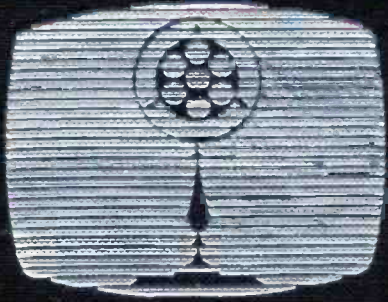


**HISTORY OF
BROADCASTING:**



**RADIO TO
TELEVISION**

**Studies
in the
Control of Radio**

Numbers 1-6



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**HISTORY OF
BROADCASTING:
RADIO TO
TELEVISION**

HISTORY OF BROADCASTING: Radio to Television

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The Development of the Control of Advertising on the Air

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH
JEANETTE SAYRE

The Radiobroadcasting Research Project is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Carl J. Friedrich is Director, and Jeanette Sayre, Research Associate. The studies in this series for the most part will embody their own findings, but will include special studies by others from time to time.

STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

NOVEMBER, 1940

NO. 1

The Development of the Control of Advertising on the Air

Advertising on the air may be looked upon from the viewpoint of the advertisers (technical issues), from the viewpoint of the economist and sociologist (as a factor in distribution, governmental regulation), from the viewpoint of the lawyer interested in administrative law and regulation, from the viewpoint of the psychologist interested in listener reaction to it. But the viewpoint here adopted is that of the student of government and politics who wishes to know how the controls function in society, that is to say, who in fact has the power to determine what shall be advertised and how. On account of the decision, made early in the growth of radio in this country, that radiobroadcasting should be financed by advertising rather than the taxpayer or ratepayer directly, the development of the control of advertising on the air reflects in a vivid way the struggle for power to decide what shall not be broadcast. Each of the various groups concerned has been influenced by the New Deal Consumer movements: Congress itself, the Federal agencies concerned: The Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Radio Commission which was superseded by the Federal Communications Commission; the broadcasting companies and stations, advertising agencies and associations, and the manufacturers and distributors of products advertised over the air. The result has been that listeners have been more and more protected from hearing about products which might harm them, have been given adequate information about products which might harm them if improperly used, have not been sold innocuous products with false claims, and have been protected from being disturbed by "unpleasant" topics over the air, such as depilatories and the like. Broadcasters have been forced to take the consumer's interest into account, with governmental agencies policing those who are too crass in pursuit

of the advertising dollar.

In the early days of radio there was a good deal of discussion in this country as to how the industry was to be financed. Several methods were proposed: taxation in various forms to enable the federal government to conduct broadcasting, license fees on sets which would give money to private companies for the same purpose, and advertising. In most circles there was general agreement that advertising provided the best way out of the problem. The four national conferences on broadcasting (1922-1925), held by Herbert Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce, each endorsed advertising as the source of income for radio best adapted to the needs of this country. However, acceptance of advertising on the radio was not universal and unconditional, for listeners, accustomed to the first broadcasts without advertising, were annoyed by the blurbs which accompanied later programs. As early as November, 1922, an article in the magazine Radio Broadcast commented:

"Anyone who doubts the reality, the imminence of the problem has only to listen about him for plenty of evidence. Driblets of advertising, most of it indirect so far, to be sure, but still unmistakable, are floating through the ether every day. Concerts are seasoned here and there with a dash of advertising paprika. You can't miss it; every little classic number has a slogan all its own, if it is only the mere mention of the name - and the street address, and the phone number - of the music house which arranged the program. More of this sort of thing may be expected. And once the avalanche gets a good start, nothing short of an Act of Congress or a repetition of Noah's excitement will suffice to stop it." (1)

This article points to the distinction which was to concern all connected with radio in the early years: that between "direct" and "indirect" advertising. The latter supposedly consisted of mere mention of sponsorship ("The Ipana Troubadours now bring you . . .", or

(1). Archer, Gleason L. History of Radio to 1926. The American Historical Society. 1938. p. 285

"The makers of Happiness Candy now present the Happiness Boys"), while direct advertising consisted of mentions of the articles advertised, with sales talk about them. For the most part it was assumed that direct advertising would be so annoying that it would drive listeners away, and that therefore the annoyance would cure itself. This attitude was expressed as early as 1924 by Secretary Hoover at the Third National Radio Conference:

"I believe the quickest way to kill broadcasting would be to use it for direct advertising. The reader of a newspaper has an option whether he will read an ad or not, but if a speech by the President is to be used as the meat in a sandwich of two patent medicine advertisements there will be no radio left. To what extent it may be employed for what we now call indirect advertising I do not know, and only experience with the reactions of listeners can tell. The listeners will finally decide in any event." (1).

During the Fourth Conference held in 1925, Hoover reiterated this sentiment, but called upon the broadcasters present for a "definition of policy" which would urge upon all advertisers that they limit their sales talk in some way. (2). In response to this request, the broadcasters passed a resolution which ably expressed the "hands off" attitude of business toward government at that time:

"Whereas it is universally agreed that the success of radio broadcasting is founded upon the maintenance of public good will and that no broadcasting station can operate successfully without an appreciative audience; and
Whereas the public is quick to express its approval or disapproval of broadcast program:

- (1) Recommendations for the Regulation of Radio Adopted by the Third National Radio Conference. October 6-10, 1924. Opening Address by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. p. 4
- (2) Proceedings of the Fourth National Radio Conference, and Recommendations for the Regulation of Radio. Nov. 9-11, 1925. Opening Address by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, p. 5

Therefore be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that any agency of program censorship other than public opinion is not necessary and would be detrimental to the advancement of the art; and be it further

Resolved, that inasmuch as it is necessary that the name of user of station be connected, by suitable announcement with the program in order to derive good will, and furthermore, inasmuch as any such announcement or program if improperly presented will create ill will, there seems no necessity for any specific regulation in regard to form of announcement in connection with such paid or any other program." (1).

A special committee of advertising at the same conference further resolved to "deprecate the use of radio broadcasting for direct sales effort", and "That the conference concurs in the suggestion of the Secretary of Commerce that the problems of radio publicity should be solved by the industry itself, and not by Government compulsion or by legislation." (2).

During the Congressional sessions from 1924 to 1927 various possibilities for federal control of radio were hotly debated. Radio advertising was one of the subjects frequently commented upon. There were some suggestions that it should be cut out altogether, and some steps were taken toward introducing legislation to this effect, but they came to nothing. (3). There was a good deal of discussion about the possibilities of cutting out "direct advertising" by legislation, but the attitude of the industry that "we will regulate ourselves" was so strong that legislation along these lines was not adopted. The only article on advertising inserted in the Federal Radio Act of 1927 was that requiring that programs paid for should be announced as such, a point on which Mr. Celler had commented at length on the floor of the House the previous year, claiming that programs paid for but not announced as

- (1) Proceedings of the Fourth National Radio Conference. Op. cit. p. 10
- (2) Ibid. p. 18
- (3) Archer, G.L. Op. cit. p. 363

such were as deceptive as advertising inserted in a newspaper as part of the regular text. (1). Moreover there was in the act a specific provision against censorship of programs by the Commission, which was thought by many to include prohibition of censorship of advertising.

The first year of the Federal Radio Commission was a nightmare for all concerned. It was not granted sufficient money to operate; commissioners did not receive their appointments for months; it faced almost insurmountable problems in its major task of reallocating stations all along the broadcasting band. And to cap the climax it began receiving letters from listeners demanding that it do something about a problem over which it had no control by law: that of direct advertising. The situation became so acute that this problem became a major topic for discussion at the hearings of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on the bill to extend the life of the Commission. Again however, the prevailing sentiment was that the industry would be sensible enough to regulate its own abuses, since otherwise listeners would be driven away and goods would not sell. (2).

During the second year of the Commission a more direct effort was made to tackle the problem. Protests were being received from rival merchants to those who used the radio for "direct advertising" claiming that the government gave an unfair advantage to their competitors by allowing them this privilege on a government licensed station. As a result, the Commission gave such stations as were complained of less desirable allocations, or made them share time. The stations discriminated against protested, and hearings were held on the issue. Certain of these, notably those in the Middle West, submitted literally hundreds of thousands

(1) The Congressional Record. Vol. 67, p. 2309

(2) Jurisdiction of the Radio Commission. Hearings before the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries. House of Representatives. 70th Congress. First Session. On H.R. 3825, a bill to amend an act entitled "An Act for the Regulation of Radio Communications". Approved Feb. 23, 1927. GPO. 1928. pps. 135, 144, 138, 203.

of fan letters showing that their stations were liked by their audience, and that the special type of audience they drew had come to depend upon them for a service in getting prices and details about commodities which they could not get elsewhere. The Commission came to the conclusion that "it must proceed cautiously since it could not censor programs", and that "conditions differed from one section of the country so radically as to make universal rules about advertising unwise." (1).

As if to forestall Congressional attempts to do something about radio advertising, the National Association of Broadcasters, the trade association of the industry, moved to strengthen its Code of Ethics first adopted in 1925. As originally adopted by the score or so of members it was a brief document containing merely a pledge that broadcasters would work for "high program standards" and contained no provisions for enforcement. This was reiterated in 1928, but in 1929, the Convention of the Association made the first important statement about advertising standards which was to set the tone of similar codes adopted later by the Association, the independent broadcasters or the chains. It included the following provisions which dealt with matters pertaining to advertising:

3. Matter which is barred from the mails as fraudulent, deceptive, or obscene shall not be broadcast.
 4. Every broadcaster shall exercise great caution in accepting any advertising matter regarding products or services which may be injurious to health.
 5. No broadcaster shall permit the broadcasting of advertising statements or claims which he knows or believes to be false, deceptive, or grossly exaggerated.
 6. Every broadcaster shall strictly follow the provisions of the Radio Act of 1927 regarding the clear identification of sponsored or paid-for material.
- . Care should be taken to prevent the broadcasting of statements which are derogatory to

(1) Second Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission. For the year ended June 30, 1928. Washington, Oct. 1, 1928. pps. 19 and 168

other stations, to individuals, or to competing products or services, except where the law specifically provides that the station has no right of censorship."

Provision was made that when charges of violation of this code were filed with the Managing Director of the Association in writing, the Board of Directors would investigate the charges, and notify the station of their findings. The only possible form of action which could be taken against the recalcitrant member was that of expulsion, not a dire threat when few broadcasters belonged to the Association and its benefits were not very tangible.

Thus the matter stood at the beginning of the depression. Then two things happened: small companies, which to this time had not thought it worthwhile to advertise by radio became interested in it because of the success of the larger companies, and the networks and independent stations began to reduce their rates so that this was possible. For economy reasons the "spot" announcement was invented, an advertisement a minute or so long inserted between regular broadcasts which were paid for by someone else. The air became flooded with advertising, most of it of reliable articles and services, but a proportion of it of dubious merchandise. Variety magazine which had been following the development of advertising on the radio, commented on the advertising of unlisted and illegal stocks, of fake hair restorers, of phoney foreign language courses, quack doctors, real estate advertising of uncleared land, and fortune telling rackets whereby the advertiser built up a "sucker list" of fan letter writers which he later sold to commercial companies for their use in advertising campaigns. (1). Not the least annoying of these types of dubious advertising were those of patent medicines which had gotten a "new lease on life" with radio since "their distribution had been hard hit when reputable newspapers throughout the country decided not to carry questionable copy". (2).

- (1) Variety, Nov. 21, 1928, p. 1; Dec. 5, 1928, p. 49; Dec. 12, 1928, p. 55; June 12, 1929, p. 62; Jan. 22, 1930, p. 1; Jan. 7, 1931, p. 40.
- (2) Variety. April 25, 1931, p. 65.

Protests and complaints over these dubious ads began almost immediately. The Newark Chamber of Commerce protested about New Jersey stations selling unlisted stock. (1). In Chicago civic business associations in the Better Business Bureau called a meeting of radio station managers and editors of radio sections of newspaper to discuss the situation. (2). Band leaders began protesting to stations about dubious advertising inserted in their programs without their knowing it. (3). Newspapers protested because they found themselves listing (and so advertising) types of programs and speakers which they had refused space in their papers. (4) All of these efforts were sporadic and unrelated, and proved ineffectual against the rising tide of such advertising.

The Federal Trade Commission at this time had the right merely to pass on "unfair methods of competition". Their first action against a radio advertisement was taken in August, 1927, against the Omaha Tanning Company for saying over the air that they tanned their own harnesses, when they did not do so. (5). Later actions were against bigger quarry: 1931 saw a case against Pepsodent Tooth Paste, then a leading radio advertiser because of the phenomenal success of Amos and Andy, for saying that their mouth wash was "3 to 11 times more powerful in killing germs than any other leading dentifrice" when it was not, and against another big radio spender, Cremo Cigars for saying that "One man's spit is another man's poison" implying that theirs was the only cigar made by machinery when this allegation was far from the truth. (6). On the whole, however, few programs were proceeded against in these early years, mainly because of the limitations of the law, and the fact that no special effort was made to check up on radio advertising. It devolved upon competitors of a company using questionable advertising to ask the Commission for an investigation.

- (1) Variety. Dec. 12, 1928, p. 55
- (2) Variety. Dec. 5, 1928, p. 49
- (3) Variety. Feb. 11, 1931, p. 75
- (4) Variety. March 11, 1931, p. 65
- (5) Variety. Aug. 10, 1927, p. 53
- (6) Variety. Apr. 22, 1931, p. 65

However, Trade Commission investigators occasionally testified before the Radio Commission concerning the advertising of stations up for renewal of license. (1). The Radio Commission had taken the attitude that advertising was a part of a station's program service which could be scanned post facto in considering whether a station had conducted itself in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity", and so was entitled to a renewal of license. In line with this theory it had called up for hearing a number of stations which had sent in routine requests for renewal of license. The most famous of these cases was that of Station KFKB of Milford, Kansas, run by a Dr. Brinkley who advertised "goat glands" over the station as a cure for almost anything. Finding this advertising not in the public interest, the Commission refused to grant Brinkley a renewal of his license, and he appealed the case. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals handed down its decision in the matter in 1931, holding that the Commission was within its right to pass on program content (hence advertising) when considering whether an applicant should retain a license, and that such review of past conduct did not constitute censorship, as prohibited by the Federal Radio Act. (2).

On the whole, however, few such cases were noted, and the Commission preferred to try to get broadcasters to raise their standards rather than taken them off the air for offenses. Trade journals reported "hints" from the Commission that certain types of programs and advertising were not liked, and on May 13, 1931, the Commission sent out a formal notice to all broadcasters that fortune telling, lotteries, games of chance, and the like were "not in the public interest", and that "complaint from a substantial number of listeners will result in the station's application for renewal of license being set for hearing." (3). In 1932, however, it reported that of 124 complaints received about "lotteries, fortune telling, medical advice, improper language, misleading or deceptive ad-

- (1) Variety. April 22, 1931, p. 65
- (2) Fifth Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission. For the fiscal year 1931. GPO. 1931. p. 67
- (3) 5th Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission. 1931. p. 9

vertising, miscellaneous" only 10 resulted in formal hearing, and none in revocation of license. (1).

The fact that there were so few cases of this kind seems to have been the result of the lack of aggressiveness of the Commission rather than a concerted drive on the part of the stations or networks to "clean up the air." To be sure sporadic attempts along these lines were reported. The networks took the lead in this. In February, 1931, the National Broadcasting Company put through a rule prohibiting "direct selling" on the air, and advised their clients against "too much sales talk." The chain talked about a definite time limit for advertising, but nothing came of this as it was feared that clients would be driven away by such a stand. (2). It was reported that individual stations were limiting the length of advertising, or "censoring" medical advertising, but most of such stations were NBC outlets. (3). In a meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters, a Vice President of NBC told the members that advertising should be censored by the station, because the broadcasting industry was not rendering a public service when it "promoted fraud or quackery." (4).

At the same time CBS standards were being set in contracts with their clients, or in refusing to broadcast certain programs because of the nature of the advertisement or the product advertised. In January, 1929, they refused to broadcast advertisements of matrimonial agencies or of training schools offering questionable promises of employment as inducements for enrollment. (5). In March 1930 they further refused programs or announcements which are "slanderous, obscene, or profane, vulgar, repulsive or offensive, either in theme or treatment", and "advertising of cures and products claiming to cure." (6). In the

- (1) Sixth Annual Report of the Federal Radio Commission. 1932. p. 12
- (2) Variety. February 4, 1931, p. 82
- (3) Variety. March 25, 1931, p. 65; April 15, 1931, p. 73
- (4) Variety. July 28, 1931, p. 53
- (5) "Summary of CBS Policies Relating to Program Material and Advertising Copy" Prepared by CBS Research Department, October 1940. p. 6
- (6) Ibid. p. 5

same month they also ruled against "ambiguous statements", "false or unwarranted claims for products or services", (1) "disparagement of competitors or competitive goods", or "infringements of another's advertising rights." (2). In March, 1931, they refused advertising of funeral homes, and in August of that year would no longer take "fortune telling, mind-reading...astrology" advertising. (3). Certain rules promulgated in this period were later repealed or changed. At first the length of advertising on a program was not to be "too long", but in 1935 specific regulations were made. There were to be "no announcements of prices, appeals for funds, or direct selling", but this was changed in 1932. (4). During this period no announcement of lotteries or contests was allowed; this rule also went by the boards. (5). Standards evolved as specific cases were met, not as a result of a broad social philosophy on the part of the broadcasters. The leadership of the networks however, meant little to the small station dependent upon local advertising for its income. The merchant down Main Street wanted to have all the details of his product on the air, and could not be convinced that when he "bought" 15 minutes it was not wisest from his own point of view to spend all of them in advertising his goods. Such stations were in a shaky position financially, and most of them would accept almost any advertising, so that talk of "restrictions on improper proprietary medical accounts" was a little premature. Toward the end of 1932 the shoe began to pinch both NBC and CBS a little harder, and such rules as there were, as for instance, against mentioning the prices of articles on the air were quietly lifted. (6).

At the same time the importance of regulation of advertising from the point of view of keeping

- (1) "Summary of CBS Policies", op. cit., p. 7
- (2) Ibid. p. 8
- (3) Ibid. p. 6
- (4) Ibid. p. 4
- (5) Ibid. p. 7
- (6) In changing its regulations, CBS limited the amount of advertising to 10 per cent of the total program time in the evening, and 15 per cent in the daytime, and limited the number of price mentions allowed to two per fifteen minute

listener good will became apparent. NBC reports a survey of listener attitudes (the second in their history, the first having been made in 1925), made by J. David Houser and Associates in 1931. It was a demonstration-study entitled "Radio's Place in Public Estimation Today and the Elements Operating to Affect It." Interviews were conducted in New York City, Buffalo, and Utica which showed among other things that almost half of those interviewed (46 per cent) felt that programs were frequently spoiled by interruptions; that almost half (47 per cent) believed advertising too long; that actual results in selling a product advertised over the air were dependent almost entirely on the quality of the advertising rather than the quality of the product, but that network programs had less objectionable advertising than independent stations (11 per cent said they had as much objectionable advertising as independents, 63 per cent said they had less, and 26 per cent had no opinion). These findings both encouraged and stimulated the policy makers in the networks toward further efforts. (1).

The increase in the amount and the change in the type of radio advertising had its repercussions in Congress. From 1929 on there had been a number of bills introduced each year which were of a "reformist" character: against broadcasting advertising of lotteries, or against any advertising on Sundays. But in 1932 a major movement was under way in the Senate to investigate the situation. On January 7, Senator Couzens introduced a resolution reading as follows:

"Whereas there is a growing dissatisfaction with the present use of radio facilities for the purposes of commercial advertising: Be it

(footnote continued)

program, three per half hour, and five per hour program. NBC announced its restrictions as "good taste", but would not allow price mentions on Sunday. The Yankee network followed suit allowing price quotations within undefined "reasonable limits." Hettinger, Herman S. A Decade of Radio Advertising. University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1933. p. 272

- (1) Reported in a letter from H. M. Beville, Jr., Research Manager, NBC July 22, 1940.

Resolved, that the Federal Radio Commission is hereby authorized and instructed to make a survey and to report to the Senate on the following questions:

1. What information there is available on the feasibility of Government ownership and operation of broadcasting facilities.
2. To what extent the facilities of a representative group of broadcasting stations are used for commercial purposes.
3. To what extent the use of radio facilities for purposes of commercial advertising varies as between stations having power of 100 watts, 500 watts, 1000 watts, 5000 watts, and all in excess of 5000 watts.
4. What plans might be adopted to reduce, to limit, to control, and perhaps to eliminate the use of radio facilities for commercial advertising purposes.
5. What rules or regulations have been adopted by other countries to control or to eliminate the use of radio facilities for commercial advertising purposes.
6. Whether it would be practicable and satisfactory to permit only the announcement of sponsorship of programs by persons or corporations.
7. Any information available concerning the investments and net income of a number of representative broadcasting companies or stations." (1).

This resolution was not merely the result of dissatisfaction with advertising, although it was certainly in part that (2), but it was also a reflection of the pressure of groups of educators who felt that the Federal Radio Commission had been unfair to educational stations, and that because of the control of the networks and stations by commercial interests educational programs generally were not getting a fair showing. They were agitating at this time for the adoption of

- (1) The Congressional Record. Vol. 75, p. 1412
- (2) See Ibid, pps. 8699 ff for the remarks of Congressman Davis at the Convention of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in April, 1932, during which he made the comment that he

government controlled radio similar to the system obtaining in England. This aspect of the matter became evident when a few days later, Senator Dill introduced an amendment to the resolution which passed with it on January 12, 1932. It called on the Federal Radio Commission to investigate also the educational uses of radio, the number of stations owned or operated by educational groups, the amount of control of radio broadcasting lodged in the National Broadcasting System, and the stand taken by the Federal Radio Commission toward educational programs which "were left to the mercy of the commercial chains." (1).

In response to this resolution, a letter was sent to the Senate on June 12, from the Chairman of the Federal Radio Commission, Charles Saltzman, which gave detailed answers to the questions asked, and the attitude of the Commission on these matters. In general the Commission disparaged government ownership or aggressive control of advertising on the air; claimed that it was not "practicable or satisfactory" to control the length or type of advertising, and suggested that the public should be the real arbiter of program standards since it was up to them whether to listen or not as they chose, and if they d'd not so chose, the advertiser erring would suffer "by the natural laws of economics." (2). In the course of the document, letters from the 51 leading advertising agencies were printed, all indicating that they believed that Federal control of the amount of advertising was not desirable, although most of them admitted that local stations were giving out advertising which was obnoxious both in amount and type.

With the election of Roosevelt in 1932 two things happened which were of great moment to those interested in broadcast advertising: the repeal of prohibition,

(footnote continued)

favored legislation by Congress, or definite criteria laid down by Congress for the Federal Radio Commission to control the amount of advertising on the air.

- (1) The Congressional Record, Vol. 75, p. 1759
- (2) Commercial Radio Advertising. A Letter from the Chairman of the Federal Radio Commission in response to Senate Resolution 129. June 9, 1932, 72nd Congress, First Session. Document No. 137.

which immediately brought prohibitionists as lobbyists to the forefront in Congress, and the impetus given the consumer movement, including legislation introduced in its behalf. Both of these were to have widespread repercussions on the broadcasting industry through the ensuing years.

Prior to this time there had been only two efforts to control advertising of certain types of goods or services on the air: the previously mentioned attempts to ban lotteries, and protests from groups wishing cigarette advertising off the air. The former succeeded, but the latter failed in spite of thousands of letters and petitions from Parent-Teacher Associations, Child Welfare Associations, medical groups, ministers, and the like, to the committees of the House and Senate debating the various extensions of the Federal Radio Act of 1927. (In large part this movement was sponsored by the National Food Products Protective Committee which was concerned about the cigarette campaign to get people to smoke rather than eat in order to reduce). (1). The liquor problem was quite another thing, and the opponents were much more difficult to deal with. The industry was well aware of this fact, and for this and other reasons having to do with the general interest in the consumer, tried to forestall any efforts at regulations of liquor advertising by conservative policies in accepting such accounts. Until this time commercial standards of the networks had been known only to radio people and advertisers, but in November, 1933, CBS came out with a public statement that it had decided not to take any hard liquor advertising. This caused a furor in the trade: some held that it was unwise in view of the fact that the Democratic administration was still campaigning on the issue of repeal, while others held that it was an exceedingly shrewd move on Columbia's part to win public approval. (2). NBC felt constrained to make a statement since CBS had done so, but came out rather lamely saying that they would make their decision on liquor advertising when they had seen what the individual states did in this regard. (3). As

- (1) Variety. April 24, 1929, p.1; The Congressional Record. Vol. 70, p. 3765
- (2) Variety. November 7, 1933, p. 45
- (3) Variety. November 28, 1933, p. 39

usual such policies were not accepted by independent stations, which for the most part said they would take any liquor advertising they could get. (1).

With the first programs advertising alcohol over the air the dregs in Congress got busy. But before they could introduce any legislation, and it was said, in response to prodding from Administration circles, the Federal Radio Commission on February 2, 1934, issued a news release which caused immediate consternation:

"The Federal Radio Commission calls renewed attention of broadcasters and advertisers to that Section of the Radio Act of 1927 which provides that stations are licensed only when their operation will serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity, and asks the intelligent cooperation of both groups in so far as liquor advertising is concerned.

Although the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States has been repealed by the twenty-first, and so far as the Federal Government is concerned there is no liquor prohibition, it is well known that millions of listeners throughout United States do not use intoxicating liquors and many children of both users and non-users are part of the listening public. The Commission asks that broadcasters and advertisers bear this in mind.

The Commission will designate for hearing the renewal applications of all stations unmindful of the foregoing and they will be required to make a showing that their continued operation will serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity." (2).

The implications of this manifesto were obvious: stations were not to accept liquor advertising if they wanted to keep their licenses. However the agitators in Congress were not satisfied with this. True, some, as Senator Dill, who had criticized the Commission for its lack of forthrightness in tackling the problem of

- (1) Variety. December 12, 1933, p. 35
- (2) The Congressional Record. Vol. 78, p. 2646

program standards hailed this with high approval. (1). But the dregs deprecated the "government by press release" and demanded legislation to this end instead of administrative rulings. (2). On March the tenth the first in a long series of bills to prohibit liquor advertising of any kind on the air was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Capper of Kansas. But the trend of the times against prohibition was too strong, and the effect of such legislation was merely to hasten self regulation by the industry.

In the meantime the New Deal had started on its movement to help the consumer which was to have many repercussions on the broadcasting industry. In 1933 the Tugwell bill was introduced, providing penalties against fraudulent and misleading advertising by any medium. It was debated before a Senate Subcommittee in December, and hotly contested by several trade associations, including that of the broadcasters. Although it was defeated, the movement behind it was not, and the attempt to control advertising soon cropped up again in a slightly different form in the Copeland Bill, first introduced January fourth of the following year. Broadcasters immediately took note of these Washington happenings, and were aided in their efforts to move one jump ahead of government regulation of objectionable advertising by the general improvement in business which brought more advertising to them so that they could be more selective in their output. The trade magazines noted a "trend away from patent medicines" and that where such accounts were being kept, stations were taking advantage of "movability clauses" in their contracts with agencies to move such business to less desirable spots than the best night hours. (3).

Another immediate repercussion was the first fairly complete statement of program policy by an independent broadcasting agency. In January, 1934, NBC promulgated its first Code, general to be sure, but sufficient to indicate that it intended to keep the public in mind when allowing its facilities to be used for advertising. Its reason for being was stated as follows:

- (1) Variety. February 6, 1934, p. 37
- (2) The Congressional Record. Vol. 78, p. 2647
- (3) Variety. December 26, 1933, p. 30

"The National Broadcasting Company can best serve the true interests of its advertisers by placing first the interests of the public. Broadcast advertising derives its value from the listeners' enjoyment of programs and their confidence in the statements made on behalf of advertisers. Anything which mars their enjoyment or impairs their confidence reacts unfavorably on all broadcast advertising.

Radio stations are required by law to serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Public interest has been held by the courts to mean service to the listeners, or in other words, 'good programs'. Stations broadcasting objectionable programs have had their licenses cancelled by the Federal Radio Commission. The responsibility for protecting the public interest rests both upon the advertisers and upon the network..." (1).

Other provisions were general: "unpleasant or gruesome statements should be avoided"; "Courtesy and good taste should govern advertising"; "Advertising should be in harmony with the rest of the program"; "Statements derogatory to another product or company, or tiresome, or repetitive should be avoided." In addition there were specific prohibitions: statements offensive to any group, false or questionable statements, obscenity, should be avoided. Testimonials must reflect the genuine experience of the person giving them, and statements of price and value must be confined to fact. In order to oversee all its advertising, all continuities must be submitted to NBC one week before the broadcast. The company would attempt to adjust any difficulties with the advertiser, but reserved the right to cancel an offending program in whole or in part. In order to cope with this new policy, it set up a "continuity acceptance department" which handled all material of this kind. However wise or unwise as it may have been, this new policy remained a trade

- (1) NBC Program Policies. A Statement of Principles and Requirements Governing Broadcast Programs, to serve as a Means of Maintaining the Value and Effectiveness of Broadcast Advertising. January, 1934, p. 1

secret, not even being reported in the trade journals, and therefore having little or no effect on Congressional attitudes. Not until CBS more than a year later came out publicly with its policy did NBC reveal what it had been doing, but by that time CBS had stoled the march on NBC in the attempt to earn "good will" from the public.

New Dealism had been injected into all the government agencies, and one of the first to reflect the aggressive policy for the consumer was the Federal Trade Commission, which had had the right to censor unfair advertising, but heretofore only had taken note of broadcast advertising when attention was called to it by a competitor. In May 1934, it sent out a call to all radio stations and networks for copies of advertising continuities. This was astounding enough to the trade to be announced in the journals as "Federal Trade, (not Radio), Commission Scans Scripts." (1). The Commission stated that its action was taken "in a spirit of friendly cooperation" and pointed out that it was asking for a voluntary submission of scripts, rather than a forced monitoring of programs. From then on what action the Trade Commission took, it took secretly, so that it became an unknown sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of broadcasters. In July Variety reported that eight stations were being quizzed on the kinds of programs they were putting on, but was unable through its customary sleuthing channels to tell which stations they were or which programs were deemed objectionable. It speculated that since "patent medicines, obesity cures, rejuvenation treatments and various questionable and quack remedies" had been hit by the Trade Commission in its drive on newspaper advertising, it was highly likely similar types of advertising were being criticized here. (2).

By August the Trade Commission announced that it had received enough continuities for a sample of what broadcasters were saying, and that it wanted no more. Only five stations out of 593 had failed to answer their request, and only 114 of the total had had to be asked twice. The Commission noted that this was

(1) Variety. May 22, 1934, p. 33

(2) Variety. July 17, 1934, p. 33

"gratifying cooperation." (1). From then on individual stations were asked to submit the material broadcast for specified fifteen day periods, but national and regional networks, and transcription companies submitted continuous reports on the continuities broadcast. For the first year, 376,539 continuities had been examined, of which slightly more than ten per cent were found to be "possibly false and misleading" and were examined further. (2).

