st is that they have capabilities with their ballistic missiles to hit inside Israel that can evade Israel's ballistic missile defense and their other missile defense. Israel has a lavered system. They've got the Iron Dome, they've got three layers, and now the United States is going to give them the THAAD system. And so they have a good capability, but they can't shoot it all down. So if you put together Iran's capabilities, Hezbollah, yes, Israel has destroyed much of Hezbollah's weapons, but Hezbollah still has probably more than 100,000 missiles, rockets and drones that can hit inside Israel and they can overwhelm Israeli defense systems just by the sheer numbers. We've seen Hezbollah successfully attack inside Israel already. And if you put Hezbollah and you put Iran and they don't limit their attacks to military targets as they've been doing, they can overwhelm Israel's defenses. And then what happens? Then the United States steps in and then we've got potentially World War Three. So the situation there is nightmarish and getting worse by the day. And Netanyahu invokes biblical passages, Old Testament passages that effectively exonerate the Jewish people for his genocidal acts wiping out their enemies. And there seems to be no pressure inside Israel; the once vibrant Israeli left and Israeli peace movement is gone. So you have some of the families of the hostages who have attacked Netanyahu for not bringing the hostages back, but this limited their influence inside Israel. So I don't see anything that's restraining them. The United States is not restraining them. Russia and China are not overtly restraining them. The Iranian threats are not strong enough to limit what Israel does. So the danger is that Netanyahu is going to tell the world to blow off and he's going to do what he wants. And we know that they would love to go after the Iranian nuclear sites. Whether they can destroy them or not is very much an open question. And what the US would do to back them up or to give them the intelligence and other support is another question here.

**ZR:** The conflict between Israel, Hezbollah and Iran has diverted attention from Gaza and a possible ceasefire agreement. Since the Israeli offensive began last year, an estimated 43,000 Palestinians have been killed by Israel so far.

**PK:** That's the figure that's based upon the Gazan defense forces and health forces estimate. And they only count the actual bodies they can count. This doesn't account for all the Gazan kids who have been starved to death or who have been killed because they don't have any health facilities or it doesn't count all the people who are buried under the rubble who they haven't been able to extricate. So the British medical journal Lancet estimates that that figure is closer to 200,000. But the official figure that the US and others like to point to is 42,000 plus that they can actually count. We think that the number is really much, much higher.

ZR: Let me just add on that, that alongside the Lancet, the John Hopkins University has also concluded that there's no evidence that these figures are inflated. Yet, returning to the point, furthermore, the Israeli newspaper +972 magazine and Haaretz recently revealed an Israeli plan developed by a former Israeli Major General Eiland that wants to forcibly displace or kill the entire Palestinian population in the northern Gaza Strip. The plan calls for all civilians in the northern Gaza Strip to be evacuated within one week. After that, Israel will completely besiege the area, cut off all food, water and medical supplies, and anyone remaining there would become a legitimate target. Despite this, you already mentioned that the US is providing military support, even though there's been calls for some sort of leverage to be exerted, Germany is no different. Let me just quote the German Chancellor Scholz, who recently stated in the German parliament regarding arms deliveries to Israel, quote, "Deliveries are taking place and there will always be further deliveries. Israel can rely on that. Israel can rely on our solidarity now and in the future", unquote. The humanitarian situation in Gaza alone is not causing the US or Germany to change its policy. But now it seems in the case of the US, the Democrats, as you've mentioned, would rather lose to Donald Trump at the upcoming election than even attempt to put some sort of pressure on Israel to make some sort of agreement with Hamas, which could essentially end the conflict with Hezbollah and by extension with Iran as well. And this inaction could spark a regional, if not a global war, as you've mentioned, that could hit the US economy in a very damaging and devastating manner. Why, in your view, are the Democrats ready to take such a big political risk and are unable to play any leverage against Israel that could, even, as you've mentioned, cause their own election?

