

and understandings about arms control as a regulator of a stable system of mutual nuclear deterrence. But the Geneva CD could not remain impervious to the effects of the new cold war of the early 1980s. This widened a fissure which had opened in the late 1970s between non-nuclear Western members sympathetic to the military logic of superpower arms control arrangements and key members of the non-aligned group who were staunchly supportive of superpower nuclear disarmament.

Differences between its non-nuclear members over the meaning and proper aims of arms control did not alone account for the immobility of the CD in its formative years. A second difficulty, and equally long lasting, was the very challenge which the new Cold War posed to Soviet-American bilateralism. Since the establishment of the Geneva forum in 1962, its non-nuclear members have frequently been frustrated by the exclusivity of superpower bilateralism, and the marked indifference to multilateralism which the two superpowers have exhibited during their periods of détente and arms control collaboration. Yet these lesser states have been equally frustrated by the inability or refusal of the superpowers to collaborate, simply because they, the lesser states, have always depended in large measure upon the United States and the Soviet Union for leadership. The Geneva multilateral process has never been able to move at a swifter pace than the superpower bilateralists would allow.⁴ The superpowers were engaged in meaningful arms control discussions during the late 1970s, but these dissipated with the Cold War tensions of the early 1980s. Neither Cold War nor détente was, it seems, salutary from the standpoint of CD work. Only very recently, in a period characterized by mixed détente and cold war, has the CD been able to take advantage of an apparent if limited willingness on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union to engage the multilateral forum in their quest for arms control accords.

A third limitation inherent in the CD environment stems from the

⁴ See Alan F. Neidle, "The Rise and Fall of Multilateral Arms Control: Choices for the United States," in Edward Luck, ed., *Arms Control: The Multilateral Alternative*, New York: New York University Press, 1983.