Such investigations took the form of those already in practice with regard to newspaper and other periodical advertising. The advertiser was asked to submit further material about the product. These were then submitted to the legal department of the Trade Commission or to other government agencies such as the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Standards, or the Food and Drug Administration for further examination. If nothing was found false or misleading the whole matter was dropped. If on the other hand, the claims were not justified, the matter went to a special board which asked the advertiser to "cease and desist" from making the claims in question. If he agreed, the matter went no further, but if he disagreed, or if he later violated the "cease and desist" agreement, the Commission instituted formal proceedings under law against him. In most cases notice that the Trade Commission was interested in a given continuity was enough to cause the advertiser or broadcaster to take it off the air. (3). Such cooperation was not without its element of self interest, for as Henry Bellows, the chairman of the legislative committee of the National Association of Broadcasters, remarked in a speech to the association, if broadcasters cooperated fully with the Trade Commission, they might, perhaps, avoid the more stringent rulings which would come if a bill similar to the Tugwell or Copeland measures were passed by Congress. (4).

Repercussions of Administration and Congressional pressure were also felt by the Radio Commission. In

- (1) Variety. September 11, 1934. p. 34
- (2) Annual Report of the Federal Trade Commission. For the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1935. GPO 1935, p.102
- (3) Ibid. p. 103
- (4) Variety. September 13, 1934, p. 35

February 1934 they had issued a strong statement to broadcasters concerning their attitude toward liquor advertising. The Administration had elaborate plans for unifying the control of the various media of communication under one agency. To this end a survey of the broadcasting problem was ordered to be made by an inter-departmental committee headed by Herbert L. Petty of the Radio Commission, and Dr. Irwin Stewart of the State Department. Among the questions to be looked into were:

"Limiting by statute the amount of advertising matter which can be included in a single program and other steps to curtail sales talk.

Raising the quality of advertising, particularly patent medicine, and other matters which have drawn a large amount of criticism."

It was thought that the orders for this study came directly from the White House, with Senator Dill and Congressman Rayburn of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce being the prime movers behind it. (1). The results of this study were never made public, but no provisions regarding advertising were written into the Communications Act of 1934 which had not been in the Radio Act of 1927 except that prohibiting the advertising of lotteries. (Section 316).

The new act went into effect in June 1934, with the new Commission retaining the personnel of the old Radio Commission. For the first few months no changes in attitude were reported, but by the Spring of the following year the trade was made aware that the Commission was out to be more strict about program standards (and advertising) than its predecessor had been. Chairman Sykes was replaced by Anning S. Prall, who began his career with a broadcast over NBC in which he said:

"We will not brook any trifling with our regulations. The radio people who disregard them, and I include the broadcasting of harmful and manifestly fraudulent material, are going to be made conscious that they must

(1) Variety. February 13, 1934, p. 1

render an accounting. We will punish the malefactors even if it means their extinction from the wave lengths." (1).

In the first annual report of the new Commission it commented on its actions along these lines:

"In the past fiscal year there has been a notable increase in complaints to the Commission of stations broadcasting objectionable programs, and the Commission has made an extensive inquiry into these complaints under the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934... Formal action was taken with regard to 226 separate objectionable programs broadcast over 152 stations. Some action was taken with regard to a much larger additional number of complaints involving several more stations, but these were adjusted informally. The broadcasting of false, fraudulent, and misleading advertising in various guises has been the chief source of complaint. In many instances the Federal Trade Commission, the Post Office Department, and the Food and Drug Administration had taken action to curtail the objectionable activities of medical advertisers in printed form, the result being that these advertisers resorted to broadcasting in order to disseminate their misleading and often fraudulent sales propaganda." (2).

"Formal action" implied either the designation of an application for renewal of broadcast station license for hearing, or the issuance of an order of revocation accompanied by an opportunity for hearing. In many cases though, the notifications of hearings were cancelled before they took place when the station showed that it had stopped broadcasting the objectionable material. "Informal action" consisted of correspondence between the Commission and the station with regard to material which had been complained about by listeners or some other Federal agency. In

- (1) Variety. April 3, 1935, p. 58
- (2) First Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission. For the Fiscal Year 1935. GPO.1936,p.16

this case the station might prove that the allegations were false, or otherwise prove good conduct to the Commission.

Meanwhile the trade was not insensitive to this governmental activity. NBC had promulgated its code for the trade. During 1934 however, various independent stations, as well as network outlets, made public their program standards, and a few announced that they were sending medical products to local doctors or chemists for analysis before accepting their advertising. (1). In September NBC stated that although it would allow restricted medical advertising, it must be in "good taste" and gave a list of 80 words which must not be mentioned over the air, including "stomach", "pregnancy", "blood", and "infection." (2). Stations were not merely attempting to avoid regulation, but were also taking an active stand against it. When the Copeland bill providing fines for stations broadcasting any misleading advertising concerning food, drugs, devices or cosmetics, was being debated, the National Association of Broadcasters was one of its most vehement opponents, sending a representative to testify against the need for "such sweeping regulation." (3).

But in spite of their efforts regulation was coming, and the aggressive attitude of the Federal Communications Commission had the station owners thoroughly scared. Their main outcry was that they did not know which particular forms of advertising and which programs were "not in the public interest", and that the expense for legal aid in defending their licenses when called up by the Commission was an unfair and undue punishment for offenses they had not known about. It was reported that "some of the smaller local station owners have appealed to their Congressmen to do something about the behavior of the Commissioners." (4). Others appealed to the National Association of Broadcasters to sleuth around the FCC in order to find out what programs were being frowned upon so that they could be taken off the air in order to avoid being

- (1) Variety. July 31, 1934, p. 31
- (2) Variety. September 11, 1934, p. 34
- (3) Variety. April 3, 1935, p. 34
- (4) Variety. May 1, 1935, p. 35

questioned. (1). In this atmosphere of fear and re-crimination spies were seen everywhere, and the "scare story" went the rounds that the FCC had detailed its field assistants who usually checked up merely technical violations of the engineering requirements to investigate local stations for the following classes of "taboo programs":

- "1 Attacks on government officials or government departments.
- 2 Objectionable religious programs.
- 3 Objectionable medical programs.
- 4 Programs carrying too many and too lengthy commercial announcements.
- 5 Programs where advertising may be fraudulent.
- 6 Programs involving boycott.
- 7 Advertising from professional people, such as doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.
- 8 Fortune telling.
- 9 Lotteries or schemes of chance.
- 10 Anything against the general public interest." (2).

Whether this story was true there was no way of knowing, but the atmosphere was not a happy one.

At this juncture the Columbia Broadcasting System made public its program standards with much fanfare and publicity. It announced that after February of the next year, when certain contracts were due for renewal, it would eye especially carefully children's programs, and programs "which involve unpleasant discussions of bodily functions, bodily symptoms, or other matters which similarly infringe on good taste"; and that "as a result of expressed public interest, careful study has been given the amount of time that should be used by sponsors for their advertising messages." (3). There was to be no more advertising of "laxatives, depilatories, deodorants", and "other broadcasting, which, by its nature, presents questions of good taste in connection with radio listening." (4). The length of time

- (1) Variety, May 8, 1935, p. 51
- (2) Variety. June 5, 1935, p. 31
- (3) New Policies. A statement to the public, to advertisers, and to advertising agencies. May 15, 1935. The Columbia Broadcasting System. p. 3.
- (4) Ibid. p. 8

for commercial announcements differed for evening and daytime. After six o'clock a one hour program could have six minutes of sales talk, a three quarter hour program, four minutes and a half, a half hour program, three minutes, and a quarter hour program, two minutes and ten seconds. In the daytime fifteen per cent of the total broadcast time could be taken up with the commercial, but fifteen minute programs were allowed an additional forty seconds. (1). In addition the announcement included the "basic program policies of CBS which have long been known to advertisers":

- "1 No false or unwarranted claims for any product or service.
- 2 No infringements of another advertiser's rights through plagiarism or unfair imitation of either program idea or copy.
- 3 No disparagement of competitors or competitive goods.
- 4 No lottery or 'drawing contest.' No contest of any kind in which the public is unfairly treated.
- 5 No programs or announcements that are slanderous, obscene, or profane, either in theme or treatment.
- 6 No ambiguous statements that may be misleading to the listening audience.
- 7 Not more than two price mentions on a fifteen minute program.
Not more than three price mentions on a half-hour program.
Not more than five price mentions on a full-hour program.
- 8 No advertising matter, or announcements, or programs which may, in the opinion of the System, be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the public, the Columbia Broadcasting System, or honest advertising and reputable business in general.
- 9 No appeals for funds.
- 10 No testimonials which cannot be authenticated." (2).

(1) New Policies. Op. cit., pp. 10ff

(2) Ibid., p. 13

These policies held only for CBS owned and operated stations, of which there were few, but, of course, regulated the advertising of national programs over the network.

Reaction to the code was very favorable. The Women's National Radio Committee which had been conducting a campaign to raise standards of programs claimed that the code proved that CBS had come to their point of view, that "distasteful, lengthy, and exaggerated advertising" is not effective. A.S. Prall, chairman of the FCC, commended CBS in a public statement. Senator Wheeler, one of the most outspoken critics of radio, and the Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee found the code "very gratifying." (1). The only sour note was a protest from the American Association of Advertising Agencies which found the regulations "needlessly severe" and urged that CBS confine itself to helping them write good copy rather than restricting them. The National Association of Broadcasters soon followed in the swim, and at its convention that summer re-iterated its 1929 Code of Ethics, making wordings of passages concerning advertising a little stronger.

The net effect of these measures was to improve advertising substantially, so that Prall at the NAB Convention was able to compliment the industry on their fine showing, and even went so far as to hold out the hope that if they kept up the good work their continued agitation for an extension of station licenses from six months to one year might be acceded to by the Commission. (2). E.J. Adams, head of the special divi-

(1) Variety. May 22, 1935, p. 37

(2) Variety. July 10, 1935, p. 42. (Prall's statement is especially interesting for the sidelights it throws on the attitude of the Commission at this time:

"As you are probably aware we have injected a bit of the New Deal into Radio in the past few months, and from where we sit in Washington it is apparent... that you are interested in our... determination to free the air of objectionable programs and strengthen friendly radio reception in the American Home. While our actions may have appeared drastic, I believe all of you will agree

sion of the Federal Trade Commission concerned with radio advertising remarked in an interview that the "quality and truthfulness of radio advertising has improved 75 per cent in the last year." (1).

The next few years were to see a good deal of inter-agency and inter-Congressional strife over advertising control. Three agencies were to deal with radio advertising: the Food and Drug Administration which could be called in to testify or could initiate an inquiry about a product advertised over the air, the Trade Commission which was concerned with unfair practices of competition, one of which was false and misleading advertising, and the Communications Commission which dealt with advertising "not in the public interest." There were occasional jurisdictional difficulties, as when a product called "Congoin" was passed by the Trade Commission, censured by the FCC, and held for inquiry by the Food and Drug Administration. In addition its manufacturers, an Argentinian firm, appealed to the State Department for help in getting past United States Agencies. (2). At any rate, so far as broadcasters were concerned, the program was taboo, and most of them carrying the advertising dropped it, with protests. (3). By 1937 new

(footnote continued)

that even at this early stage much good has been accomplished... Today after five months (since I took office) there has been a wholesome cleaning up. Stations have taken the view that the result can be accomplished by self regulation. That is well! We on the Commission are gratified, for our records show that there are still 100 station citations pending involving programs. These are not confined to medical continuities. They include lotteries, astrology programs, and other seeming violations in the public interest... Particularly gratifying to us has been the leadership of the nation wide networks... We hope they will continue to lead the way in this sensible self-regulation movement. Otherwise there is a strong possibility that Congress itself will step in and take a hand and perhaps write in the law restrictions with which the stations will be forced to comply."

- (1) Variety. July 24, 1935, p.38 (3) Variety. Sept. 18, 1935, p.63
 (2) Variety. Sept. 4, 1935, p.37

efforts were under way to get through Congress a more stringent bill to give the Food and Drug Administration power over advertising misleading by omission or commission, and providing that broadcasters or others disseminating such advertising would be responsible for it. In March, Clarence Lea, Chairman of the House Interstate Commerce Committee introduced another bill attempting to do much the same thing by giving the power to the Federal Trade Commission, and exempting broadcasters and other publishers from responsibility. It was even reported that there were suggestions afoot to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934 in order to give the FCC the right to pass on such misleading advertising when broadcast. (1).

The Lea bill, championed in the Senate by Wheeler, became law on March 31, 1938. The Trade Commission has the right under this act to pass not only on unfair advertising, but also on advertising of food, drugs, devices, and cosmetics "misleading in a material respect." Not only what is said about a product must be true, but the whole truth must be told. Procedure is much like that formerly used with regard to unfair advertising, but criminal penalties are provided if there is injury to health from a product, or the advertiser had intent to defraud. Broadcasters are exempt from this provision if they will cooperate with the Commission in telling them the manufacturer or agency handling the product. The majority of the cases handled by the Commission have been settled by stipulation, that is, agreement by the company with the Commission not to put out the advertising in question. Of the 1137 cases handled since the passage of the act, 12 have resulted in civil penalties, 17 have been settled by injunction, and only one in criminal action. (2).

In a Press Release for July 15, 1940, the Trade Commission gave out further statistics about its perusal of advertising continuities:

- (1) Variety. July 14, 1937, p. 39
- (2) Morehouse, P.B. "After Two Years of Wheeler-Lea." Advertising and Selling. May 1940. p. 22

Type of broadcaster Maximum Night Power	<u>Commercial Continuities</u>		<u>Broadcasters Surveyed</u>	
	Quantity Examined	Per Cent Marked	Script Procured	Stations or networks Represented
Nation-Wide Networks	15,390	22.2	100	3
Regional Networks	9,228	6.5	100	22
Total All Networks	24,618	16.4	100	25
<u>Individual:</u>				
Low Local (100 watts)	113,927	2.3	16 2/3	308
Med Regional (1,000 watts)	150,192	3.3	16 2/3	252
High Regional (10 kw)	19,736	4.4	16 2/3	36
Clear Channel (Inc. Special High) (25 kw-300 kw)	21,932	7.0	16 2/3	36
Total Individual Stations	305,787	3.3	16 2/3	632
Transcriptions	4,127	13.4	100	--
	334,532	4.2		

From this table it appears that networks are subjected to more careful scrutiny in their advertising than are local stations which is curious in view of the fact that they have led in promulgating standards. This is explained by the Trade Commission chiefly on the ground that in many cases it feels it has no jurisdiction in the matter because the station's signal may not be strong enough to be heard in more than one state. (1). Thus these figures give no picture at all of the way advertising is handled by various types of broadcasters, but merely represents a breakdown of the work of the Commission. Unfortunately, other figures are not available.

Since 1935 the Communications Commission has resorted less and less to formal hearings and more and more to informal action when dealing with stations which have broadcast questionable advertising. In the year ending June 30, 1936, twenty stations were called up for formal hearings and censured for certain programs they put on. Only two of these, however, were denied renewal of license, and in both cases, the stations were also shown to have inadequate financial resources for broadcasting. The advertising censured was mainly medical: reducing herbs and teas, an electrical "cure-for-everything", Marmola, a thyroid compound, and a Birth Control compound known as

- (1) Reported in a letter to the writers from P.B. Morehouse, Director, Radio and Periodical Division, Federal Trade Commission, August 26, 1940

"Birconjel". Advertising of horse races, and fortune telling were also frowned upon. In the next period, from June 1936 to March 1937, only one station was called up for formal hearing for program difficulties, and though it was shown that it had broadcast over forty programs of which the commission did not approve (mainly medicinal advertising), its renewal was granted. From March until November 1937 three stations were called up, and one denied renewal of license, when it was shown that in addition to broadcasting undesirable advertising it also had inadequate funds. And from November 1937 to June 1938 there were no stations called for formal hearing for program difficulties.

"Informal action" managed to get the Commission point of view across to a much larger number of stations. For instance, in June 1926, the FCC called up for hearing 20 stations which had broadcast advertising for Marmola, a reducing compound which the Trade Commission had censured some years earlier. Before the date of the hearing, however, all had notified the Commission that they had dropped the program, and the Commission revoked its order to appear for all except three which also had committed other offenses.

(1). Cases were reported in which individual Commissioners "used their personal influence" to get stations to drop material under censure, saying that they were justified in their action because they were saving the station the expense of legal aid in a hearing. (2). In general the Commission preferred to work this way informally, and to leave rules and regulations up to the industry, although opinion within the Commission has been divided on this point. In January 1939 a policy committee within the Commission suggested that it set up a code which would specify the minimum requirements for broadcasting in the public interest. Among the thirteen principles suggested were:

"Programs containing 'uninteresting and lengthy advertising continuity', lottery information, and false, fraudulent, or misleading advertising should not be allowed.

- (1) Variety. June 27, 1935, p.41; Oct. 16, 1935, p.40
 (2) Variety. December 11, 1935, p. 41

In accepting copy for medical services or products, advertising should be 'strictly truthful and decorous' and checked with the Food and Drug Administration, the Post Office Department, the Federal Trade Commission, local medical authorities, and the FCC principles." (1).

This idea of a code was rejected by a majority of the Commission which held that it came dangerously near to violating the law holding that the Commission has no right of censorship of programs, and which preferred to see individual stations and networks take the initiative in setting program standards.

To a large extent the industry has met the challenge and set standards for itself. The leadership has come from the networks, and from the National Association of Broadcasters, said to be dominated by the networks. Just why, with codes already in effect they should have felt called upon to formulate new ones is a matter of speculation, especially since the spirit of the codes has not changed very much. Most observers seem to think that the fact that in March, 1938 the FCC ordered its Monopoly investigation, indicating that they felt some qualms about the social usefulness of the networks, spurred the large companies on to making public statements about their ethics. It was not entirely easy to convince the non-network stations that such steps should be taken. Neville Miller, President of the National Association of Broadcasters took a trip throughout the Middle and Far West speaking to broadcasters constantly in order to convince them of the necessity of "putting their best foot forward." (2). During the Spring of 1939 the Committee on Self Regulation of the NAB drew up a code, basing it on the networks codes and those of individual stations which happened to have such expressed standards as well as the opinions of members who had been circularized by the Code Committee. While the proposed code was being submitted to advertising agencies and sponsors for their comments (as well as to individual station owners), NBC came out with a new statement of their policies in June. In an elaborate pamphlet

(1) Variety. January 25, 1939, p. 31

(2) Variety. January 18, 1939, p. 33

called "Broadcasting and the Public Interest" they tell the history of NBC, the general social philosophy of the network, and give detailed instructions on commercial accounts, including length of continuity, special rules for medical accounts, unacceptable advertising (including reducing agents, liquor, professional people, cathartics, personal hygiene products, speculative finance and real estate, fortune telling, cemeteries and morticians, hair dyes, firearms and fireworks.)

The NAB code as adopted on July 11, 1939 to go into effect on October 1, 1939, was not nearly so detailed on these points. Elaborate restrictions on advertising had been debated by the members, but it was felt that it was better to pass a general, lax code which could be enforced than a more stringent one which would not be followed. (1). As the code finally went through it provided for a time limit on advertising, and included the following statement:

"Acceptance of programs and announcements shall be limited to products and services offered by individuals and firms engaged in legitimate commerce; whose products, services, radio advertising, testimonials, and other statements comply with pertinent legal requirements, fair trade practices, and accepted standards of good taste." (2).

This of course, was very general, but the convention immediately adopted a "resolution" (not part of the code, nor having the same binding effect) to "clarify the phrase 'accepted standards of good taste'" which contained all the specific statements about advertising which had been rejected as part of the code. The resolution held that no member should accept advertising of liquor, illegal remedies, fortune telling, etc., questionable employment agencies, matrimonial agencies, offers of "home-work" except by reputable firms, race track publications, all forms of speculative finance, cures, false, deceptive, or grossly exaggerated advertising, continuity which describes repellently any bodily function, unfair attacks upon

- (1) Variety. July 12, 1939, p. 23
- (2) The Code of the National Association of Broadcasters. Adopted by the 1st Annual Convention of the NAB. July 11, 1939, p. 6

competitors, misleading statements of price. This resolution means that the code is almost identical with the program requirements of the National Broadcasting Company. It is binding upon all members of the Association which includes about fifty per cent of all the stations in the United States, but about 92 per cent of all broadcasting business. Upon complaint that a station is not complying with the Code, the Board of Directors can investigate the allegations, and may drop an offending member. It is difficult to say how serious a penalty this would be. To date almost all the stations have toed the line, with the exception of those owned by Elliott Roosevelt in Texas; he immediately left the Association.

The general improvement of the tone of advertising has not rested entirely with the broadcasters, but has seeped through to advertising agencies and in some cases to the industries themselves. Agencies for drug advertising began to restrict their copy before they attempted to get a station to accept it. (1). Successive conventions of the Drug and Toiletries Association considered the problem of standards for their advertising. But the situation was especially noticeable with regard to the liquor manufacturers. Because of fear of Congressional action, the Distilled Spirits Institute itself ordered that there should be no advertising of hard liquor over the air as early as January 1, 1937. (2). Since they controlled 94 per cent of the industry, this took almost all such advertising away from the stations. In 1938 only 14 stations carried any liquor advertising and this earned them only \$23,202, compared with the \$1,268,638 income from beer advertising carried by 317 stations. (3). Constant reiteration by the Federal Alcohol Administrator that he disapproved of any alcohol advertising over the air, and perennial bills in Congress to cut out all such business raised speculations constantly as to what attitude should be taken by the brewers on the question, out to date they have made no stand on broadcast advertising.

As the situation stands today, it is the responsibility of the station manager, or the network manager

- (1) Variety. May 8, 1935, p. 51 (3) Variety. April 26,
 (2) Variety. Jan. 8, 1936, p. 32 1939, p. 19

to censor his own advertising. Notice of products frowned on by Federal Agencies may be found in the trade magazines, or in the NAB Reports which are sent weekly to members. The Federal Trade Commission has commended stations which have written to them requesting information about a specific product, although, of course, they can be given only information about products which have been tried on the air, and not those which are going on for the first time. In some cities Better Business Bureaus rule out certain local advertisements. Penalty for infringement is the failure of the FCC to renew a license when it comes up for periodic inspection, but this whip has been cracked seldom in the last few years. More often the threat of the expense of a legal defense against such action is sufficient to keep in line those broadcasters who might accept offensive advertising. The difficulty of course for the broadcaster is that the FCC has occasionally gone beyond other Federal Agencies in condemning advertising which is not legally wrong, but merely in "poor taste." Most often the continuity is either acceptable or not, but there are some borderline cases when it is difficult for the broadcaster to say how it would be received by the Commission.

It is perfectly possible, even now, for censored products to get on the air. In May of this year, Marmola, first condemned by the FTC in 1929, and the cause of much worry in the industry since then, had lined up fifteen stations for its advertising. (1). The offenders against good taste and public standards today seem to be the small local stations, for the most part operated on little local capital (compared with network outlets), and dependent to a large extent upon local advertising for revenue. Since they are not members of the trade association they cannot be forced into line by industry action. Either a forthright stand on the part of the FCC (perhaps taking into account the different requirements of small town and big city advertising) to enforce program standards (although the wisdom of this is questioned by some within the Commission), or an aggressive stand on the part of listeners to defend consumer interest (which is very

(1) Variety. May 29. 1940, p. 38

unlikely in the hinterland where these stations are located) might make them toe the mark. An additional difficulty is the fact that Federal agencies have no right to censure advertising which is not intra-state in character.

As one pieces together the various phases of the story just told, in the light of the original question, to wit: Who in fact has the power to determine what shall be advertised and how? one finds a complex pattern has evolved in which the governmental agencies, Congress, the broadcasters, advertising agencies, and the manufacturers and distributors all share the power to determine what shall not be advertised.

The Congress, as representative of the total electorate, has in fact concerned itself primarily with matters pressed upon it by powerful organized minorities, such as prohibitionists. This is in keeping with the general working of representative bodies today. The several "independent" commissions have imposed more general standards, but have been handicapped by the paradoxical conception of the various acts of Congress based as they are upon the logically contradictory notions of 1) no censorship 2) public interest, convenience, and necessity. As it is not apparent how the broadcaster can be regulated in the public interest, convenience, and necessity without considering what he broadcasts and since such consideration may mean censorship, the FCC has vacillated between these two inherently incompatible goals of the policy as "defined" by Congress. (1).

The problems of control, however, do not end with what shall not be broadcast. When we come to what shall be broadcast, we find that the broadcasters and the advertisers have had a fairly free hand - except in so far as they speculate on "What the public wants." There has been very little effort made to conduct studies in the light of social psychological data to determine what the listeners would want, in spite of the constantly reiterated claim put on record by David Sarnoff at the recent Monopoly Hearing, that "the listener controls..."

- (1) This is an interesting parallel to the Interstate Commerce Act of 1920 which at once wants to "maintain competition" and "consolidate" the railroads.

Appendix 1

CONGRESSIONAL BILLS INTRODUCED
TO CONTROL ADVERTISING ON THE AIR

October 3, 1929. H.R. 4499. Mr. French. To prohibit the announcement, conduct and advertising of lotteries by means of radio.

December 8, 1931. H.R. 256. Mr. Christopherson. To prohibit the broadcasting by means of radio of any information regarding any lottery and for other purposes.

December 8, 1931. H.R. 409. Mr. French. To prohibit the announcement, conduct, advertising of lotteries by means of radio communication.

February 2, 1932. H.R. 8759. Mr. Amlie. To prohibit commercial advertising by means of radio on Sunday.

June 28, 1932. H.R. 12844. Mr. LaGuardia. To regulate and establish reasonable fees for radio advertisements.

February 14, 1934. H.R. 7974. Mr. Bland. To prohibit the broadcasting by radio of advertisements and information concerning lotteries.

March 10, 1934. S. 3015. Mr. Capper. To prohibit the advertisement of intoxicating liquors through the medium of radio broadcast.

January 18, 1937. H.R. 3140. Mr. Culkin. To prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio.

March 3, 1937. H.R. 5300. Mr. Maloney. To require that personal endorsements of articles by radio be accompanied by a statement that the endorsement is paid for.

February 25, 1938. S. 3550. Mr. Johnson. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio.

February 25, 1938. H.R. 224. Mr. Culkin. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio.

January 3, 1939. J.R. 251, 252. Mr. Culkin. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio.

January 3, 1939. H.R. 94. Mr. Maloney. To require that personal endorsements of articles by radio be accompanied by a statement that the endorsement is paid for.

January 10, 1939. S. 517. Mr. Johnson. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio.

Controlling Broadcasting in Wartime

A Tentative Public Policy

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH

The Radiobroadcasting Research Project is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Carl J. Friedrich is Director, and Jeanette Sayre, Research Associate. The studies in this series for the most part will embody their own findings, but will include special studies by others from time to time.

STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

NOVEMBER, 1940

NO. 2

CONTROLLING BROADCASTING IN WARTIME

A Tentative Public Policy

Carl Joachim Friedrich

It is fully realized that this study on the control of radiobroadcasting in wartime is concerned with highly controversial matters. There is no precedent to build upon. Conclusions, such as they are, should be considered tentative; they are working hypotheses at best.

Practitioners of the art of broadcasting often question the necessity of such an undertaking. "Why should we plan for radio in wartime, if we don't do it for the press?" they ask. A justifiable pride in their achievement makes them a bit touchy about being thus subjected to a solicitude they have not invited. The answer to this question is rather elaborate. There is no precedent for the control of radio in wartime, and radiobroadcasting presents technical complications which are not present in the case of the press.

It is often forgotten that the press has been handled in many previous wars. Each succeeding generation has had to handle novel and, in some ways, unique problems, but in spite of all this experience has been accumulating as to how the press has to be managed in wartime. The radiobroadcasting business on the other hand has been almost entirely developed since the World War and hence the questions connected with how to organize control during wartime are wholly new. What is worse, the pattern of control of radiobroadcasting in the United States is not any too well known or understood at the present time so that we are groping in the dark. There are other pertinent contrasts between the media.

Newspapers form a permanent record. The printed word is in itself evidence, and we can easily check whether a newspaper or magazine has been carrying subversive material and punish the responsible individual.

Radio leaves a record only in the minds of the listeners. In the event of an emergency, broadcasting presents immediate opportunities and dangers. Unlike the newspaper, its facilities are to some extent at least available to the enemy. Many technical tasks are confronting us. It is not generally realized that in spite of extraordinary developments in radiobroadcasting in the United States, national coverage is not as yet available. To get it we may require superpower, reallocation of stations, extension of networks and changed equipment. All these changes need time and should be ready in the event of hostilities. No such demand for newspaper equipment is to be expected. Further, the possibility of guiding enemy bombers by radio beams cannot be overlooked. Several alternatives have been suggested for avoiding this danger of directional flying. Whatever is done, careful plans should be made in advance. (1). Due to the possibility of widespread and instantaneous pick-up, the chances of a scare are much greater in radio than in the press. The famous incident of "The Invasion from Mars" is a case in point. (2).

There has been continuous controversy over control of radiobroadcasting in the United States. (3) The difficulties are sufficient to give any detached careful observer great concern. It may be doubted that so intricate a problem can be settled successfully once the emergency is confronting us. Even today, several government departments, Congress, and the industry are contending over various plans for control of radio in wartime. Under such conditions effective analysis of all available knowledge is highly desirable. Such

- (1) Further reasons why radio needs more careful control than the press may be found in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940).
- (2) The effect of this broadcast has been analyzed by Hadley Cantril with the assistance of Hazel Gaudet and Herta Herzog in The Invasion From Mars (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).
- (3) There is a good treatment of the difficulties in regulating radio before 1932 in Laurence F. Schmeckebier, The Federal Radio Commission (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1932).

knowledge if collected and distributed by a neutral source is more apt to carry conviction for the conclusions arising therefrom than the same knowledge presented by one of the parties at interest. From all this it seems to be very clear that radiobroadcasting control should be fully explored as soon as possible. (1).

Broadcasting has become one of the main channels of communication in recent years. In certain respects it has, in the United States, probably surpassed all others in importance. Communications are generally important for those seeking to control the community. They are particularly vital in a democracy. Hence the control of broadcasting facilities has become a significant problem. Like other problems of control, the problems of the control of broadcasting arise partly from the control pattern prevailing in the community, partly from the technical nature of the activity to be controlled. In the latter respect there has been an almost continuous evolution in the years since broadcasting was first invented, hence no stable, balanced conditions can be described which would provide an adequate basis for generalization. We must be content if we succeed in adequately comprehending and describing the shifting scene of control. In fact, so rapid has been the rate of change that a sketch of the problems of control is essentially a sketch of the history of the organization of the radiobroadcasting industry and its self-regulatory as well as govern-

- (1) A number of men of great practical experience have generously contributed of their time and knowledge to this study but none of them is to be held responsible for the views presented here. The following have been consulted: Mr. Charles A. Siefmann, Mr. Edward Klauber, Mr. Paul Kesten, Mr. George T. Van der Hoef, Mr. Wendell S. Gibbs, Mr. Roscoe Wright, Mr. Morse Salisbury, Mr. Winston B. Stephens, and Mr. Daniel H. Schwartz. Others, equally helpful, desired not to be named.

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mental control devices. (1). To illustrate by the facts before our eyes, as these lines are being written, the emergence of frequency modulation as a technique for broadcasting on ultra-high frequencies brings forward the prospect of a new revolution in the technical nature of the medium as we have known it. Technology keeps changing the substance of broadcasting.

