

# Poll Finds Americans Don't Know U.S. Positions on Central America

By ADAM CLYMER

Despite months of controversy over United States policies on Central America, most of the American public does not know which side the Reagan Administration supports in either El Salvador or Nicaragua, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

Only 25 percent of those surveyed knew that the Administration supports the Government in El Salvador, only 13 percent knew that it sides with the insurgents in Nicaragua and only 8 percent knew both alignments.

No current United States policy or anticipated proposal, from negotiations to the sending of American troops, commanded majority support. When asked whether they would support sending American combat forces if that was necessary to avert a Communist take-

over in El Salvador, 32 percent said they would and 57 percent said they would not.

Generally, the 8 percent who knew both alignments of Administration policy were more hostile to United States involvement than the rest of those surveyed. They were also more supportive of negotiations in El Salvador, even if that could bring Communists into the Government.

### 'Sort of a Vietnam Fall'

Commenting on the findings of the poll, taken June 20-26 among 1,365 voting-age Americans, a Yale University expert in public opinion said they were in marked contrast to the public's attitudes on foreign affairs before the Vietnam War.

In earlier days, Presidents usually could count on "uninformed loyalty" on foreign affairs, said the expert, Edward R. Tufte, professor of political science and statistics. But this poll, he said, showed "uninformed skepticism and informed hostility" to the Administration's policies.

Prof. Phillip E. Converse of the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan agreed, saying there was

Continued on Page A2, Column 3

# How Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted June 20 through June 26 with 1,365 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

The numbers called were selected by computer from a list of all telephone exchanges in the country and were chosen to insure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted residential numbers.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, race, sex, age and education.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on the entire sample will differ by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all adult Americans. The error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, the margin of sampling error for those who know that the United States supports the Government of El Salvador is plus or minus 6 percentage points.

In addition, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may have resulted in other errors in the poll.

Helmut Norpoth, associate professor of political science at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, assisted The Times with this survey.

# Survey Discloses Wide Ignorance On Latin Policy

Continued From Page A1

"sort of a Vietnam poll across these numbers."

"People have less of a support reflex than they would have, pre-Vietnam," he said.

Mr. Converse, president-elect of the American Political Science Association, said he thought that as more of the public became more informed, views would shift toward the opinions expressed by the informed 8 percent.

The biggest difference the poll reflected between the informed group and the other 92 percent came on this question:

"In order to end the fighting in El Salvador, should the U. S. Government arrange negotiations with the rebel forces, even if that means Communists would get some power in the Government?"

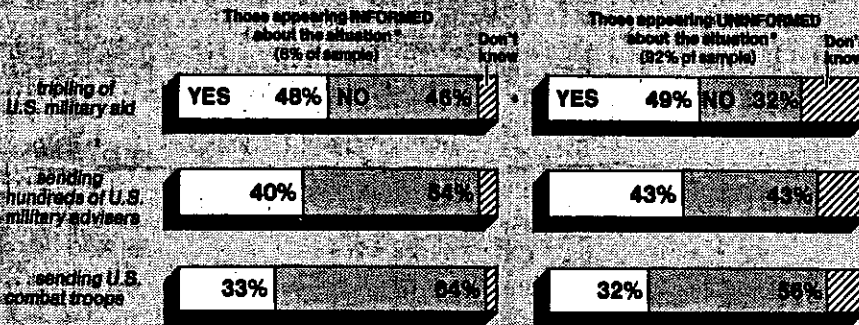
In the informed group, 61 percent said yes, 28 percent said no and the rest had no answer. Among the less informed group, 33 percent said yes, 43 percent said no and 24 percent had no answer.

### Of Mounting Concern

Even as the respondents as a whole showed little enthusiasm for possible solutions, they said they regarded Central America as "very important to the defense interests of the United States." Sixty-eight percent of those surveyed said it was, as against 61 percent in a poll conducted in April and 57 percent in March 1982.

## The New York Times / CBS NEWS POLL Attitudes on El Salvador

To prevent a Communist overthrow of the Government of El Salvador, would you support...



