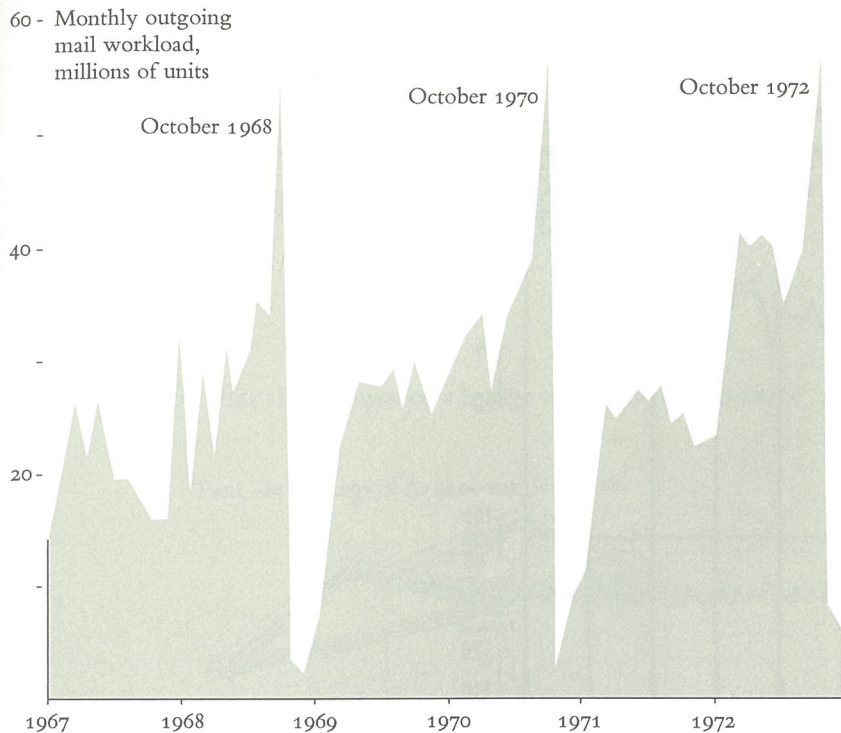


The problem with time-series is that the simple passage of time is not a good explanatory variable: descriptive chronology is not causal explanation. There are occasional exceptions, especially when there is a clear mechanism that drives the Y-variable. This time-series does testify about causality: the outgoing mail of the U.S. House of Representatives peaks every two years, just before the election day:



The graphic is worth at least 700 words, the number used in a news report describing how incumbent representatives exploit their free mailing privileges to advance their re-election campaigns:

FRANKED MAIL TIE TO VOTING SHOWN

Testimony Finds the Volume Rises Before Elections

WASHINGTON, June 1 (AP)—New court testimony and documents show that much of the mail Congress sends at taxpayer expense is tied directly to the re-election campaigns of Senate and House members. According to material filed in a lawsuit in Federal Court: "The volume of 'official' Congressional mail rises in election years and peaks just before the general election. None of this activity necessarily violates any law or regulation, since Congress has wide discretion in the use of tax-paid mail. Congress gave itself the right to send official mail at Government expense at the

for sending them as an integral part of a model re-election campaign.

Senator John G. Tower, Republican of Texas, mailed more than 800,000 special-interest letters at taxpayer expense as part of his 1972 re-election effort and received campaign volunteer offers and donations in response.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, gave written approval in 1973 for a tax-paid mail program intended to better his image and pay off at the polls. He focused his mail on areas where he needed votes.

"The volume of 'official' Congressional mail rises in election years and peaks just before the general election."

None of this activity necessarily violates any law or regulation, since Congress has wide discretion in the use of tax-paid mail. Congress gave itself the right to send official mail at Government expense at the

founding of the republic, and only Congress polices against abuses of the free mailings.

Complaints of political use of the free-mailing privilege, called the franking privilege, are heard every election year. Recently, however, the volume and cost of franked mail has multiplied. A new Federal law will limit what out-of-office challengers can spend to unseat incumbents.

In 1972, Congress passed a law prohibiting mass franked mailings within 28 days before an election. The sponsor of that legislation, Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, said in an interview that further changes were needed to curtail political abuse of the frank.

Mr. Udall urged a 60-day pre-election cutoff for mass mailings and said he favored closing a loophole that recently allowed defeated Representative Frank M. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, to send a

franked newsletter to his old constituents after he had left office. Mr. Clark is seeking to regain his old post.

Practice Documented

Seldom has the political use of franked mail been so well documented as in recent testimony and documents filed in a Federal Court by Common Cause, the lobby group, which is suing for an end to tax-financed mass mailings by Congress.

For example, Joyce P. Baker, a political mail specialist, said in a 1973 job proposal that she wanted to set up direct-mail programs for Republican Senators using franked mail. "The purpose of such a program is to help an incumbent Senator get re-elected," she said.

She was put on the Senate payroll at \$18,810 a year in 1973 and 1974 and testified that during that time she aided Republican Senators Robert J.

Dole of Kansas, Peter H. Dominick of Colorado, Charles McMathias Jr. of Maryland

Another political mail specialist, Lee W. MacGregor, wrote a proposal for the use of franked mail by his chief, Senator Javits, in 1973.

"The over-all objective of the franked mail program can be to get the recipient of the mail to identify positively with a particular stand you have taken or a bill you have introduced; the kind of identification that can be translated into a vote at the polls on election day," Mr. MacGregor said.

Mr. Javits was out of the country and could not be reached. His administrative assistant, Donald Kellerman, defended the use of franked mail. "It is a standard device to let voters, not voters but citizens, know what the Senator is doing here in Washington," he said.

