

covering all aspects of relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.<sup>108</sup> The Kohl Government also appears to be prepared to offer the Soviet Union substantial economic aid and guarantees, some of which will be used to lessen the domestic impact of Soviet troops returning home. (Although at the present time the precise nature and extent of these commitments has not been made clear.)

The NATO London declaration also addressed Soviet security concerns by including: a statement on the transformation of the NATO alliance into a more political structure; a non-use of force declaration, and an offer of a non-aggression declaration with all CSCE states; an offer of regular diplomatic liaison between Warsaw Pact countries (including the Soviet Union) and NATO, and an invitation for Gorbachev to address NATO; development of military contacts and exchanges between East and West; agreement in principle to limitations on German forces; a unilateral restructuring of NATO's conventional forces, and reformulation of the concept of forward defence; some indications of a willingness to consider modification of the nuclear doctrine of flexible response, a commitment to use nuclear weapons only as a "last resort", and a reduced importance for sub-strategic nuclear systems; and finally, agreement that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) should have a more prominent place in future security arrangements, with support going to ideas such as a CSCE summit, a CSCE Centre for the Prevention of Conflict, a parliamentary body, review conferences, and the establishment of a small secretariat.<sup>109</sup>

Both the Kohl-Gorbachev accord and the NATO London Declaration went a long way towards addressing Soviet security and economic concerns connected with German reunification. And even though Soviet troops have up to four years to leave the territory

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<sup>108</sup> Serge Schmemmann, "Gorbachev Agrees to United Germany In NATO, Kohl Hails 'Breakthrough', Clearing the Way for Merger", *IHT*, 17 July 1990, pp. 1-2; and "Kohl-Gorbachev Accord: 8 Points", *IHT*, 17 July 1990, p.1.; David March, "Kohl signals Soviet non-aggression pact", *Financial Times*, 18 July 1990, p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> "London Declaration On A Transformed North Atlantic Alliance", Press Communique S-1 (90) 36, *NATO Press Service*, London, 6 July 1990.