

innovations designed to inspire greater confidence in the existing system of mutual deterrence.¹

Clearly, the management of their global confrontation is a superpower responsibility, which stems in large measure from their near-duopolistic possession of nuclear arms. Equally clear is the breadth of this responsibility: it is not to the United States and the Soviet Union alone, but to the society of states at large whose members are vulnerable to the effects of a possible superpower military confrontation. Less clear, however, are the responsibilities which the "lesser" states in international society should share in the creation and maintenance of a more stable and secure international military order. It can appropriately be asked to what degree or in what ways these states should attempt to influence the substance and direction of superpower arms and arms control programmes.

This a diplomatic and military/strategic dilemma for lesser states. The dilemma stems of course from their vulnerability to an unbridled superpower strategic arms competition on the one hand and, on the other, from their limited ability to influence in both tangible and constructive ways Soviet and American arms control programmes. Consequently, the responsibilities of lesser states in the superpower arms control field are not clear cut. It must be recognized that lesser states, not privy to the delicate understandings which appear to have developed over time within the superpower strategic dialogue, may offer advice and urge courses of action that are not altogether beneficial to strategic stability.

What follows is a study in a largely unexplored field: the arms control diplomacy of non-nuclear lesser states, as willing but seldom welcomed

¹ A recent and readable treatment of these themes is to be found in Coit Blacker, *Reluctant Warriors: The United States, the Soviet Union, and Arms Control*, New York: W.H. Freeman, 1987. The concept of "adversarial partnership" is discussed in Coral Bell, *The Conventions of Crisis: A Study in Diplomatic Management*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.