**PK:** That's a good question, and there's several ways to approach why the Democrats are so feeble. I was just with one of the most progressive Democrats last Saturday night. And he acknowledges that the Democrats' policy could cost them the election. Certainly Michigan, certainly young voters. He was one of a group who initially spoke out against the brutality of the Israeli actions. And they were shut down immediately. They were silenced. They got so attacked by fellow Democrats. So there's a big faction in the Democratic Party that wants to give carte blanche to what Israel is doing. There's another faction of the Democratic Party, the progressive Democrats, who are very much opposed to that and who want to force Israel's hand and cut off military aid to Israel. But they don't have the clout within the party, because the party leaders, the Pelosis and the Bidens and the Harrises and the Schumers are not willing to go there. Now, partly that's AIPAC, partly it's the Israeli lobby who have an outsized, inordinate influence on the Democrats. And we know that when Biden was in the Senate, he got more money from the Israeli lobby than anybody else. So Biden's kind of

affinity for Israel goes way back. You know, maybe he's too old to even have a new thought at this point. Kamala Harris's stupidity, her knee jerk militarism, hawkishness is very, very off putting even to those of us who would support her in an election against a fascist like Donald Trump, who would be even more aggressive when it comes to Israel and more aggressive in his hostility toward China, although he might be better on Ukraine. But it would rip up the US Constitution, at least there's serious reason to think so. So I think the Democrats are spineless. They have become the new hawks. There are more neocons in the Democratic Party now than there are in the Republican Party, the home of the neocons, the birthplace of the neocons back in the late 90s and early 2000s. And so you got more of an anti-war voice cropping up on occasion in the Republican Party than you do in the Democratic Party. Bizarre to many of us who have lived through this history and had once seen elements of sanity in the Democratic Party that are totally missing now. So the Democrats are self-destructive. And maybe what they fear is that if they come out against Israel in the way that they should, that they would alienate too many other voters in the United States who are gung ho pro-Israel. But we know from the polling that most Americans support a ceasefire and want to see the United States play a stronger role in opposing Israeli aggression throughout the region. I think that even politically, from a political calculation, Kamala would be much better off disengaging herself. The historical analogy that we can draw is Hubert Humphrey, when he was a Democratic candidate in 1968 against Richard Nixon. Humphrey behind the scenes, which we didn't know at the time, as Vice president, had been extremely critical of Johnson and the invasion of Vietnam. Publicly, he didn't sound that way. He supported Johnson. He said letting the NLF into a coalition would be like letting a fox into a hen house. So he opposed negotiations and diplomacy publicly, behind the scenes, he was [inaudible]. It got so bad that Johnson didn't even allow him into National Security Council meetings. He was persona non grata in the Johnson administration. And so many of us denounced the Democrats in '68 for that reason. Nixon got elected. By the time Humphrey broke with Johnson publicly, it was too late. It might not be too late if Kamala develops a brain. You know, so far she's been robot like in her knee jerk responses when it comes to foreign policy. She's been much better when it comes to domestic policy. So if she would break openly with Biden on this – when she was asked in a recent interview how she differs with Biden, she said, she doesn't. She supports all of Biden's policies. The wrong answer, terrible answer, self-destructive answer. But they haven't broken. And that's really hurting her in this election. I see it every day with my students and I see it in the polling in Michigan and Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Most Jewish Americans are very critical of what Israel is doing. The Israel lobby does not represent Jewish Americans. It does not represent Democrats. It represents Netanyahu and an extreme right wing vision. And if they could get that through their thick skulls and really be ready to attack Israel for having turned into what it was founded to oppose, you know, they are the most aggressive force in the world right now. And so when the United States, when Biden denounces Putin for what's going on in Ukraine and does not denounce in equal terms and vilify Netanyahu for what's going on in Gaza and Lebanon and throughout the region, it just makes him look like a moral imbecile, a moral hypocrite, and a pathetic old man. So that's a long winded answer to your question about the Democrats.