It is obvious that a general pattern of political control such as prevails in Britain, let alone in a dictatorship, would imply a different system of controlling radiobroadcasting. But even in the United States, the word democracy may obscure a more complex pattern of shifting control in the community. Everyone knows that the middle twenties, when utility magnates passed freely into the President's office and the head of the aluminum combine was Secretary of the Treasury, implied a pattern of business ascendancy very different from the New Deal era of the middle thirties, with its governmental yardsticks for private enterprise. Regardless of how one may look upon this contrast, there can be little doubt that a new and unexplored channel of communication will be controlled by those who are controlling the community. That radiobroadcasting emerged in the middle twenties has to date stamped the peculiar pattern of control upon it which has become known as "The American System of Radiobroadcasting."

Since radio is an ubiquitous channel of communi-

- (1) There is a history of radio in the United States in spite of the aversion of most historians to deal with recent materials. Cf. Gleason L. Archer, History of Radio to 1926 (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1938) and Big Business and Radio (New York: The American Historical Company, Inc., 1939). Further treatment of these problems may be found in Broadcasting and the Public by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1938), and C. B. Rose, Jr. National Policy for Radio Broadcasting (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940).

cation and hence a major factor in persuasion, (1) those wielding power in a given community cannot readily neglect participation in its control. It might in some instances be easier to show who thus participated in the control of radiobroadcasting, and to argue from such an analysis that the evolving control of radiobroadcasting during the last twenty years reveals the shifting incidence of power in our land. Certainly the striking contrast between Great Britain and this country, both described as democracies in a general sense, reveals an underlying difference in the control groups. The British Broadcasting Corporation has, throughout its existence, been primarily controlled by the so-called "governing class" that is to say the conservative and aristocratic elite which dominates Oxford and Cambridge as well. Parliament, to be sure, has had a supervisory control which was formally limitless, but in reality quite restricted. (2).

Hence it might be claimed that the evolving control of radiobroadcasting during the last twenty years reveals the general pattern of control in the particular community. The outcome of the struggle for its domination mirrors the general distribution of power in the community.

This contention fits in with the picture in the

- (1) Persuasion is one of the three basic sources of power, the other two being physical force and wealth. See my Constitutional Government and Politics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), Chap. I. The same view was stated by Bertrand Russell, Power, Chap. III.
- (2) This assertion can easily be documented from debates in the House of Commons, House of Commons Debates, April 29, 1936; July 6, 1936; December 17, 1936. An excellent treatment of the control of British broadcasting may be found in Lincoln Gordon, The Public Corporation in Great Britain (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

United States as generally known. "Government" in the formal sense was not in a position to appropriate control of radiobroadcasting, except in those fields admittedly committed to its charge, such as the police and the armed forces. (1). For the rest the formal government was merely called upon to act as umpire. The FCC, carrying on the policy of the FRC, is regulatory mainly in that it functions as a balancer of contending social forces. As the statute has it, it is to see that radiobroadcasting is carried on in "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." This pious formula provides an admittedly vague standard. Its very vagueness assists all those using it, -- government agencies and broadcasters alike, -- in rationalizing whatever compromise happens to be feasible between the prevailing balance of forces in the community. It is quite indicative of the general pattern of control in the United States that the labor group found relatively little opportunity to participate in the control of radiobroadcasting.

Radiobroadcasting has essentially become a business enterprise in this country. Although the Statute enunciates the people's general claim to the "air," (2) it makes them pay for this "air space" by advertising. This situation has seemed acceptable to most people, because the cost is not realized; it is absorbed into the general price structure. (3). The

- (1) We say "government in the formal sense," because in a more realistic sense the community is of course governed by those who wield the power, whether they are called the government or not.
- (2) It is amusing how this absurd expression persists amongst people who know perfectly well that the air, the chemical compound that we breathe, has absolutely nothing to do with the electrical waves emitted by the complicated machines built and operated by the radio broadcasting companies.
- (3) Although in general there has been a substitution of radio advertising for advertising over other media, there are a few companies which have used radio to supplement other means of reaching the public. (Report by Neil H. Borden, Professor of Advertising, Harvard Business School, from studies in progress on this point). Figures on the increase in radio advertising, and the decrease

result may be that those least able to pay for it, namely those who cannot buy a radio set, may be paying for the radio programs of those who can. Whether this seems "sound" policy depends upon the particular observer's social outlook; whether it is done that way in a given community will depend upon the pattern of control prevailing therein. It might well be argued that a system built upon greatly increased cost of radio listening apparatus might be more "just." The "American System" can claim to have led to a wider distribution of radio receiving sets than any other.

In this country the radiobroadcasters and the advertisers who pay them for time on their stations between them decide what should go on the air. The broadcasters have developed a standard they refer to as "our editorial judgment." (1). Control is divided in a complex way between various interested parties. To explore that pattern is the task of anyone who wishes to understand the control of radiobroadcasting. The testimony of men participating in the conflict, though constituting important evidence, is never conclusive in such situations because of the working of the rule of anticipated reactions. (2).

(footnote continued)

in other media may be found in Printer's Ink, March 1, 1940, as compiled by Dr. L.D.H. Weld, Director of Research, McCann-Erickson, Inc.

- (1) See e.g. "Political Broadcasts," an exchange of letters, published by the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1936. The intended newspaper analogy is obvious.
- (2) The "rule of anticipated reactions" concerns the fact that it is difficult to trace control since the "person or group which is being influenced anticipates the reactions of him or those who exercise the influence." The rule is stated as follows: "Any political context in which we observe one or more instances in which a previous decision or action is reversed is likely to be permeated by the influence of the individual or the group to whom the reversal can be traced in the specific case." C.J.Friedrich, Constitutional Government and Politics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), p. 17.

But certain tentative hypotheses can be formulated on the basis of a detailed study of advertising over the air. One finds here that a complex pattern has evolved in which the governmental agencies, Congress, the broadcasters, advertising agencies, and the manufacturers and distributors of advertised goods all share the power to determine what shall not be advertised. Congress, as representative of the total electorate, has in fact concerned itself primarily with matters pressed upon it by powerful organized minority groups, such as prohibitionists. This is in keeping with the general working of representative bodies today. The several "independent" commissions have imposed more general standards, but have been handicapped by the paradoxical conception of the various acts of Congress based as they are upon the logically contradictory notions of 1) no censorship 2) public interest, convenience and necessity. As it is not apparent how the broadcaster can be regulated in the public interest, convenience and necessity without considering what he broadcasts, and since such consideration may mean censorship, the FCC has vacillated between these two inherently incompatible goals of the policy as "defined" by Congress. However, when we come to what shall be broadcast we find that the broadcasters and advertisers have a fairly free hand, except in so far as they speculate on "what the public wants."

At this point, then, it is quite important to consider the role of the government, as an adjunct to listener "control." It operates, we might say, as a protection to minorities. Minorities, effectively organized, can make themselves very much heard in the antechamber of Congress. The moral judgments of the Catholic Church or of the "drys" are a case in point. But almost any group, even including labor, would be able to exert a measure of influence. It is not in the public interest . . . to have the general public disturbed, and hence the "independent" commission has the right to withdraw the license of a radio station which allows an uproar to develop. In turn, the broadcaster is ready to draw the line at this point. The rule in the Communications Act of 1934 on this point provides: "No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication."

(Sec. 326.) Broadcasters have defined specific types of material which they will not carry in addition to such obscenity, indecency and profanity. The National Association of Broadcasters, including 92 per cent of the industry's business, if but 50 per cent of its stations, has promulgated a code of self-regulation which makes it possible for the broadcaster to be fairly firm with enthusiastic promoters. The home, all agree, must be protected against irritating intrusions.

The general folkways, then, find an ardent champion in a set of regulatory institutions. They are thus protected because established business concerns do not wish to submit copy challenging the established folkways, -- indeed the best of them are satisfied with a mere mention of the hallowed name of the great company on their sponsored programs. There are, however, considerable differences in the standards here involved, with the largest broadcasters usually the most conservative. (1).

Beyond this general pattern of balanced forces, only case studies can reveal something of the conflicts inherent in the American System. Typical conflict situations arise where a large number of listeners would like to listen to any of the programs under discussion, and the outcome of the struggle for control determines which one they actually listen to.

The problems of the control of radiobroadcasting in the United States are reaching a crisis in the face of a possible war. Unlike the British and other people, we have developed our broadcasting facilities in keeping with a middle class controlled, property respecting democracy at peace. The control of radio has therefore largely been left to those interested in owning facilities hired by others and in those

- (1) This tendency for the big networks to be "high-class" was given very inadequate consideration in the "Monopoly Report" -- "Report of the Committee appointed by the Commission to supervise the Investigation of Chain Broadcasting." Commission Order No. 37 -- Docket No. 5060. Also C. J. Friedrich, "The 'Monopoly' Report: A Critical Appraisal." The Public Opinion Quarterly, vol.4, No. 3, September 1940, pp. 526ff.

hiring the facilities. Is it safe to go on with that pattern of control?

When this study was first begun, there was no public discussion on the subject. During the summer of 1940, a number of suggestions were put forth, implemented by rumors in the trade journals. Broadcasters proposed that a member for communications should be added to the Advisory Commission to the Council on National Defense, while James Lawrence Fly, the Chairman of the FCC, wished to have a separate Defense Communications Board established. (1). The latter proposal has now become a reality.

On September 24, 1940, President Roosevelt announced the formation of the Defense Communications Board. (2). As originally announced, the Board's function was said to be "to work out 'paper plans' for use in the event of a national emergency, although it will unquestionably consider current problems having a bearing on national defense, such as international broadcasting, foreign language broadcasts, and the like." (3). Later reports said that the Board is to consider only the coordination of actual facilities and that problems of broadcasting and censorship are to be left to a Federal Information Agency, modelled after the Committee on Public Information. (4).

The War Department, however, has set up another

- (1) "Communications Defense Board Projected," Broadcasting, July 1, 1940, p. 9. "Naming of Defense Board Imminent," Broadcasting, July 15, 1940, p. 13. "Neville Miller, James Fly Disagree on Best Way to Integrate Radio with National Defense Problem," Variety, July 17, 1940, p. 23.
- (2) Its chairman is James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. It includes the director of Naval Communications, the Army Chief Signal Officer, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (for Coast Guard), who also serves as Board Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary of State who is in charge of State Department Division of International Communications. Broadcasting, October 1, 1940, p. 11.
- (3) Loc. cit.
- (4) Broadcasting, October 15, 1940, p. 15.

and an apparently overlapping committee, in a separate radio section. The function of this section is said to be "to handle all radio liason during the current period of non-involvement. There is no censorship factor involved, at least not at this stage. The project is simply that of better coordination with radio and keeping the public informed." The radio section is to hire script writers and to plan for future developments in the case of actual conflict. (1). As yet, then, there is no obvious solution to the problem.

BASIC TASKS

This study is based on the premise that there are four basic tasks to be considered in determining how radio broadcasting should be operated and controlled during a war. (2).

First, there are the military needs, which make radio an important weapon in the equipment of land, sea, and air forces.

Second, there is the issue of morale, the building and maintenance of which is of unpredictable importance in modern technological i.e. industrial warfare.

Third, there are the requirements of national defense against espionage, sabotage, and similar activities.

Fourth, there is the task of maintaining good will abroad wherever we can, but more particularly in Latin America.

Each one of these tasks is an essential part of our war effort. If any one of them failed, the war might be lost. Hence a satisfactory policy of radiobroadcasting must seek to take care that all four tasks are adequately provided for. Many current views on the subject are the result of overemphasizing one of these tasks to the neglect of another. There are of course many conceivable alternatives, when one considers the course of action to follow, but these alternatives seem to fall into three major patterns. An outline of these follows.

(1) Broadcasting, October 15, 1940, p. 15.

(2) It is assumed that such a war will not, for a while, come to our shores.

MAJOR ALTERNATIVES

First, there is the proposal, supposedly indicated by the language of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, Sec. 606 (c), of putting the entire radiobroadcasting industry under the armed forces of the United States, with the three subalternatives of putting it (a) under the army, (b) under the navy, (c) under their joint control.

Second, there is the possibility, also permitted by the Act, of taking over all radiobroadcasting into the government, but leaving administration to a civilian director-general, as was done with the railroads during wartime. If this alternative were adopted, there would remain the issue as to whether such civilian control should be linked with the Federal Communications Commission, with perhaps the chairman of the Commission in charge, or whether it should be given to a neutral civilian, an administrator outside the Commission, presumably directly under the President.

Third, there is the possibility of leaving the general broadcasting business as is, but (a) subjecting it to a measure of censorship, presumably under the censorship board of the army, and (b) commandeering as much broadcasting time as may be required by the government for its purposes. It may, however, be argued that censorship should be exercised by a civilian authority linked with a more general governmental control body, such as the Committee on Public Information. There are, of course, many different ways of commandeering time: The government could have definitely assigned time, say fifteen minutes every two hours, or could have the right to broadcast any time during stated hours (as is the usual arrangement between networks and their outlets), or both. If broadcasting is left as is, there is still the problem of adequate facilities for the government. As is well known, no existing chain has complete national coverage, and there are considerable rural areas which no station reaches effectively. There are a number of subsidiary questions: Whether to erect new stations or to increase the power of existing ones; whether to concentrate on long or short wave broadcasting.

It is necessary to point out, with regard to the

last alternative, that the more recent development of broadcasting makes the actual programming the really crucial issue, from the government's point of view. A fair amount of experience has been built up by the small, but effective broadcasting activities which have been carried on by a number of governmental agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture and the Office of Education. Consensus of opinion among the men who have been carrying on these activities suggests the setting up of a central governmental programming service. Such a programming service might restrict itself entirely to the task of developing program ideas and cooperating with the broadcasters in putting them on the air. Scripts and production might be largely the responsibility of the broadcasters themselves, or the Board might have to go into the business of building the programs. The division of activity would depend upon the attitude of the broadcasters.

These alternatives which are, of course, presented only in rough outline have their strong and weak points. An adequate consideration must inevitably weigh many intangibles, and hence remains to some extent a matter of opinion. But a general indication of the more obvious aspects may be offered here as a first step toward effective handling.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

There can be no doubt that the language of the Communications Act of 1934 gives the President authority to take over the entire radiobroadcasting industry. Members of Congress who participated in the drafting of that legislation are inclined to feel that this action is intended by the Act. But if so, the language of the Act is equivocal; for it certainly does not make it imperative for the President to take over the broadcasting industry. The very fact that Sec. 606 (c) enumerates a number of alternative procedures, and begins with the provision "the President may suspend or amend, for such time as he may see fit, the rules and regulations applicable to any or all stations within the jurisdiction of the United States as prescribed by the Commission" suggests that this section is intended to give the President power to

coördinate broadcasting control by the government, by substituting outright administrative control for the peace time control by an "independent" commission, responsible to Congress. But this action may, if necessary, be carried all the way to "the use and control of any station . . . by any department of the Government. . . ." In short, the legislation now in force leaves it entirely up to the President to go as far as he wishes. It contains no suggestions concerning the matter. Evidently, Congress recoiled from prejudging what might be the pros and cons of several alternative schemes. In doing so, it was undoubtedly wise, considering the rapid development of this new industry.

PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM

Rather than examine in detail the pros and cons for outright government operation of radiobroadcasting in this country, it seems best to discuss the problems involved in an adaptation of the existing system in order to discover what may be done. The greatest argument for such an arrangement is, of course, the maintenance of morale. The radio has become so much a part of the American home, and so much a constituent of the everyday way of life of the American masses that their morale can be most readily maintained by suitably utilizing this communication channel, not only for news, but for the effective dramatization of the war issues in serial dramas and other effective skits with high audience indices. Indeed, the withdrawal of such entertainment would seriously upset the routine of a considerable majority of the people, and thereby increase their sense of insecurity and lack of confidence.

Listening to radio has become a major feature of our folkways. A very sizable majority of people recently polled on the subject stated that they would rather give up the movies than their radio. Since morale depends in part upon maintaining as much as possible of the established everyday life, this certainly would suggest going on with broadcasting programs much in the accustomed manner. No doubt, ample time could and should be provided for the government, national, state and local, to reach the citizen and

inform him about what is going on. Who should develop these programs is another matter. It is more likely to prove convincing, Americans being what they are, if as much as possible in the way of educational and informational material can be presented through channels not obviously governmental in nature. In view of the fact that most radio programming is at present being paid for by advertisers, either directly or indirectly, there is no good reason why this large expense should be added to the government's already crowded budgetary requirements. The extensive cooperation of station owners and advertisers with the government in the present National Defense effort points to the fact that in a national emergency broadcasters would go far in producing the "morale building" programs which the government would otherwise have to originate itself. After all, if we are in a war it's bound to be the people's war. It seems useful, therefore, to explore the necessary adaptations of existing broadcasting facilities to wartime needs, in the light of available knowledge. This had best be done in reference to each of the four tasks we have described.

MILITARY NEEDS

The importance of adequate radio facilities for the armed forces of the United States is self-evident. Seeing that the air facilities are limited, and the needs of the armed forces increasing, persons not thoroughly familiar with the technical requirements envisage a shortage of "air space." In fact, no such shortage is anticipated. There is general agreement among experts (a) that the technical requirements of the armed forces must be fully met (b) that they can be met without seriously affecting the broadcasting setup as it exists today. Most army equipment for broadcasting between various parts of the forces uses short wave only. For technical reasons, these short waves are better adapted to such point-to-point broadcasting than long waves, and it is not contemplated that even with greatly increased demands on radio facilities in the event of a war the army would need long waves for its work. There is the possibility that for military reasons the army would wish to communicate with all the armed forces by long wave,

but this could be arranged with the existing broadcasters since it is not likely that this would happen often.

For military reasons some long wave stations might have to be commandeered and put out of use for the duration of the war because of the dangers of directional flying. There would probably not be many such stations, however, and their loss to the listeners could be compensated for by service from other stations. British experience is of some interest here. It was known that British Imperial Airways planes flew in blind from as far away as Marseilles on the Drottwich long-wave beam. Before the outbreak of hostilities, the BBC consulted with the R.A.F. on how to eliminate this risk. Peace time alternative programs were eliminated and a single service substituted. Transmitters in various parts of the country were grouped in such a way as to "interfere" with each other sufficiently to eliminate directional flying. What this means for this country is probably a suitable patterning of matched channels at strategic locations which would scramble the signals sufficiently to eliminate the chances of using beams for directional flying. Only the strictly military requirements in the light of qualified engineering advice should determine policy here.

COUNTERESPIONAGE REQUIREMENTS

This field lends itself to the lurid imagination, and fanciful dangers can readily be exaggerated to the point of absurdity. Yet with all due caution against that type of hysteria, it cannot be denied that radio-broadcasting in private hands, as it is in this country, presents certain possibilities of misuse. Information might, indeed, be conveyed to the enemy, in a considerable number of ways. Messages might be broadcast by ingenious codes which might be worked into songs and otherwise unobjectionable material. Furthermore, the experience to date with Fifth Column activity, hiding behind a variety of neutral fronts, makes close vigilance essential. Radio might be used, and in fact has been used, for communication between subversive groups in this country. It has also been claimed that use has been made of it for espionage purposes. To counter this, it has been suggested that

an intelligence officer be placed in every radiobroadcasting outlet in this country. However, the existence of numerous listening centers would seem to make this kind of employment rather improbable in wartime, because of the danger of immediate detection.

On the whole, our long-wave stations are not well adapted to convey information to the enemy, except along the coast and the Mexican border. Special safeguards may be introduced here. Some stations will have to be closed, or their power reduced. Broadcasters could be urged to cooperate in enforcing certain rules and regulations; those found to deviate from them could be deprived of their licenses.

The situation is markedly different in the short-wave field. Here the possibility of giving information to the enemy is technically considerable. However, there are only a relatively small number of such transmitters. If it were not for their utility as a means for carrying on efforts abroad it might be simplest to withdraw these licenses altogether. It would deprive this country of its channels for reaching Latin America, allies, neutrals, and enemies, however, and this loss would appear to be greater than the gain of eliminating the chance of spies utilizing these facilities, if adequately controlled. It would not be difficult to install complete check-up in advance, as contrasted with mere surveillance in the long-wave set-up. The stations could certainly each have an intelligence unit attached to them. (1). Considerable parts of the programs could be initiated in a government programming unit. (2). Commercial programming could be entirely prohibited. (There is little of it, anyway.)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

The foreign language problem is of no mean proportion in this country, with its polyglot population, many of whom are ardently attached to alien ideologies. But as has repeatedly been pointed out by qualified spokesmen, like Attorney-General Jackson, for precisely that reason we should be careful not to swell the ranks of the Fifth Column. Broadcasting has striking oppor-

- (1) These units would, of course, be under the Censorship Board.
- (2) See below.

tunities to help here through foreign language broadcasting. There have been some troubles, and certain station owners have been inclined to eliminate foreign language broadcasts. There can be no doubt that adequate surveillance is rather difficult. Yet we need the loyal support of Americans whatever their language. Rather than eliminate foreign language broadcasts altogether it might be wiser to reduce their number, and to substitute recorded material which can be carefully checked at a central point and shipped out over the country. When it comes to news, the government controlled short-wave stations could be utilized to furnish foreign language spots of brief duration (such as they are broadcasting today to countries abroad) which the local stations could re-broadcast.

NATIONAL MORALE AND THE PROBLEM OF DISSENT

Though we speak glibly of morale, we know very little about the conditions which make for high morale. That of the civilian population and of the armed forces merges to a considerable extent since the drive behind industrial production is so much a part of the fighting spirit of all, that we had better look upon the problem of morale as comprising soldiers and home forces. This is particularly true in view of the fact that it would be next to impossible to broadcast to the civilian population without reaching the camps, and vice versa.

It has always been recognized by able military leaders that morale is of paramount importance. (1). Even an outright totalitarian system must do its utmost to maintain it. A democracy obviously cannot do without it. There are many elements involved in this effort, but no channel is probably today the equal of the radio. Hitler knows it, and has made masterly use of it. We must not do less, though our methods need to be very different. A totalitarian government seeks to eliminate every vestige of dissent. A democratic government, if it did likewise, would destroy its very foundation. Without responsible dissent and opposition, there could be no effective

(1) For the issues involved in propaganda from abroad see below.

government with us. The BBC fully recognized this fact, and determined to secure enough latitude for responsible leaders of the opposition to make sure that no well-founded criticism would go unheard. But of course this recognition of the vital importance of criticism, and of the corollary danger of complete conformity, does not by any means imply that we can go on as we have. It is one thing for the qualified representative of a responsible group in the community to point to defects in the effort of those in power, (1) and quite another for a rhetorical agitator to offer general abuse. The issue here involved (and it is a very tricky one, to be sure) might be further illustrated by reference to Colonel Lindbergh: When he points out that our air arm equipment is unsatisfactory and ought to be improved in certain directions, it is probably well for the country to learn of his strictures, but if he comments upon the government's foreign policy, the same cannot be said.

There are many difficult questions involved in this type of proposal. The broadcasters, as part of their "editorial judgment," will do a certain amount of culling. But there may be need for explicit standards as to who should be allowed to speak, similar to the standards developed in the field of political broadcasting, which the Army Censorship Board may want to lay down, in collaboration with the other authorities and the broadcasters.

TESTING THE RESULTS

One very important task which the authorities will have to face is testing the effects of broadcasts. At the present time no one is in a position to predict with any assurance what might be the reactions of various audiences to particular programs. Techniques have been developed and used by radio people to find out the effect of a single program. Little work has been done, however, in testing the effect of programs before they go on the air. When we consider the effect of such a broadcast as "The War of the Worlds," it becomes evident that one should avoid programs of

- (1) Chamberlain and some of his ineffectual associates might still be in office, if there had not been this free opposition.

an alarmist nature. The judgment of highly educated, sophisticated broadcasters may not anticipate the reaction of the mass of listeners. Another problem of obvious importance, if the war continues for any length of time, is the effect of programs on long range attitudes. For instance, the publication of losses during a particular battle may make people dissatisfied with the government at the time, but the fact that the government establishes a reputation for truth telling may be the best thing for morale in the long run. It would seem that the government should establish a service unit to deal effectively with this task. To avoid a lot of meaningless experimentation, however, such a service should be put in charge of someone with at least ten years' experience in the United States, and preferably someone whose work has brought him into contact with the common folks. Matters of this kind are very difficult to judge, and depend a good deal upon the groups dealt with. Effective work in this field undoubtedly requires a high degree of psychological insight. In view of the controversial nature of modern psychology it seems wise, however, to avoid any of the more extreme exponents of psychological schools, and to rely rather upon some fairly neutral persons. It is felt in many quarters that psycho-analytical and statistical fanatics are of dubious value for this kind of work. (1).

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

It is a striking argument in favor of continuing the present system with certain necessary modifications that a large number of the men who have been doing broadcasting work for various federal agencies are in favor of such a scheme. They feel, however, that peak listening hours must regularly be made available

- (1) An excellent treatment of the general problems of listener research may be found in Hadley Cantril and Gordon Allport, The Psychology of Radio (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935); and F. H. Lumley, Measurement in Radio (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1934). See also Paul F. Lafarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (1940).

for the government or utilized for public service programs. Since networks provide much larger and more certain coverage on commercial than on sustaining programs it will be desirable to make such public service programs subject to commercial rules, i.e. all outlets should be more or less obliged to carry these programs. It may be argued, and it has been argued, that the government should pay for such time at commercial rates, but this is a difficult issue. It clearly could not be so argued, unless the broadcasters were willing to submit to strict control of their returns so as to avoid any profiteering.

Some experienced broadcasters have expressed the fear that advertising revenue would materially decline in the case of war (as has happened in England). Hence, they urge, the government should step into the breach. At least one leading network executive, after a quick survey, felt that it would not be necessary for the government to pay for time on the air. Broadcasters would still be sound financially if advertising revenue dropped 30 per cent. More detailed statistics cannot at this time be offered. Further study may be desirable to anticipate any bad effect upon the industry.

At the present time, government agencies negotiate with the broadcasters for such time as they may be able to secure. They would be in a rather different position, if the government had definitely asked for a certain percentage of the time. It would then become necessary to allot this time between various government agencies so as to produce the most effective use of the available facilities. Although the broadcasters might attempt to deal with this issue, it is to be feared that they would find themselves confronted with conflicting demands of many agencies, and be placed in the position of umpires as to which had the right of way. This task might involve them in very delicate situations as it would presume that private persons would be the best judges as to what information was most essential and needed by citizens to enable them to play their part in the defense effort of the nation.

A CENTRAL PROGRAMMING AGENCY

Evidently a central programming authority should

be created, if radiobroadcasting is to retain its basic structure. Such an agency would be in charge of radio programming for the government. It would initiate programs, and decide which radio programs had the right of way, it would supervise in a general way the nature of such programs, it would attempt to assess their effectiveness by suitable testing methods, and it would keep in constant touch with the broadcasting industry concerning the entire government program. This would mean that such an agency could also suitably concern itself with making suggestions to the broadcasters as to ways in which they might assist the government in the maintenance of general morale. Such an agency would have to exercise control over the subject matter to be broadcast for all government agencies. This would be true even of those agencies whose work does not seem to be connected with the war effort in any immediate way, else such agencies would find it very difficult to get time on the "air."

If one keeps in mind the difficulties involved in effective programming at the present time, such an enterprise might produce serious difficulties, if it miscarried. If programs were ineffectual and uninteresting a good part of the time, people would not get into the habit of tuning in on public service stuff, and the government would presently be left without an effective radio voice. In this connection it might be worthwhile to cite the opinion of an expert who had much to do with radiobroadcasting for the Red Cross Drive recently:

"In our recent war relief fund drive, the leading network programs with the highest audience ratings, gave us an enormous number of plugs during the course of their regularly scheduled shows. The results were splendid."

This is not to say that the United States government at war can be put into the same category as the Red Cross making a drive. The Red Cross appeal was an extremely simple one: give, give, give. It merely had to get across its message of suffering and of help needed. The American government will have a rather complex appeal. Many situations will require extreme delicacy and discretion. It will not be able

to rely upon humanitarian impulses. But precisely the complexity and the importance of the task counsel caution. They suggest the fullest possible utilization of existing resources of talent and ability fully familiar with the American listener.

This central agency, named perhaps the Radiobroadcasting Program Board would have to be staffed by specialists thoroughly familiar with broadcasting problems. In order to do this job effectively, such a Board would require some men fully familiar with the production of successful programs so that this authority would be in a position to implement departmental programs whenever such programs did not seem to insure maximum efficiency in reaching the listening public.

THE CONTROL OF THE PROGRAM BOARD

A difficult question arises in connection with where to put such an agency. From a strictly administrative standpoint, much is to be said for locating it right at the center, under the executive establishment of the President. A serious objection arises, however, from our system of party government. A great deal of thought was devoted in Great Britain to how to keep broadcasting out of politics. It has borne fruit and resulted in the establishment of an "independent" government corporation, but even this corporation was inevitably subjected to a certain amount of partisan pressure. In our country, where we do not have the same tradition of a recognized parliamentary opposition, it would be extremely difficult to organize the administrative set-up in such a way as to convince the people at large that the broadcasting channels were not being used for partisan purposes. Even the fairest administrator would be subject to continuous charges of abuse. He would appear to be very similar to a member of the cabinet. This would affect civilian morale most adversely. Brief reflection will convince one that even the President would be losing under such a setup, for the President will have all the time he wants on the radio, under any conceivable type of organization. As supreme commander of the armed forces of the United States in time of war all the broadcasting channels will be at his disposition. By putting the programming service directly under his

control, he raises the spectre of partisan influence without any corresponding gain.

Even those who might be favorable to this solution on the ground of favoring governmental operation of radiobroadcasting as a public monopoly as it exists in Britain, should be wary of the expedient of using a war emergency for gaining control. The difficulties and complications arising during a war, including heavy curtailment of programs in certain respects, will be blamed upon governmental operations as such, just as they were blamed upon the Director General of Railroads during the last war. This would very probably cause an unfavorable reaction in the public mind. In a democracy, such maneuvers for gaining an end not yet approved by the people at large usually end up by producing the opposite effect. This has been demonstrated by the fate of the prohibition amendment.

If the President should not control the Board, where should it be located? If some general Department of Public Information were set up (1) this national programming agency might naturally come under it. It has, however, been urged by one authority, especially familiar with recent British experience, that these radio programming functions should be clearly differentiated from the problems of government policy and propaganda. Hence, he urges, some body like the Creel Committee should be set up. It should be in intimate touch with this Radio Programming Board, but the Board should not be under the propaganda department. He feels it is vital to distinguish the functional preoccupations of a programming unit, concerned to give a radio form to governmental notions and needs, and of a unit preoccupied with government policy. Our knowledge is insufficient for a definite conclusion.

The Radio Program Board would probably function best, if in close touch with, but not a part of the Federal Communications Commission. Perhaps the Chairman of the FCC could be a member. Its Chairman and

(1) This might be the case. See the suggestions and blue print in James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, Words that Won the War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), pp. 344 ff.

one of the other two members should be drawn from outside the Commission, however. For effective utilization of departmental and other outside views, it should probably possess an advisory committee, fairly representative of the ten or twelve agencies primarily concerned with national defense, the industry, the artists, and the listening public.

THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL STATIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Undoubtedly the most complicated problem in the administrative sense confronted by the Radio Program Board would be the coordination of local governmental programs and activities. There is no question that local leaders are of great importance in the maintenance of general morale. Yet the experience of station WNYC, the municipal station in New York City, would indicate that local political dissension may make the work of the station very difficult. Where there is a less sincerely interested local leader than Mayor LaGuardia, local broadcasting may be even more influenced by political propaganda which destroys its usefulness in promoting morale. There must be further examination of the dangers and advantages of local control of broadcasting before this problem can be settled.

There are some who feel that we shall have to rely primarily upon network broadcasting. They would have us close some of the smaller stations. Equally experienced men would urge the exact opposite. Pointing to the fact that there are more independent stations than there are stations affiliated with chains, and that most of the affiliates operate independently of chain programs for a large part of the day, they would insist that the maintenance of local stations is of vital importance, indeed that "the real problem is how to use and how to allocate and how to control these hundreds of small radio stations throughout the country." Connecticut has put radio officials on its state defense board. That may be one effective method to tie in local activities. Those who maintain that local stations are very important realize that a large amount of decentralization would be indicated. "Successful execution would be in proportion to the degree of decentralization."

Experience with the coverage provided by networks on sustaining programs of mediocre interest is not a fair gauge of the relative importance of networks as contrasted with local stations. Small stations with limited program facilities, are likely to be more hospitable to canned stuff of a governmental public relations department than the great networks. However, it all depends upon whom it is desired to reach. For total audience coverage all available facilities must probably be brought into play, though the available information about coverage is not as complete as it might be.

At any rate, there seem to be many good reasons for not shutting down the small local stations. In many areas they are extremely important for daytime reception. They do have their local following. Decentralized government agencies find them effective channels for communicating with their particular public, as contrasted with the national public, to which the networks naturally address themselves. Many of the defense policies will be national in scope, and for publicizing them extensive coverage should be made available. Other policies will be addressed to particular groups which may be more effectively reached through local broadcasts.

At the present time the networks do not have national coverage on anything like the scale that might be required. Some well-informed observers feel that on that account we ought to increase the power of half a dozen stations to at least 500 kw. to give complete coverage. Certainly there is going to be an urgent need on occasion for reaching pretty nearly the entire nation (supplied with electricity). This is an old issue. It has recently been revived. The Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee is said to be opposed to high power. At any rate, until we have such powerful stations, the effective local execution of defense policies will require the help of local stations. Indeed, even if we had such superpower stations, much effective local work would be greatly assisted by local stations using local personnel. The federal government may even find itself obliged to stimulate the development of broadcasting facilities in certain local areas where they are now wholly inadequate. It may be added that a

considerable number of these local stations may in turn be linked into a supplementary emergency network. Indeed, the establishment of the Radio Program Board would in effect so link them: for what is a network but a national programming service?

ANTICIPATING A CRISIS

One striking advantage of the program service outlined in the preceding paragraphs would be its utility in building up a service personnel which would be available to the government in case conditions became more critical. If events should require it, as the war moved toward this hemisphere, machinery would be set up which would facilitate the control of all broadcasting facilities at a moment's notice. This might at first merely take the form of breaking in on all programs without delay. Such power must be placed at the disposal of the government, anyway. A great responsibility is thereby imposed.

In order that a complete coverage of the United States may be obtained instantly, which might be necessary in the event of an emergency, it would be well to have provisions made for a hook-up of all radio stations. This could be accomplished by using the telephone lines which are already installed from one station to another in the networks, with additional lines to those stations not now provided with this equipment. In view of the technical uncertainties of rebroadcasting programs it would be safest to have such wire arrangements. However, such wire facilities would be difficult to build. These difficulties are great enough to recommend some other arrangement. At least as a beginning, there should be such an arrangement as the requirement that all local stations should continually monitor a medium-wave network station or a short-wave station and break into their programs to rebroadcast any announcement that came up after an agreed-on cue.

BROADCASTS FROM ABROAD

The problem of broadcasts from abroad has two aspects: 1) propaganda 2) espionage. There can be little question that broadcasts can be used to a certain extent in directing espionage activities

here: Relatively harmless programs from a relatively neutral area could be used for giving signals and directions to spies and fifth columnists operating in this country. The simplest way to cope with such dangers would be to shut out all such broadcasts by blanketing them.

There is, however, also the problem of propaganda. Though the issue of propaganda from abroad by short-wave is not apt to be as serious as in European countries, it cannot be neglected by anyone concerned with radiobroadcasting in wartime. The British took a very bold stand and allowed everyone to listen to any and all broadcasts from the enemy. The result was the discovery and build-up of Lord Haw-Haw. How much or what he did to British morale, it's hard to say. There can be little doubt, from a variety of comments, that in this country Lord Haw-Haw prejudiced those whose general inclinations tended that way against the British and made those favoring them less sure of themselves. It has been asserted that Haw-Haw greatly strengthened peace sentiment in Britain at one time and another. Anyway, the problem is with us, when we consider the maintenance of morale.

One method, definitely available to us today, is the blanketing (1) of all such propaganda. The British felt that their limited facilities did not make it advisable even in a technical sense. Our position is different. We have plenty of frequencies. While the British policy seems very high-minded, it would seem better for this country to prevent from coming in all but carefully supervised programs from enemy sources. The mass of American people are not

- (1) "Blanketing" is effected by broadcasting a continuous noise or another program on the same frequency as the broadcast one wishes to block out. There are so many broadcasts directed by the enemy against England that it would have taken more stations than they had to block out all of them, which would have left no facilities for broadcasting to England itself. In addition, the problem is more complicated when the enemy broadcasters shift from one channel to another when they discover they are being blocked.

sufficiently schooled in the wiles of European diplomacy to be able to cope with the lying distortions of Goebbels' organization. Once the harm is done, it is difficult to undo it. We want no Mr. American Neighbor to belabor our people and their history throughout this hemisphere the way Lord Haw-Haw has done.

This conclusion is strongly objected to by many on general grounds. They hold that it would be better for morale not to shut out the incoming propaganda. If such high-mindedness should prevail, and foreign enemy programs be allowed to come in, it would seem at least essential that all such program material be carefully recorded, as is now done to some extent by the Princeton Listening Center, and analyzed at once with a view to counteracting such audience reactions as would warrant the suspicion that serious damage was being done to our national effort. It is felt by those who would allow the enemy stuff to come in that there is a big gossip value in "instant rejoinder." Yet at least one very well-informed English authority comments: "Counteracting (rejoinder) is a forlorn hope. The first impact tells and takes no end of counteraction." There are great difficulties in the way to making such rejoinders effective. There is no way of insuring that even a majority of those listening to the foreign propaganda would listen to the "rejoinder." The considerable numbers of Hitler sympathizers in this country are continually being reassured in their attitudes by broadcasts, usually in foreign tongues. Ridiculing of American traditions and actions confirms these fifth columnists in their confident expectation of the day when they will be on top. It is very important to isolate these persons emotionally, to weaken their morale, as it were, and the shutting out of the broadcasts of Hitler and Co. is the most decisive step in that direction. It may also be important not to call this enemy propaganda to the attention of people who never would listen to it otherwise. It is to be feared that the "rejoinder," no matter how instant and effective, would really broaden the range of listening to enemy propaganda.

PROMOTING GOOD WILL ABROAD

We have now come to the final and fourth task to be faced by our American broadcasting system in war-time, if it is to be fully adapted to national needs. It is a task in which we have only a limited experience. A certain amount of good will broadcasting has been carried on in Latin America by NBC, CBS, MBS, GE, and World Wide Broadcasting Foundation (financed in part by the Rockefeller Foundation) Westinghouse and Crossley. This type of broadcast has been helpful, but inadequate, primarily because of lack of funds. Until very recently, the total expended does not exceed 500,000 dollars a year -- whereas striking programs rivalling our own commercials would run into many times that sum, even in one language. Lately, Mutual has commenced broadcasting its regular programs in Spanish and Portuguese. Information to the effect that NBC and CBS are planning to do the same has been received. (1). However, even if such programming were undertaken, they could not solve the problem of coverage adequately. Considerable efforts would be required for systematically securing rebroadcast facilities. Many Latin American communities are quite inadequately provided with shortwave receivers. The establishment of the well-financed Latin American Division, under Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, promises effective work in this area before long. In addition to this work in Latin America, the several shortwave licensees have made limited efforts in other languages. NBC has gone farthest, devoting sixteen hours daily to broadcasting in six languages. NBC believes that it possesses a considerable listener following, but evidence in support of this belief is rather scant. To be sure, they have many nice letters, but they themselves know best that few American advertisers would accept such evidence as they have to offer.

As in other forms of international communication activity, the task of broadcasting abroad must be

- (1) There is the additional problem that the broadcast output for North America may not be the kind of stuff the South American likes to listen to. Special programs must be developed with the South Americans in mind.

differentiated, according to whether one is dealing with the enemy, with allies, or with neutrals. However, this does not seem part of the specific problems of this study. It must suffice to state that all these activities are important for our war effort and need to be given facilities for broadcasting. Whether it would be sufficient in this field to rely upon commercial broadcasters to provide facilities for the program service of the government may be doubted, however. In shortwave broadcasting there are not available the large revenues which accrue to the broadcaster in longwave activity. Control must, anyway, be much more strict, as was pointed out above, when we discussed counter-espionage. If the government took over entirely the operating expense of these outlets, say 100,000 dollars a year per outlet, and provided for suitable amortization, say 50,000 dollars a year, it would have to provide only about a million dollars, and it would then be entirely free to make such use of these facilities as might seem best. At the same time, such an arrangement would leave the shortwave broadcasters free to resume their former activity after the war. These seven outlets could then be put into a shortwave broadcast chain (some hold their licenses only "experimentally" anyway) for the duration of the war, and might be made available as the nucleus of a nationwide government channel, in case of emergency, (1) with arrangements being planned for effective re-broadcast by local outlet on longwave.

Such an arrangement would give the government the opportunity to shape the output of shortwave decisively under the direction of the Radio Program Board. While it would still abstain from actual operations, it would convert those channels into agents (as contrasted with licensees), utilize their

- (1) Elaborate technical changes must be made if short wave stations are to broadcast a signal which can be heard in this country. There was a note not long ago that it took six months for one of the companies to shift equipment from one channel to another. Perhaps these stations should be required to have their facilities ready for this emergency.

existing programming facilities to the utmost, but implement them on a considerable scale, wherever desirable, and regardless of commercial considerations.

An Analysis of the Radiobroadcasting Activities of Federal Agencies

JEANETTE SAYRE

The Radiobroadcasting Research Project is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Carl J. Friedrich is Director, and Jeanette Sayre, Research Associate. The studies in this series for the most part will embody their own findings, but will include special studies by others from time to time.

STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

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NO. 3

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I. THE SETTING

a. Introduction

Students of political science have been concerned lately with the relations of administrative agencies to older branches of government. In the last twenty years bureaus or commissions dealing with specialized problems have been set up, either directly responsible to the Congress (in theory) or to some existing department. The officials, many of them highly skilled technicians, have been entrusted with the execution of legislation, as well as with suggesting legislation for situations about which they have information, or with helping in policy formation. The rulings of these bureaus and commissions have the force of law. Often it would be difficult to explain to Congress these rulings, which are made to carry out a policy defined so broadly by Congress that the commission or agency has been forced to act on its own responsibility. When policy has been ill defined or is outdated, the danger of difficulties between these groups and Congress is enhanced. There are at present two checks upon the independent groups: the judgment of experts in the field, and the judgment of citizens. If citizens do not fulfill the requirements made of them by a law, the agency charged with its enforcement has failed in its task. Of recent years there has been an increasing tendency toward "citizen participation" in such matters. The agencies have established offices of information which perform two tasks: keeping the citizen informed about the work of the agency, and keeping the agency informed about the reaction of citizens to its performance.(1)

Along with other channels of communication, these agencies have used radio. The problems of using it are both like and unlike those of other media. Like the movies, radio grew up with most of the agencies, so that

(1) Friedrich, C. J.. "Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility," Public Policy, vol. 1, edited by C. J. Friedrich and E. S. Mason (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940) pp.3-24.

each agency had to learn the technique of using it for itself, rather than being able to draw on the accumulated experience of others, as has been possible in the case of the press. Like the movies, also, it was an extremely expensive way to reach people, if measured at the source without thought of the number of people reached, but comparatively inexpensive if it could draw large audiences. Like the press, material had to be treated both regionally and nationally in order to use radio to its maximum effectiveness. All three media depend upon private business for their distribution (if one excludes the relatively unimportant showings of governmental documentary movies to organized groups of all kinds). Federal users of radio had to face the fact that advertisers, who might disagree with some policy they wished to publicize, in part controlled the medium through which they were speaking. Radio broadcasters depend upon reaching mass audiences in order to attract advertisers, the source of their income. Therefore, radio programs which appeal to only a few do not serve the main purpose of the medium. The same thing is true of movies, but not of the press, where a release from a government department may be buried in the back pages of a newspaper, with the editor knowing full well that only those who are interested will notice and read it. The broadcaster in a federal agency, as well as the film producer, had also to reckon with the belief of most people (perhaps including himself) that whatever is heard over the air or seen in a movie theater profoundly influences thinking and action. Only recently have studies been made which show that the influence of these media is not nearly so great as has been imagined. These studies have not altered as yet the prevailing uncritical attitude. Hence radio and movie activities are still being subjected to more careful scrutiny by Congress and pressure groups than is the case with newspaper releases. Moreover, the use of radio and movies by federal agencies came into its own during the Roosevelt administration, while press activities have been familiar for many years. The use of radio, therefore, has been made the occasion for political controversy. Thus any conclusions that may be reached concerning the use of radio by federal agencies apply in the main to radio, although they may illuminate somewhat the problems of other media.

This study examines the radio activities of

federal agencies from three points of view: the historical setting, an analysis of the work of three representative agencies, and the broadcasters' point of view. Some conclusions will be drawn about the use of radio by government.

b. The First Decade

With the first broadcasting in 1920 the world began to grow smaller. As fortuitous as many of the other phenomena connected with the early history of radio was the fact that Mr. William A. Wheeler, the officer in charge of the distribution of market reports in the Department of Agriculture, was much interested in this new toy because his son was an amateur operator. Envisaging radio's possibilities in bridging the gap between the market and the farmer, he turned to the radio station with which the Bureau of Standards was experimenting and in December, 1920, gave the first broadcasts from a federal agency. By February, 1921, the radio station at the University of Minnesota was reporting market news, and in June of that year station KDKA began a regular schedule of market news supplied by the Department of Agriculture. By the end of 1922 twenty stations were using the reports, and by 1924, one hundred stations were broadcasting for farmers.(1)

There were many reasons why the Department of Agriculture should have been the first of the federal agencies to use the new medium. The Department is required by law to collect and disseminate useful agricultural information. An elaborate extension service had been developed by which the central agency was able to keep in touch with farmers throughout the country. But a time factor was involved in the usefulness of the agency--much information concerning the price of commodities on the market, how to deal with a particular plant epidemic, and so on, was soon dated. Radio offered a means of reaching the farmer instantaneously. It was immediately obvious that weather forecasts were radio material, so much so that there has never been any question of the advisability of using them.

(1) Statement of Mr. J. Clyde Marquis before the Federal Communications Commission, Hearings on Section 307(c) of the Communications Act of 1934. Oct. 1934, p.A.

By 1925 the Department's newly created Office of Information had started a semi-weekly news service to the radio broadcasting stations, and in 1926 a Radio Service was established in the Office of Information. Its duties were: "to originate programs; to make contracts with commercial stations as an outlet for these programs; and to adapt timely subject matter for radio presentation." (1) "Lessons" in farming were given through the "United States Radio Farm School", which was carried by twenty-five stations. A county agent and a farmer discussed current problems in "Noonday Flashes", and in "Housekeepers' Chat" farm women were given advice on homemaking and cooking. Three radio writers in the division carried on these and other programs planned to bring scientific agriculture to the farmer who owned a radio.

For some time contact with radio stations was on a piecemeal basis. During 1926 the first network was formed, the National Broadcasting Company, immediately facilitating the work of the Radio Service. In October, 1928, the first of a series of programs on a network by a federal department was opened by a speech by the Secretary of Agriculture, Dr. W. M. Jardine, and July, 1929, saw the beginning of the famous "Farm and Home Hour". At first this was a daily fifteen-minute period at noon devoted to talks by members of the Department and guests on new developments in agriculture, reviews of price situations, crop reports, seasonal information on farming, and homemaking practices. The next year the program was expanded to forty-five minutes and included entertainment features furnished by the network, built around the core of informational material supplied by the Department. Various farm organizations and agencies within the Department were given time on the broadcast, and by the end of 1930 the program had developed into its present form.

Other federal agencies were somewhat slower to realize the potentialities of the new medium. Occasional talks from most of the other agencies were broadcast by individual stations, but none took the initiative as had the Department of Agriculture in experimenting with radio.

- (1) A Report on the Experience of U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, presented to the Federal Communications Commission by Morse Salisbury, Chief of Radio Service, Oct. 1934, p.3.

However, one other agency, similarly entrusted with the duty of giving information to the public, soon joined Agriculture on the air. The first network program of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor antedated the "Farm and Home Hour" by a few months. It was called "Your Child" and was a series of talks giving the latest information on child welfare in interesting and lively form. The suitability of this kind of material for radio was proven by the fact that this program was kept on the air through May, 1936, and similar programs have continued to the present.

Besides experimenting with techniques, these pioneering agencies evolved the formula for cooperation with the broadcasting industry which was to hold throughout the next fifteen years. These agencies did not pay for time on the air, since the broadcasters took the responsibility for providing "public service" broadcasting for their listeners. The Treasury Department did pay for advertising the refunding of the Second Liberty Loan in 1927, but this was the exception to the rule.

In spite of the general approval of the going system of broadcasting as set up by the federal radio legislation, there was a good deal of concern among many people as to what the development of the system would be. The advantages and disadvantages of various methods of organization of the industry was a favorite topic of discussion, particularly among educators. They gathered together in a number of pressure groups, one of the most vocal of which was the National Committee on Education by Radio. This group lobbied extensively in an effort to have fifteen per cent of the air waves turned over to educational and public institutions for broadcasting. They were concerned over the "monopolistic" tendencies of the radio industry, claiming that RCA and its child, NBC, were monopolies keeping education and public-service broadcasting off the air. Many of these men had been connected with radio stations in the land-grant colleges and had watched with growing alarm the decline in the number of such stations from 128 in 1925 to fewer than half that number in 1930. Their contention that these licenses were lost through the machinations of the private broadcasters was later proved to be true only in small part, but their animosity got wide hearing.(1)

- (1) Frost, S. E. Is American Radio Democratic?
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937) p.226.

The Department of Agriculture was more than a little concerned too over the trend toward network ownership and control of stations. Stations in the land-grant colleges had been obvious outlets for the Department's radio programs. If the great chains swallowed up the little broadcasters, would they continue to cooperate with the agencies? Certain Congressmen were more upset about this than the men in the agencies themselves. For instance, during the hearings on the Agriculture Appropriations Bill for 1930 Congressman Dickinson raised the point:

"The only thing I am worried about is that we might get played into a situation where we will get caught in a little while. It looks as if these broadcasting stations are going to be in the hands of the one or two groups of owners in a short time."(1)

In spite of the fact that the federal agencies had found broadcasters cooperative, the possibly disastrous effects of the growing centralization in control of radio were continually mentioned to Congressmen by their constituents. In 1929 the Department of Justice instituted its suit against RCA for violation of the Anti-trust Act, and many held the Federal Radio Commission at fault for not correcting the growing abuses. To the voices of educators and of those interested in agricultural extension work was soon added the voice of organized labor. When the Commission failed to approve the request of Station WCFL in Chicago, owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor, for a clear channel, Mr. Reid, Congressman from Illinois, introduced a joint resolution in the House to provide for three clear channels, to be given to the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and Labor.(2) In support of his bill, he contended that

(1) 70th Cong. 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.31.

there should be stations where the interests of the public rather than of the advertiser should be paramount.(1) Later petitions were introduced into the Congressional Record showing that the American Federation of Labor and the United Farm Federation supported the resolution.(2) In the meantime, the Radio Commission was evolving the policy that special-interest groups should not be allowed to own and run stations in their own interest, but rather that owners should be disinterested parties who would see to it that all relevant points of view were represented in the broadcasting schedule. Mr. Reid's solution to the problem did not, even get out of committee.

c. The Emergency Period

The Roosevelt landslide of 1932 ushered in a new era in broadcasting by federal agencies. In part this was owing to the President's remarkable ability as a broadcaster, but his ability would have counted for much less had not the times been ripe psychologically for the "father of his country" to give his reassuring messages in person. Another contributing factor was the corps of aggressive and enthusiastic young men who came into power with Roosevelt, and who believed ardently in a greater degree of social responsibility by federal agencies. They used all media in explaining the functioning of the agencies, but the press, soon hostile to the Roosevelt reforms, was less available to them than radio. Broadcasters were at this time engaged in a long-drawn-out feud with newspaper publishers and their cooperation with the administration was in part a gesture of defiance to the press.

The President's masterly command of radio was demonstrated almost immediately after his induction into office, in the Bank Holiday Speech of March, 1933. To the radio industry, the most remarkable thing about it was the high listening audience he commanded (reportedly the largest audience for any single program ever recorded up to that time). However, as an advertiser pointed out, this was owing not only to his ability, and to the impor-

(1) Ibid., p.9184

(2) Ibid., Jan 16, 1931, vol. 74, p 2377; Jan. 25, 1932, vol. 75, p.2598

tance of the occasion, but also to the fact that his speech was so well advertised in advance in spot announcements on the air and in the press.(1) This build-up of his talks may explain in part the mistaken notion that Roosevelt used the radio very much more than Hoover had done.(2) Actually the records show that Hoover spoke on the air more often than Roosevelt did in the early days of his administration. CBS and NBC report the following appearances for the Presidents: (3)

APPEARANCES OF PRESIDENTS ON NETWORK PROGRAMS 1930-1940

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>1933</u>	<u>1934</u>	<u>1935</u>
CBS	10	21	25	23	18	22
NBC-Red	8	11	16	8	5	5
NBC-Blue	3	10	5	14	4	3
NBC-Both	17	8	5	5	9	11
Networks						
	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1938</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1940</u>	
CBS	33	22	30	22	32	
NBC-Red	12	3	4	4	10	
NBC-Blue	21	11	21	10	12	
NBC-Both	6	8	6	8	18	
Networks						

With superb showmanship, the President heightened the interest in the executive and made every radio appearance tell. The executive had become good copy, so much so that in May, 1933, NBC announced a series of programs on which Colonel Lewis McHenry Howe, secretary to President Roosevelt, was to be interviewed by Walter Trumbull, a newspaper correspondent, on administration matters. Listeners were asked to write in questions about government problems, moves, and situations, and Howe was to answer them. Observers commented: "Colonel Howe is nationally recognized as the President's spokesman, and as such, this series makes him the mouthpiece of the White House."(4)

Washington was an exciting and chaotic place in those days. Out of the despondency and fear of the

(1) Broadcasting, Feb. 1, 1934, p.36.

(2) Ibid → Jan. 1, 1935, p.18.

(3) Most of the President's appearances were on both NBC and CBS, but exact figures on the use of single or combined networks are not available.

(4) Variety, May 30, 1933, p.40.

Depression the NRA, FHA, and other Emergency agencies were born. All over the country citizens looked to Washington with hope and with new interest in the problems of government. Defying the prevailing impression that talk on the air was dull and that Congressional talk was worse, CBS shattered precedent by broadcasting three solid hours at midday of the House and Senate views on Emergency legislation on March 13, 1933.(1) In the first flush of enthusiasm over the NRA, businessmen of their own initiative "plugged" the NRA over regular sponsored broadcasts. Individual speeches were sent out of the headquarters in Washington to explain the Act, and General Hugh Johnson, its administrator, spoke eleven times. But the first series of programs on the Act was initiated by Station WOC in Des Moines, Iowa. Its genesis was interesting: "Newspaper opposition to the NRA in Iowa has created so much public indifference toward those firms operating under the codes that a group of forty Iowa businessmen, the majority of whom represented Code authorities, held a conference early this summer as a result of which they selected radio as a medium to combat this trend."(3) Called "True Stories of the NRA," the program consisted of five minutes daily, and thirty minutes on Sunday evening, devoted to dramatic sketches, music, and talks on the NRA by local businessmen. The purpose of the program was to appeal to the consumer to support, as a patriotic gesture, firms that were cooperating with the NRA. Other programs of this kind, initiated by groups outside the government, were soon under way. One of the most interesting of these was a series of talks by famous American authors on the virtues of the Act. They had been lined up by the press agent of the Warner Brothers Studio to supplement the movie publicity given the NRA.(4)

Other early New Deal legislation was aimed at stimulating business. The Federal Housing Administration was one of the first of these Emergency agencies to use radio extensively. Because its chief purpose was to

(1) Ibid., March 14, 1933, p.32.

(2) Broadcasting, Jan. 1, 1935, p.13.

(3) Ibid., Aug. 15, 1934, p.36.

(4) Variety, Sept. 5, 1933, p.59.

stimulate private industry, it was able to get the cooperation of regular sponsors without difficulty. In August, 1934, the FHA began a survey of radio in preparation for a broadside campaign over the air, and by September advertisers of goods related to housing were plugging the FHA in their regular broadcasts. Floyd Gibbons, commenting on the news for the Johns Manville Company (roofing), each week explained one aspect of the Housing Act.(1) In January, 1935, General Electric launched a series of twenty-six programs to solicit cooperation with the Administration. The work of the FHA was advertised on such well established programs as "Clara Lu and Em" and "Myrt and Marge," and the series of spot announcements was paid for by the American Radiator Company, Acme White Lead, Sherwin Williams Company, etc.(2) The magazine Better Homes and Gardens, which had been active in lobbying for the bill, even put on a series of programs explaining what the Act meant for home improvement.(3) By 1936 FHA had produced six different series of network programs, three each on CBS and NBC, as well as numerous transcriptions.

Meanwhile other federal agencies, stimulated by the new theories of government which were being put into practice, turned to radio to explain their functions and lessen the gap between the expert in Washington and the citizen. The United States Office of Education, which had heretofore confined itself to making studies of education on the air, in April, 1934, began a series of programs on the NBC Red Network called "Education in the News." On it an "inquiring citizen" interviewed educators concerning latest trends in the field. The Department of Commerce began a new series on CBS with much fanfare.(4) There were to be dramatizations of the work of the various divisions of the Department, and talks by leading businessmen. The Department of Agriculture expanded its program service to include four series of mimeographed talks: "Farm Flashes", "Housekeepers' Chat", "Uncle Sam at your Service" and "Consumers' Facts". The National Park Service began a program called "Treasure Trails," designed to sell the national parks to the

(1) Broadcasting, Sept. 15, 1934, p.65.

(2) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1935, p.9.

(3) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1934, p.64.

(4) Ibid., Nov. 15, 1935, p.41.

American tourist. The Children's Bureau renewed its series on NBC. Almost all the Emergency agencies, such as the Resettlement Administration, WPA, Home Owners Loan Corporation, and the AAA, took to the air to explain their functions. For the most part they concentrated on mimeographed or transcribed messages which were sent to independent stations rather than to the networks, although occasional single speeches were made by the heads of these agencies to explain their work.(1)

The agencies were much helped in their campaigns as soon as they were able to draw on personnel from Relief rolls. California began the experiment in January, 1935, when funds from the Emergency Educational Program were allocated to give work to radio writers and actors. They were to draw on the activities of the Emergency Educational Program for their material.(2) In the next month the Emergency Educational Project of Illinois announced that it would train radio writers and actors.(3) Nothing very substantial along these lines was undertaken, however, until January, 1936, when Commissioner Studebaker of the United States Office of Education announced the establishment of an "educational radio workshop staffed by talented workers from such relief groups as the CCC camps and the WPA professional projects." The workshop was to specialize in experimenting with techniques of education over the air.(4) It announced a list of well-known educators and radio people as an "advisory committee,"(5) and employed as leaders men on leave from NBC.(6) By June, 1936, the Office of Education was producing five network shows: "Have you Heard?" (a dinner-party conversation about scientific facts), "Answer Me This" (a question-and-answer game), "Education in the News," "Safety Musketeers" (safety education), and "The World is Yours" (produced in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution and based on research done by that group). Fifty persons were

- (1) Chester A. Davis, Administrator of the AAA, spoke ten times over NBC in 1934. Broadcasting, Jan. 1, 1935, p.18.
- (2) Variety, Jan. 15, 1935, p.39
- (3) Ibid., Feb. 12, 1935, p.1.
- (4) Broadcasting, Jan. 1, 1936, p.22.
- (5) Ibid., Feb. 1, 1936, p.46.
- (6) Ibid., Feb. 15, 1936, p.38.

employed on writing and developing these programs, with the networks supplying time and talent.

Almost simultaneously a Radio Division was set up within the Federal Theater Project (WPA). Its purpose was similar to that of other WPA projects, to put the unemployed to work at jobs which would enable them to retain old skills and so to get back into private industry, but it, too, soon developed into an active program center originating individual programs and series for the networks and independent stations. Within a month it had produced two series on local New York City stations: "Pioneers of Science," and sixteen Shakespearean plays.(1) Its first big network program, "Professional Parade," was started on NBC in the fall of 1936, and had as its stated purpose "to bring back stage shows, living actors and musicians, now unemployed or working only a portion of the season due to shrinkage of playing time in vaudeville and other fields of show business."(2)

In the meantime, there was growing dissatisfaction with the government's increased use of the radio, which rose to a crescendo during the presidential campaign of 1936. The first to protest were newspaper people. In October, 1933, E. H. Harris of the Richmond, Indiana Palladium Item wrote an editorial which was widely quoted. He said (in part):

"The constant use of radio broadcasting by the Federal Government to get its message across to the people shows plainly that the broadcasters have succeeded in over-selling the administration on the advantages of radio advertising."(3)

Soon the Republican party charged that stations were threatened with loss of license "unless they censor the use of their facilities in behalf of NRA," which brought forth an official denial from the head of publicity for the NRA.(4) Continuing the press-radio feud (as well as the old-line party fight) the New York Herald Tribune in May, 1934, said in an editorial:

- (1) Story of the Federal Theatre Radio Division. issued on Jan. 20, 1939, by the Office of Information, Federal Theatre Radio Division. 1.97 Broadway. New York City.
- (2) Variety, Dec. 16, 1936, p.40.
- (3) Ibid., Oct. 10, 1933, p.1.
- (4) Ibid., Dec. 12, 1933, p.35.

"The radio, controlled by the Administration through its licensing power, was made the spokesman of the New Deal and largely restricted to government propaganda."

