NYTIMES APR 2 0 1974 NIXON DEPARTURE FORESEEN ABROAD

Survey Finds Many Leaders Have Changed View-No Policy Shift Expected

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN Special to The New York Tim

WASHINGTON, April 19-Many foreign leaders have concluded that President Nixon will probably have to leave office because of his Watergate-related problems, a worldwide survey by correspondents of The New York Times indicates. This appears to mark a significant switch in attitude since last year, when it was considered likely that he would ride out the political storm.

Although the possibility of his departure has aroused concern in some countries, the correspondents reported, leading figures in many capitals are already resigned to a change in the White House and do not expect a marked shift in American foreign policy as a result.

The survey also uncovered these findings:

¶Interest in Mr. Nixon's problems has diminished from the high point of last summer, when the Senate Watergate hearings fascinated foreigners. In some countries the Nixon story receives little press coverage, and in many the underdeveloped areas such as Africa, public figures show almost no interest.

¶The belief that the President will problably resign or be forced from office is often accompanied by praise for his foreign policies. The new Labor party Government in Britain openly backs his European poli-

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cies but makes it known that it expects no crisis if he leaves office prematurely.

have taken a The Russians conspicuously ambiguous posi-tion. Publicy they still support the President and accuse his critics of being against imcritics of being against improved relations, but privately they appear to be weighing alternatives and are saying that detente is not based on individuals. Pointedly, Legisla Property uals. Pointedly, Leonid I. Brezh-nev, the Soviet Communist leader, has told Senator Edward M. Kennedy, leading Democratic contender for the 1976 nomination, that he will receive him.

Question of Kissinger

Many of the comments re-ported by The Time's corres-pondents were based on the assumption that Vice President Ford, if he assumed the Presidency, would keep Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State, insuring a continuation of for-eign policies that have generally been evaluated favorably over-

seas:
"Ford would have to lean on Kissinger even more than Nixon did," a senior British official said. "We would not see any

major changes,"
"If anybody but Dr. Kissinger was in charge of the State Department, there would be ample reason for concern," an Argentine Foreign Ministry official commented ficial commented.

The survey, the third by The Times since May, was conducted last week. It found some significant shifts in attitude. Many capitals that had looked upon the political turmoil in the United States as a temporary with policy. rary phenomenon with no lasting impact, now regard the situation more seriously.

In none of the countries surveyed last year were there expressions of the belief that Mr. Dixon would be unable to with-stand the political attacks; now it is widely assumed in most places surveyed that his days in office are numbered.

Germans and Israelies

A high West German official

A high West German official said that the embassy in Washington gave Mr. Nixon only a 40 per cent chance of survival. The Israelis, who look upon him as a strong friend, now believe that the House of Representatives may imepach him, a strikingly different percetpion from six months ago, when most knowldegeable officials and newsmen assumed he would not be impeached. not be impeached.

In Britain, where a senior diplomat said last year that it would be "a real disaster for the world" if Mr. Nixon had to resign, the new Government is letting it be known that it could work into a well with his green. work just as well with his suc-cessor as it has with him in the two months since it took office

There was no feeling in Lon-don that Mr. Nixon's departure would upset relations with Brit-ain; some British officials be-lieved they might be strength-

ened.
On the other hand, the sur-

On the other hand, the survey found that some capitals were deeply concerned about Mr. Nixon's political fate.

In South Vietnam the Government of President Nguyen Van Thieu was reported to be hoping that Mr. Nixon would overcome his troubles while dreading that he would not. The South Vietnamese have long feared that without Mr. Nixon, American support would Nixon, American support would quickly dissipate, leading to a new invasion from the North.

Disquiet in Cambodia

Recently, the Government-controlled press was permitted to report more thoroughly on Watergate-related developments, a sign that the South Vietnamese leaders were pre-

paring the public.
Similarly, the hard-pressed
Cambodian Government fears that Mr. Nixon's departure might signal the end of Ameri-can concern for the struggle against the Communist-led insurgents

In another country in a tense In another country in a tense situation, Egypt, President Anwar el-Sadat has said publicly that "it would be a real tragedy for our area and for the world" if Mr. Nixon was forced out of office.

The Egyptians have asserted that under Mr. Nixon the United States has made a fundamental shift toward a fundamental shift toward a more even-handed policy in the Middle East. A change in the White House would cause con-

cern in Cairo, even with Mr. Kissinger staying on.

Mr. Kissinger was reported to have told the Egyptian For-eign Minister, Ismail Fahmy, in Washington that even if Mr. Nixon is impeached, he would be able to survive trial in the Senate. Therefore, Mr. Kissinger was said to have advised the Egyptians, they should not worry about the political situation.

tion.

The Secretary has told newsmen privately that he is confident that Mr. Nixon will remain in office and that in any case the impeachment discussion has no direct bearing on his activities.

Impact on Foreign Policy

Nonetheless, the President's political difficulties have had perceptible impact on the conduct of foreign policy. Some State Department officials have said they believe that his decision to hold several meetings while in Paris for President Georges Pompidou's funeral two weeks ago was motivated in part by political considerations.

On the way home from Paris, Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., the White House chief of staff, said that "it was very evident European leaders world leaders with whom the President met continue to look to the United States and President Nixon as an essential fac-tor in the realization of the continuing efforts to develop a structure for a stable international environment.'

With a summit meeting planned for Moscow in June the White House has stressed the relationship Mr. Nixon has built with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist leader. The Russians have shown concern in recent weeks about

the political situation in the United States and have asked Americans for their evaluation of Mr. Nixon's prospects. The Soviet press continues to say little about his troubles, and what it does report suggests darkly that he may be under attack for seeking better relations with Moscow. But Soviet leaders have accorded that the inleaders have asserted that their policy is based not on Mr. Nixon's role but on the realities of the international situation.

Some sources believe that a

new President might have a freer hand in negotiating with the Soviet leaders since he would not have to worry that every accord would be scrutievery accord would be scruti-nized in the light of Watergate.

A Russian said at the United Nations the other day that he was concerned that Mr. Nixon might take an overly tough stance in Moscow to prove that he was not capitulating in an effort to get a strategicarms accord.

A Pledge in Moscow

Mr. Kissinger, while in Moscow three weeks ago on a preparatory visit, pledged in a toast to the Soviet leaders that the Administration would persevre in seeking improved relations for the next three years—the balance of the Nixon term. This was interpreted to mean that even if Mr. Nixon departed,

the policy would remain.

Much the same pledge was
made in Peking last November, when the Secretary of State which the Secretary of State said that future administrations would follow the policy of strengthening links with China. The President's troubles have

caused some problems for the Japanese, who seem to assume that he will not last out his term. Impeachment would probthat he ably be viewed as a loss of face for the United States, but sources in Tokyo agree that it would not have much permament impact on Japanese-American ties, which have been lossened in recent years by Japan's gradual shift from virtually total dependence on the United States and toward more belorated relating with China balanced relations with China, Europe and the Soviet Union.

In Africa, where President Nixon's problems have not aroused much concern or interest and where local problems predominate, his fate seems distant and of no particular impor-tance. In India officials have taken a relaxed attitude, with a Foreign Ministry official asserting: "Nixon is not the United States. If he goes you may get a better President."

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The survey found that, with few exceptions, the Watergate affair and the process of impeachment remained a mystery to most people. They are aware fo corruption in high places but have little knowledge of the workings of the American system. tem.