

# Text of Communique Issued by Nixon and

Special to The New York Times

**SAN CLEMENTE, Calif., June 25**—Following is the text of a joint communiqué issued at the Western White House today on the week-long summit meeting of President Nixon and Leonid I. Brezhnev:

At the invitation of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, extended during his official visit to the U.S.S.R. in May, 1972, and in accordance with a subsequent agreement, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid I. Brezhnev, paid an official visit to the United States from June 18 to June 25. Mr. Brezhnev was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; G. E. Tsukanov and A. M. Aleksandrov, assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.; L. I. Zamyatin, general director of Tass; E. I. Chazov, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the U.S.S.R.; G. M. Korniyenko, member of the collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; G. A. Arbatov, director of the U.S.A. Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

President Nixon and General Secre-

tary Brezhnev held thorough and constructive discussions on the progress achieved in the development of U.S.-Soviet relations and on a number of major international problems of mutual interest.

Also taking part in the conversations held in Washington, Camp David, and San Clemente, were:

On the American side William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, assistant to the President for national security affairs.

On the Soviet side A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.; A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.A.; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; A. M. Alexandrov and G. E. Tsukanov, assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.; G. M. Korniyenko, member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1973

## Brezhnev After Soviet Leader's Visit

### I. The General State of U.S.-Soviet Relations

Both sides expressed their mutual satisfaction with the fact that the American-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in May, 1972, and the joint decisions taken there have resulted in a substantial advance in the strengthening of peaceful relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and have created the basis for the further development of broad and mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields of mutual interest to the peoples of both countries and in the interests of all mankind. They noted their satisfaction with the mutual effort to implement strictly and fully the treaties and agreements concluded between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and to expand areas of cooperation.

They agreed that the process of reshaping relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security as set forth in the basic principles of relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. signed in Moscow on May 29, 1972, is progressing in an encouraging manner. They emphasized the great importance that each side attaches to these basic principles. They reaffirmed their commitment to the continued scrupulous implementation and it the

enhancement of the effectiveness of each of the provisions of that document.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the outcome of the U.S.-Soviet meeting in Moscow in May, 1972, was welcomed by other states and by world opinion as an important contribution to strengthening peace and international security, to curbing the arms race and to developing businesslike cooperation among states with different social systems.

Both sides viewed the return visit to the U.S.A. of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., L. I. Brezhnev, and the talk held during the visit as an expression of their mutual determination to continue the course toward a major improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Both sides are convinced that the discussions they have just held represent a further milestone in the constructive development of their relation.

Convinced that such a development of American-Soviet relations serves the interest of both of their people and all of mankind, it was decided to take further major steps to give these relations maximum stability and to turn the development of friendship and cooperation between their peoples into a permanent factor for worldwide peace.

## II. The Prevention of Nuclear War and the Limitation of Strategic Armaments

Issues related to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace were a central point of the talks between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev.

Conscious of the exceptional importance for all mankind of taking effective measures to that end, they discussed ways in which both sides could work toward removing the danger of war, and especially nuclear war, between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and between either party and other countries. Consequently, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the basic principles of relations of May 29, 1972, it was decided to conclude an agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the prevention of nuclear war. That agreement was signed by the President and the General Secretary on June 22, 1973. The text has been published separately.

The President and the General Secretary, in appraising this agreement, believe that it constitutes a historical landmark in Soviet-American relations and substantially strengthens the foundation of international security as a whole. The United States and the Soviet Union state their readiness to consider additional ways of strengthening peace and removing forever the danger of war, and particularly nuclear war.

In the course of the meetings, intensive discussions were held on questions of strategic arms limitation. In this connection both sides emphasized the fundamental importance of the treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile systems and the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms signed between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in May, 1972, which, for the first time in history, place actual limits on the most modern and most formidable types of armaments.

Having exchanged views on the progress in the implementation of these

agreements, both sides reaffirmed their intention to carry them out and their readiness to move ahead jointly toward an agreement on the further limitation of strategic arms.

Both sides noted that progress has been made in the negotiations that resumed in November, 1972, and that the prospects for reaching a permanent agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive armaments are favorable.

Both sides agreed that the progress made in the limitation of strategic armaments is an exceedingly important contribution to the strengthening of U.S.-Soviet relations and to world peace.

On the basis of their discussions, the President and the General Secretary signed on June 21, 1973, basic principles of negotiations on the further limitation of strategic offensive arms. The text has been published separately.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. attach great importance to joining with all states in the cause of strengthening peace, reducing the burden of armaments and reaching agreements on arms limitation and disarmament measures.

Considering the important role which an effective international agreement with respect to chemical weapons would play, the two sides agreed to continue their efforts to conclude such an agreement in cooperation with other countries.