Poll of 1,365 adults conducted June 20-26.

\* Those appearing informed about the situation are those who know which side (Government or anti-Government forces) the United States supports in both Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The New York Times / July 1, 1983

But while concern mounted, knowledge decreased.

To the question "Which side does the U.S. Government support in El Salvador — the current Government of El Salvador, the people fighting against the Government, or haven't you been following this closely enough to say?" only 25 percent said it was the current Government, as against 37 percent who chose that answer in March 1982.

For the first time, a similar question was asked about Nicaragua. In response, 13 percent replied correctly that the United States backs the insur-

gents. Seven percent said it backed the current Government and the rest either had no answer or said it backed neither the rebels nor the Government.

In general, the informed group was surer of its opposition to greater involvement. In addition, the more people knew, the more likely they were to follow their ideological inclinations. People who called themselves liberals were more likely to oppose United States involvement if they knew more about the region; conservatives were more likely to support greater involvement if they were informed.

Twenty-three percent said they supported efforts to overthrow the regime

in Nicaragua, but 53 percent said they did not, and 23 percent had no opinion. In another disagreement with the Reagan Administration, 44 percent said they believed that economic and social conditions were primarily responsible for political unrest in Central America, while 29 percent put most of the blame on the Soviet Union and Cuba. Others blamed both equally, or had no opinion.

Throughout the survey, women were less inclined than men to support intervention. But they were also more likely to have no opinion, or to be uninformed. For example, 15 percent of the women, as against 37 percent of the men, knew that the United States supports the Government of El Salvador.

# Guatemalans Swear In a Tribunal to Start Democratic Process

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

GUATEMALA, June 30 — The Government of Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt swore in an electoral tribunal today charged with beginning a process of democratization.

At the ceremony this morning in the Supreme Court building, Gen. Ríos Montt told an audience of Government officials and diplomats that his aim was to turn Guatemala into an "authentic democracy" in which "political rights and institutions" would be protected.

General Ríos Montt, who declared a "state of alert" Wednesday, after renewed threats by a former colleague to oust him from office if he would not relinquish power, appeared relaxed and smiling before the ceremony began. But during the long reading of electoral laws and oaths by the five-member Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the general's eyes darted continually from one corner of the hall to another.

On Wednesday night the President of the Advisory Council of State, Jorge Serrano Elias, said on the Government-run television station that the process of

choosing a constituent assembly that would pave the way for the eventual election of a civilian president would not begin until next March 23, two years after the coup that brought General Ríos Montt to power. The election would be formally called on that day, he said, voting would take place on July 29, 1984, and the assembly would be seated the following Sept. 15, the anniversary of Guatemala's independence.

### Pressures Very Strong

The opinion is widespread here that the political opponents of General Ríos Montt will not be prepared to wait that long. Guatemalans of all political persuasions say the pressure on the President has never been so strong. No election dates were mentioned at today's ceremonies.

Under the state of alert now in effect, Guatemalan radio and television stations, most of them privately owned, have come under Government regulation. The press continues to publish without formal censorship, but it is forbidden to enter into political discussions without reporting news from the Gov-

ernment side. "There is a lot of self-censorship going on," a local press agency reporter said.

The police have been given increased powers, but the city's life goes on with little noticeable difference, except for the occasional appearance of an army patrol or spot searches of cars in the city center.

Today is a national holiday and all Government offices are closed. The day, known as Army Day, commemorates the 1871 revolution launched by Gen. Justo Rufino Barrios, which led to the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church and, in the words of an editorial in this morning's *Diario el Grafico*, "opens for Guatemala the doors to modern nationhood."

### Far Right Would Gain

While calls for an end to military rule gave united a broad range of political and social groups in Guatemala, present evidence indicates it would be the far right, with its strong political parties, that would stand to gain the most from an overthrow of the Ríos Montt Government. In particular, the

National Liberation Movement, led by Mario Sandoval Alarcón, says General Ríos Montt, whom the party supported in the 1982 coup, has failed to heed its interests.

