

found expression in, at times, acerbic debates over the appropriate relationship between multilateral and bilateral approaches to arms control, between public and private diplomacy, and about the appropriate role of the non-nuclear powers at Geneva. The differing Western and non-aligned approaches to these strategic and diplomatic issues were very much in evidence in the early post-1978 period, and can usefully be described as the "incrementalist," the "idealist," and the "revisionist" approaches.

The "incrementalist" approach was, and remains, largely confined to the Western non-nuclear powers in the CD. It would confer upon the United States and the Soviet Union a primary responsibility for international security and order. It is in essence supportive of the strategy of mutual nuclear deterrence as the principal source of international stability, and looks toward verifiable arms control regimes as key instruments of the strategic balance. Incrementalism is by no means hostile to the disarmament ideal, but is unsupportive of multilateral attempts at imposing measures of nuclear disarmament upon the superpowers. Pragmatic and moderate in diplomatic style, and "technical" in their approach to step-wise arms control measures, the incrementalists see their principal role as catalysts and facilitators, and would thus accent the "pre-negotiation" and "ripening" functions of multilateral arms control dialogues. In this view, multilateralism is subordinate but complementary to superpower arms control bilateralism. Bilateralism is seen to have its own inner strategic and diplomatic logic but, depending upon the issue, is also seen as a necessary pre-condition for the success of multilateral diplomacy.

Both "idealism" and "revisionism" would in principle reject the incrementalist approach to arms control, and the notion of a stable bipolar nuclear balance upon which it is based. In their early years especially, the CD debates thus seemed to reflect what Platias and Rydell have termed a "diplomatic pas de deux between advocates of technical fixes and proponents of a restructured nuclear world order."¹² Idealists

¹² Athanassios G. Platias and R.S. Rydell, "International Security Regimes: the Case for a Balkan Nuclear-Free Zone," in David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf, eds. *The Arms Race in the 1980s* London: Croom Helm, 1982, p. 277.