The two sides agree to make every effort to facilitate the work of the committee on disarmament which has been meeting in Geneva. They will actively participate in negotiations aimed at working out new measures to curb and end the arms race. They reaffirm that the ultimate objective is general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under strict international control. A world disarmament conference could play a role in this process at an appropriate time.

## III. International Questions: The Reduction of Tensions and Strengthening of International Security

President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev reviewed major questions of the current international situation. They gave special attention to the developments which have occurred since the time of the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow. It was noted with satisfaction that positive trends are developing in international relations toward the further relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of cooperative relations in the interests of peace.

In the opinion of both sides, the current process of improvement in the international situation creates new and favorable opportunities for reducing tensions, settling outstanding international issues and creating a permanent structure of peace.

### Indochina

The two sides expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, and also at the results of the international conference on Vietnam which approved and supported that agreement.

The two sides are convinced that the conclusion of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, and the subsequent signing of the agreement on restoring peace and achieving

national concord in Laos, meet the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam and Laos and open up a possibility for establishing a lasting peace in Indochina, based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the countries of that area. Both sides emphasized that these agreements must be strictly implemented.

They further stressed the need to bring an early end to the military conflict in Cambodia in order to bring peace to the entire area of Indochina. They also reaffirmed their stand that the political futures of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia should be left to the respective peoples to determine, free from outside interference.

### Europe

In the course of the talks both sides noted with satisfaction that in Europe the process of relaxing tensions and developing cooperation is actively continuing and thereby contributing to international stability.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the further normalization of relations among European countries resulting from treaties and agreements signed in recent years, particularly between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. [Federal

Republic of (West) Germany]. They also welcome the coming into force of the quadripartite agreement of Sept. 3, 1971. They share the conviction that strict observance of the treaties and agreements that have been concluded will contribute to the security and well-being of all parties concerned.

They also welcome the prospect of United Nations membership this year for the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. [(East) German Democratic Republic] and recall, in this connection, that the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K. and France have signed the quadripartite declaration of November 9, 1972, on this subject.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. reaffirm their desire, guided by the appropriate provisions of the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. communiqué adopted in Moscow in May, 1972, to continue their separate and joint contributions to strengthening peaceful relations in Europe. Both sides affirm that insuring a lasting peace in Europe is a paramount goal of their policies.

In this connection satisfaction was expressed with the fact that as a result of common efforts by many states, including the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the preparatory work has been successfully completed for the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which will be convened on July 3, 1973. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. hold the view that the conference will enhance the possibilities for strengthening European security and developing cooperation among the participating states. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. will conduct their policies so as to realize the goals of the conference and bring about a new era of good relations in this part of the world.

Reflecting their continued positive at-

titude toward the conference, both sides will make efforts to bring the conference to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible time. Both sides proceed from the assumption that progress in the work of the conference will produce possibilities for completing it at the highest level.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. believe that the goal of strengthening stability and security in Europe would be further advanced if the relaxation of political tensions were accompanied by a reduction of military tensions in Central Europe. In this respect they attach great importance to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe which will begin on Oct. 30, 1973. Both sides state their readiness to make, along with other states, their contribution to the achievement of mutually acceptable decisions on the substance of this problem, based on the strict observance of the principle of the undiminished security of any of the parties.

### Middle East

The parties expressed their deep concern with the situation in the Middle East and exchanged opinions regarding ways of reaching a Middle East settlement.

Each of the parties set forth its position on this problem.

Both parties agreed to continue to exert their efforts to promote the quickest possible settlement in the Middle East. This settlement should be in accordance with the interests of all states in the area, be consistent with their independence and sovereignty and should take into due account the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people.

## IV. Commercial and Economic Relations

The President and the General Secretary thoroughly reviewed the status of and prospects for commercial and economic ties between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Both sides noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in the past year in the normalization and development of commercial and economic relations between them.

They agreed that mutually advantageous cooperation and peaceful relations would be strengthened by the creation of a permanent foundation of economic relationships.

They recall with satisfaction the various agreements on trade and commercial relations signed in the past year. Both sides note that American-Soviet trade has shown a substantial increase, and that there are favorable prospects for a continued rise in the exchange of goods over the coming years.

They believe that the two countries should aim at a total of \$2-3-billion of trade over the next three years. The joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. commercial commission continues to provide a valuable mechanism to promote the broad-scale growth of economic relations. The two sides noted with satisfaction that contacts between American firms and their Soviet counterparts are continuing to expand.

Both sides confirmed their firm intention to proceed from their earlier understanding on measures directed at creating more favorable conditions for expanding commercial and other economic ties between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

It was noted that as a result of the agreement regarding certain maritime matters signed in October, 1972, Soviet and American commercial ships have

## How Soviet Party Leader Is Able to Sign for Nation

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 25—As General Secretary of the Soviet Communist party, Leonid I. Brezhnev is the most powerful man in the one-party Soviet Union. But he holds no government title such as premier or president.