This, in turn, brought an official denial from the Federal Radio Commission, stating that since it had no right to "censor" programs by law, it had never "'controlled' or 'restricted' radio programs to 'government propaganda' nor had ever attempted in any way so to do," and requested the paper to furnish proof of its allegations.(1) The request was censured by the trade journal, Broadcasting, which chided the Commission for not understanding the function of the editorial policy of a newspaper.(2)

The trade itself grew restive under the influx of federal programs. In announcing a new program by the Department of Commerce in November, 1935 Variety commented:

"Contents of the stanzas will be heart to heart talks by business big wigs on current affairs with music by the Army and Navy bands. Radio boys opining that the programs look like a gesture of ingratiating from Washington toward big business. Expect plenty more of this kind of thing ere election time."(3)

In February it ran a story with the somewhat slanted headline "Federal Government Best User of Air Time; Its Cuff as 'Educational'"(4) in which it commented:

"Government use of radio is mounting to the point where the broadcast industry earmarks large chunks of its time for federal programs. Bureaus having no money set aside for purchase of radio time still manage by calling programs educational. These are strictly on the cuff."

Broadcasting followed through on April 15 with a story by J. Frank Beatty which was even more inflammatory:

UNCLE SAM ON THE AIR--WITH DONATED TIME. SURVEY SHOWS HOW GOVERNMENT AGENCIES USE BROADCASTS FOR POLITICAL PROMOTION AS WELL AS ENLIGHTENMENT.

- (1) Broadcasting, June 1, 1934, p.14.
- (2) Ibid., p.26.
- (3) Variety, Nov. 13, 1935, p.42.
- (4) Ibid., Feb. 12, 1936, p.1.

The article stated:

"For the most part, the programs originating in the government departments and bureaus are offered to the networks as public service offerings with the assurance that they are non-political in character. Political themes often creep in, nevertheless, and the Republicans have already begun to make capital of the fact that so many New Deal officials are so frequently on the air in sustaining offerings."(1)

Mr Beatty, it seems, had made a thorough examination of the broadcasting by federal agencies, but, unfortunately for his headline, could uncover but one Department which was "engaging in political activity"--Agriculture. Of the "Farm and Home Hour," he commented:

"A frequent guest is the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, with other high officials of this widespread department often addressing their constituents. In these talks there occasionally is a definite New Deal slant that has been classed by the Republicans as propaganda. In the early days of the New Deal a good deal of high pressure oratory was directed at the Farm and Home audience as officials discussed the merits of crop curtailing programs and explained how the practice of continence by pigs would boost the farmer's income."

However, he specifically disagreed with the comment of Variety on the Department of Commerce show, remarking "Effort was made by the Department to keep the series free of political propaganda." In the midst of the article was inserted an editorial headed "Uncle Sam--Free Advertiser," in which the editors assured the trade readers that they did not have to accept all the material that came to them out of Washington through fear either of losing their licenses or of political reprisals. It was suggested that a central agency be created as a clearing house for the radio divisions of the various bureaus and departments in order to ensure that "trivial, unimportant, or unnecessary material be tossed into the wastebaskets in Washington rather than those of individual stations."

In the meantime, the Republicans had swung into action. In April they announced a new monthly

(1) Broadcasting. Apr. 15, 1936, p.11.

periodical to be called Uncensored, which had a section called "Cleaning Up the Ether." They intended, they said, to include in this section facts and figures "which you would like to quote" in order to answer the New Deal speakers who "try to justify their actions." (1) At the same time a story went the rounds that the Republicans would try to make political capital out of a decision by the FCC that station KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, should have the wavelength of KGBZ, York, Nebraska. Although the owners of the latter station were shown to have engaged in shady stock dealing and in the worst type of patent-medicine advertising, it was held that because the former had broadcast speeches by "various public officials" including Postmaster General Farley, Senators Norris, Burke, Murphy, Congressman Wearin, et al, and had made special efforts to broadcast the federal farm program, it received better treatment than KGBZ, which had broadcast only for the usual federal agencies. (2) There may have been political overtones to the case, but the FCC usually based its decisions on specific offenses committed by stations rather than on their positive record of public-service broadcasting.

Another factor which undoubtedly confused the issue with regard to broadcasting by government agencies was the threat of a government station in this country. Early in the thirties the National Committee on Education by Radio had been formed, consisting of men who believed in government-owned radio. They were soon at loggerheads with the older pressure group in the field, the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, which did not believe in radio owned and operated by the government. The National Committee accused the Council of having sold out to the radio industry. and the fight led to impotence for both groups. However, the National Committee managed to get a good deal of publicity for its proposal of government ownership mainly by staging debates in the winter of 1933-34 throughout high schools all over the country on the merits of the British system of broadcasting compared with those of the American system. Meanwhile, at the Montevideo Conference of the Pan-American Union there was a discussion of the allocation of wave lengths for the Americas. A resolution was passed setting aside

(1) Ibid., Apr. 1, 1936. p.20.

(2) Variety, Apr. 15, 1936, p.37.

one channel for the use of the Pan-American Republics, and on December 2, 1933, President Roosevelt followed this up with an executive order making available to the United States Government five frequencies to be used for Pan-American broadcasting.(1) This seemed to many in the industry an "entering wedge" for government "control and operation of broadcasting in this country," and, although exactly what happened is not known, the President's executive order was never acted upon.(2)

The fact that some of the men connected with government agencies came out for government broadcasting was further cause for alarm to the industry. In May, 1933, for example, Federal Radio Commissioner LaFount outlined a plan by which federal agencies and educational institutions were to broadcast by short wave programs which would be picked up by commercial stations.(3) In the hearings on education by radio held by the Federal Communications Commission early in 1934, Floyd W. Reeves, Director of Personnel of the Tennessee Valley Authority, made the following recommendation:

"In the few specific recommendations that I shall make, I am representing the Tennessee Valley Authority.

It is therefore recommended:

- 1 That the United States Government own and operate a national system of radio stations, giving full-time coverage over the entire country thru suitable allocation of frequencies;
2. That these frequencies be allocated with a view to as little disruption of present commercial facilities as possible;
3. That the mechanical operation be financed by the federal government;
4. That the control of programs be under the direction of a committee representing the foremost non-profit national educational and cultural

- (1) Congressional Record, Feb. 3, 1937, vol. 81, p.135. Extension of the Remarks of Hon. Emanuel Celler of New York in the House of Representatives.
- (2) Address by Hon. George Henry Payne, Federal Communications Commissioner. at Boston, Mass., on Jan. 11, 1937. Congressional Record. vol.81, p.317.
- (3) Variety, May 23, 1933, p.33.

agencies, these agencies to be designated by the President of the United States;

5. That these facilities be available to nonprofit organizations, including governmental departments, for educational and cultural programs."(1)

This extension of the "yardstick" theory of government and industry was viewed with alarm by broadcasters. With the vision of the TVA before them, and the general anti-administration attitude on the part of industry, which claimed that the administration had a bias against private enterprise, broadcasters were kept on tenterhooks. Moreover, licenses still had to be renewed every six months, and with the influx of aggressive personnel into the regulatory body in 1934, broadcasters were worried as to how the Commission would define "public interest, convenience and necessity" in passing on a station's claim for a wavelength. The story even went the rounds in 1935 that the FCC had charged its field men with the task of listening to programs throughout the country and reporting whether there was any unfavorable treatment of government officials or departments.(2) The lack of substance in all these fears was pointed out in an editorial in Broadcasting for July 1, 1936:

"Ever since the present administration took office more than three years ago there have been repeated insinuations that it looked kindly upon having the government enter the field of broadcasting. It was simply waiting for the opportunity to start some sort of system of stations of its own, we have heard. At times these suspicions seemed to have some basis of fact, but always it developed that some underlying "brain truster" had concocted an idea which was promptly squelched upon being brought to the attention of the higher councils."

Yet the article went on to add:

"...There are many interlopers who would grab some of these channels for their own private, political, or propagandistic pursuits. Even the government departments are seeking more than half of the available spectrum..."(3)

- (1) Education by Radio, vol. 4, no. 12, Oct. 25, 1934, p.45.
- (2) Variety, June 5, 1935. p.31.
- (3) Broadcasting, July 1, 1936, p.80.

In spite of the fact that nothing came of all these fears and alarming stories, they were symptoms of the rising tide of resentment against the New Deal which was shortly to result in attacks on broadcasting by federal agencies.

d. Program Developments

After the second Roosevelt landslide in 1936, federal agencies flowered into programming centers. One of the most active of these was the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior. In the next three years, the Office produced eleven major network shows, and numerous other programs broadcast by independent stations. With an announced aim of developing techniques for education by radio, anything was grist for its mill. It produced a program for the Smithsonian Institution drawing on research done there. The basic rights of the American system of government were dramatized in "Let Freedom Ring." In cooperation with the Pan-American Union it made a friendly gesture toward South America in "Brave New World." "Immigrants All-Americans All" followed--a well acclaimed series of programs highlighting the contributions of various nationalities to American culture and economic life. In "Wings for the Martins," the Office entered a new field--that of the daytime serial, but wrote one based on the best available research on the problems of parents and children. The Federal Exhibit at the New York World's Fair was dramatized in "Democracy in Action." The Office developed wide contacts with various social and cultural groups throughout the country and made the first survey of listener reactions ever conducted by a government agency. Through its Federal Radio Script Exchange, established in February, 1937, it distributed scripts of its own programs and others to schools, local dramatic groups, and independent stations throughout the country. Unfortunately, it had to depend on WPA grants for its operating expenses, since it was also a Relief agency. This meant little long-range planning and led to its ultimate downfall when it had to justify itself as an agency to employ Relief labor rather than as an agency primarily interested in producing educational programs.

Strictly a Relief agency, and therefore less confused in function, was the Federal Theater Radio Division. In its brief lifetime it probably produced more

radio programs than any other single agency. At its peak it employed one hundred and ninety persons, many of whom found their way back into private industry. Because of its nature, one of its aims was to get its programs sponsored, and hence to have the actors and writers taken off government Relief rolls. Consequently, its programs were akin to those regularly on the air, although it managed to maintain for the most part a high standard of content and production. There was some difficulty in carrying out this policy. Its first big network program, "Professional Parade," was reported to be up for sale(1), but in a few months was taken off the air unsold. Variety reported that the Radio Division blamed NBC for the fact that the program wasn't sold. They claimed that the network hadn't tried very hard to find a sponsor, although this was denied by NBC.(2) The head of the project, however, reports that the difficulty lay with the government itself, which couldn't decide what to do with the money if the program were sold.(3) At any rate, what usually happened was that the program ideas were taken over in an adapted form by networks or independent stations so that no embarrassing monetary transaction was involved.

Noteworthy among the Federal Theater programs were "Epic of America," a dramatization of the book by James Truslow Adams, on the Mutual network; "Men Against Death," a dramatization of some of the works of Dr. Paul de Kruif; "Command Performance," radio adaptations of great plays; and the first series of Shakespearean plays ever put on the American air. Like the Office of Education, it too suffered as a programming center from being a Relief project. In the spring of 1937 a fight within the higher ranks of the WPA led to the formation of another WPA radio project, with resulting confusion all around.(4) Later in the same year its personnel was reduced when other WPA workers were dropped, regardless of the fact that it was one of the cheapest of all the

(1) Variety. Jan. 27, 1937, p.40.

(2) Ibid., Mar. 31, 1937, p.44.

(3) Conversation with Leslie Evan Roberts, former director of the Federal Theatre Radio Division, Mar. 18, 1941.

(4) Variety, Apr. 28, 1937, p.46.

WPA projects.(1)

The Department of the Interior was the third federal agency to enter the field of producing programs having wider aims than explaining the functioning of the agency or drawing on research by its own experts. Previously the radio work of the Department had been carried on by its subordinate bureaus and offices. With the appointment of a new director of radio in 1938, and the opening in the Interior Building of the first broadcasting studio for the use of a federal agency, other plans were projected.(2) Its first program was called "Dear Mr. President" and was a dramatization of the annual report to Congress from the Secretary Harold L. Ickes.(3) CBS carried its first major series, "What Price America" a weekly dramatic series "highlighting the United States battle to regain its treasure of natural resources."(4) This program soon became fair game for those wishing to snipe at the New Deal.

In addition to these groups experimenting with new materials and techniques, an increasing number of other agencies took to the air to explain their functions and to keep the public informed of the latest developments in their fields. The Departments of Agriculture and Commerce and the Children's Bureau continued their work along lines which had been laid down for a decade. The Social Security Board, entrusted with the task of getting citizens to cooperate in carrying out an extremely complicated law, used the major networks for simple explanations of the duties of the citizen under the Act, but distributed transcribed dramatic programs to make simpler the benefits and purposes of the Act. It even turned to broadcasting in foreign languages to explain its functions.(5) FHA continued to sell the idea of owning a well-kept home to the public via dramas on the networks, transcriptions, and in cooperation with advertisers. The Resettlement Administration continued to explain its program through transcriptions, while other agencies with smaller budgets concentrated on distributing mimeographed talks (Rural Electrification) or in placing special

- (1) Ibid., June 23, 1937, p.47.
- (2) Ibid., Sept. 27, 1938, p.27.
- (3) Broadcasting, Jan. 15, 1939, p.33.
- (4) Ibid., p.32.
- (5) Variety, June 2, 1937, p.41.

talks (Post Office). In 1940 the Office of Education produced a series for the Census in order to elicit the cooperation of citizens in filling out the lengthy questionnaire, and the Treasury, in special spot announcements, reminded the taxpayers of the income tax. The Department of Labor produced an especially interesting program over the NBC Red Network in 1939, with labor and industrial leaders commenting on controversial economic issues. All in all, the number of agencies and subdivisions broadcasting increased from 27 in 1936 to 42 in 1940.

Meanwhile Congress wished to be heard. The networks had been covering special events in Washington for some time (as the House or Senate adjournment) (1) but with all the broadcasting by the federal agencies, members thought that the functions of Congress should be similarly brought to the listener. Senator Pittman, in 1937, introduced a resolution to find out how much it would cost to wire the Senate Chamber for sound. He maintained that the broadcasting of government proceedings would be a service to the public not overlapping that of newspaper reports.(2) Later the Building Service Union, Local 6, in Seattle, Washington, passed a resolution demanding that all proceedings of Congress should be broadcast so that voters could hear what their Senators and Congressmen were up to. The National Grange, the CIO, the Washington Federation of Labor were drawn in to support the movement.(3) As the newspaper-radio feud calmed down, radio pressmen, who previously had been denied access to the sessions of Congress, were admitted to the gallery, and the networks began covering the activities of the legislature continuously.(4)

e. Efforts at Coordination

The confusion resulting from the tremendous increase in broadcasting from Washington, and by representatives of federal agencies in various

- (1) Ibid., July 3, 1934, p.59.
- (2) Ibid., Mar. 17, 1937, p.38.
- (3) Ibid., Nov. 30, 1938, p.30.
- (4) Ibid., May 17, 1939, p.21. A more detailed study of the relations between the radio industry and Congress is being prepared by the Radiobroadcasting Research Project.

localities, led inevitably to a demand for coordination of activities. The first federal agency to tackle this job was the National Emergency Council. This organization had been set up in 1933 under the Executive, and was intended to coordinate all recovery efforts, "meet public requests for information regarding the government's recovery and relief activities, through personal interviews, telephone calls, by mail, the radio and motion pictures," and "to provide a central clearing house for government information." (1) State directors in the field were often called upon to speak over the radio, and this led to the formation of the Radio Division in 1937. Mr. Lowell Mellett, Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, explained its origin as follows:

"They (the employees in the Radio Division) coordinate in a general way the use of radio by the Government Departments. It had its beginning in the desire of broadcasting companies and networks that there be one place in Washington through which requests might be made for time, and through which the broadcasting companies might make requests for speakers on the air, to save them the wear and tear of meeting requests from various sources; and also, to obtain government people to discuss subjects they wanted discussed on the air." (2)

In addition to serving as a liason between the broadcasters and the agencies, the Radio Division of the Council sent out mimeographed material for the use of its field representatives when broadcasting and made a series of transcriptions about other government agencies, which were distributed to local stations. A survey of broadcasting by federal agencies was undertaken, and some particularly knotty problems were discussed, as, for instance, whether the "Farm and Home Hour," veteran NBC program, could be made to accomodate all the agencies wishing to reach farmers. (3)

- (1) 76th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearing Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Appropriations for Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal year, 1940, Tues., May 25, 1939, p.291.
- (2) Ibid., p.348
- (3) Variety., Jan. 4, 1939, p.124.

Broadcasters greeted the coordinating agency with approval. Variety commented:

"The scheme being perfected is admittedly not perfect. Leaves room for abuse if the wrong approach is used, and may prove to be the eggs of a Frankenstein. So far, however, the promised benefits appear likely to outweigh the potential disadvantages, providing the NEC continues to maintain sympathy for both the broadcasters' and listeners' view-points."(1)

Under the Government Reorganization Act of May, 1939, the radio activities of the National Emergency Council were transferred to the Office of Government Reports in the new Federal Security Agency. The personnel and functions of the office remained the same as before.(2) From July through December, 1939, thirty-two fifteen-minute radio programs were transcribed, consisting of interviews with Cabinet members by Lowell Mellett on the work of their departments.(3) In the opening transcription in the series, President Roosevelt, interviewed by Mellett, commented:

"In some communities it is the unhappy fact that only through the radio is it possible to overtake loudly proclaimed untruths or greatly exaggerated half-truths. While, to be sure, the people have learned to discriminate pretty well between sober facts and exciting fiction, they have a right to expect their government to keep them supplied with the sober facts in every possible way."(4)

f. Reaction Against Federal Radio

Along with the revolt in Congress against New Deal activities, beginning to be violent in 1937, came an increasing distrust of broadcasting by federal agencies. In 1937 the Committee on Government

- (1) Idem.
- (2) Broadcasting, May 15, 1939, p.9.
- (3) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee on the Committee on Appropriations, Independent Offices Appropriations Bill for 1941, Part 1, Dec. 19, 1939.
- (4) Broadcasting, May 15, 1939, p.9.

Reorganization first questioned the amount of money being spent for radio work. Under the chairmanship of Senator Byrd, the committee studied the expenditures of all the agencies using radio and found the total amount to be more than \$150,000 annually. Considering this exorbitant, they recommended that a definite limit be put by Congress on the amount that could be spent for radio, and that the agencies be forced to stay within this limit.(1) Later the House Appropriations Committee found the amount of money being spent excessive and recommended further curbs on spending. At this time the work of several agencies was limited, and the appropriation for the Rural Electrification Administration was so curtailed that almost all its radio work was cut out.(2)

By 1939 the economy drive had gained momentum.(3) The Federal Theater Division of the WPA was investigated and all its funds withdrawn, and with it the Radio Division ceased. Even the National Emergency Council, operating on Relief funds, although approved of by President Roosevelt and the industry, did not receive the appropriation it had asked for.(4)

In 1940 the economy drive and political animosity merged in a terrific onslaught on broadcasting by federal agencies. In January, the Appropriations Committee of the House refused to pass a bill giving the Office of Government Reports money to operate so that it would not be dependent on relief funds. Justifying the action, Representative Dirksen, Illinois Republican, called the radio programs of the coordinating office "clap trap and tommy rot", and said that the Radio Division was "nothing but a political bureau".(5) In February, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee held a hearing on a bill to give the Department of the Interior wide powers to regulate the oil industry in the United States. The General Counsel for the independent Petroleum Association of America in the course of his testimony charged that the Department of the Interior had tried to marshal public approval for the bill in a broadcast the previous July. The series, "What Price America", dealing with general conservation

(1) Variety, June 16, 1937, p.31.

(2) Ibid., Jan. 19, 1938, p.36.

(3) Ibid., Apr. 5, 1939, p.32.

(4) Ibid., June 21, 1939, p.38.

(5) Ibid., Jan 24, 1940, p.26.

problems, had been aired over CBS. The particular program complained of had shown the panic that might result if there were no oil, and indicated that with the present wasteful methods of using it, there might actually come a time when there would be a shortage, Republican representatives on the committee were "shocked".(1) Representative Disney, Oklahoma Democrat, followed this up by having the program introduced as evidence in the Congressional hearing and indicated that he wanted an investigation of the "Federal Frankenstein" which was threatening the youth of America by lobbying for federal control of industry.(2) Later, Pettingill, former Congressman, retold the story in his book Smoke Screen, brought out in 1940 to influence the election.(3)

The mistaken notion that the Radio Division of the Office of Education (formerly in the Department of the Interior, but at this time under the Federal Security Agency) was the group responsible for this broadcast caused a great deal of trouble for the Office when it applied for additional funds to continue with its work in 1941. In addition, pressure groups lobbied against the Division. On May 23, the House added to the Appropriations bill a prohibition of the use of WPA funds for radio work.(4) Colonel Harrington, head of the WPA, protested, remarking that if this regulation went through it would not be possible to hire a ghost writer to do speeches for the officials of the WPA when they were requested to appear on network programs. Fortunately some of the Congressmen thought this would be a terrible state of affairs.(5) The Senate therefore disapproved of the House's prohibition, and after a compromise, the bill was passed with a proviso that not more than \$100,000 of the WPA funds should be used for radio work.(6) There was no provision as to how this was to be divided, but the WPA kept some of it, enabling it to go on with

- (1) Ibid., Feb. 28, 1940, p.25.
- (2) Ibid., Mar. 13, 1940, p.29.
- (3) Pettingill, Samuel, Smoke Screen (New York: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940) pp.15 ff.
- (4) Broadcasting, June 1, 1940, p.28.
- (5) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate, Hearings before Committee on Appropriations, Emergency Relief Appropriations Act for 1941, May 27, 1940, p.74.
- (6) Broadcasting, July 1, 1940, p.58.

transcriptions of the Federal Music Project, and the Office of Education kept enough to maintain the Federal Script Exchange and to continue the long-standing program of the Smithsonian Institution, "The World Is Yours."

At the same time, there has been a growing tendency for the networks to take into their own hands the responsibility for telling citizens about what goes on in the federal government. Their attitude now is a far cry from that when Aylesworth begged the Department of Agriculture to broadcast on NBC,(1) or when NBC lent two of its men to set up the Radio Workshop in the Office of Education. This change may be due to the tremendous number of requests for time on the air. The first way of handling this problem was to try to "educate" those wishing time to an appreciation of the problems facing broadcasters.(2) This failing, the industry hailed the formation of the clearing house for government broadcasting within the administration. but the clearing house was not a complete success. Broadcasters feel, therefore, that with the numerous requests coming to them they must decide for themselves on the merits of the various demands for a hearing. Their decision, they claim, is based on the value of the programs offered. with "the most educational" being looked on with the greatest favor.(3)

- (1) In telling a Congressional committee about the origin of the "Farm and Home Hour", Crawford, formerly of the Department, remarked:

"The National Broadcasting Company...were extremely anxious to have us start this service. The president of the company came to Washington several times. He had his representative here a dozen times to arrange to have the service started. They consider that authoritative information from the Department of Agriculture gives them enough prestige to justify their presenting it free...".
70th Cong., 2nd Sess.. House of Representatives,
Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.31.

- (2) Variety, Jan. 4, 1939. p.124.
(3) Broadcasting, Dec. 15, 1940, p.40.

At the same time, other factors have influenced their attitude. There is no doubt that they are acutely aware of the possibility that they may be charged with political favoritism if they carry such programs. In July, 1939, the NAB passed a "Code" of fair-trade practice which contained a provision that time for the discussion of controversial public issues should not be sold, but should be given, with equal opportunity offered to the opposing points of view. A controversial public issue was defined as "a matter . . . in which the welfare of the general public as a whole is affected, and in which there exists a discernible divided public opinion." (1) As a matter of fact, just what was to be deemed controversial was up to the broadcaster himself. At what point Congressional and Republican opposition to broadcasts by federal agencies could be thought sufficient to make such programs "controversial" must be decided by the stations. The fact that Republicans would be quick to challenge federal programs in an election year made the broadcasters particularly nervous. (2)

Yet when the Department of Interior program, "What Price America", was under fire, CBS insisted that its political implications had not been a decisive factor in the cancellation of the series. (3) Network officials said rather that their dissatisfaction with federal broadcasting was owing to the fact that programs coming from the agencies were so inadequate that they had to be rewritten and produced by the network itself, while most of the credit went to the government agency rather than to the company which did the work. They claimed that dealing with agency personnel and red tape was an unnecessary waste of effort, and that the broadcasters, without federal help, could perform their public duty of telling the listener what goes on in the government. How large a part each of these factors played in determining the network position, it is hard to say, but at any rate, after much negotiation, CBS last fall refused to cooperate with the Office of Education in putting on a program which had been under consideration for a long time, "United We Stand". In addition, it appropriated an idea which had come from the Department of Justice for

- (1) "Controversial Public Issues," Code Manual issued by the NAB Code Compliance Committee, p.1.
- (2) Variety, Feb. 21, 1940, p.1.
- (3) Ibid., Feb. 28, 1940, p.25.

the "Free Company" broadcasts on the basic liberties of the American people. In one program which they produce and control, called "Report to the Nation", the network has taken the initiative in describing the functions of government agencies, and in "No Politics", Congressmen are given an opportunity on the air without causing undue political animosity. NBC is similarly falling in line, shifting the well-established "The World is Yours" to a less favorable period, and some time ago cutting down "The Farm and Home Hour". Mutual, the newcomer in the field, is the only network to carry much broadcasting for federal agencies in 1941. Senator Wheeler, in criticizing the networks' position on the Lease-Lend Bill, charged Mutual with being the most pro-Administration.(1)

g. The Defense Effort on the Air

Regardless of these growing tensions, broadcasters and the administration have united as never before in "selling" the Defense effort. In the fall of 1940, the National Selective Service Headquarters launched a tremendous campaign to get young men to register and then to follow the lottery. The networks broadcast many speeches by officials, while mimeographed scripts were sent to local stations and to branch offices. The NAB and network officials cooperated in coordinating the drive. The Navy, the Maritime Commission, and the War Department all have recruited over the air. Since none of these old-line agencies has much money for radio work, their activities have been limited to speeches by their own officers and short mimeographed spot announcements sent to selected lists of stations. In many cases, representatives of the Departments put on programs over independent stations. The Civil Service Commission has instituted an enormous campaign to get workers for Defense industries. Here again the NAB is cooperating, and more than six hundred and forty-five stations have been placing the announcements.(2) Older federal agencies have been enlisted in the Defense effort. For instance the Department of Agriculture recently began inserting daily reports of the "day-to-day developments in National Defense" in its "Farm and Home Hour".(3) The most

(1) Ibid., Feb. 19, 1941, p.24.

(2) Broadcasting, Nov. 15, 1940, p.19.

(3) Variety, Feb. 26, 1941, p.23.

recent development in the field is the Radio Division in the Office for Emergency Management, which is charged with the task of "planning, writing, producing, and coordinating all radio programs emanating from the three main Defense agencies--the National Defense Advisory Commission, the Office of Production Management, and the Office for Emergency Management."(1) The Division is putting out a transcription series explaining the Defense effort, a half-hour monthly program from centers of Defense activity, and a series of programs, called "Jobs for Defense" over CBS, on which Eric Sevareid, the well-known commentator, interviews officials on the general subject of employment in Defense. Two more series are projected for the immediate future, one on civilian responsibility under Defense, the other to be called "What We Are Defending."

In a sense, the Defense effort is comparable to the first "honeymoon" period of the NRA, in that the country is intensely interested in what is going on, and hence, government activities are good program material. More than twenty leading sponsors of big-time network shows, for instance, advertised Defense Bonds in regular programs.(2) To a large extent local stations and advertisers have taken out of the government's hands the responsibility for telling citizens what is being done. An examination of three trade papers, Variety, Broadcasting, and Radio Daily, from November 1, 1940, through March 31, 1941, showed that in this period there were sixty-six new series of programs dealing with some aspect of defense. Seven of these were network shows, and twenty-two were sponsored by some advertiser or other. In addition there had been twelve big single programs on the same kind of subject. Programs from army camps were the favorite, with twenty-eight reported. Five were on American history and politics, nine dealt with industries in Defense, five gave histories of the Army, Navy, and Marine corps, eighteen overlapped with the work of those agencies which tried to explain basic American liberties or "What we are Defending". The programs dealing specifically with Army camps have to

- (1) From a letter from Bernard C. Schoenfeld, Chief of the Radio Section, Office of Emergency Management, March 25, 1941.
- (2) Radio Daily, May 26, 1941, p.1.

have the approval of the Army, but others can be undertaken without consultation. This tendency is an indication of the fact that the public at large are accepting the Defense effort and making it their own instead of leaving it all up to the Washington headquarters.

II. BROADCASTING BY THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

There is no one pattern for the radio work of the federal agencies. This has caused great confusion in Congress, for broadcasters, and for the public. In the past there has been a tendency for outsiders to judge an agency according to the aims and accomplishments of others, whereas the activities of each are distinct, and their aims and techniques are very different. In illustrating this variety we have drawn upon three dissimilar agencies: The Department of Agriculture, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education. The Department of Agriculture was the oldest agency in the field, and it has worked out fairly stable relations with the broadcasting industry. In general, through its programs it brings the scientific analysis of its experts to the farmer. The FHA, on the other hand, is one of the agencies, like the Social Security Board, entrusted with the task of administering a complicated law which involves the cooperation of citizens. It was essential that citizens should be told of their rights and duties under the law, and for this specific task the FHA has gone into broadcasting. Unlike the Department of Agriculture, it has depended upon the cooperation of advertisers to get its message across. The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education was different again in that it tried to experiment in radio education, but like the Federal Theater Radio Division, the Department of the Interior, and later the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service, and others, it produced programs attempting to change or develop long range attitudes toward problems of government. The work of each of these groups will be examined from an historical point of view, and with respect to its aims and achievements. Since each radio division is subject to pressure from broadcasters, Congress, and the public, their relations with these groups will be examined. Each is unique, but each is in some respects typical of other agencies.

a. History and Organization

As we have seen the Department of Agriculture was the first of the federal agencies to use radio. With the first broadcasting from KDKA in 1921, market prices

and weather forecasts went on the air. By 1922, twenty stations were using the reports, and by 1924, at least one hundred carried them. Leased wires to the stations enabled the local representatives of the Department to get information to the broadcasters as it came in to them, so that no time was lost. The successful results of these early broadcasts led to the calling of the Agricultural Radio Conference in Chicago in December, 1924, by C. W. Warburton, Director of Extension Work for the Department. The conference was attended by representatives of State Departments of Agriculture, agricultural colleges, national farm organizations, the farm press, managers of radio stations, and representatives of a number of bureaus in the Department. All phases of broadcasting agricultural information were discussed, and a resolution was adopted reading (in part), "that all public agencies having information suitable for radio prepare and release this news to radio stations in the same manner that they release it to the press."(1)

At this juncture, William M. Jardine became Secretary of Agriculture. Fresh from a successful experiment with radio at Kansas State Agricultural College, he looked with favor on the use of the new medium. Under the stimulus of the Chicago conference, he expanded the work of the press department until, by the end of 1925, semi-weekly mimeographed materials of a broader nature than the weather and market reports were going to radio stations. It soon became evident that radio stations required a special service which would overburden the regular press department, and a radio unit within the Office of Information was set up the following year.(2) The first radio director, Mr. Sam Pickard, was succeeded by Mr. Morse Salisbury, who holds the office today.