ZR: Let us now switch to the war in Ukraine. I would like to summarize some notable

developments of the last few months for our viewers before I begin. In August, Ukraine launched an incursion into Russia's Kursk Oblast and according to the German media, made considerable progress, capturing about 1250km<sup>2</sup> of territory with 90 localities. The German media reported extensively on these initial victories, but since October, coverage has become very rare. Just a few days ago, Newsweek and the Institute for the Study of War reported that Russia has already taken back nearly a quarter of territory it had lost to Ukraine in Kursk. In addition, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky visited US President Joe Biden in Washington in September. During the visit, the US announced another 7.9 billion military aid package for Ukraine. However, no agreement was reached on the question of whether Ukraine could be allowed to deploy Western made long range missiles that could strike deep into Russian territory. During a recent visit to Germany, Zelensky also met with Chancellor Olaf Scholz who also pledged a 1.53 billion military aid package for Ukraine. However in this case as well Scholz did not approve the deployment of the long range German Taurus cruise missiles to Ukraine. During both visits, Zelensky presented his so-called Victory Plan, which calls for continued Western military support for Ukraine, permission to deploy long range missiles made in Western countries that could be used to strike deep into Russian territory and security guarantees such as NATO accession. Despite these developments, Russia has made progress on the eastern front in Ukraine. Just recently, Russia took full control of the eastern city of Vuhledar in Donetsk. Vuhledar is the gateway to regional transport hubs such as Kurakhove and Pokrovsk. Now the battle has shifted to Pokrovsk. Can you give your assessment of the latest developments that I just mentioned and also talk about the future prospects for Ukraine? Can Zelensky's so-called Victory Plan turn the tide of the war?

PK: Well, Zelensky's Victory Plan is dead on arrival. It is not a victory plan. It is a Destroy-Ukraine-Further-Plan. Its fight to the last Ukrainian to support NATO and maintain US global hegemony. He is not speaking for the Ukrainian people. Maybe he still has the support of the majority in Ukraine, but what he's doing is offering Ukrainians as sacrificial lambs for NATO and the US to maintain their domination globally. There is no prospect, there is no scenario in which Ukraine to face Russia militarily. You know, it's sad. The Ukrainians have fought bravely. Zelensky managed to effectively rally the Ukrainian people. And the world was stunned by Ukraine's ability to repel the Russians initially. And then when they had their offensive later in the year, that was the same year in 2022, the world was impressed. But the Russians learned from their mistakes and they tightened their supply lines and they had new military strategy. And then with the Ukraine's spring offensive this year, it was a complete failure. And on the battlefield, the tide has turned. And that's not a reflection of Russian brilliance. It's a reflection of the realities there. That Russia has got an economy five, seven times the size, their manpower is far in excess of what the Ukrainians have, their military capabilities, military hardware, military arsenal, artillery can outnumbers the Ukrainians in some ways ten to one. So Russia is succeeding on the battlefield. And the situation in eastern Ukraine is that it grows worse and worse for the Ukrainians every day. As their own bloggers say, as their own generals often admit, the situation is dire on the eastern front. Once Russia takes Pokrovsk and they're very close and they're taking the surrounding villages day by day, making headway, once they do that, then they have effectively all of