Henry A. Kissinger was asked at his news conference in San Clemente today how it was possible for Mr. Brezhnev to sign documents with President Nixon when he held no government rank equal to Mr. Nixon's.

In reply, Mr. Kissinger revealed that everytime Mr. Brezhnev signs an agreement—he signed four, including the final communiqué—the Soviet Foreign Ministry hands over an official statement asserting that Mr. Brezhnev is authorized to do so on behalf of the Soviet Government.

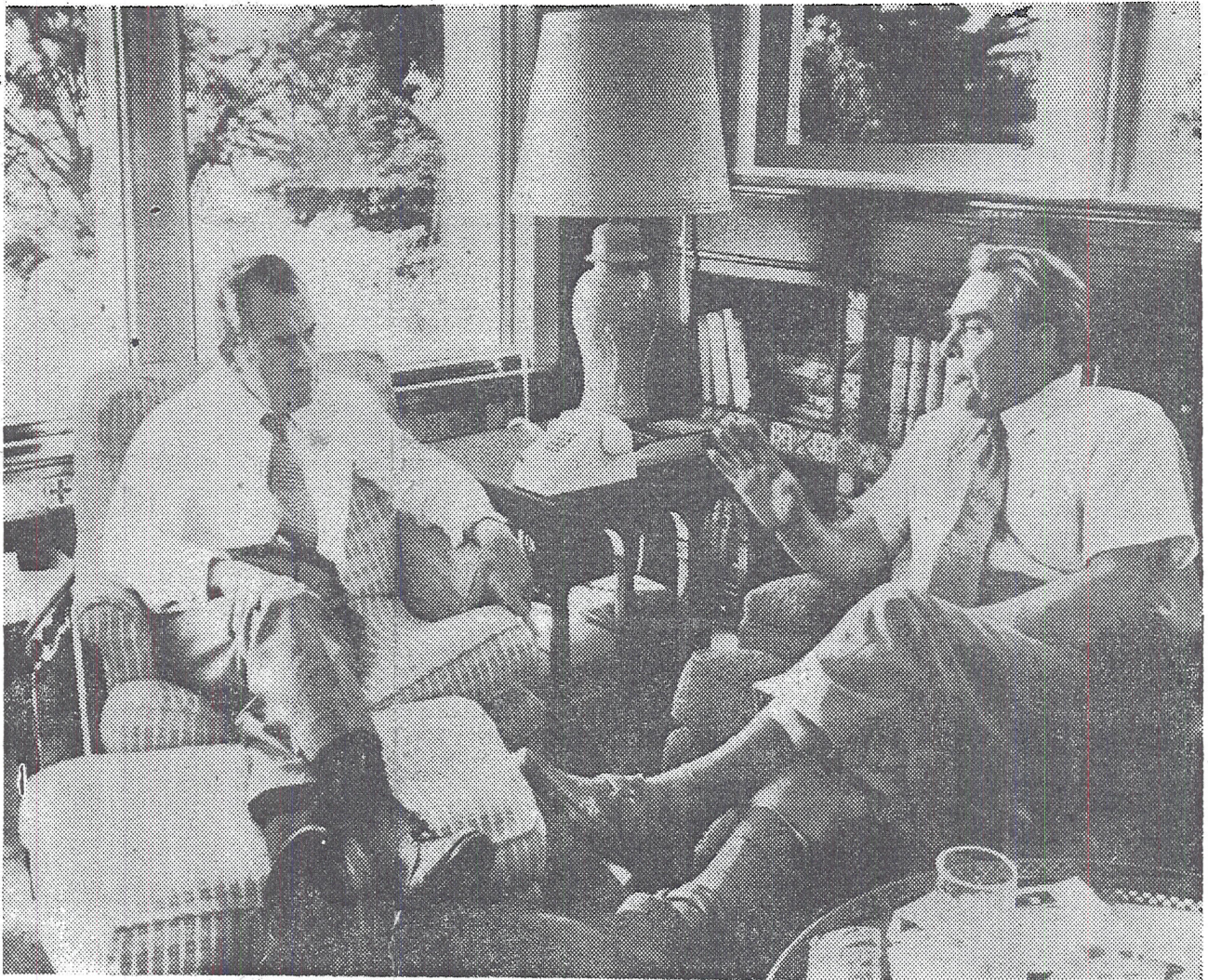
been calling more frequently at ports of the United States and the U.S.S.R., respectively, and since late May of this year a new regular passenger line has started operating between New York and Leningrad.

In the course of the current meeting, the two sides signed a protocol augmenting existing civil air relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. providing for direct air services between Washington and Moscow and New York and Leningrad, increasing the frequency of flights and resolving other questions in the field of civil aviation.