Since the division was set up in the middle of the fiscal year, it was necessary to shift scientific personnel from some of the other bureaus in order to finance the set-up. The fact that employees writing

- (1) Statement of Mr. J. Clyde Marquis before the Federal Communications Commission, Hearings on Section 307 (c) of the Communications Act of 1934, Oct. 1934, p.F.
- (2) Salisbury, Morse, "Contributions of Radio to Informal Adult Education," Education on the Air (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1930) p.151.

radio copy were on the rolls of other bureaus made for some difficulty with the Committee on Appropriations, but from the first the work was centralized. The reason was stated by Mr. Jardine at the hearings of the Appropriations committee in 1926:

"The point is that if we do not do it in this way (centralize the work). there must be somebody in every bureau doing it, and aside from the lack of uniformity and adaptability in the material prepared in the various bureaus there would not be any orderly program for the work and it would cause confusion at the various broadcasting stations. As it is now, one person can handle the work for two or three of the smaller bureaus, and this enables us to coordinate the work in the department and at the same time complications are avoided for the broadcasting stations and the public gets the maximum of service at the minimum of expense."(1)

Three radio writers working under an editor prepared all the material at this time. It was sent in mimeographed form once a week to one hundred and twenty-five stations which had requested it. The material was developed regionally, at least to the extent that notices about crops were sent to the appropriate centers.(2) In October, 1928, the Department had its first broadcast over a network, NBC, and the format of the "Farm and Home Hour" had been evolved by January, 1930. From this point on a large part of the work of the radio service has been for network consumption. A midday period on the NBC Blue Network (at this time only fifteen minutes) has been given to the Department of Agriculture ever since. However, the manuscript service was also continued, and was expanded from year to year.

At first the financial support of the Radio Division was made possible at the expense of other

- (1) 69th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1928, Nov. 8, 1926, p.14.
- (2) 70th Cong., 1st sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1929, Jan. 19, 1928, p.26. Statement of Nelson A. Crawford, Director of Information.

Department requirements (1), but by 1934 the Appropriations Bill contained a specific provision for \$29,295 to cover the salaries of six writers and two stenographers for the division.(2) The expenditure for the Radio Division has remained between \$30,000 and \$40,000 since then.

One of the first big jobs of the Radio Division was to clarify the relationship between the Department and the individual stations. The Department had sent material to the land-grant colleges, and at the same time the various state extension services had been sending similar material to commercial stations, but there had been no cooperation between the two. In 1928 the chief of the Radio Service met with a committee of the Land Grant College Association and worked out plans for correlating state and federal broadcasts. Toward the end of the following year he went on a trip throughout the country to see if a definite scheme could be evolved for this correlation.(3) The chief difficulty seemed to be that the colleges did not have the personnel to adapt the Department's material to the needs of the region. The hope, however, was that the Department would become a service agency supplying material to the colleges which, in turn, would deal with the individual stations, eliminating dealings between the Department itself and the broadcasters.(4) In 1931 a Radio Extension Specialist was appointed to organize a correlated script service to two hundred and fifty radio stations, with the cooperation of the Department and state extension workers. In the first year, seventeen state services agreed to the plan, and this number remained practically constant until the beginning of 1933, when suddenly all but seven states

- (1) 70th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.28.
- (2) 72nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Bill for 1934. Nov. 18, 1932, p.47. However, in Morse Salisbury's Report to the FCC, Oct., 1934, p.20, he says that \$35,000 a year (as of 1934) went into radio.
- (3) A Report on the Experience of U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc. p.6.
- (4) Ibid., p.7.

were willing to join in. The impetus for this cooperation came from the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which relied heavily upon radio for informing farmers of their duties and rights under the new law. The immensely increased program material was prepared by the Radio Division and cleared through the state extension services. Later the state services supplemented this core of material with local data.(1) County agents were also drawn into the picture, further adapting the material for local use.(2)

Centralization of activities within the Department has been possible chiefly because the national "Farm and Home Hour" became a catch-all for the subordinate bureaus, although the Bureau of Home Economics continued to supply the material for the mimeographed "Housekeepers Chat", and the Agricultural Marketing Service kept up its specialized service. In 1932 the Forest Service took over a day each week in the "Farm and Home Hour" and has kept it since. In 1933-34 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration did most of its broadcasting on the same program. Almost all the bureau heads speak on the program at one time or another to explain their functions or to tell of the results of research. In the fiscal year, 1940, twenty-two bureaus, offices, or agencies were represented on it.(3) The exceptions have been the Food and Drug Administration, which in 1930-31 had two series of network programs called "Safeguarding your Food and Drug Supplies", and the Consumer's Division of the AAA, which cooperates with the General Federation of Women's Clubs in putting on a consumers' broadcast on NBC.

It is a different matter, however, with the farm bureaus set up in the heyday of the Relief activities of the New Deal and incorporated in the Department of Agriculture since the Reorganization plan of 1939. The Farm Credit Administration, while cooperating with the Department, in addition continues to send out material on its own. In 1940 alone this bureau made and dis-

(1) Ibid., p.11.

(2) 75th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1938, Mar. 10, 1937, p.71.

(3) Eisenhower, M. S., Report of the Director of Information, Department of Agriculture, Aug. 31, 1940, p.12.

tributed six different series of transcribed programs. The Rural Electrification Administration likewise had distributed mimeographed and transcribed material to one hundred stations and to its own field offices. The Farm Security Administration continued a dramatic series in Denver called "Problems of Plains and Mountains". These bureaus have kept their own radio personnel and cooperate with the main Radio Division to only a slight extent. An observer in the spring of 1941 reported attending a luncheon at which twenty-two people connected with radio work in the Department were present. Many of them had no idea of what others were doing there.

b. The Department's Aim in Broadcasting

The idea that the federal government should be responsible for promoting the cause of scientific agriculture was first propounded by President Washington in his last annual message to Congress. Such promotion was started by the Department of Agriculture in 1862, and expanded on a state basis in 1889, by the legislation authorizing federal grants-in-aid to states for agricultural research.

During the early years the elaborate organization for research piled up scientific knowledge which did not seep through to the farmers. In 1914 it was said that scientific agricultural knowledge was twenty-five years ahead of farm practice. The job of the Agricultural Extension Service is "to narrow the gap between scientific knowledge and everyday practice."⁽¹⁾ Part of the job is done by the Extension Service proper, and part by the Office of Information in the Department.

From the first the Radio Service of the Department had the job of transmitting to the listener the facts discovered by the scientist. As it was explained in the first Congressional Committee dealing with the subject:

"Congressman Dickinson: In what way is the policy of the information determined?

Crawford (Director of Information): By the subject-matter specialists. We do not aim, in that, to deal with anything except authentic facts.

- (1) Salisbury, Morse, "Administering Agricultural Programs," a talk by Mr. Salisbury before the Third Annual Institute for Education by Radio, Ohio State University, June 6, 1932, p.2.

Dickinson: You do not get into controversial questions at all?

Crawford: No, we do not deal with controversial matters.

Dickinson: In other words, it is almost entirely the scientific conclusion with reference to disputed points?

Crawford: Yes, scientific matter popularized so that the everyday man or woman can get it.

Congressman Jump: It seems to me, I have been looking this material over myself for several weeks now--that for the first time we have a type of news service, or rather information service, which the general, everyday citizen can get from the department day by day of the greatest practical use in the kitchen, in the poultry yard, on the farm. The service has a peculiar value, by its very nature, that I have failed to find in any other departmental information service. It has hit that note of direct information to the private citizen better than anything we have, in my opinion...It gives great promise, in my judgment, that the public is going to get back a great deal of valuable information...."(1)

The use of radio as a means to further the well established information services of the Department seems to have been generally accepted. However, it was not long before critics held that the Radio Service was set up to publicize the Department of Agriculture rather than to spread the facts of research. Accordingly, in 1932, Mr. Eisenhower, then Director of Information, asked if he might explain the functions of the office at the Committee hearing so that this point of view would be in the public record (the Committee members present did not doubt the purposes of the radio service).

"Eisenhower: A number of critics have tried to create the impression that we are maintaining a propaganda or publicity bureau. We are not,

(1) 69th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1928, Nov. 8, 1926, p.17.

in any sense of the term.

Congressman Buchanan: That is mere propaganda.

Eisenhower: Yes, mere propaganda, using that term in the odious sense. Congress has never appropriated any money and we have never used one penny for propagandistic purposes. We make no attempt to publicize the Department as an institution, or as a group of individuals. We do not propagandize the Department's functions or activities. Our job is far different. Our function, as set forth in the organic act of the Department, is to take the results of scientific research, put them into an understandable form, and distribute them. This must be done if the Department is to serve the people who support it. Only so far as valuable knowledge gained in the Department is disseminated and applied is the institution justified." (1)

Just where the line was to be drawn between describing the functions of the Department and describing research by Department experts, is hard to say, but evidently the Department was trying to clear it.

In 1933, with the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the aims of the Department's radio work changed somewhat. Previously, within the framework described above, the Department had told about the research which had aimed

"to help American farmers lower production costs, widen markets, reduce wastes in distribution, discover new uses for farm products and by-products, adjust production on individual farms, improve the quality of farm products, and raise family living standards."

With the passage of the new act the emphasis shifted to "economic and social adjustments which have a single purpose--increasing the buying power of farm commodities." Since the production-control aspects of the new farm plan depended upon the cooperation of farmers all over the country, it was essential to tell

- (1) 72nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations. Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1934, Nov. 18, 1932, p.47.

them about the plan by all means available. (1) For the next few years the radio work of the Department, although still drawing upon the research done, concentrated on "selling" to the farmers the AAA and related legislation. As a matter of fact, the farmers themselves demanded more and more information about their rights and duties under the new laws. As John M. Carmody, Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, commented:

"We have not done nearly enough on the radio. We are being pressed from many quarters, from farm people, from farm agencies, from farm organizations, as well as from the local stations in small centers, to use the radio to help them understand electricity and its uses."(2)

With the European War, the Office of Information in the Department entered upon a new phase. Farmers were excited about the possible effects of the war upon farm prices and commodities in this country. Accordingly, the Secretary of Agriculture appointed an Agricultural Advisory Council composed of representatives of the general public, farmers, processors, distributors, and labor. This Council helped him to make a safe interpretation of the probable effects of the war, so that, in order to avoid panic and overexpansion, farmers were advised that the situation would not be the same as it had been in 1914. There were special emergency broadcasts, and the "National Farm and Home Hour" carried many talks on the general farm situation. With the inauguration of the defense effort, the "Farm and Home Hour" carried each day a report on the state of the Defense effort.(3)

Thus, although the research done by the scientific bureaus within the Department remained the

- (1) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc. p.11.
- (2) 76th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1940, Dec. 19, 1938, p.779.
- (3) Eisenhower, M. S., Report of the Director of Information, Dept. of Agriculture, Aug. 31, 1940, pp.2 and 12.

backlog for the broadcasting, the change in emphasis in the work of the Department was reflected in its radio work. To a certain extent this meant that the emphasis shifted from that of stimulating farmers to an interest in a subject about which they could get more information from their county extension agents or the Department itself to that of giving information by and for itself. We shall see more about this change when we analyze the programs the Department has presented.

c. Programs Produced by the Department of Agriculture

It was natural that the programs put out by the Department in the early years should have an "educational" slant which they later lost, when radio techniques became better known. The first program in 1926 was called "The United States Radio Farm School". Radio "schoolmasters" at twenty-five stations conducted the classes, and listeners were encouraged to write in for enrollment cards. Lesson material was dramatized so as to catch and hold interest, and printed lessons were mailed to all enrolled students. A mimeographed program called "Noonday Flashes" consisted of a daily conversation about current problems between a country agent and a farmer. In "Housekeepers' Chat", "Aunt Sammy" gave up-to-date advice on housekeeping to women. A son at college wrote home to his father telling about his studies in agriculture in "A Weekly Letter to Dad". The chief actors in "Pests that are Bothering Now" were insects and rodents. "Chats with the Weather Man", a "Primer for Town Farmers", An Interview with the Agricultural Economist", and "Farm News Digest" were all designed to present scientific information in popular form. The following year the programs remained much the same. The chief new work of the department was the broadcasting of information designed to tell the farmer how to deal with the threatened invasion of the corn borer.(1) In general, the material presented in the various programs was coordinated. When there was a bumper crop for apples, for instance, farmers were told where to sell to their best advantage, while the house-

(1) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information.
pp. 3 and 4.

wives' programs stressed new recipes for apples to increase the demand.(1)

In 1928, when the Department network broadcasting began, a new program formula had to be found which would serve for the whole country and not just for a region. At first the programs consisted of the most important reports of the Department, especially the economic reports, such as the monthly price-situation review, or the cotton report, and seasonal information on "farming and homemaking practices personally delivered by the scientists and economists who had ferreted out the facts and formulated the recommendations." In the next year the "Farm and Home Hour" was developed, with NBC supplying "entertainment and information features" around the nucleus of agricultural information supplied by the Department. The Saturday period was turned over to farm organizations, to the land-grant colleges, and to the 4-H clubs.(2) In order to make the programs more meaningful, in 1930 a "Western Farm and Home Hour" was started with much the same type of information, but applicable to the Western region.

An interesting morning program was broadcast by the Department in 1930-31 under the title "Safeguarding Your Food and Drug Supply". It was carried by a chain of twenty-five stations in the East and three stations on the Pacific Coast.(3) Morse Salisbury told the story of this program, as typical of the development of many that they undertook:

"We first considered it as a means of informing the public on the work of the Food and Drug Administration more fully than was possible in the brief time available to this one of the thirteen major units of the Department in the "National Farm and Home Hour". As soon as we began to try to develop a program, it appeared that we were not making the best use of the valuable radio time offered us on the network if we simply told the listeners how the administration is

- (1) 69th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1928, Nov. 8, 1926, p.18.
- (2) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.5.
- (3) Ibid., p.7.

organized and what it does. That would be of passing interest to the listener, but of little permanent value. So, in order to frame a constructive program, it became necessary to tear up the first six talks prepared for the series and write new ones. What did the new ones center upon? Upon a campaign to induce the public to "read the label" on foods and drugs and to apply the principles of economics in buying foods and drugs. The upshot was a series of talks which early in June reached Number 17, ...and which constitute the first sustained effort to put into form for popular understanding and use the definitions of foods and drugs and the regulations governing statements on food and drug labels promulgated by the Federal Government."(1)

At the same time, Mr. Salisbury commented that the programs tended to be "informational" rather than "extension" in character: i.e. to be programs which contained information in their own right, rather than those which aimed to make people send for more information, or ask for help in doing something. From such units as the Forest Service and the Biological Survey the programs were of the former type.

At about this time the people in the radio service became interested in the techniques of broadcasting, and developed theories and taught others how it should be done. This came about in part because the service had been going long enough for the workers to get some perspective on their job, and in part because during the general retrenchment due to the Depression many suggested that there was no need for both a radio and a press service and that they should be combined. On this point Mr. Eisenhower commented to a Congressional committee:

"Radio requires a lighter touch. In the early days of radio, speakers thought they had to put in a little entertainment, but we have found that the farmer at least does not want to be told funny stories, and so on; he wants facts, but he wants them in a casual, off-hand way. He does not want to be preached to; he wants basic information stated in a simple way so that, in hearing it only

(1) Salisbury. Morse, "Contributions of Radio to Informal Adult Education," etc. p.151.

once, he will understand it. A newspaper article, on the other hand, can be read two or three times to understand its exact meaning."(1)

In 1931 the Department conducted an experiment with Station WGY at Schenactady, New York, in order to find out what techniques would be best in getting information across. Although the study was not statistically perfect, the results did indicate that farmers like their information straight, without sugar coating.(2) On the basis of his experience, Mr. Salisbury drew up notes on the technique of broadcasting which were presented at the Third Annual Institute for Education by Radio at Ohio State University in 1932. They contain some of the soundest comments that have ever been made about the art of talking on the air. He emphasized the need for the use of the active voice in speaking, the personal relationship between the listener and the broadcaster, the need for simple words and sentences, etc.(3) This led to a profound innovation: rehearsal of speakers, the first important step toward professionalizing these broadcasts, and of undoubted importance in their continuing popularity.(4) In the early days information on the air had been a novelty and could therefore command an audience. During the thirties the development of the professional commentator brought competition to all informational programs, and the farm programs, no matter how able, would not have held their audience as they did if they had remained amateurish in technique. In talks to farm workers or educators Salisbury has continued to emphasize the need for finesse in broadcasting. In 1932 also the Department first turned to dramatic techniques. Wishing to dramatize forest conservation, the Department staff members tried acting out skits, which were a failure. Soon, however, NBC agreed to provide professional

- (1) 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1933, Dec. 15, 1931, p.66.
- (2) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.9.
- (3) Salisbury, Morse, "Administering Agricultural Programs," etc., 12 pp.
- (4) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.9.

actors, and the result has been so successful that the dramatic sketches of the Forest Service, "Forest Rangers", have continued to the present.(1)

Even the Agricultural Marketing Service had found out that dry-as-dust reports could be more effective if well delivered. It was found that the Extension workers "who didn't get their idea of farmers from reading the funny papers" and who understood what they were reading could do a much better job than regular announcers in stations. This led to the development of remote-control wire extensions in many departments right into the broadcasting stations, so that the experts could go on the air.(2)

For the most part the lines of programming developed in the first years of the Department's broadcasting have lasted until the present. During the first years of the New Deal there were a great many broadcasts about the various phases of the new program for the farmer. In the middle of the decade the attempt to work out an agreement with the Extension services in the various states led to a series of programs from the land-grant colleges which were woven into the "Farm and Home Hour".(3) At the present time the regular contributors to the program are the National 4-H Clubs (first Saturday in each month), Future Farmers of America (second Monday), American Farm Bureau Federation (second Saturday), Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities (third Wednesday), and the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union (fourth Saturday). The Forest Rangers are still part of the program, and information from the Home Economics Bureau is presented regularly. Most of the bureaus and offices in the Department are included in the program in the course of the year.(4) Similar material is presented on the Western Farm and Home Hour. At the same time, the well established mimeographed services of "Farm Flashes" and "Housekeepers' Chat" have been kept up.

(1) Ibid., p.10.

(2) Statement of Mr. J. Clyde Marquis before the FCC, etc., p.C.

(3) Education by Radio, vol. 7, no. 6, June, 1937, p.26.

(4) Press Material on the "National Farm and Home Hour," NBC, Chicago, April, 1940.

The New Deal agencies which have been assigned to the Department within the last two years have brought with them radio departments addicted to techniques not commonly used by the old-line Department Radio Service. Whereas the Department had formerly relied mainly on the interview technique or on personalized talk; there now developed a discussion over the relative merits of the "documentary" or "dramatic" techniques. The one old-line bureau using more elaborate methods, the Forest Service, "leans toward dramatization" both for short spot announcements (as on fire prevention) and for longer programs.(1) The Rural Electrification Administration, on the other hand, leans toward the "documentary form" (defining this as "a program in which one draws upon the interview, narration, occasional dialogue and anything you can pull out of the orchestra and sound equipment to give dramatic flavor to your presentation without using drama as such as the vehicle.") The head of the division goes on to add:

"I think that REA is typical of most government agencies in that it has neither money nor facilities, and generally speaking, an aversion to the straight dramatic technique for the presentation of information to the public. This is straight fact and includes no personal qualification regarding the propriety or advisability of using drama as such to tell a "public story."(2)

At the same time the Farm Credit Administration has put out four transcribed "dramatized sketches" in the last year: "The Story of Wool", "Homes on the Land" (2 series), "Drama of Food" (2 series), and "Stockman's Trails". And the AAA put out a "documentary" series of sixteen programs under the title "Today's Soil for Today and Tomorrow" on which "farmers cooperating in the Triple-A Farm program told how this program assisted them in conserving soil and increasing their income."(3)

- (1) Letter from Charles E. Randall, Acting Chief, Division of Information and Education, Forest Service, Mar. 5, 1941.
- (2) Letter from Paul C. Woodbridge, Chief of Information Division, Rural Electrification Administration, Feb. 20, 1941.
- (3) Eisenhower, M. S., Report of the Director of Information, etc., p.12.

Salisbury is, on the whole, opposed to dramatization of controversial questions of policy. He prefers sane, straightforward statements from officials when matters of policy are involved. Until 1938 he contended that only the conservation work of the Department had been dramatized, and this only because the principle of conservation had been so widely accepted.(1)

Whether these newer, more exciting forms will influence the old-line programs remains to be seen. It is true that they are not so well adapted to the presentation of information, but since many think radio is not adapted to the presentation of information but is rather a stimulating force.(2) perhaps the newer forms may prove better in the long run. At any rate, the answer may depend on the amount of money available, for they are more expensive; yet there is no doubt that the money would be made available if people were sufficiently convinced of the need for it.

d. Relations of the Department with Stations

From the beginning, one of the major problems of the Department's Radio Service has been its dealings with local stations. At first the Radio Service sent almost the same materials to the land-grant-college stations as to the regular commercial stations. Those requesting material received it. But from the first, the Department "reserved the right to furnish material to stations that it believed would render the greater service to farmers and reach the greatest number of farmers."(3) In 1930 a Radio Extension Specialist was appointed who made a survey indicating the difficulties inherent in this haphazard method. He found that two "evils" had grown up: some of the station managers were putting agricultural information on at "less desir-

- (1) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations held in Washington under the auspices of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Feb. 4, 1938. (Unpublished) p.-.
- (2) Salisbury, Morse, "Contributions of Radio to Informal Adult Education," etc., p.162.
- (3) 70th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1929, Jan. 19, 1928, p.26.

able times of the day," and others were even selling the programs to sponsors.

The Department immediately and categorically opposed sponsorship. It had assumed, said the head of the Information Service, that no broadcaster would attempt to sell a public-service program. The difficulty inherent in the situation came out in the same year when a station got a sponsor for a series of the Department releases. The Sponsor's local competitor complained right away that it wasn't fair for the government to spend tax money on digging up facts, and on writing them up into radio programs, and then for a private concern to make money out of it.(1) For more supervision of the programs an arrangement was worked out with the Extension services so that there was a local man on the job to see what happened to agricultural releases. In August, 1934, the Director of Extension work made a trip out into the field and remarked a changed attitude on the part of independent stations, owing not only to the Extension plan but also to the fact that they were impressed with the increased popularity of the "Farm and Home Hour" broadcasts, and had grasped the idea that farm programs might help to build audiences.(2) On the whole, the number of stations taking farm programs was considered "good". (It increased, for instance, for stations taking the "Farm Flashes" from 128 in 1928 to 461 in 1941.)

The sponsorship difficulty never was settled. Morse Salisbury, speaking to the American Association of Agricultural College Editors in 1937, gave the position of the Department on the matter. He told the story of the hearings held by the FCC on the proposal to allocate fifteen per cent of the wavelengths for public-service broadcasting, and of the recommendation of the NAB, which was finally accepted, opposing this on the ground that commercial stations would cooperate with educators and federal and state agencies in putting on such programs. However, with the return of prosperity, advertisers of farm equipment had again turned to radio and were seeking the popular programs of the Department. The reason for refusing these requests Salisbury held to be that "by acceding to them, we would agree, at least tacitly, to

- (1) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.3.
- (2) Ibid., p.15.

let the advertisers of the nation decide whether or not we shall have access to broadcast facilities." This was unfair because this was public information, paid for by the public, and the public was entitled to it on a continuous basis, which the advertiser could not guarantee. Moreover, some advertisers wanted to censor the material. One, for instance, wanted any information that did not have to do with Agricultural Conservation or the Resettlement Program. For these reasons, the Department had to rely on the good will of the broadcaster to see to it that programs got on the air.(1) And yet, in spite of press releases on the subject and constant refusals of permission for sponsorship, Salisbury had to report in August, 1940:

"There has been a noticeable increase this year in commercially sponsored broadcasts to farm people. This trend has been accelerated by the constantly increasing number of farms with radio receivers and improvement in farm incomes during the past few years. In some cases stations requested information from State Extension services and the Department for broadcasts in these commercially sponsored programs, but in practically every instance station managers have cooperated in the observance of our policy when it was explained to them."(2)

Since 1928, when the first network broadcast started over NBC, relations between the Department and networks have been good on the whole. The Department claimed that NBC had begged them to start a program; at any rate, Mr. Aylesworth could point with pride to the cooperation in the hearings to determine the course of radio. One of the Congressmen coldly explained the reason:

"Congressmen Washburton: Mr. Chairman, there lies one very good reason why the broadcasting companies are certainly for some time to come not going to ask the Department of Agriculture to pay for this service. Broadcasting companies are pretty closely

- (1) Salisbury, Morse, "Hold That Time for Public Service by Radio," a talk by Mr. Salisbury, Aug. 18, 1937.
- (2) Eisenhower, M. S., Report of the Director of Information, etc., p.14.

allied with the manufacturers of radio receiving sets. If the farm public wants the information, of necessity they have to buy receiving sets. It is a kind of service for which the public will pay in that way, and the broadcast companies get their returns in the sale of sets. Mr. Crawford might have carried his parallel a little bit further with reference to the newspapers. Newspapers are supported by advertising. We do not pay for the insertion of agricultural matter, of an informational nature, in the newspapers. The newspapers of necessity, in order to sell their advertising have to carry some reading matter with it, and I think you have a parallel right there."(1)

Both CBS and NBC carried many extra evening programs to explain the Emergency agricultural legislation. When specifically asked by the FCC about network cooperation, Salisbury could mention only a few instances during this hectic period when the Department had asked for night time and been given day time on the ground that night hours had been given to the NRA or some other educational agency, or that the network was loaded with talks.(2) Occasionally member stations of a network refused to take a network-sponsored program, and then the Department and the network together tried to get it to fall in line.(3) Acceptance of the "Farm and Home Hour" was steadily increasing. In 1928, fourteen stations carried it; in 1934, sixty; and 1941, one hundred reported taking it. Yet in 1938 NBC, like the independent stations, began to show its independence and sold fifteen minutes of the hour. These fifteen-minute periods were to be on a regional basis. The Department immediately refused to take part in this and protested vigorously, as did other pressure groups, but the deal went through.(4) However, in line with their policy of tying in public-

- (1) 70th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.30.
- (2) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.19.
- (3) Variety, Feb. 6, 1935, p.43.
- (4) Education By Radio, vol. 8, no. 8, Oct. 1938, p.31.

service programs with organizations, the Red Network developed and continued to carry the program sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, based on information from the Consumer's Council Division of the AAA.

The most recent tendency has been for stations or small networks (Don Lee, Colonial) to develop agricultural programs of their own and to draw on information from the local or regional representatives of the Department. This has been noted for some time, but it has been stimulated by the increase in the amount of farm material available. As a representative of the Colonial network put it, it is so difficult for a station to judge the relative merits of the bureaus wanting time, and they cannot all be given time, that the only solution is to have a catch-all hour when each agency or bureau gets its turn. Salisbury reported in 1940 that eight major stations had started such services in the past year, and that the Department was cooperating with them through field offices. However, in view of the tendency for stations to try to sell such programs, the Department has laid down strict rules governing cooperation with the stations:

"The information from the Department is to be presented regularly and at the same time in the program each day; the program to be introduced with this statement: 'This is a public service feature--presented with the cooperation of the United States Department of Agriculture (and other cooperators); This part of the program to be separated from the commercial advertising by at least two minutes of music, both before and after, or by a station break; nothing to be said to give listeners the impression that commercial sponsors present this part of the program, or that the United States Department of Agriculture, the land-grant college officials, or that the extension workers endorse a commercial product.'"(1)

Since these local programs are usually put on in close collaboration with the field workers or extension workers of the Department. it is possible to check on how well

(1) Eisenhower, M. S. Report of the Director of Information, etc., p.15.

these rules are followed. Often, indeed, the county agent or some other official is the person to do the broadcasting. The Department has allowed sufficient responsibility to its local representatives so that arrangements may be flexible and adapted to the needs of the locality.

e. Relations of the Department with Congress

As a general rule, the Department has had extremely good relations with Congress. The two questions which came up most often with regard to other agencies were answered and the answers accepted very early in the game: the legal right of the Department to spend money for radio programs, and whether the program content would be "controversial". After the latter point was raised in 1926, and it was pointed out that the material was "popularization of scientific data", it was not raised again.(1) At the next hearing on appropriations for the Department the question was raised as to the Department's authority in setting up the service, and the statement of the Department that this was a logical extension of the mandate from Congress that the Department "encourage agriculture" in its broadest sense, was agreed to by the Congressmen present.(2)

A good many of the Congressmen were wholeheartedly interested in the Information Service, and went out of their way to commend the program. The information given was immediately useful and was pointed out to farm constituencies as one of the great contributions of the government.(3) Congressmen were often concerned as to whether their districts were getting the market news

- (1) 69th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1928, Nov. 8, 1926, p.17.
- (2) 70th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1929, Jan. 19, 1928, p.27.
- (3) 70th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.33.

service, or other programs(1), and some even went so far as to lobby for extending a leased wire to some station in which they were interested.(2) When the Director of Information reported that some people were sniping at the program as being propaganda, the Committee of the House denounced such statements as "propaganda" in themselves.(3) In 1936 a Senator did introduce an analysis of the content of the "National Farm and Home Hour" into the Congressional Record in an attempt to show that it was biased in favor of the administration(4), but in spite of this the Department's Radio Service was one of the few not cut during the retrenchment of 1937-38.(5) This record is a tribute to the impartiality of the programs.

f. The Radio Service and the Listener

There is no doubt that from the point of view of attracting and holding listeners, the broadcasts of the Department of Agriculture have been immensely successful compared with those from other agencies. There are many reasons why this should be so: the immediate usefulness of much of the material broadcast; the entertainment features, particularly those supplied by NBC for the "Farm and Home Hour," have been chosen with the special farm audience in mind; the unbroken continuity of the broadcast service; and, very important, the broadcasts have been "institutionalized". Most of the farm organizations, both social and political in character, have been represented on it frequently, and from the first the vast organization of state and federal farm workers promoted it and reported back the impressions

- (1) 71st Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1931, Nov. 19, 1929, p.33.
- (2) 71st Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate, Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1931, Jan. 27, 1930, p.342.
- (3) 72nd Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1934, Nov. 18, 1932, p.47.
- (4) Congressional Record, vol. 80, p.4557.
- (5) Variety, Jan. 13, 1937, p.39.

of the listeners about the program. Even in the early days the news service of the Department spread information as to what was on the air, and while battery sets were very expensive, instructions were given to farmers as to how to build crystal sets.(1)

Unlike most other agencies the Department conducted an experiment in the early days to measure its success. In cooperation with Station KSAC in Manhattan, Kansas, a survey was conducted in 1927 to determine the effectiveness of various extension methods in changing rural practices. Although only thirty-five percent of the farmers in the study had access to radio, it was listed as the eighth most important among the sixteen methods compared, most of which had been used over a period of years.(2) Other studies have been equally encouraging. One that was reported in June, 1932, indicated that the "Farm and Home Hour" was the most popular daytime program with farm people and that only three programs were more popular: Eddie Cantor, Amos and Andy, and Lowell Thomas.(3) The CAB rating of the "Farm and Home Hour", which is very good for a daytime program, is watched with interest by the Department.(4) And a traditional index, mail, has from the first been excellent: by 1928 the Department was receiving two thousand letters a week due to the program, and 185,000 copies of a booklet containing "Radio Recipes" and advertised only over the air, were sent out in that year.(5) This mail response was no doubt owing to the fact that there was an excellent tie-in between the Radio Service and other services of the Office of

- (1) Statement of J. Clyde Marquis before the FCC, etc., p.B.
- (2) Umberger, H., "The Influence of Radio Instruction Upon Farm Practices," Education on the Air (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1932) p.277.
- (3) A Report on the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.15.
- (4) Ibid., p.20 (and in spite of the fact that only very recently has the CAB sampled adequately for rural listening.)
- (5) 70th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, Nov. 15, 1928, p.30.

