

policy approach should guide this timing—not budget pressures. If we ask ourselves what is the best policy—what is best for the public interest and American consumers—we must conclude that broadcasters ought to be given the opportunity to convert to digital television. Once that conversion has been successfully completed, then the analog spectrum that is currently being used should be made available through an auction. If this process cannot realistically be completed within the arbitrary 7-year budget cycle we have created for ourselves, then we should not force ourselves into making a serious policy mistake.

CONCLUSION

Broadcast television is the universal video service in this country. In many rural and remote areas, where cable is not available, it is the only video service. Currently, a little more than one-third of Americans do not subscribe to cable. That's 33 million TV households that have no choice but to rely upon broadcast television. In addition, over 60 percent of all the TV sets in the United States—close to 138 million—are not hooked to cable.

If the FCC is permitted to move forward with its plan to allocate the needed spectrum for digital conversion, consumers will continue to have access to free television. Converting to digital will not give broadcasters a leg up—it is a necessity in the new digital age. Rather, it is consumers that will lose if this conversion does not occur. I am convinced that up front auctions for this spectrum will result in fewer choices for consumers. In areas where cable is available—and in homes where it is affordable—it will mean fewer choices. But for one-third of the population, it will mean no choice.

In my judgment, this is too high a price to pay for the short-term revenue gain in up front auctions. My concern is the future of free over-the-air television—not a financial giveaway to the broadcast industry. I urge my colleagues to examine this issue carefully. It is not the corporate welfare as some have claimed. Rather, it is a question of the survival of our local television stations and the universal service that only they can provide. I urge my colleagues to oppose the proposal of up front auctions and the unrealistic acceleration of auctioning the analog spectrum. Let's not be tempted by the revenue, instead carefully examine the policy implications behind spectrum auctions.●

SENATE QUARTERLY MAIL COSTS

● Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in accordance with section 318 of Public Law 101-520 as amended by Public Law 103-283, I am submitting the frank mail allocations made to each Senator from the appropriation for official mail expenses and a summary tabulation of Senate mass mail costs for the first quarter of fiscal year 1996 to be printed in the RECORD. The first quarter of fis-

cal year 1996 covers the period of October 1, 1995, through December 31, 1995. The official mail allocations are available for frank mail costs, as stipulated in Public Law 104-53, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1996.

The allocations follow:

SENATE QUARTERLY MASS MAIL VOLUMES AND COSTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDING DEC. 31, 1995

Senators	Total pieces	Pieces per, capita	Total cost	Cost per capita	FY 96 Official mail allocation
Abraham	0	0.00000	0.00	\$0.00000	\$160.875
Akaka	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	48.447
Ashcroft	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	109.629
Baucus	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	46.822
Bennett	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	56.493
Biden	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	44.754
Bingaman	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	56.404
Bond	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	109.629
Boxer	1,000	0.00003	\$247.60	0.00011	433.718
Bradley	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	139.706
Breaux	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	92.701
Brown	9,300	0.00268	3,152.24	0.00091	86.750
Bryan	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	56.208
Bumpers	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	69.809
Burns	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	46.822
Byrd	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	59.003
Campbell	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	86.750
Chafee	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	48.698
Coats	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	112.682
Cochran	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	69.473
Cohen	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	52.134
Conrad	7,091	0.01115	5,748.14	0.00094	43.403
Coverdell	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	131.465
Craig	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	49.706
D'Amato	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	262.927
Daschle	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	44.228
DeWine	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	186.314
Dodd	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	80.388
Dole	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	70.459
Domenici	1,050	0.00066	254.20	0.00016	56.404
Dorgan	5,900	0.00928	1,091.59	0.00172	43.403
Exon	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	57.167
Faircloth	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	134.344
Feingold	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	102.412
Feinstein	1,737	0.00006	547.83	0.00002	433.718
Ford	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	86.009
Frist	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	106.658
Glenn	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	186.314
Gorton	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	109.059
Graham	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	259.426
Gramm	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	281.361
Grassley	650	0.00015	542.74	0.00012	96.024
Gregg	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	73.403
Gregg	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	50.569
Harkin	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	73.403
Hatch	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	56.493
Hatfield	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	78.163
Heflin	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	89.144
Helms	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	134.344
Hollings	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	85.277
Hutchison	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	281.361
Inhofe	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	82.695
Inouye	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	48.447
Jeffords	12,700	0.02228	2,747.97	0.00482	42.858
Johnston	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	92.701
Kassebaum	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	70.459
Kempthorne	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	49.706
Kennedy	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	117.964
Kerrey	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	57.167
Kerry	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	117.964
Kohl	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	102.412
Kyl	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	93.047
Lautenberg	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	139.706
Leahy	6,004	0.01053	2,798.18	0.00491	42.858
Levin	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	160.875
Lieberman	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	80.388
Lott	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	69.473
Lugar	3,600	0.00064	877.65	0.00016	112.682
Mack	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	259.426
McCain	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	93.047
McConnell	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	86.009
Mikulski	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	101.272
Moseley-Braun	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	184.773
Moynihan	5,250	0.00029	1,283.37	0.00027	262.927
Murkowski	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	42.565
Murray	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	109.059
Nickles	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	82.695
Nunn	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	131.465
Pell	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	48.698
Pressler	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	44.228
Pryor	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	69.809
Reid	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	56.208
Robb	19,645	0.01084	6,092.98	0.00336	121.897
Rockefeller	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	59.003
Roth	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	44.754
Santorum	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	199.085
Sarbanes	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	101.272
Shelby	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	89.144
Simon	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	184.773
Simpson	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	41.633
Smith	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	50.569
Snowe	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	52.134
Specter	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	199.085
Stevens	951	0.00204	241.79	0.00052	42.565

SENATE QUARTERLY MASS MAIL VOLUMES AND COSTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDING DEC. 31, 1995—Continued

Senators	Total pieces	Pieces per, capita	Total cost	Cost per capita	FY 96 Official mail allocation
Thomas	1,300	0.00026	349.06	0.00007	41.633
Thompson	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	106.658
Thurmond	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	85.277
Warner	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	121.897
Wellstone	0	0.00000	0.00	0.00000	96.024●

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS TOWARD PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, much has happened since the Irish Republican Army broke its cease-fire with two bloody bombings in London. Those cowardly acts cast doubt on the viability of the entire peace process. But the people rose up en masse, as I had a feeling they would. Tens of thousands demonstrated in the streets of Dublin and elsewhere, demanding that the perpetrators of the violence give them back their peace.

Responding to the will of the people, the Irish and British Governments reached agreement on a way forward, including a date of June 10 for full-party talks. The peace process is back on track and moving ahead, and Sinn Fein and the IRA should waste no time in seizing this opportunity. Their participation is needed if lasting peace is to be achieved. As Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring said in an eloquent speech to the Dail Eireann on February 29, the "fixed date surely now offers the basic assurances that the republican movement has sought. Given the intolerable human cost, and the grave political damage caused by the violence to date, how can the IRA explain the continuation, for one more day, of its renewed campaign?"

Mr. President, Foreign Minister Spring has been on a relentless quest for peace in Northern Ireland for much of his distinguished career. I know his hopes were dashed when the IRA ended its cease-fire, as were all of ours. But he did not lose hope. He persevered, and we all owe him and Prime Minister John Bruton our support and admiration for their determination, their fairness, and their commitment to a better life for all the people on that island.

I ask that Foreign Minister Spring's February 29 speech be printed in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

STATEMENT BY TANAISTE AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS DICK SPRING, DAIL EIREANN, 29 FEBRUARY 1996

The British and Irish Governments have long shared a common analysis and a common objective: a comprehensive political settlement based on consent. We have also been united in agreement that this objective can only be attained through all party negotiations addressing comprehensively all the relevant relationships and issues in an interlocking three-stranded process. The necessity for all-party negotiations is also appreciated by all parties in Northern Ireland.

Where they, and we, have differed, has been on how to proceed into such negotiations. Was it possible to ensure that, on the one