

CARTER GIVES PLAN FOR NUCLEAR CURB

He Calls for Moratorium
in the Transfer of Fuel
Processing Plants

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Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.,
May 13—Jimmy Carter called
today for a voluntary moratorium
by all nations on the purchase
or sale of nuclear fuel enrichment
and reprocessing plants as a means
of curbing the spread of nuclear
weapons.

Speaking here at a privately
sponsored conference on nuclear
energy and international

*Excerpts from Carter talk
are printed on page A12.*

order, the former Georgia Governor,
who is seeking the Democratic
Presidential nomination, declared:

"An alliance for survival is
needed, transcending regions
and ideologies, if we are to assure
mankind a safe passage to the
21st century."

Mr. Carter described as
"wholly inadequate" the Soviet-
American treaty initialed

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Carter's Stand on Issues in Campaign Designed for Widest Possible Appeal

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thrust of his positions has remained consistent throughout the campaign.

One theme emerges from an examination of the range of Mr. Carter's stances on the issues. It is that, in every case, he seems to have attempted to satisfy the greatest possible number of voters.

Such a pragmatic strategy is not unusual among successful politicians. But Mr. Carter has left himself open to unusually intensive scrutiny because he has based his campaign to a large extent on his own trustworthiness and credibility.

When he began his run for the Presidency 16 months ago, when he was, in his own words, "an unbelievably obscure candidate," he told small gatherings, "I will never lie to you." It is a line that, to this day, he has retained in his basic stump speech. And it is also a promise that has left him open to special scrutiny.

At the outset of a four-day campaign swing last month, one of his staff members was asked to name one bold position that Mr. Carter had taken, just one issue on which the leading Democratic Presidential candidate had risked opposition by taking a stand on principle.

'Give Me a Week'

After a moment's reflection, the aide answered by making a joke. He quoted the famous response by President Eisenhower to a question about what ideas Richard M. Nixon, as Vice President, had contributed to the Eisenhower Administration: "If you give me a week, I might think of one."

Others on the Carter staff acknowledge that their candidate studies opinion polls carefully and tries to position himself in such a way that as few voters as possible become disaffected by his stands on the issues.

Mr. Carter himself told a crowd at Shaw High School in East Cleveland, Ohio, one evening last week: "The main thing that's tied me to the voters of this nation is that I feel the same as you do about the issues that are important to your life."

Surveys by The New York Times and CBS News this year indicate that the strategy has been successful. They have shown time and again that conservative voters tend to view Mr. Carter as conservative, that moderates see him as moderate and that liberals see him as liberal.

Indeed, reporters who have traveled with the former Governor since the first of the year and observed him before every type of voter cannot recall an instance in which an audience appeared displeased at one of his statements.

Most of his staff members say that Mr. Carter is merely practicing good politics, and they note accurately that many other successful politicians, including President Kennedy, made a point of campaigning on positions that were guaranteed not to alienate voters.

One ranking aide disagrees, however. This aide, who is reputed to have good political sensibilities, recently remarked in an exasperated tone, "If he would just get booed once, about anything, it would make all the rest of his positions so much more credible."

Rhetorical Skills

Mr. Carter employs a number of rhetorical techniques to make his stands acceptable to both sides of a controversy. One is to espouse a position while speaking in a way designed to appeal to those holding the opposite view.

Thus, asked in heavily Roman Catholic Rhode Island about his position on abortion, Mr. Carter began by saying, "I think abortion is wrong. I don't think the government ought to do anything to encourage abortion."

Then, he described his position: He would oppose a constitutional amendment that would overturn the Supreme Court's ruling permitting abortions. He would seek Federal aid for sex education, family planning instruction and adoption procedures.

He ended by saying, "I'll do everything I can to minimize abortion."

Another tactic Mr. Carter uses in speeches is to agree to "study" something favored by persons whose support he is seeking.

For instance, throughout his campaign, Mr. Carter has opposed direct Federal aid to help cities out of financial straits. Last week, however, he promised Mayor Beame he would "study the creation of a Federal municipalities securities insurance corporation to assist localities in marketing their bonds and in reducing interest levels now faced by municipalities and to provide voluntary self-controls in municipal financial matters."

