

# Watching the Returns

## Some Races Test National Strategies And Some Will Answer Key Questions

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 2—How to be a political observer, like the ones you always read about the day after the election: In tomorrow's voting, 35 Senators, 35 Governors and 435 members of the House of Representatives will be elected, along with State Legislatures in 45 states. Most of the results will indicate little

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about the future course of American politics. If Senator Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska is re-elected, for example, it will

simply affirm the proposition that Nebraskans like Mr. Hruska.

But there are contests that will serve as indicators.

The two great themes of the 1970 campaign have been economics for the Democrats—the argument that the Nixon Administration has bungled the nation into simultaneous inflation and recession—and the social issue for the Republicans—the argument that liberals are secret radicals, soft on violence and drugs and crime.

### Midwest Tests

Good tests of the Democratic strategy are the Governor's race in Michigan where Sander Levin, a Democrat, has pulled even with the incumbent, William G. Milliken, largely because of unemployment; Senator Vance Hartke's re-election bid in Indiana, based largely on the economic issue (especially in Lake County), and Leslie Aspin's attempt to oust representative Henry C. Schadeberg, Republican, in Wisconsin's First District.

To gauge the success of the Republican thrust, as articulated by Vice President Agnew, some test cases might be the fate of James L. Buckley, the Conservative party's Senate candidate in New York, Anderson Carter, the right-wing Republican Senate nominee in New Mexico, and the Rev. Joseph D. Duffey, the liberal Democratic Senate nominee in Connecticut.

(Connecticut, as always, will be one of the first states to report returns tomorrow night. If the Democrats lose the Senate seat, the governorship and three of the four marginal House seats, they could well be in trouble across the country.)

### Keys to Questions

Aside from the large issues, there are other questions that the results will help to answer, at least for two years.

How goes the Administration's Southern strategy, which seeks to weld together a Republican majority from among 1968 supporters of both President Nixon and George C. Wallace?

Watch what happens to Representative William E. Brock 3d, who is trying to oust Senator Albert Gore, Democrat, in Tennessee; to Representative Albert W. Watson, Republican candidate for Governor in South Carolina; to Hal Suit, the Republican gubernatorial nominee in Georgia.

Can black men win election to Congress in districts that have only a slight black majority or even a white majority?

Watch three black Democrats running in such districts—Ronald V. Dellums in the Oakland-Berkeley area of California, George W. Collins on Chicago's West Side and Parren J. Mitchell in Baltimore.

Can hundreds of student volunteers make the difference for underfinanced liberal candidates who seem to be underdogs?

Watch three other House races—those involving antiwar Democrats Gerry E. Studds in Massachusetts, Craig S. Barnes in Colorado and Allard K. Lowenstein on Long Island.

Are tough Republican television campaigns, seeking to portray liberal Democrats as crypto-hippies, tending to backfire?

Watch the targets of such campaigns—Senator Frank E. Moss of Utah, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d in Illinois, and Senator Quentin N. Burdick of North Dakota.

Have the major contenders for the 1972 Presidential nomination helped or hurt themselves by their 1970 showings?

For former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey in Minnesota, the test is whether he can pull in State Senator Wendell R. Anderson, his party's candidate for Governor, and perhaps a new Democratic House member.

For Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, the test is whether he is able to approach his 1964 share of the vote (74.3 per cent). Observers believe he will do well to get 65 per cent this time.

For Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, the test is how big his vote is—he got 66.6 per cent in 1964—and whether he can help the vulnerable Democratic Governor, Kenneth M. Curtis, to a second term.

### Possible Upsets

Where are upsets possible?

Three to watch: Raul H. Castro, Democratic candidate for Governor against incumbent Jack Williams in Arizona; John C. Danforth, Republican candidate for Senator against incumbent Stuart Symington in Missouri; John F. Seiberling, Democratic candidate for the House against 10-term incumbent William H. Ayres in Ohio's 14th Congressional District (Akron).

Mr. Nixon will be judged by most analysts to have "won" the election—though such judgments are dubious, in view of the primacy of local circumstances in many races—if the Republicans come close to control of the Senate with a gain of, say, five or six seats, and hold the Democrats to almost no gain in the House and minimal gains in governorship races.

If one contest must be singled out as the most important of the year, it would probably be Mr. Gore's. If he loses, one liberal Democrat from the Middle West said last week, "a little bit of steel will go out of all of our backbones." If he wins, a reassessment of the Southern strategy and Republican emphasis on law and order will certainly follow.