But the right is not completely united, knowledgeable Guatemalans say. Mr. Sandoval represents one faction and Asiselo Valladares, with his own populist party, represents another. The third major force is thought to be Leonel Sisniega Otero, who backed the President in 1982 but who went underground last August to oppose him.

Mr. Sisniega, who has been in and out of the country in the last year, was interviewed on a popular television program Tuesday. He used the occasion to attack the character and personality of the President. General Ríos Montt is very sensitive to personal attacks and has jailed one politician and sought to arrest two others for offenses against the dignity of the presidency.

In the same program, "Aqui el Mundo," which has been outspoken in its editorial criticism of the Government, Gen. Francisco Luis Gordillo Martínez, who shared power with Gen-

eral Ríos Montt and another officer for three months after the 1982 coup, announced he was also going underground to try to bring down the Government. General Gordillo is thought to have a reasonably strong following within the military. In early June another military leader, Gen. José Guillermo Echeverría Vielman, wrote an open letter to the President urging that the military be withdrawn from government. He was forced into retirement, setting off another round of coup rumors.

There are also economic and social pressures on President Ríos Montt. Middle-class merchants and industrialists oppose him almost unanimously. Guatemalans and foreign diplomats here say.

Guatemala's electoral tribunal will be charged with regulating all aspects of the scheduled electoral process. It is headed by Arturo Herbruger Asturias, a former President of the Supreme Court. The other four members, all well-known lawyers and judges, are Rufino Morales Merlos, Gonzalo Menéndez de la Riva, Manuel Ruano Mejía and René Búaco Salaverria.

# Salvador Town Dances Its Own Tune

By LYDIA CHAVEZ  
Special to The New York Times

**LA PALMA, El Salvador** — The moon was high, the band loud, the beer running freely, and no one wanted to miss the dance celebrating the first graduation of students at the new high school.

The woman who sells thick tortillas, stewed meat and rice in La Palma's main square was under pressure to close early so her assistant could get to the dance. A young woman dressed in a school uniform quickly purchased onions in the square so she could get home and persuade her mother to let her go to the dance.

No one was sure if the leftist insurgents who move freely in the town of 16,000 would attend, but no one seemed to mind the possibility that they might.

**A Relaxed Attitude**

In most of El Salvador, people fear the constant battles between Government troops and the leftist insurgents. In La Palma, a former resort in the high pine country of northern Chalatenango province, the residents have not worried, for the military has abandoned their town. Elsewhere this might cause a lot of worry about security, but in La Palma there is a relaxed, "we're going on about our business" attitude.

An American military adviser said the guerrillas "draw a lot of their strength" from Chalatenango, perhaps one of the few places where the opposition has gained tacit support from the local populace.

The support is not direct, and, whenever it wanted, the army could probably retake the town, which is known for its artisan cooperatives. But, unlike other places in El Salvador, where people seem to maintain a studied apathy and just want to be left alone, the people in La Palma acknowledge some moral

support for, or at least a more tolerant attitude toward, the guerrillas.

No one indicates a willingness to take up arms against the Government. However, a 26-year-old farmer said that, "inside their hearts," 75 percent of the people support the cause of the left.

When asked why, he answered: "When a soldier comes to town he comes up to you, and he..." and here the young man approached the reporter making the rat-a-tat noise of a gun. When the guerrillas come to town, he said, they ask "What do you think?" "The truth is," said a schoolteacher. "The people in La Palma are different. We have learned to adjust to our situation."

"At times we think they are right," said a young woman. "but it is only the violence that makes us think like that."

In December and January, the guerrillas and the army took turns capturing and recapturing La Palma. But the army has not been back in four months because the province is not considered economically important. Meanwhile, the guerrillas use it as a base to stock up on supplies before returning to camps in the nearby mountains. About two-thirds of the province is under their control.

**Little Success in Recruiting**

At a spot along the winding road up to La Palma, which is only seven miles from the Honduran border, a banner strung across two high pines calls on the youth of Chalatenango to join the left.

The number of young men in the town indicates that while the leftists have some moral support, they have not been very successful in gaining recruits. Most young men interviewed said they were more interested in staying out of the fighting and waiting to see who won or in pursuing their studies.