Information. so that there were bulletins to write in for, recipes to get, "further details" about all kinds of farm practices, etc., good "pullers" for mail on any type of program.

During the Emergency campaign in 1933-34 the Service was able to find out from local agents who were trying to put across certain provisions of the various acts that local radio programs were reaching farmers who did not belong to the farm organizations, or did not read the farm newspapers or magazines.(1) Yet there was one curious thing, the "Farm and Home Hour" was very popular with city people, which led the Department to wonder whether NBC's contribution in music and entertainment sold the program, rather than the agricultural information.(2) This is thought to be natural, however, since there are six city radio sets to every one on a farm.(3) The fact that the Department speculates at all on such matters indicates that it is more aware than many agencies that listeners are the ultimate goal of a radio service.

- (1) A Report of the Experience of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information, etc., p.14.
- (2) Ibid., p.30.
- (3) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc., p.2.

III. RADIO SERVICE OF THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

a. History and Organization

Among the laws designed to stimulate private industry passed in the early days of the New Deal was the National Housing Act setting up the Federal Housing Administration. The Act was passed June 27, 1934, and by August the Administration was making plans for using radio to promote its activities. The chief function of the Administration is to insure loans made by accredited local financial institutions for building or modernizing homes. It does not, of itself, lend or spend any government money; it merely makes it "safe" for local institutions to finance building in the community. The fact that the building trades, many companies connected with equipping or modernizing houses, and even such journals as Better Homes and Gardens had been active in supporting the bill set the tone of the radio work from the beginning. Its radio chief ably described the FHA as "a facilitating agency for private enterprise." (1)

In fact, promotion of the Act had started even before it was passed. Johns Manville Company, a roofing concern, had sponsored Floyd Gibbons in a series starting May 11, the day before the bill was introduced in Congress. Each week during the series, Gibbons explained the purposes of the legislation and the progress it was making through Congressional committees. He interviewed, among others, Senator Duncan Fletcher, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which the bill had been referred. On June 16 he announced that the bill had been passed. (2)

Mr. James A. Moffett a former Standard Oil executive, was made administrator, and his successor, Stewart MacDonald, also had had business experience. They brought with them an attitude toward the value of radio advertising drawn from the business world that was to be reflected in the programs of the agency throughout the years. (3) A very large Office of Information was set up to accommodate all the persons who wished to get information about how they, too, could get a house or a

(1) Broadcasting, Sept. 15, 1935, p.9.

(2) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1934, p.65.

(3) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1935, p.9.

new sink with the help of the government, and field offices throughout the country further localized the distribution of information.

The first act of the Radio Section was to write to all stations and ask them to furnish a list of their commercially sponsored programs of fifteen minutes or more. The letter requesting the information set a new tone for the relations between Federal Agencies and the broadcasters: It read (in part):

"The new Federal Housing Administration is entering upon its nation-wide campaign for home improvement and modernization. Its central aim is to make home financing, on reasonable terms to the borrower, immediately and permanently safe and attractive for private capital.

It is confidently expected that the measures of the FHA will free credit, inject new life into a basic industry, and relieve unemployment. Its effects will be extensive, reaching throughout the industrial world.

Radio and radio advertising offers one of the most effective mediums for carrying out our nation-wide campaign. At the present time we are engaged in compiling a list of all commercially sponsored programs with a view to encouraging the sponsor to aid the modernization and improvement program."⁽¹⁾

In the fall Johns Manville again sponsored Floyd Gibbons in a series of talks in which he outlined the procedure for getting loans, and incidentally, told what Johns Manville Company could do to your roof once you had the loan.⁽²⁾ In November of that year the FHA started its first network sustaining program, "Your Home and Mine", on CBS, to run for three months. Spot announcements were prepared for independent radio stations, and transcriptions, particularly of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine bands, built around talks and plugs for the National Housing Act, were distributed. Described as "the first manifestation of the new order" was a program for which General Electric bought time on the NBC Red, Mountain, and Pacific networks and supplied an orchestra. It was called "What Home Means to Me" and

(1) Ibid., Aug. 15, 1934, p.18.

(2) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1934, p.65.

ran from January 13 through July 7, 1935. Between the orchestra numbers, "famous Americans" such as Owen D. Young and Kathleen Norris told what home meant to them.(1) During the first period of cordiality, too, plugs were inserted in regular commercial programs such as "Clara Lu and Em", "Myrt and Marge", while other companies sponsored spot announcements telling about the Act.(2)

In the same year the regional offices of the FHA entered the broadcasting picture. The Los Angeles District Office was reported to have distributed one hundred and fifteen spot announcements, and in addition made transcriptions of dramatizations of actual cases in which loans were made. Even stations in Honolulu took the programs, and police and sheriff radio stations were enlisted to spread the good word.(3)

On July 1, 1936, the first of a series of transcriptions based on a new policy was released. It had been the idea of Mr. McDonald, then the Administrator, that in time educational activities in the housing field should be turned over to commercial interests which would benefit from such "education". Accordingly, a transcribed series called "Famous Homes of Famous Americans" was released to stations. The transcriptions were provided with blank spots for plugs by the local sponsor, who was to be secured by the station. At first stations had a hard time selling the transcriptions, but with the

- (1) Speaking of this program later, Mr. George T. Van der Hoef stated:

"In 1935 the General Electric Company bought \$100,000 worth of time and donated it to the housing programs. The only direct advertising they had was the announcements at the ends of the program that the time was given by General Electric. But they saw that they would get indirect benefits. (Swope and Young were broad-minded). Their control of the appliance market was sufficiently tight that they could calculate fairly closely the sales that would come to them from a given increase in building."

Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc.. p.7.

- (2) Broadcasting, Aug. 15, 1935, p.9.
 (3) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1935, p.54.

release of the second series in 1938, acceptance increased appreciably.(1)

From late in 1934 through 1937 CBS carried three fifteen-minute series for the FHA with a total of seventy-six programs: "Your Home and Mine" (2 series), "Story of a Thousand Dollars", with commentary by Martha Holmes. During the same period the NBC Blue network carried "Master Builder" for sixty-three weeks (this ran into 1938), and the NBC Red network had "Home Town" for thirty-two, "Master Builder" for twenty-three, and "The House Detective" for seventy-five programs. These programs were sustaining. To a large extent the office has relied on spot announcements to be locally sponsored, and on script shows distributed through the commercial libraries of scripts and transcriptions for use on local stations. Recently special projects have been undertaken: to sell the idea of low cost housing(2); to sell "modernize your home in the fall to get ready for winter"(3) and other seasonal tie-ins. The basic pattern of the broadcasting plan has not changed very much, however, and in 1941 CBS carried a program very similar to that of the General Electric Company, this time sponsored by Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company and called "Design for Happiness"

b. FHA Aims in Broadcasting

The aims of the programs of the FHA are two: to stimulate listeners to an interest in building or modernizing a home, and to tell them how they can get help to do this through the FHA. At first there was some attempt to explain the workings of the FHA itself, but this soon gave way to a promotion campaign. Of late there have been two distinct purposes: to encourage people to build low cost homes, and to interest them in repairing and renewing equipment. Since these are "mass appeal" aims, radio is a natural medium to use in putting them across.

c. Programs from the FHA

Since the FHA considers its job to be broader than merely announcing that loans will be insured by the

(1) Broadcasting, Oct. 1, 1939, p.20.

(2) Ibid., Mar. 15, 1940. p.32.

(3) Ibid., Aug. 1, 1940, p.103.

government, and includes in its function that of "stimulating private industry", anything which made listeners conscious of the value of a home or of up-to-date equipment was considered grist for its mill. Often program material was a sentimental plug for "a home of one's own", as in the series "What Home Means to Me". "Famous Homes of Famous Americans", which ran into two transcribed series, consisted of dramatizations with running commentary about buildings ranging from the White House to Old Kentucky Home. Having exhausted most of the great homes of America in the first series, the second had to stretch a point by including Independence Hall, Williamsburg, Virginia, and homes of lesser known Americans. Other programs included straight talk about how to build a house, interior decoration in relation to the essentials of a home, etc.

In the last year and a half the radio service has put out almost all conceivable types of program. There were three separate series of five-minute transcribed programs designed to plug the "small home"; "Honeymoon Special" a story of newly married life, "Jim Shows the Way", a short short love story, and "Swinging Home", a drama about older people. Each was distributed with opening and closing announcements containing blanks for the insertion of the name of the company which sponsored it. The first had been prepared for building companies, the second for real-estate companies, and the last for financial institutions. NBC Thesaurus distributed a script series called "Your Home and Your Neighbors" consisting of readings from a letter from Roger B. Whitman, "famous housing authority and consultant for the FHA", on how to build a home economically, to be inserted between recordings (also supplied) by Nathaniel Shilkret's orchestra playing "Let's Begin", "Porgy and Bess", etc. "When Day Is Done" appropriately was the signature tune. The World Program Service distributed a similar series with script for a woman's voice and indications for transcribed light program music. Spot announcements on home ownership or modernization were distributed to a large list of stations. Samples of such announcements read:

"It's a woman's privilege to change her mind-- but show me the woman who ever changes her mind about this: She wants to own her home...And most families can afford home ownership--by using the

FHA Plan...The down payment is small--and monthly installments are about the same as rent...If you want a home of your own, don't take it for granted that home ownership is beyond your means. Talk it over with your bank, a builder, real estate firm, or any approved financial institution. You'll find that even a moderate income can pay for a home these days on the FHA Pay-By-The-Month Plan."

"When Jack Frost warms his fingers at your windows he leaves a fine, feathery piece of art work in return for the heat he borrows. Frost pictures on the window may amuse the children, but practical grown-ups aren't likely to think they're worth the price of extra fuel. And smart folks can out-trick this stealthy thief-in-the-night with storm windows--installed on the FHA Pay-By-The-Month Plan for fixing up your home. Your dealer is ready to supply you with storm windows and doors in stock sizes or made to order. And he can tell you how you can add to the comfort of your home in other ways...and how you can pay for many types of home improvement conveniently--by the month--on the FHA Modernization Plan."

Series of five-minute talks have been sent out, on either ownership or modernization. One-minute dramatizations and spot announcements to be sponsored by local firms were distributed. Those of one series sent out in June, 1939, were written in various ways so that they could be sponsored by any of the following: a contractor, financial institution, plumber, tinner, insulator, advertiser, local lumber yard, building-supply house, hardware dealer, wallpaper advertiser, heating advertiser, lumber dealer.

Without exception these programs had the great advantage of reinforcing basic American attitudes: the desire for a home of one's own, keeping up with the Joneses, the advantage of buying on time, although we have little money we should have things nice. In this respect the program material was almost exactly like that of commercial advertisers, which was the aim of the FHA Radio Service.

d. Relations with Stations

Under the circumstances, the FHA has been very successful in its relations with the broadcasting industry.

Any agency which took as part of its job helping stations to get sponsors would be likely to be looked on with favor. Moreover, its sustaining efforts were written with commercial broadcasting in mind, and hence were more like the other programs on the air than were those from other federal agencies.

At the end of the first year of broadcasting, Mr. Van der Hoef was able to announce that 587 out of 626 radio stations had taken some program or other from the agency. His comment on this was, of course, not only a statement of the situation but a plug for future cooperation:

"But in the case of at least one Federal agency it can be truthfully said that the radio industry has enthusiastically taken up its opportunities and the public is enthusiastically responding. Industry and government are products of the people; radio is more: it is now of the people, a fitting complement to the home. The facts of a year of Homecasting prove it."(1)

In the first years a number of sustaining programs were carried by the networks at good hours. Unlike most other agency programs, this led to a curious situation in 1936 when it was rumored that CBS would drop its FHA sustainer, but many of its member stations said they wanted to continue the program even if CBS did not.(2) Of recent years there has been some decline in the work of the agency. During the fiscal year ending June, 1937, the agency reported having filled 82 hours of network time, and 28,160 hours of time on independent stations(3), while in the year ending June, 1939, the agency claimed 7 hours on the networks and 7,526 on independent stations.(4) Yet cooperation continued to be good. In 1940, for instance, the NBC Blue affiliates cooperated in a plan to sponsor programs about low-cost homes. The Blue network director worked out the scheme, and field

(1) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1935, p.54.

(2) Variety, Jan. 8, 1936, p.39.

(3) 75th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1939, Dec. 17, 1937, p.363.

(4) Variety, Jan 24, 1940, p.26.

representatives of the FHA worked with the local stations in carrying it through.(1) This year 250 stations are reported using the five-minute transcribed dramas, while 400 are using other services.(2) There is no doubt that the happy combination of performing a public service and making money for radio at the same time has enhanced the popularity of FHA programs with the stations.

There seems to have been less of a tendency for local stations to take the initiative in putting on programs about the FHA than is the case with most other agencies, although some instances of this kind have been reported. WOC in Iowa in 1934 initiated a series called "NHA and Home Improvement".(3) Stations have been reported as doing "remote" programs from some of the exhibitions of model homes sponsored by the FHA.(4) Evidentially the aims of the FHA were accepted enough, and the program formula evolved successful enough so that stations did not feel called upon to do the Administration's public-relations work.

e. The FHA Radio Service and Congress

In spite of the fact that the appropriations for radio, and for the FHA Office of Information in general were very large compared with those for some other agencies, Congress has only once questioned the propriety of spending the sums. The Office of Information spent \$1,131,000 in 1936, and planned to spend \$580,000 in 1937 and \$600,000 in 1938. The Radio Division cost \$40,470 in 1935-36.(5) Declaring that curbs should be applied to "educational activities of Federal agencies" the House Appropriations Committee commented particularly on the work of the FHA in 1938.(6) However, the propriety of using radio in itself was never questioned, and no one called the FHA's work "propaganda".

(1) Broadcasting, Mar. 15, 1940, p.32.

(2) Ibid., Nov. 15, 1940, p.19.

(3) Ibid., Sept. 15, 1934, p.64.

(4) Variety, Jan. 15, 1936, p.44.

(5) 75th Cong., 1st Sess. House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1938, Dec. 1, 1936, p.866.

(6) Variety, Jan. 19, 1938, p.36.

f. The FHA Programs and the Listener

Although it might be said that the Radio Service had one single aim, to tell people about the insurance on loans for building and modernization which they could get through the FHA, actually, as we have seen, its job was considered to be much broader: that of stimulating the building industry as a whole. Consequently it would be difficult to tell whether it had achieved its aim. For general economic conditions would be much more important in determining the state of the building industry than any radio campaign. Moreover, many media were used to tell about the FHA loan plans, so that it would be hard to disentangle the effect of any one of them from the others. At any rate, the FHA did not make any survey of listener reaction, and because it was not so broadly "educational" as the work of some other agencies, educators did not feel that they should make surveys of its effect. The sponsored programs on networks must have had fairly good CAB ratings or they would not have been kept on the air, but for most of the work of the Administration--local programs, spot announcements, five-minute dramas--no such check would be available. Of course, it would be possible to judge from fan mail about the results of the programs, but since these were not of the kind that would call forth mail, and did not, in fact, encourage letter writing, such an index would not be very good. Van der Hoef claimed, however, that local agents could tell how many mortgages were sold by radio advertising from the agency, and that this helped him in getting appropriations for the radio service.(1) And although figures were not made available, the usual claims of success were made. In 1936 Variety reported from the agency the following comment:

"We have pulled very heavy mail from persons who heard about the housing campaign over the air."(2)

- (1) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc., p.8.
- (2) Variety, Jan. 8, 1936, p.39.

IV. RADIO WORK OF THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

a. History and Organization

The radio work of the Office of Education had its genesis in the frustration of educators, who had caught a vision of the possibilities of changing the world by radio and had become increasingly disillusioned throughout the 1920's. Many universities, interested in radio initially through the work of their physics classes, had taken out station licenses, but because of lack of training, money, and personnel to run an adequate broadcasting service (and to a lesser extent because of the antagonism of commercial stations) had lost them. This brought the more thoughtful together to discuss the theories and possibilities of education on the air. A number of such men met with the United States Commissioner of Education, William John Cooper, in the spring of 1929 to discuss ways and means of furthering the cause of education through radio. As a result of this meeting, a conference was called for June 29, 1929, at which the following recommendations were made:

That there be established in the Office of Education, Department of the Interior, a section devoted to education by radio, and charged with such responsibilities as the following:

- (a). To receive from the Advisory Committee on Education by Radio its files and collect documents to keep this material up to date and available for reference by the many students of the subject;
- (b). To organize some of the material into bulletins, to be issued as demand warrants;
- (c). To outline techniques for research and carry on investigations into best methods of broadcasting, and compare the results of lessons sent to schools by radio with the results obtained by other means;
- (d). To keep the educational interests of the country fully posted on and alive to the importance of this new instrument as an educational tool;
- (e). To attempt to prevent conflicts and to furnish advice on the educational soundness of programs suggested and to supply typical programs upon the request of any station, whether educational or commercial.

The conference also recommended that an advisory committee of educators, commercial broadcasters, and the general public be set up to work with the Department in these matters.(1) At this time the Secretary of the Interior told Congress that the Department would follow the development of education on the air through such radio conferences.(2)

In 1930, Congress had authorized the Office to establish a radio unit, but no appropriation had been made for the purpose.(3) The conference group raised funds for carrying through these proposals from the Carnegie Corporation, J. C. Penny Fund, Payne Fund, and individual donors. Thanks to these private contributions, the Office of Education was enabled to hire a stenographer and to have halftime services of Mr. Armstrong Perry, a specialist in radio education. Under him a survey of existing practices in radio education was undertaken, and plans were worked out for further studies. In November, 1930, Dr. Cooper applied to Congress for funds to carry on this work. When asked what the "Senior Specialist in Radio" was to do, Dr. Cooper replied that he was to let school people know what educational programs were available, watch radio experiments and tell others how they were developing, try to check the effectiveness of education on the air, get the networks to cooperate in educational ventures, and give them advice.(4)

Elsewhere he specifically ruled out the possibility that the Office of Education would wish to broadcast:

"The Office...has no propaganda activities of any sort or at any level...It is not the purpose of this Office to promote the use of radio in education or to do any broadcasting. Nearly a year

- (1) Congressional Record, May 29, 1930, vol. 72. p.9184.
- (2) Ibid., June 20, 1930, p.11290.
- (3) Education On the Air, First Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1930) p.257.
- (4) 71st Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1932, Nov. 17, 1930, p.537.

ago when an inquiry came to the Department of the Interior asking whether or not we wanted a channel, we replied that we did not. We have nothing at all that we care to put on the air, and we do not wish to have the administrative control that would go with such facilities."(1)

In spite of this attitude the radio work of the Department did go forward. Dr. Cline M. Koon had been appointed Senior Radio Specialist, and a number of interesting studies were carried out under his direction. In April, 1934, at the invitation of NBC, the Office of Education went on the air with a program called "Education in the News" on which the "inquiring citizen" interviewed educational leaders about trends in the field.

Through the efforts of the educators the first major task of the Federal Communications Commission, appointed in July, 1934, was that of examining education on the air, and in the fall of that year hearings were held on the subject. At this juncture Dr. John W. Studebaker was appointed Commissioner of Education. He had come from a successful experiment with adult education in Iowa and looked with a great deal more favor than his predecessor on the use of radio by federal agencies. As a result of the hearings by the FCC, the Federal Radio Education Committee was appointed to study and promote education on the air, and Dr. Studebaker was made chairman. As reported later, "Although he was familiar with developments in education by radio, he felt that there was much to learn, and that much would have to be learned through hard experience obtainable in demonstrations and experiments."(2) Thus believing in the need for experiment in the field, and considering it the duty of the Office to provide an educational program for the CCC, Studebaker "accepted the invitation of NBC to present programs helpful to the CCC," tendered in the spring of 1935. He asked President Roosevelt for authorization to organize an Educational Radio Project for the purpose of presenting a CCC program, and three

(1) Education On the Air, 1930, p.148.

(2) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," presented by William Dow Boutwell at the Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting, Chicago, Nov. 29, 1937. p.4.

other educational programs over networks. The latter were to be: the struggle for freedom, vocational guidance, and the work of the government.(1)

On December 16, 1935, the first grant of \$75,000 was made for the work of the Project for eight months. Mr. Boutwell, who had been writing and presenting "Education in the News" as head of the Press Department, was asked to be director. Almost immediately he called a meeting to advise him on programs. It consisted of a number of men from the CCC organization, and Mr. Shannon Allen, then Production Director of Station WRC and WMAL (later Director of the Radio Section of the Department of the Interior). Their task had to be accomplished within the framework of the authorization of the project:

"To assist Educational, Professional and Clerical persons...To present high-grade radio programs over radio facilities offered free to the Office of Education by commercial radio corporations for public service programs in accordance with the provisions of the basic law governing radio wavelengths, using talent--actors, singers, directors and playwrights in the ranks of those on relief."(2)

Under this authorization the Committee felt that the work of the Project should be twofold: to present national educational programs over networks, and to promote education by radio on local stations and in schools.(3)

In consideration of the goals of the program, the original personnel for the project was drawn from two sources: the CCC and commercial radio. The Director, Maurice Lowell, was on leave from the Chicago Division of NBC, while Phillip Cohen, former CCC Camp educational advisor, became personnel director. Other executives were Rudolf Schramm, former Washington orchestra leader, director of music; James D. Strong, who had developed radio programs for the CCC as head of the workshop; and B. P. Brodinsky, Assistant Editor of U.S. Society, as director of station relations.(4) Hiring WPA workers

- (1) Ibid., p.1.
- (2) Ibid., p.4.
- (3) Ibid., p.5.
- (4) Variety, Feb. 12, 1936, p.40.

at the ratio of nineteen to one supervisor, the Project was soon well under way. Two divisions were set up, one in Washington to be concerned with the writing of programs and administrative details, the other in New York for production. By June, 1936, there were 30 workers in Washington and 35 in New York.(1) With the expansion in its budget its personnel grew: from October 1, through June 30, 1937, the Project budget was \$113,000,(2) and it stayed at this level until September, 1938, when its appropriation was increased to approximately \$200,000 a year. At this time the number of employees rose to about 160. In spite of the fact that the money spent by the Office between June, 1939, and June, 1940, came to \$278,799, the number of employees remained between 170 and 200. Both the size of its appropriation and the number of employees made this a major radio production unit.

From the beginning the Project worked with an elaborate interlacing of advisory committees. In the first month the major committee was set up to advise on policy (and to woo the cooperation of the networks). It consisted of Mr. Franklin Dunham, Educational Director of NBC, Mr. Edward Murrow, Director of Talks for CBS, Dr. Ned Dearborn, Dean of the General Education Division, New York University, and Mrs. Sidonie Gruenberg of the Child Study Association of America.(3) Mr. Boutwell met with them and presented sixteen program ideas, of which each network chose three. The first of these to get under way (in March, 1936) was "Answer Me This" on NBC-- a question-and-answer program based on the social sciences, and this was followed almost immediately by "Have You Heard", a program on the natural sciences, on CBS.

Reaction of the press and other observers was instantaneous and unfavorable. Broadcasting wrote of it:

"Opinions vary, depending upon political bents as to the success or failure of the 'radio workshop' idea in its initial network offerings, although it is noteworthy that the press, particularly the non-

- (1) Education by Radio, vol. 6, no. 6, June 1936, p.19.
- (2) Ibid., vol. 6, no. 9, Sept. 1936, p.31.
- (3) Broadcasting, Feb. 1, 1936, p.46.

partisan press associations, were inclined to take a 'kidding' attitude toward the venture." (1)

In its next issue it editorialized about the project:

"Without in the least disparaging the motives of Dr. Studebaker and Mr. Boutwell in attempting to show the way to other educators toward the proper use of radio facilities, we think the same money might be spent to better advantage in at least one other direction. So far as work relief is concerned, the project now employs only fifty persons, two of them 'borrowed' at executive salaries from one of the networks and the rest taken off other WPA and CCC rolls. So far as pointing the way to other educators is concerned, we seriously doubt whether this inexperienced little group in the short space of six months can accomplish that long sought end. Certainly the first few programs, which could be written just as well if not better by any one of dozens of continuity writers we know, did not represent any great step forward toward that end; indeed almost unfairly, some of the press greeted these first efforts with the well-known razz." (2)

The magazine went on to suggest that the radio workshop would do well to get out of the field of program production and become an exchange for program ideas and experience for educators. The Office of Education "met this crisis" by appointing committees made up of Office workers to pass on each program. Later programs, such as "Brave New World", "Americans All-Immigrants All", "Gallant American Women" drew upon "big name" committees for advice and backing. These functioned to protect the program from criticism, to pass the blame, if any, from the Office of Education to an extra-governmental group, to give it status in the eyes of listeners and broadcasters, and to give advice on scripts.

The Office began to expand into the local field with the formation, in October, 1936, of the Federal Radio Script Exchange under the auspices of the Federal Radio Education Committee. The Script Exchange

(1) Ibid., Apr. 15, 1936, p.11.

(2) Ibid., May 1, 1936, p.34.

published a catalogue of scripts which were available for use by educational institutions, radio workshops, local stations, and the like. The 161 titles listed were drawn from programs produced by the Office of Education, as well as by other educational groups. By August 1, 1938, 130,000 copies of scripts had been distributed(1), and up to May 1, 1940, 240,260. By the latter date three hundred stations had reported using such programs.(2) Other booklets were developed and distributed: a Radio Manual, Radio Glossary, Handbook of Sound Effects, Radio Bibliography, and a study of College Radio Courses. From the Committee on Scientific Aid to Learning of the Carnegie Foundation money was made available to make recordings of "Americans All--Immigrants All", which were sold at cost. About fifteen hundred of these had been sold by the middle of 1940. The Script Exchange was functioning adequately as an idea and information center for educators throughout the country.

The second excursion of the Office of Education into the local radio-education field was the organization of radio workshops in 1936 in connection with New York University. The workshops lasted six weeks in the summer and have been held every summer since. Scripts written in the writing division are produced by the production division and discussed by the school as a whole. Work is practical, with the emphasis placed on supervision of the student rather than on lecturing. While the workshops have been small, the students attending have gone out to put into practice some of the principles of radio education culled from the experience of the Office of Education radio programs.(3) With the increase in personnel, relief workers were allocated to twenty centers throughout the country, such as The Alameda School Board, The University of Indiana, The Chicago

(1) Ibid., Aug. 1, 1938, p.67.

(2) Report of the Educational Radio Script Exchange, May 1, 1940, published by the Federal Radio Education Committee, p.3.

(3) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc., p.6.

School Board, further spreading the theories and experience of the Office into the field.(1)

By 1940 the Office had produced twelve major network productions, "cooperated" with many groups of educators, civic organizations, women's groups, had tremendous listener interest, and still was challenged by the Committee on Appropriations of Congress. In July, 1939, under the Government Reorganization Plan the Office of Education had been transferred from the Department of the Interior to the new Federal Security Agency, and part of the functions of the old National Emergency Council, now the Office of Government Reports, were transferred to it.(2) This confused the issue, for some of the movies put out by the Film division of the National Emergency Council had been under fire from pressure groups and Congressmen, and they turned their animosity toward the Office of Education when it inherited the Film Service. The particular film said to be causing the trouble was "The Fight For Life", which the American Medical Association and American Dental Association claimed was the beginning of a federal campaign for "socialized medicine". It was said that these organizations influenced anti-New Deal Democrats to oppose funds for the Film Service, and also, while they were at it, for the Radio Service. Another complicating factor was the Department of Interior's oil-conservation program, which had been condemned by the oil-industry spokesman as pressure for legislation. Although at this time the Office of Education was out of the Interior Department, there is no doubt that some of the Congressmen blamed the Office of Education for this program.

When Dr. Studebaker and Mr. Boutwell appeared before the Committee on Appropriations in February, 1940, it was immediately evident that the temper of the Committee was such that something would be done to the grant for the Office of Education. Dr. Studebaker was applying for a \$40,000 appropriation to put some of the

- (1) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Appropriation Bill for the Federal Security Agency for 1941, Part 2, Feb. 20, 1940, p.274.
- (2) Education by Radio, vol. 9, no. 6, June-July, 1939, p.22.

employees on Civil Service, and indicated that an additional \$200,000 from WPA funds would be used for other workers to put on the programs. The Committee challenged the right of the Office of Education to broadcast at all, and disapproved of the \$40,000 appropriation for Civil Service employees to carry on the work permanently. Congressman Engel remarked:

"Now we are asked to make the first appropriation for radio of \$40,000. Assuming that you have the authority--and I do not say whether you have or have not, but it seems to me there is no question about it that this is the first step for the camel to get its nose under the tent."(1)

Nor could the Committee see that the appropriation for Work Relief should properly go to the Office of Education for radio work. They challenged Studebaker to show that such work was "emergency" in character. In spite of the fact that the General Counsel for the Federal Security Agency submitted an opinion that the clause "and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country" in the bill establishing the Office of Education should be interpreted to allow radio broadcasting of educational programs(2), the Committee finally opposed giving funds for such work, and further opposed the use of any WPA funds for radio.

Again in April Studebaker was called in to explain the appropriation he wanted, and at this time the Senate challenged the right of the Office to do any broadcasting. Senator McKellar commented:

"Of course, we all realize that both the radio and films are educational by nature, but to set them up as teaching is another thing. I am a little doubtful about the wisdom of it."(3)

- (1) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Appropriation Bill for the Federal Security Agency for 1941, Part 2, Feb. 20, 1940, p.278.
- (2) Ibid., p.301.
- (3) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Appropriation Bill for the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal year ending 1941, Apr. 17, 1940, p.228.

When it looked as if all the funds were going to be cut off, friends of the Office of Education started to work for it. The National Association of Broadcasters circularized "those interested in educational broadcasting," calling attention to the fact that the Office might not get further funds. Edward Kirby, signing the letter, urged that those interested should appeal to the Senate Appropriations Committee to save the Radio Division, and especially that some money should be allotted to carry on the work of the Federal Radio Script Exchange.(1) Later, in the hearings on the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act for 1941, which contained the clause prohibiting the use of WPA money for radio activities, the spokesman of the Federation of Radio Artists appeared to sponsor the work of the Office of Education. He said (in part):

"The elimination of this project would cripple pioneering of use of radio for education. It would cripple work of the script exchange which has been helping schools and Colleges in every state in the Union. It would cripple a cooperative venture between that project and hundreds of broadcasting stations which has resulted in furnishing to millions of Americans throughout the forty-eight states programs which have fulfilled a definite need... There has never been any charge of mismanagement, partisanship or politics ever leveled at this project. This project should not be confused with the radio division of the National Emergency Council. It is our feeling that the discriminatory prohibition against the use of WPA funds for radio is due to a misunderstanding of the aims and purposes of the Office of Education..."(2)

In spite of these efforts, the House and Senate, in the bill passed on June 21, included a provision that "not more than \$100,000" of Relief money could be used for radio work, but not specifying how this should be divided among the various departments which had used this money before.(3)

- (1) Variety, May 29, 1940, p.38.
- (2) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate, Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations on H. J. Res. 544, Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941, May 30, 1940, p.276.
- (3) Broadcasting, July 1, 1940, p.58.