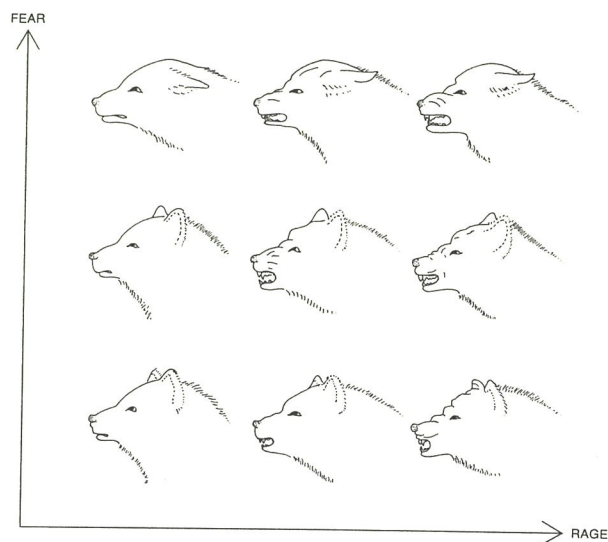
Senator Tower's use of franked mail in his 1972 campaign was documented by memorandums.

Tom Loeffler, a high-ranking campaign aide, wrote in a memorandum dated Oct. 27, 1972, that during the campaign Senator Tower had sent "31 special interest letters totaling approximately 803,333 franked mailings."

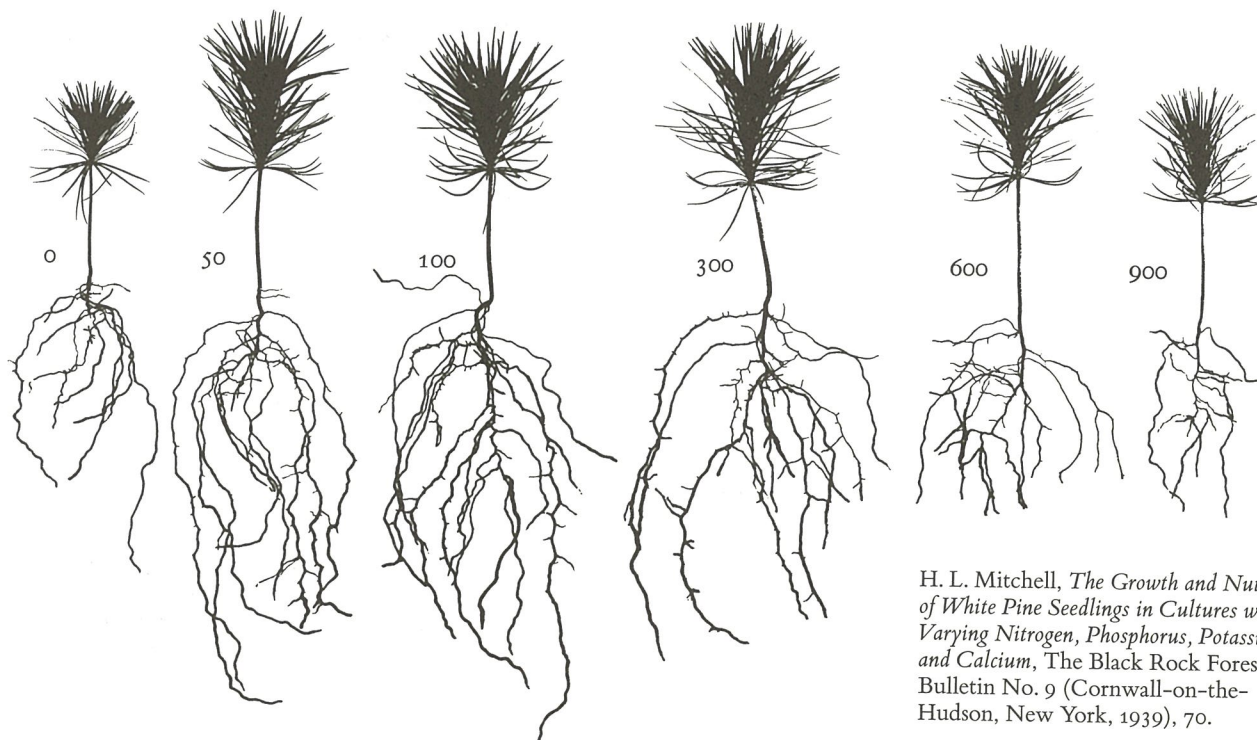
Mr. Tower was not available for comment. His administrative assistant, Elwin Skiles, said the Senator's use of franked mail in 1972 was within the law, and he defended the free-mailing privileges.

Postal Service figures show that in the 12 months before November, 1973, Congress sent 222.9 million franked pieces of mail. But in the next 12 months, covering the election season of 1974, Congress sent 350.6 million, a jump of 57 per cent about what's happening," Mr. Skiles said.

Finally, two relational designs of a different sort—wherein the data points are themselves data. Here the effect of two variables interacting is portrayed by the faces on the plotting field:



And similarly, the varying sizes of white pine seedlings after growing for one season in sand containing different amounts of calcium, in parts per million in nutrient-sand cultures:



E. C. Zeeman, "Catastrophe Theory," *Scientific American*, 234 (April 1976), 67; based on Konrad Z. Lorenz, *King Solomon's Ring* (New York, 1952).

H. L. Mitchell, *The Growth and Nutrition of White Pine Seedlings in Cultures with Varying Nitrogen, Phosphorus, Potassium and Calcium*, The Black Rock Forest Bulletin No. 9 (Cornwall-on-the-Hudson, New York, 1939), 70.