Another method used by Mr. Carter is to take a position that encourages both sides of a question to believe that he is on their side.

He says, for example, in an appeal to businessmen, that he would not ask Congress for legislation repealing the Federal law that permits state right-to-work statutes and that he would do nothing to encourage that kind of legislation. But, he continues, reaching for labor support, if Congress passes such a measure, he "would be glad to sign it."

A fourth rhetorical technique

is to make subtle semantic distinctions. When he is asked for his position on amnesty for war resisters, he says, as he remarked in Trenton recently, that he opposes amnesty because "amnesty says that what you did was right." But he adds that, in his first week in office, he would issue a "blanket pardon" to "defectors" because a "pardon says that you are forgiven for what you did, whether it was right or wrong."

Webster's New World Dictionary makes no such distinction, defining "amnesty" as "a general pardon." Moreover, in his use of the word "defectors," Mr. Carter means only draft dodgers. He opposes, he says in some speeches but not in others, pardons for military deserters.

What follows is a rundown of Mr. Carter's stands on other issues:

EMPLOYMENT

"The No. 1 priority of my administration," Mr. Carter says in his standard stump speech, "will be jobs." Earlier in the year, he opposed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, that would guarantee a job to all adults who want to work and that has become the economic manifesto of liberal Democrats. After the bill was modified to set a less ambitious target date for full employment and to allow for "administrative and legislative action" if "national price stability is threatened," Mr. Carter announced his support of it.

He says that he is philosophically against large-scale public employment programs, but that he supports public jobs for young people and those "chronically out of work." He wants to direct Government funds into areas like solar energy, education and care for the elderly that he says would produce jobs in the private sector of the economy.

INFLATION

Mr. Carter says that the unemployment rate can be reduced to below 5 percent without risking excessive inflation. His primary means of attempting to control inflation would be to increase productivity, although he gives few specifics about how that could be accomplished. In a recent interview with Fortune Magazine, he declared, "I don't see any reason why the permanent level of inflation can't be as low as 2 or 3 percent."

Mr. Carter would like to have standby authority to impose wage and price controls, but he has said that he does not believe it would be necessary to use the authority.

MONETARY POLICY

The former Governor wants to preserve the "relative independence" of the Federal Reserve Board, which controls the nation's money supply, but he would like the law to be changed so that each President could appoint his own board chairman.

In a September 1975 interview in U.S. News and World Report, Mr. Carter proposed that the country's "tight money policy" be retained. In Rhode Island last week, however, he said, "I would try to make money more plentiful, to hold down interest rates."

TAX REFORMS

In his basic campaign speech, Mr. Carter calls the country's tax system "a disgrace to the human race," filled with "secret loopholes" for the rich. He pledges "comprehensive tax reform next year."

Asked at a recent news conference in Ohio to list some of the individual tax deductions he would eliminate, Mr. Carter refused to do so, saying that the matter required further study.

He did say, however, that he would "treat all income basically the same, including capital gains," simplify the tax code and install a more progressive tax rate. He said that he would maintain "the thrust of charitable deductions," while keeping close watch on the administrative costs and salaries paid by charitable foundations.

Mr. Carter would tax corporate income only once, but he withholds judgment on whether it should be taxed at the corporate level or as dividend income to individuals.

He would alter the current deduction on home-mortgage interest payments but does not say whether he would eliminate the deduction or place a ceiling on the amount that could be deducted.

Mr. Carter also proposes removing tax incentives to companies that invest overseas, and he advocates a tax break to the parents of children attending private colleges.

INDUSTRY REGULATION

Mr. Carter promises to "break up the sweetheart arrangement that exists between the regulatory agencies and the businesses they regulate." He also pledges to enforce antitrust laws vigorously.

ENERGY

He favors breaking up oil companies "at the wholesale and retail end," he said in his interview with Fortune, but he would oppose "divestiture of the exploration, extraction, refining and maybe even the pipeline distribution areas." He would also prohibit oil companies from moving into other areas of energy such as coal production.