In the context of reviewing prospects for further and more permanent economic cooperation, both sides expressed themselves in favor of mutually advantageous long-term projects. They discussed a number of specific projects involving the participation of American companies, including the delivery of Siberian natural gas to the United States. The President indicated that the U.S.A. encourages American firms to work out concrete proposals on these projects and will give serious and sympathetic consideration to proposals that are in the interest of both sides.

To contribute to expanded commercial, cultural and technical relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the two sides signed a tax convention to avoid double taxation on income and eliminate, as much as possible, the need for citizens of one country to become involved in the tax system of the other.

A protocol was also signed on the opening by the end of October, 1973, of a trade representation of the U.S.S.R. in Washington and a commercial office of the United States in Moscow. In addi-



White House Photograph

President Nixon and Leonid I. Brezhnev at Nixon home in San Clemente, Calif., before the Soviet leader left

tion a protocol was signed on questions related to establishing a U.S.-Soviet chamber of commerce. These agreements will facilitate the further development of commercial and economic ties between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

## V. Further Progress in Other Fields of Bilateral Cooperation

The two sides reviewed the areas of bilateral cooperation in such fields as environmental protection, public health and medicine, exploration of outer space, and science and technology, established by the agreements signed in May, 1972, and subsequently. They noted that those agreements are being satisfactorily carried out in practice in accordance with the programs as adopted.

In particular, a joint effort is under way to develop effective means to combat those diseases which are most widespread and dangerous for mankind: cancer, cardiovascular or infectious diseases, and arthritis. The medical aspects of the environmental problems are also subjects of cooperative research.

Preparation for the joint space flight of the Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft are proceeding according to an agreed timetable. The joint flight of these spacecrafts for a rendezvous and docking mission, and mutual visits of American and Soviet astronauts in each other's spacecraft, are scheduled for July, 1975.

Building on the foundation created in previous agreements, and recognizing the potential of both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to undertake cooperative measures in current scientific and technological areas, new projects for fruitful joint efforts were identified and appropriate agreements were concluded.

## Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

Bearing in mind the great importance of satisfying the growing energy demands in both countries and throughout the world, and recognizing that the development of highly efficient energy sources could contribute to the solution of this problem, the President and the General Secretary signed an agreement to expand and strengthen cooperation in the fields of controlled nuclear fusion, fast breeder reactors and research on the fundamental properties of matter. A joint committee on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy will be established to implement this agreement, which has a duration of 10 years.

## Agriculture

Recognizing the importance of agriculture in meeting mankind's requirement for food products and the role of science in modern agricultural production, the two sides concluded an agreement providing for a broad exchange of scientific experience in agricultural research and development and of information on agricultural economics. A U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint committee on agricultural cooperation will be established to oversee joint programs to be carried out under the agreement.

## World Ocean Studies

Considering the unique capabilities and the major interest of both nations in the field of world ocean studies, and noting the extensive experience of U.S.-U.S.S.R. oceanographic cooperation, the two sides have agreed to broaden their cooperation and have signed an agreement to this effect. In so doing, they are convinced that the benefits from further development of cooperation in the field of oceanography will accrue not only bilaterally but also to all peoples of the world. A U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint committee on cooperation in world ocean studies will be established to coordinate the implementation of cooperative programs.

## Transportation

The two sides agreed that there are opportunities for cooperation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the solution of problems in the field of transportation. To permit expanded, mutually beneficial cooperation in this field, the two sides concluded an agreement on this subject. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. further agreed that a joint committee on cooperation in transportation would be established.

## Contacts, Exchanges, Aid Cooperation

Recognizing the general expansion of U.S.-U.S.S.R. bilateral relations and, in particular, the growing number of exchanges in the fields of science, technology, education and culture, and in other fields of mutual interest, the two sides agreed to broaden the scope of these activities under a new general agreement on contacts, exchanges and cooperation, with a duration of six years. The two sides agreed to this in the mutual belief that it will further promote better understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union and will help to improve the general state of relations between the two countries.

Both sides believe that the talks at the highest level, which were held in a frank and constructive spirit, were very valuable and made an important contribution to developing mutually advantageous relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. In the view of both sides, these talks will have a favorable impact on international relations.

They noted that the success of the discussions in the United States was facilitated by the continuing consultation and contacts as agreed in May, 1972. They reaffirmed that the practice of consultation should continue. They agreed that further meetings at the highest level should be held regularly.

Having expressed his appreciation to President Nixon for the hospitality extended during the visit to the United States, General Secretary Brezhnev invited the President to visit the U.S.S.R. in 1974. The invitation was accepted.  
June 24, 1973

RICHARD NIXON  
President of the  
United States of America

LEONID I. BREZHNEV  
General Secretary of the  
Central Committee, C.P.S.U.