A teacher at the local school esti-

mates that 500 "important" people such as the woman who owned the largest pharmacy in town, moved away because of the battles in December and January.

And when the town tried to have two dances in the same week, it found the people could not afford both.

The first dance was planned for Wednesday night to present candidates for the queen of the graduating class; the committee selected three candidates, but their families did not want their daughters to participate. "They could not afford the gowns," the director of the school said.

Fearing that the dance would cost more than it would earn, the director canceled it in favor of another that was planned for Saturday to celebrate the high school graduation.

On Wednesday night a truck full of young men had rolled into town only to learn there would be no dance. But on Saturday everything went as planned, sort of.

At 7:30 that night, the coordinator of the dance, a teacher at the school, was busy directing three boys to write tickets for beer, sandwiches and soft drinks. Already, nearly 100 young men and women had gathered behind the barbed wire set up at one end of the school's courtyard.

**A Band From San Salvador**

A seven-member band from San Salvador, Espiritu Libre, a group that has also played in Houston, Dallas, Honduras and Guatemala, started up at 8:30. The courtyard filled with young women wearing pumps and dresses as men with their shirts neatly tucked in and all danced to the sounds of Steve Wonder and some Espiritu Libre originals such as "Don't Stop."

Many of the guerrillas who make their base were 30 miles to the south outside the town of Suchitoto, battle Government troops, and so not many were around to attend the dance. The few rebels walking around La Palma never showed up. Maybe, a teacher suggested, the dance "was not their thing."

Some young men and women stayed outside and peered through the barbed wire to watch the dancing. No one, however, wanted to admit not being able to afford the price of admission: \$2.00 for men, \$1.50 for women.

"I can't dance," one man said. "I'm going to watch now and go later," said another.

The dance, actually, was just getting started around 9:40 when, after it had finished a song with the lyric "everybody needs a little time away, something happened that often does in La Palma and most of El Salvador: The power went out. There was a chorus of groans, then the couples waited for while. But by 10:30 people began to tre down the hill back to town.

**Brazilian to Have U.S. Test**

BRASILIA, June 30 (AP) — President João Figueiredo will travel to Cleveland in July for medical tests on his heart, the presidential palace said today. "He probably will leave July 14," a press aide, Ciro Rosa, said. "We don't know how long he will stay." General Figueiredo spent 55 days at the Cleveland Clinic in 1961.

Marjorie Hunter

## Lexicon

The ways of Washington, says Representative Thomas N. Kindness, are all too often taken at face value by the uninitiated.

With that in mind, the Ohio Republican has furnished his constituents, by way of a newsletter, his own lexicon of Washingtonese:

**Administration** — Usually refers to the grouping of unnamed individuals who surround and frustrate a President.

**Appropriation Legislation** — Spending money we don't have.

**Authorization Legislation** — Saying that the bureaucracy can spend up to a certain amount of money provided Congress can confiscate or borrow it.

**Balanced Budget** — See "Deficit reduction."

**Deficit Reduction** — A pretense for raising taxes, not to be mistaken for a reason to control spending.

**Economic Assumptions** — The level of inflation and unemployment you have to assume in order to pretend that you're proposing a responsible budget.

**Economic Indicators** — Liar's statistics; the reason some people think the Government should control prophets.

**Entitlement** — A concept originally developed by R. Hood Sherwood Forest, which holds that someone else is "entitled" to your money.

**First Budget Resolution** — Fiction. A document representing the hopes and dreams of a majority of the members of each house of Congress. (Also see "Second Budget Resolution").

**Infrastructure** — See "Pork Barrel."

**Loophole Closing** — A tax increase.

**Pork Barrel** — Archimedes's Principle of Politics that holds that a light-

weight Congressman can often be buoyed up by a force equal to the weight of the pork in his barrel.

**Revenue Enhancement** — A tax increase.

**Tax Equity** — A tax increase for someone else.

**Tax Expenditures** — Revenue "losses" that result when the Government fails to take all of your money; based on the assumption that to fail to tax everything that moves is to fail to try hard enough.