Mr. Carter wants to continue controls on domestic crude oil prices, but he would deregulate new natural gas prices. He places particular emphasis on developing coal as a source of energy.

He favors using nuclear power "as a last resort" and with "strict safety precautions." Mr. Carter supports an initiative in Oregon to place limitations on construction of nuclear power plants, but he opposes a more comprehensive proposal to place limits on the construction of nuclear power plants, but he opposed a more comprehensive proposal than that which was defeated by voters in California on Tuesday.

Mr. Carter says that he would not relax environmental standards to obtain more energy.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Carter would raise funds for the Social Security System by taxing income at a higher level. He would not finance benefits out of general revenues. He would raise slightly the amount of money pensioners may earn without losing their Social Security benefits.

WELFARE

Mr. Carter believes that about 10 percent of the people now on welfare are able to work. They should be offered a job, he says, and if they refuse, their payments should be stopped. The 90 percent who are unable to work, he says, should receive "one basic payment" that would vary depending on the cost of living in different sections of the country.

The Federal Government, Mr. Carter argues, should assume the cities' share of welfare costs, and over a period of time, should take over some of the states' costs.

HEALTH

Mr. Carter favors a "mandatory, comprehensive, nationwide" health insurance system. He endorses no specific plan and will not say whether he believes such a system should be run by the Federal Government or private insurance companies. He believes that more emphasis should be put on preventive medicine.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

One of the main themes of Mr. Carter's stump speeches is his promise to consolidate Government agencies and to reorganize the bureaucracy. He will not identify the agencies he plans to eliminate. He would require "zero-based budgeting," a system under which every Federal expenditure is reviewed each year.

TRANSPORTATION

Mr. Carter would retain the highway trust fund and make completion of the interstate highway system a high priority. But he would allow a larger proportion of the trust fund revenues to be used by the cities for mass transportation. In a letter to Mayor Beame, he proposed "studying the feasibility of creating a total transportation fund for all modes of transportation."

Mr. Carter also wants to reorganize and revitalize the railroads. He would end much of the current Government regulation of the trucking industry.

FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Carter supports the objectives of détente and wants "a good, friendly relationship with the Soviet Union." But he said in Ohio recently that "in many instances we've been out-traded by the Soviet Union" and that he would be "much tougher in negotiations." He says he would "put our natural allies—Europe, Latin America, Japan—ahead of relations with the Soviet Union."

As for the Middle East, Mr. Carter says that Israel may have to turn over certain occupied territories to the Arab countries, but that he would not have the Israelis relinquish control over the Golan Heights or the holy places of Jerusalem. He proposes that the Palestinians have their own territory to be administered by Jordan.

Mr. Carter would not use the Central Intelligence Agency to overthrow the government or change the policies of other nations, but he believes that covert operations are warranted in certain circumstances.

In his major foreign policy speech in Chicago in March, Mr. Carter called the United States' "attitude of neglect and disrespect toward the developing nations of the world a form of racism," and he promised to change that attitude.

He has proposed, as a means of curbing the spread of nuclear weapons, a voluntary moratorium by 11 nations on the purchase or sale of nuclear fuel enrichment and reprocessing plants.

BUSING FOR DESEGREGATION

When he is asked for his position on busing to achieve school desegregation, Mr. Carter usually begins his answer by saying, "I've never seen a rich kid bused." He goes on to say that he opposes mandatory busing but would enforce court rulings requiring it and would not intervene in court proceedings. He does not favor a constitutional amendment dealing with busing. He emphasizes that his 8-year-old daughter attends a public school in Plains, Ga., in which a majority of the pupils are black.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mr. Carter favors registration of handguns but not rifles or shotguns. He would permit the death penalty for certain crimes such as murder by a prison inmate. He notes regularly in his speeches that most crimes are committed by poor people against poor people, and he proposes extensive prison reform. He supports decriminalization of possession of small amounts of marijuana.