Donetsk. Which means effectively all of the Donbass, which was their original goal. They added more territory, Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, that they claimed also, but they haven't taken the totality of those regions. So Ukraine tried to distract with the Kursk intervention and we have seen in the headlines, like this was some major surprise military victory. However, Putin did not remove enough troops from the eastern front to stop the Ukrainians, and now they are slowly clawing back the territory that Ukraine got. So what looked like maybe it was a great military move that was going to restore morale has now turned out to be a military blunder, according to most calculations, because it is not slow the Russian advance in the east and it has diverted Ukrainian resources, troops from the battle in the east, which is where the real battle was taking place. The argument was, well, it gave Ukraine a bargaining chip that they could use this in order to get back their territory if they ever go to the bargaining table. It didn't work. It didn't work. It was a Hail Mary pass, as we say, in the US, and it didn't get caught in the end zone for a touchdown. So the situation is just getting worse. More and more people are dying. More and more of the economy is being destroyed. And the other point that you made is so important. Zelensky has been pressuring Biden, Scholz, Starmer and others to allow them to use the long range missiles to attack inside of Russia. Putin has made it clear that in Russia's new nuclear strategy that they would not only consider Ukraine to be responsible, they would consider NATO to be complicit, providing the intelligence, providing the expertise to actually use these advanced weapons systems to attack inside of Russia. And they would be fair game also. What worries me is that even if Putin is not crazy enough to want to do this, to trigger World War Three, to start with using tactical nuclear weapons in an attack that would likely trigger a nuclear response from the US and NATO, and then all bets are off, what we know is that when leaders draw red lines and then they ignore their own red lines, they can do that once, they could do that twice, they can't keep doing that. To do so a third time is to completely lose credibility. So even though Putin, once he makes those threats, as he had with other weapons systems, the Western thinking is, well, he said, if we give them these tanks and if we give them these other weapon missile systems, then that's their red line and they're going to get militarily involved, they use nuclear weapons and they haven't done it, and they didn't do it this time. They didn't do it this time. This is the Biden thinking. So initially, Biden says, no, when every new weapons system is proposed, but then he's so weak that he eventually caves in and gives permission. Well, the thinking I know of a lot of US military leaders, but not so much the military right now, but the military advisers, the civilians, the Sullivans and the Blinken's and their ilk, is that, well, we've tried it in the past and they've caved every time, so they're going to cave again. What we've seen over and over again, the Iranians make threats as Nasrallah and others were killed, and then they have to launch those missiles just to maintain their credibility. We've seen that over and over again in these situations. And so I'm very, very worried. So far Biden has resisted. We know how much backbone and resolve Biden has. So he hasn't wanted to test Putin on this. As Kennedy said in his famous American University commencement address at my university back in 1963, to put a nuclear armed adversary in a position of either suffering a humiliating defeat or using nuclear weapons is either a colossal failure of statesmanship or a collective death wish on the part of the human species. Kennedy got it. Khrushchev got it. And they backed off and they used diplomacy. The Chinese are talking about diplomacy. You might have seen the recent editorial on October 13th in the Global Times official Chinese newspaper titled: The

Looming Nuclear Threat, A Call for Global Security Reform. And they say recent escalations and regional conflicts and confrontations have reignited global concerns about the danger of nuclear war. Sun Xiaobo, director general of the Department of Arms Control of the Foreign Ministry of China, urged the international community on Thursday to establish a world free of nuclear weapons. The Chinese are calling for that. And I want to mention that my nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize Nihon Hidankyo, this is the group of victims of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, formed in 1956, 11 years after the US dropped those bombs on Japan, they've been the conscience of the world in opposing nuclear war and calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons. I've been nominating them for more than a decade and this year they finally won. And it's interesting because I was told that they were the frontrunner in 2017. However, the Nobel Committee, the Peace Prize committee in 2017 did not want to offend the United States. So they chose ICAN, which is the International Group Against Nuclear Weapons instead of Nihon Hidankyo. The world has changed seven years later, and now they're ready to offend the United States because they see how insanely dangerous this world has become and that the United States is willing, in a desperate attempt to cling to unipolarity and is Empire willing to risk nuclear war and ending life on the planet. So it's interesting in Nihon Hidankyo's statement – I've got a piece coming out tomorrow in Nation magazine co-authored with Ivana Hughes, who is the head of the Nuclear Peace Foundation. She teaches at Columbia. And our piece talks about what a bittersweet victory this is for Nihon Hidankyo. Bittersweet for two reasons; one, so many of the leading activists who were desperately wanting to live until nuclear weapons were abolished and until Nihon Hidankyo won the Nobel Peace Prize, so many of them have passed away in recent years. And the survivors are now in their 80s and 90s, almost all of them, number one. Number two, bittersweet because the world is again in the door hold of nuclear war and they can't believe it. And I can't believe that the human species is so stupid, so shortsighted, so self-destructive that we could end life on our planet. And that's the position we're in now. So it's a huge victory, a deserved victory, a monumental victory, but sadly, a bittersweet victory for our planet.

**ZR:** Peter Kuznick, professor of history and director at the Nuclear Studies Institute at American University. Thank you so much for your time today.

PK: Thank you, Zain.

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