**Tax Reform** — A tax increase.

**Second Budget Resolution** — Fiction. An annual attempt to reconcile the first budget resolution to unforeseen economic developments.

**Spending Cuts** — Failure to increase funding to the extent demanded by a program's constituency.

# Administration Drafts Rules to Limit Lobbying by Nonprofit Groups

By ROBERT PEAR  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 30 — The Reagan Administration has drafted new rules that would sharply restrict lobbying and other political activities by private nonprofit organizations receiving money from the Federal Government.

The purpose of the rules is to assure that money from Federal grants and contracts is not used to lobby officials at the Federal or state levels.

Private nonprofit organizations receive \$35 billion a year in Federal grants and contracts, experts on private philanthropy have estimated.

The new restrictions would generally apply to direct lobbying, in which the recipient of a Federal grant gets in touch with a Government official, and to indirect lobbying, in which someone with a grant urges other people to get in touch with a Government official.

**Original Plan Dropped**

The Administration announced its intention to issue such rules in January but pulled back its original proposal after a torrent of criticism from private nonprofit groups, businesses, trade associations and members of Congress, who said it would infringe on the First Amendment right of free speech. The revised proposal, designed to meet the initial objections, appears to have

raised other potential problems, according to nonprofit organizations. The proposal was drafted by the Office of Management and Budget as an amendment to its Circular A-122, which defines "allowable" costs.

Administration officials said the new proposal was not meant to cover military contractors or other companies that sought to make a profit. The possibility of this dual standard has raised concern among some members of Congress.

Senator David F. Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, said: "I find it disturbing to learn that the A-122 lobbying restrictions, originally to be applied to for-profit as well as nonprofit organizations, will only apply to nonprofit groups. I fear that many in Congress who would otherwise support O.M.B.'s initiative will be reluctant to endorse such reforms if they believe their impact has been narrowed for essentially political reasons."

Brian O'Connell, president of Independent Sector, an umbrella group for 500 national organizations doing philanthropic work, said: "The Administration is determined to restrict the advocacy activities of nonprofit organizations, but wants to minimize opposition from the business community and for that reason, has exempted businesses from the new proposals."

He said the rules were unnecessary because Federal law already "forbids the use of any part of a Federal grant or contract for lobbying activities."

Michael J. Horowitz, counsel to the director of the budget office, said the proposals for nonprofit organizations were "less restrictive in most particulars" than the current rules for military contractors. Asked whether the new rules would be more restrictive than the current standards for nonprofit organizations, Mr. Horowitz said, "In some cases they would be more restrictive; in some cases they would be less."

Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus, and other conservatives have been urging the Administration to curtail Federal grants and contracts to labor unions, environmentalists and others engaging in political advocacy. The object of this campaign, in the words of a slogan used by Mr. Phillips, is to "de-fund the left."

In a speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference here on Feb. 18, Mr. Reagan said, "The Office of Management and Budget will press ahead with new regulations prohibiting the use of Federal tax dollars for purposes of political advocacy."

Asked this week whether the new rules would do anything to "de-fund the left," Mr. Horowitz said, "Nothing whatsoever." He said the purpose was

to "impose a set of clear guidelines and to flesh out a complex of four or five statutes that say no Federal grant or contract money should be spent for the purpose of lobbying."

The original proposal was designed to assure that Federal tax dollars were not used directly or indirectly for the support of "political advocacy." The new proposal uses a different phrase, "lobbying and related activities," to describe what is forbidden.

Under the original proposal, the Government would not have paid any of the legitimate costs of buildings, office space, personnel and equipment if the items were also used to influence Government decisions. The rationale was that the legitimate activities were "tainted" by political advocacy. Under the new proposal, the Government refuses to pay for the specific portion of costs that is attributable to lobbying and related activities.

The new rules say that the costs of indirect grass-roots lobbying at the state and Federal levels is "unallowable." This restriction applies to lobbying designed to affect either legislation or regulations. Under the new rules, the Federal Government would not reimburse a nonprofit organization for any of the costs of meetings or conferences held in "substantial" part to promote lobbying.