

Toni Morrison Nobel Lecture December 7 1993

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it is often said that the vietnam war taught us that the american public is no longer willing to tolerate american casualties in u s wars and military operations there are also two contradictory corollaries one that the first deaths in a conflict will spark demands for immediate withdrawal the other that casualties lead to an inexorable demand for escalation to victory the truth is far more subtle and sensible the simplest explanation consistent with the data is that public support for u s military operations and public tolerance for casualties are based upon a sensible weighing of benefits and costs that is influenced heavily by consensus or its absence among political leaders when such agreement is missing even low costs can erode public support for the intervention in the end most americans do not want lives to be sacrificed for any but the most compelling and promising causes and

they rely on their leaders to illuminate just how compelling and promising these causes are

a decade before being proclaimed part of the axis of evil north korea raised alarms in washington seoul and tokyo as the pace of its clandestine nuclear weapons program mounted when confronted by evidence of its deception in 1993 pyongyang abruptly announced its intention to become the first nation ever to withdraw from the nuclear non proliferation treaty defying its earlier commitments to submit its nuclear activities to full international inspections u s intelligence had revealed evidence of a robust plutonium production program unconstrained north korea s nuclear factory would soon be capable of building about thirty nagasaki sized nuclear weapons annually the resulting arsenal would directly threaten the security of the united states and its allies while tempting cash starved north korea to export its deadly wares to america s most bitter adversaries in go ing critical three former u s officials who played key roles in the nuclear crisis trace the intense efforts that led north korea to freeze and pledge ultimately to dismantle its dangerous plutonium production program under international inspection while the storm clouds of a second korean war gathered drawing on international government documents memoranda cables and notes the authors chronicle the complex web of diplomacy from seoul tokyo and beijing to geneva moscow and vienna and back again that led to the negotiation of the 1994 agreed framework intended to resolve this nuclear standoff they also explore the challenge of weaving together the military economic and diplomatic instruments employed to persuade north korea to accept significant constraints on its nuclear activities while deterring rather than provoking a violent north korean response some ten years after these intense negotiations the agreed framework lies abandoned north korea claims to possess some nuclear weapons while threatening to produce even more the story of the 1994 confrontatio

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