

HATFIELD ASSAILS STRATEGY OF G.O.P.

Views Mid-Term Election as
Setback for Republicans

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 9—Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, believes that the mid-term elections constituted a major setback for his party and jeopardized President Nixon's chances of re-election.

In a little-noticed speech in Philadelphia on the day after the election last week, Senator Hatfield contended that the kind of campaign waged by the Republicans this year not only was counterproductive in terms of votes, but also eroded the country's faith in the President's leadership.

At the behest of Mr. Nixon and Vice President Agnew, Senator Hatfield said, Republican candidates relied on "guilt by association," "manipulated the fears and prejudices" of the electorate and attempted to capitalize on social divisions in an attempt to prove that the Democrats were "soft" on law and order.

The Republicans should have adopted a more positive strategy, the Senator asserted. "A strategy not only to win in November, but to govern after November."

Urges Positive Strategy

Mr. Hatfield, a liberal who is up for re-election in 1972 in a state that has a history of moderate liberalism, said the Republicans need the "moderate suburban vote" if they are to retain the White House. As an example of what he said was a failure to appeal to that vote, he cited Sen. Ralph T. Smith's weak showing in the Chicago suburbs against the Democratic candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d.

Mr. Smith ran one of the toughest law-and-order campaigns in the nation this year.

Senator Hatfield also questioned the official Republican line on the elections, which maintains that the party out of power in the White House nearly always gains Senate and House seats in an off-year election. Arguing from that premise, Republican spokesmen have construed their party's gain of two Senate seats and loss of only nine seats in the House of Representatives as a victory.

Basing this analysis on research by Prof. Barbara Hinckley of Cornell University, Mr. Hatfield said President Nixon ran ahead of the Republican House candidates in only 10 districts in 1968, indicating that he had short political coattails. The comparable figures for President Eisenhower in 1956 was 174 districts, and for

President Johnson in 1964, 176 districts.

The Representatives in these districts are considered vulnerable in the next election, and about a quarter of them usually lose re-election bids. Senator Hatfield said. This year, however, four of the 10 elected in 1968 were beaten, twice the "normal" number. They were E. Ross Adair of Indiana, Ed Foreman of New Mexico, Martin B. McKneally of upstate New York and Robert P. McCarney of North Dakota, seeking the seat of Thomas S. Kleppe, who retired.

"This not only indicates a significant drop in the President's popularity," Senator Hatfield said, "but has significant implications for the 1972 elections as well."

Discussing the history of Senate races, Mr. Hatfield said that "losses by the incumbent party in off-year elections happen only when the President has won by a large or a landslide margin."

In six of the 10 Presidential elections since 1856 in which a President was elected with less than a majority, the Presi-

dent's party gained seats in the ensuing off-year election. In 1960, for example, John F. Kennedy received 49.7 per cent of the vote, and the election of 1962 produced a gain of four Democratic seats.

Furthermore, the Oregon Senator said, the Republicans had what he termed "a historically unprecedented opportunity" to make major gains in the Senate because 25 Democratic seats and only 10 Republican seats were at stake. No similar opportunity has existed since 1952, he added, and none will recur in the next four years.

Nor did Mr. Hatfield accept White House contentions of a major ideological change in the Senate. He listed five new conservatives—Senators-elect Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas, J. Glenn Beall Jr. of Maryland, William E. Brock 3d of Tennessee, James L. Buckley of New York and Robert Taft Jr. of Ohio—and four new moderate-liberals—Mr. Stevenson, John V. Tunney of California, Lowell P. Weicker Jr. of Connecticut and Lawton Chiles of Florida.