Since that time the only network production which the Office has carried on is the well-established "The World Is Yours", in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution on NBC. The Federal Radio Script Exchange has been continued; but its work has been somewhat hampered by lack of funds. Almost all the former employees have been dropped, although Mr. Boutwell still remains in charge.(1)

b. The Aims of the Office of Education in Broadcasting

Undoubtedly some of the difficulty felt by Congressmen and others with the radio work of the Office of Education came from the fact that it had several purposes in broadcasting. These did not necessarily conflict with each other, but they did mean that the Project was judged from several different points of view, and that, perhaps, in serving some goals the Office had to pay too much attention to others for its own good.

The first task, historically, came from the Federal Radio Education Committee (and before that from the various pressure groups): to encourage private broadcasters to put on educational radio programs, and to demonstrate to other educators how such programs might best be staged. In accordance with the assignment from the President setting up the Project, this became "To assist educational, professional, and clerical persons" and "To present high grade radio programs."(2) In order to "demonstrate techniques" it was evident that the Office had to put on programs, and in doing this it was also evident that the Office was educating listeners directly. The fact that the Office had to justify itself as a Relief project merely confused the issue.

Early in the game the Office was condemned because it was an inefficient Relief project.(3) The fact that the "19 to 1" ratio of workers to supervisors had to be maintained also caused some trouble. The workers often were not qualified for the project because, regardless of their professional experience, the kind of work done there was highly specialized and required new approaches. Training clinics were set up for the

(1) Ibid., Mar. 10, 1941, p.27.

(2) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," Boutwell etc., p.4.

(3) Broadcasting, May 1, 1936, p.34.

workers, and some workers were distributed among educational projects throughout the country, since they could not be used in Washington.(1) There was no doubt that from the point of view of Congress, the employment of persons on relief was of major importance in granting money for the Project. As we have seen in the case of the hearing at which Congressmen indicated their unwillingness to give money to the Office for this work, the fact that this was not an "Emergency" project caused a good deal of difficulty. Of course, the point was raised that by using relief people (ipso facto not good enough for private industry), the Project was hindering its other objective, the broadcasting of educational programs.

Although the President had authorized the Project to put on programs, without saying anything further about objectives. It soon became evident that the Project was to do two things: demonstrate techniques, and promote education by radio, and this both nationally and locally. As time went on there was less and less talk about the "Demonstration of technique" and more and more about the responsibility of the Department for broadcasting education. By 1938 Studebaker remarked in a Committee hearing:

"One of the most powerful instruments for influencing national thinking is radio. We feel that any Office of Education--Federal, State, or local--should be active in the field of radio education for two general purposes: First for broadcasting to schools, and second, for a certain amount of broadcasting to the general public."(2)

On another occasion he outlined an even broader field for the Office of Education:

"The responsibility of the federal government for educational broadcasting, as I see the situation,

- (1) 76th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1940, Part 1, Feb. 3, 1939, p.881.
- (2) 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1939, Jan. 28, 1938, p.662.

falls within at least three areas, as follows: (a) to safeguard the use of radio frequencies to insure the maximum of public service; (b) to use radio to acquaint the public with the work of the government, and (c) to keep the public posted concerning the services it should expect of radio, and to persuade and assist broadcasters to provide these services."(1)

The advisability of having this work carried on under national rather than local auspices was pointed out by the Advisory Committee on Education in their report of 1938.(2) The fact that many had accepted this very broad view of the work of the Office was shown in the same year when the National Congress of Parents and Teachers voted to ask Congress to set up a "Division of Creative Arts" within the Office of Education, to be charged with very broad tasks for "promoting culture."(3) Yet there was no doubt that the right of the Office to educate the people directly, rather than "demonstrating techniques" for other educators, was one of the points Congress questioned, and the fact that the Office had to justify every program it put on as a new technique, and as worthwhile education, and as requiring a large personnel, conditioned its output.

c. Programs of the Office of Education

The basic premise of the Office of Education in building programs was that heretofore education on the air had been ineffectual, and that the way to make it successful was to borrow techniques from the commercial broadcasters. The Office also believed that "radio is an inefficient medium for the transmission of content material, and that it imposes limits which make teaching by radio an enterprise of such difficulty that it was beyond the reach of our abilities. But, we concluded... that radio is an excellent medium to stimulate interest

- (1) Education by Radio, vol. 7, no. 5, May, 1937, p.18.
- (2) Report of the Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938) p.183.
- (3) 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1939, Mar. 24, 1938, p.532.

in a subject..."(1) These premises were the basis for most of the work of the Office.

The first program produced by the Project was "Education in the News", inherited from previous work in the Office. The first programs initiated by the Project itself were "Answer Me This" on NBC, "Have You Heard" on CBS, and "Safety Musketeers", also on CBS. After the unfortunate experience with "Answer Me This" in the press, the Project set about determining standards for programs. It was felt that the difficulty had been owing to the fact that the Project people knew commercial radio, but did not know education. Accordingly, a series of "guideposts" were evolved which were used to check "the educational worth of any proposed program":

1. Does the program have unity; that is, do the parts contribute to a central idea which, in turn, is a logical sector of a program series?
2. Is the subject matter selected educationally important? A good test of importance is whether or not the facts or anecdotes would be included in the curriculum of a progressive school system.
3. Will the program effectively induce a considerable proportion of listeners to explore the subject more completely by reading, by discussion, or other self-educative activity?
4. Is there a summary at the close to fix in the listener's mind the major points brought out by the script?
5. Is the selection and presentation of the material such that the voluntary interest of the 'students' (listeners) will be aroused?"(2)

Thus every program had to meet standards set both by commercial radio and by education.

Within this framework the Project produced twelve network programs between 1935 and 1940. A brief analysis of each follows:

1. Education in the News. NBC. 154 programs. April 25, 1934, through May 27, 1938.

- (1) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," etc., p.11.
- (2) Ibid., p.10.

- Technique: Commentator.
Content: Developments in the field of education.
2. Answer Me This. NBC. 47 programs.
March, 1936, through February, 1937.
Technique: Man-in-the-street, question and answer.
Content: "important questions organized around a unit of content material common to most social science curricula." (1)
 3. Safety Musketeers. CBS. 25 programs.
May 11, 1936, through October 26, 1936.
Technique: Experiment in the "child club approach".
Content: Safety education.
 4. Have You Heard. NBC. 73 programs.
March 20, 1936, through November 16, 1937
Technique: Wise person and stooge. "The Friendly Guide" talking to unnamed questioner.
Content: Natural sciences. Animals, insects, topography, etc. described by the guide to the innocent questioner.
 5. The World Is Yours. NBC. June 7, 1936, to date.
Technique: Dramatizations, threaded together with narrative.
Content: Material drawn from the exhibits and research of the Smithsonian Institution.
 6. Treasures Next Door. CBS. 25 programs.
November 9, 1936, through May 3, 1937.
Technique: "Continued in our next". Dramatization of story to climax, when the listener was instructed to go to the book to find out "how it all came out."
Content: Famous literature.
 7. Let Freedom Ring. CBS. 13 programs.
February 22, 1937, through May 24, 1937.
Technique: Several announcers gave introduction, transition, and conclusion around dramatizations. Choral group for contrast.
Content: History and practice of civil liberty in the United States.

(1) Ibid., p.13.

8. Brave New World. CBS. 26 programs.
November 1, 1937, through May 2, 1938.
Technique: One-act play, with the narrator as an actor in the drama. Chorus and orchestra.
Content: Stories of South American heroes and famous events.
9. Democracy in Action. CBS. 38 programs.
May 14, 1939, through June 2, 1940.
Technique: Combination drama and flash back, narration, living newspaper.
Content: Contributions of government to solutions of complex problems in American industry, health, social security, foreign trade, labor welfare, etc.
10. Wings for the Martins. NBC. 26 programs
November 16, 1938, through May 10, 1939.
Technique: Family drama.
Content: Modern developments in education as they aid parents in bringing up children.
11. Americans All--Immigrants All. CBS. 26 programs
November 13, 1938, through May 7, 1939.
Technique: Dramatizations linked by narration; chorus music and orchestra.
Content: Contributions of various nationality groups to America.
12. Gallant American Women. NBC. 18 programs.
October 31, 1939, through July 1, 1940.
Technique: Dramatizations linked by narration.
Content: Contributions of famous American women to American life.

Although the network offerings were the major work of the Office, a few other programs were produced. With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation a series of scripts on local government were written and distributed through the Script Exchange for production on local stations. Additional scripts were written for some of the other series, so that local stations could produce more than the networks had. The Office also collaborated with other agencies. In 1937 they worked with the Department of Commerce and the NEA's American School program. Later they helped Social Security and the Bureau of the Census with the production of transcriptions.

As can be seen from the above listing, the techniques employed by the Project became increasingly complex, with the last few programs being melanges of narrative, drama, choral and orchestral music, the use of many voices to weave the program together. The reaction of the trade was mixed. Many of the programs were reviewed in Variety, the only trade journal consistently carrying criticisms of radio programs. In all fairness to the Project, it should be pointed out that Variety's standards for programs are in general much higher than those of the industry as a whole, but still, the Project programs fared rather well. One of the most favorably received was "Let Freedom Ring". In its first review, the magazine commented: "As written, rehearsed, and presented, the results are fairly absorbing when judged cold-bloodedly. But beyond that when the listener is already a little receptive to the theme, it's likely to ten-strike...It's all obviously and honestly counter-dictatorship in implication. Reminding the boys and girls to cherish what democracy gives them. Nicely done, having a few minor production flaws."(1) But the reviewer was most enthusiastic over the program in the series on "Freedom of the Press": "A pip builder-upper for freedom of the press...Historically, artistically, and politically, the Interior Department seems to have preserved its integrity. Since last heard, the production, speed and grip appear to have hit its pace."(2)

Others were less well-received: Of "Have You Heard?" the comment was: "It's Bob Ripley stuff done in an inferior manner. Whole object of program would seem not so much to qualify as strong entertainment, but to employ people...Coming in lull of afternoon as government endowed show does, may get some listeners."(3) Of the famed "Gesture to our Southern Neighbors" Variety had to say: "All that's wrong with 'Brave New World' is that it's dull. After that the fact that it's occasionally unintelligible or hard to follow is merely a part of the state of dullness. Switches from straight narrative to occasional dialogue. Very little drama creeps in. Very few will listen long."(4) But by 1939

(1) Variety, Feb. 24, 1937, p.51.

(2) Ibid., Mar. 17, 1937, p.32.

(3) Idem.

(4) Ibid., Nov. 10, 1937, p.33.

the techniques seem to have been well enough established so that reviews were fairly favorable. In June, Variety commented on "Democracy in Action": "Show was surprisingly lifelike radio entertainment considering the impersonal and intangible nature of the material. Had clarity of theme and action and maintained pace."(1) And of "Gallant American Women" later in the year it said: "Considering that it was a first broadcast, and that it involved such a large cast, the initial program was fairly smooth...Some question whether a program of this kind can make headway against the syrupy mid-afternoon dramatic serials surrounding it, but at least it's an attempt to put across a definite idea in adult terms."(2)

On the whole educators were impressed with the programs. In the Ninth Annual Institute for Education by Radio at Ohio State University, the program "Little Indian of Mexico" in the "Brave New World" series was called the "Best Dramatization by an Educational Organization," while other programs in "The World Is Yours" and "Brave New World" received Honorable Mentions.(3) The next year the Women's National Radio Committee gave "Americans All--Immigrants All" an award for being "the most original and informative program introduced on the airways between April 1, 1938, and March 31, 1939".(4) "The World Is Yours" also received an award. Later "Americans All" received an award from the American Legion Auxiliary for its "endeavor to present a cross-section of community life".(5)

Under the circumstances, the Office of Education felt that its experiment in the dramatic-narrative technique had been highly successful. As a bystander, Frank Ernest Hill, commented: "What the Projects showed most clearly as to the use of art-forms in educational work by radio was that many possibilities exist for varying the presentation of a broadcast and making it effective and that these can be dealt with flexibly and successfully if sufficient imagination and care are used in preparation."(6)

(1) Ibid., June 28, 1939, p.38.

(2) Ibid., Nov. 15, 1939, p.41.

(3) Ibid., May 11, 1938, p.26.

(4) Ibid., May 1, 1939, p.26.

(5) Ibid., Oct. 25, 1939, p.24.

(6) Hill, Frank E., Listen and Learn (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937) p.115.

d. Relations of the Office of Education with Stations

It was inevitable that the relations between the Office of Education Radio Project and the networks should be mixed. On the other hand, the Project set itself up as aping the commercial programs, which broadcasters felt was unjustified boasting on the part of amateurs. Moreover the Project had been given the task of trying to get broadcasters to further the cause of educational radio, and if there is anything broadcasters hate it is to be maneuvered by outsiders. Some indeed were very much opposed to education on the air, thinking that "educational programs" drove away listeners and hence reduced the stations' chances of selling other time. On the other hand, the Federal Radio Education Committee had given the project its blessing, and the networks were well represented on the Committee. The authorization of the Project indicated that programs were to be broadcast only with the cooperation of broadcasters, and from the first the Project set about wooing the networks.

The first Advisory Committee set up by Commissioner Studebaker had on it Mr. Dunham from NBC and Mr. Murrow from CBS. A choice of program ideas was presented, and each chose three. After the preliminary programs were worked out they were taken to the networks for criticism and changed as requested.(1) In spite of this picture of the state of affairs as given by the director of the Project, the trade press said that the networks had announced that they would cooperate "only if the programs are sufficiently interesting" with the implication that they of course wouldn't be interesting.(2)

Two years later relations between the networks and the Project were still mixed and in the "if" stage. At a meeting in Washington Mr. Boutwell commented that "it is difficult to get cooperation from the networks. The so-called educational directors are hostile, and seem to function to keep education off the radio rather than on it. They are always on the lookout for what will

- (1) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," etc., pp.7-9.
- (2) Broadcasting, Jan. 1, 1936, p.22, and Apr. 15, 1936, p.11.

offend their advertisers. Advisory boards are similar." But he went on to say that educators had not often chosen their techniques well, and that frequently the difficulty lay not with the network, but with the local station, which did not accept the network offering.(1) Speaking to a group of educators about a month later he again emphasized the skeptical attitude on the part of broadcasters toward educational programs, but indicated that there had been an increase in the number of stations within the networks carrying the Office of Education programs during the past two years.(2)

Undoubtedly the network stations were being more cooperative, although this is a point on which it is difficult to get accurate information. (Often the station may tell the network that it intends to take a sustaining feature, and then will not let the network know whether or not it actually does take it.) The earliest programs were carried by very few. "Education in the News" claimed 31 NBC stations, and "Answer Me This" only 9 (NBC). "The World Is Yours" network grew from 62 stations in 1937 to about 80 in 1939, and dropped again to 75 in 1940. "Democracy in Action" claimed 85 stations, "Gallant American Women", 80, "Wings for the Martins", 82, "Brave New World", 98, and the record: "Americans All--Immigrants All", 102. For the most part these programs were put on in out-of-peak-listening hours, though the Sunday afternoon spot with fairly high listening became a favorite for Office of Education programs.

However, the network people did become increasingly dissatisfied with working with the Office of Education (as with other federal agencies). These agencies had demonstrated that such "educational" programs as "Americans All--Immigrants All" could claim a small but steady audience, and particularly that by putting on such programs broadcasters could earn the good will of various pressure groups which had been annoying them for some time. At the same time, the networks felt that the arrangement of working with the Office of Education put them at a disadvantage. They claimed that they often had to rewrite some of the programs; they

- (1) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc., pp.5-7.
- (2) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," etc., p.21.

supplied actors, often music, sometimes direction, and that they often practically had to re-do a show brought to them by the Project.(1) Under the circumstances they felt that the agency was getting too much credit for the amount of work they put on on the program, and that the network's contribution to educational broadcasting could be expedited by their taking the initiative rather than by trying to work with the agency. Matters came to a head over a program project for the summer of 1940. It was to be a follow-up of "Americans All--Immigrants All" and to be called "United We Stand". The idea had originated from the dissatisfaction that many educators had felt with the earlier program. Instead of having one episode about each nationality group, they wished to show the contributions of various groups to aspects of American life. When Congress cut off the funds of the Project, the Office of Education asked the network to hold open the time while it tried to raise funds elsewhere. The deadline for the program was advanced from month to month as the Office was unable to find sponsors, and finally fell through when the network said it would prefer to do a somewhat similar program on its own. There are other indications that the networks are being less cooperative. They have changed the time of some of the older established programs to less favorable hours, and they have begun to originate programs which might have been put on by the agencies. It would be difficult at this point to say what would be the situation if Congress now gave the Office a great deal of money to enter into broadcasting. Perhaps it would have to turn to the transcription field, which it had barely touched before. However, if the programs from the Project stressed National Defense, the networks might change their position.

With local commercial and educational stations the relationship has been much better, and is steadily

- (1) These changes probably had more to do with form than content. Backed by advisory committees of experts, the writers felt sure of their facts and approach to them. Studebaker specifically denied that the networks had ever "censored" programs. 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1930, Jan. 28, 1938, p.562.

improving. The Script Exchange has functioned as a source of public-service material which has been gratefully received. There is no doubt that the Office of Education stimulated work in radio workshops and schools and colleges which in turn enriched the program material of the stations. The difference in the attitude of broadcasters is seen by the fact that when the NAB praised the work of the Office, the Script Exchange received most of the commendation.

e. Relations with Congress

It is unfortunate that the Office of Education never sold itself to Congress. There seems to have been a consistent misunderstanding on the part of various members of Congress of the aims and functions of the Office. The first reflection of this was in a hearing on appropriations for Relief in 1935. Harry Hopkins was "accused" of putting on a program which actually was put on by the Office of Education. He explained it:

"Hopkins: It is not a WPA project. It is in the Office of Education in the Interior Department-- a radio educational project--which, I understand, provides work for unemployed persons and puts on a series of radio educational programs.

Congressman Taber: How on earth would they have authority to get into a thing like that?

Hopkins: Under the law, that is authorized.

Taber: A Project?

Hopkins: Yes; it gives unemployed people employment. It is not a WPA Project, however."(1)

When the Office applied for money in 1938 the questions as usual were concerned with whether the Office had to pay the networks to put on programs, and whether the material was unbiased.(2) By a year later there was indication of more restiveness. The hearings in 1939

- (1) 74th Cong., 2nd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee in charge of Deficiency Appropriations, First Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1936, Part II, p.226
- (2) 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1939, Jan. 28, 1938, p.662.

opened with a compliment for the Office of Education programs by Congressman Johnson, but soon developed into a Punch and Judy show of shadow boxing. The exchange of views is worth repeating since it gives an indication of the temper of mind of the Congressman (and probably of others of his ilk):

Studebaker: We have one program... "Americans All-- Immigrants All", in which we are attempting to show that the kind of Americanism we all want is that kind which respects our differences of religion and race and nationality, and that within the concept of American democracy there is ample opportunity for each earnest and honest person to develop himself, and that we don't all need to be alike.

Mr. Fitzpatrick: Of course, in that you believe in the capitalistic form?

Studebaker: We are not going into the economic aspects of this thing now. We are merely showing...

Mr. Fitzpatrick: You know, Doctor, we hear a great deal now about producing for use only. Producing for profit is the capitalistic viewpoint. I was just wondering if any of your broadcasts have dwelt on matters of that kind.

Studebaker: Will you kindly repeat that question?

Fitzpatrick: Whether you have dwelt on the custom of producing for use only or on the capitalistic form of government, which is to produce for profit, which has made us a great Nation and made great men here.

Studebaker: No, we have not done that. But three years ago, Congressman Johnson, we produced thirteen broadcasts under the title "Let Freedom Ring". In that series we traced the freedoms which are guaranteed by the bill of rights in our Constitution. I think if people really become fully imbued with the spirit of our bill of rights, many of these economic problems will find a proper equilibrium in our national economy.

Fitzpatrick: I would like to say here that we had a man before one of the committees that I am on about ten days ago speaking to us about freedom and law. He said that they had no connection. I asked him the question, "How could you have freedom without law?" Now that man claims that you can.

Studebaker: The second program that we are broadcasting now, Congressman Johnson, is one entitled "Wings for the Martins"...etc.

Fitzpatrick: I don't think, Doctor, that you heard that statement of mine, did you?

Studebaker: Yes, I did.

Fitzpatrick: What do you think about the statement that that man made? Do you believe that we could have freedom without law?

Studebaker: Well, I should say we cannot.

Fitzpatrick: Exactly.

Studebaker: As I say, the third program is entitled "The World Is Yours"....etc.(1)

A year later it was evident that the Committee had made up its mind not to grant the request for funds for the Office radio programs. They challenged the work on every point possible: the right of the Office to broadcast at all, the right of the Office to use Emergency funds for this purpose, the success of the programs, the standard of programs produced, the question of whether the programs were "propaganda" or "education". There was undoubtedly confusion as to whether the Office of Education had had anything to do with "What Price America", confusion over the money for the film service and the radio service, confusion over the justification of the Project aside from its being a Relief project. Yet it seems evident that these were minor difficulties. The temper of Congress had changed. There was a rise in feeling against the New Deal, and against its "propaganda" activities in particular. There had been indications in the press that certain Congressmen feared that the federal agencies would come out and try to reelect Roosevelt through their radio programs.(2) The Office of Education, being vulnerable, was attacked and demolished. It had suffered from too many goals. Had it tried to justify its broadcasting merely on educational grounds, it would probably still have run into the old states-rights argument which was advanced, but this would have been

- (1) 76th Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department Bill for 1940, Part I, Feb. 3, 1939, p.881.
- (2) High, Stanley, "Not So Free Air," Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 11, 1939.

easier to answer than the combination of charges made against it. Because of this unfortunate combination of events, it is a question whether it will ever be able to justify its going into educational broadcasting.

f. The Educational Radio Project and Listeners

The Office of Education was one of the federal agencies most concerned with listener reaction. It had been supporting studies of education on the air long before it went into broadcasting itself. Under Dr. Cline M. Koon, who had been the Senior Specialist in Radio Education, surveys were undertaken during 1933.(1) Realizing that it had to justify its programs to the networks, it was concerned from the beginning of its broadcasting with showing that audiences were large and enthusiastic. Moreover, in order to do the educational job desired, "listener aids" were prepared for the programs so that the stimulus of the radio might be followed up by the cold facts of print. This in effect was a way of "institutionalizing" the programs, to overcome the fact that the Office did not have local branches throughout the country to keep it in touch with listeners.

Mail was its chief index of popularity. At first letters came in only at the rate of 100 to 300 a week. By 1937 the Office was receiving 10,000 to 12,000 a week, and the total had risen to 400,000.(2) By 1939 the total was 800,000,(3) and by 1940 it was "almost a million".(4) This would have been a good showing even for commercial radio, and the Office claimed that although mail might not be an accurate index of size of audience,

- (1) Koon, Cline M. "Radio Studies of the United States Office of Education," Education on the Air, Fourth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1933.)p.345.
- (2) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," etc.. p.22.
- (3) Studebaker, J. W., Report by the Commissioner of Education, Congressional Record, vol. 84 (appendix) p.2652.
- (4) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations. Appropriation Bill for the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal year ending 1941, Feb. 20, 1940, p.274.

it at least showed that so many people had been "under the influence" of the program.(1) The fact which was often pointed to, that most of these letters did not contain criticism, was less indicative. Almost no program draws very much derogatory mail.

In 1937 the Office undertook a large study of the audience for "The World Is Yours". People who had written in for the magazine which had been published in connection with the program were asked to fill out a questionnaire telling what subjects they would like to see treated in the series, the time they preferred to have the program, their occupations and ages. 35,892 questionnaires were returned. It was discovered that an average of 3.98 persons listened together to the program; that the age range of those listening was from 9 to 90, with the only significant lumping in any one age group centering around grade school and high school. About fifty-seven percent were men and about forty-one percent women. Many occupations were represented, with one in five, students, and another eleven percent teachers or school officials. However, there was a significant distribution in many occupations. As has been pointed out many times, this was not a scientific study, in that there was no way of controlling the sample, but it was excellent promotion. Commercial studies also showed interest in the program. In 1940 "The World is Yours" was found to be the most popular sustaining feature on the air.(2)

Another study undertaken in collaboration with the Office of Education was based on listening to "Americans All--Immigrants All". It was Miss Dorothea Seelye's Master's Thesis at the American University in Washington. In it she studied fan mail, and made a special questionnaire examination of a group of listeners. Her conclusion was that the "program did not change opinion so much as it bolstered individuals' moral about their own group or strengthened their interest in and

- (1) "The Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education," etc., p.23.
- (2) 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., House of Representatives, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Appropriation for the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal year ending 1941, Feb. 20, 1940, p.271.

appreciation of other groups", and that "the chances are that even listeners who definitely changed their opinions of certain groups already had a generally favorable opinion towards most other groups covered in the series or they would not have been listening to that particular program." There was indication that a significantly high proportion of the audience were native born of foreign parentage. The program then probably did not spread tolerance, but it may have performed an equally valuable subsidiary function: that of easing the tensions of small nationality groups when they were feeling the unfriendliness of older Americans.(1)

In spite of the fact that the Office of Education was not organized locally, it managed to draw upon enough organizations to "institutionalize" the programs to some extent. Publications were sent to secondary schools in connection with many of the broadcasts. Maps, reading lists, listeners' and teachers' pamphlets were distributed for "Brave New World".(2) The National Congress of Parents and Teachers helped to sponsor "Wings for the Martins" and to spread publicity for it. "Gallant American Women" had the blessing of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Women, the American Association of University Women, the National League of Women Voters, Associated Country Women of the World, American Home Economics Association, Women's Trade Union League, and the National Consumer's League. With publicity in their various journals the audience should have been well prepared.(3) Each of the programs drew upon appropriate organizations and worked with schools in getting the material across.

There is no doubt, however, that private broadcasters can also work with these groups, and that it is to their advantage to do so. Unfortunate in many ways as was the demise of the Educational Radio Project, it is likely that its experience in this field will serve to enrich the offerings of others for a long time to come.

- (1) This study is to be published by the FREC in the near future.
- (2) Education b Radio, vol. 7, no. 11, Nov. 1937, p.54.
- (3) Ibid., vol. 9, no. 9, Nov. 1939, p.36.

V. THE BROADCASTERS' POINT OF VIEW

Insofar as the government uses radio to project itself to citizens, it is reflected through the prism of the broadcasting station. Although there have been sporadic stories about "pressure" on stations to carry certain programs for federal agencies, (1) actually there is little that can happen to a station owner if he refuses a request coming from Washington. The FCC, in spite of elaborate statements about "public interest, convenience, and necessity," has never taken a license away from a station because it did not put on one kind of program or another, and the Commission takes the position that it has no jurisdiction over programs. This leaves a good deal of power to the broadcaster. How does he wield it, and what does he think of it?

In order to find the answer to these questions, a small study was made by our Office of the broadcasting activities of a group of stations. As a basis we used the "American Station Sampler" evolved by Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld of the Office of Radio Research, Columbia University, which consists of eleven series of matched stations. Two of the samples were used: one consisting of 39 affiliated stations and 33 independent ones, and the other of 38 affiliated and 33 independent stations. There was a forty-two percent return from the question-

- (1) On this point one of the respondents reported the following story: "Station originated thirteen programs in 1939 on request of local office of Government Reports, allegedly for purpose of explaining functions of thirteen government departments and divisions. There was no proof of any reaction to them. There probably weren't any listeners to react. The programs were interminable, even if confined, as they were, to 15 minutes. Station declined to continue broadcasts, although station was urged to do so by local office of Government Reports. Station was advised that 'Washington' would be 'very disappointed' over the discontinuance of the series. Station does not know what agencies would have been discussed if series had been continued."-- Tennessee.

naire, but because of inadequate answers, a few were discarded. The study, then, is based on 23 replies from affiliated stations and 28 from independents. (See Appendix for a copy of the questionnaire. The major difficulty with the questionnaire from the stations' point of view seems to have been that it asked for detailed program information which many of the stations did not keep on record. Others mentioned that although they had the information, their small staffs were so overworked that they had no time to dig it out. With the exception of four metropolitan stations, which gave complete program schedules, most of the questionnaires answered in a similar fashion: more or less exactly. While the study does not give a completely accurate picture of the stations' activities in regard to federal programs, it does permit us to make some comparisons between stations, and it shows something of their attitudes.

During the period covered in the study, roughly September, 1939, through February, 1940, there were forty-two different agencies, bureaus, and Departments in Washington which did some form of radio work. Twenty-four of these were organized locally, and permitted or encouraged their local representatives to broadcast. There were a few centers from which material was distributed for more than one bureau or agency: the central Radio Division of the Department of Agriculture which distributed mimeographed material for several, though not all, of its dependent groups; the Office of Government Reports; and the Office of Education. They did not coordinate all the radio work of the agencies for which they produced. The Office of Education distributed and helped in making "Pleasantdale Folks" for the Social Security Board, yet local sections of this agency also put on programs, and distributed some of the programs themselves. The Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor appeared on a series of programs put out by the Office of Government Reports, but at the same time continued on its own with a series on NBC. There was no central agency which even knew of the work of all the other departments, and often within one department some of the publicity men doing radio work for one dependent bureau did not know what others in the same department were doing. All this made for confusion and difficulty for the broadcasters.

Only a few of the agencies produced live network shows. The old faithful "Farm and Home Hour" was continued, with the "Western Farm and Home Hour" doing the same job out of San Francisco. The Department of the Interior was one of the most active in this field. In the last year it had three major network shows: "What Price America" on CBS, "This Our America" on NBC, "Conservation Reporter" on Mutual. The Office of Education continued "The World Is Yours" on NBC, and in the last twelve months also finished up "Gallant American Women" on the same network and "Democracy in Action" on CBS. In this year the Children's Bureau concluded the series called "The Child Grows Up" and started a new one, "Raising a President". The Department of Labor had two shows on Mutual, "The Pay Envelope" and "This Might Be You", while the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service sponsored "The Border Patrol" on Mutual and "I'm An American" on NBC.

A larger number of groups made transcriptions which were distributed to independent stations. Since the major networks refuse to broadcast transcriptions, these are limited to independent stations. The most prolific in the field were the Farm Credit Administration, which distributed six series of records in the last year, and FHA, which distributed all kinds of transcribed programs, from one-minute spot announcements to fifteen-minute dramas. The WPA continued to distribute records of the Federal Music Project. The Office of Education helped to distribute "Pleasantdale Folks" for the Social Security Board, and "Help Yourself to Health" for the Public Health Service. The Forest Service sent out some transcribed dramas, and the Census explained itself in a similar series. Early in the year the Office of Government Reports distributed a series of records explaining the functions of various government agencies, and then later made records of various aspects of National Defense. The War Department made records with speeches and Army bands. A transcribed series from the Department of Justice helped to elicit cooperation for Alien Registration.

Almost all of these groups also distributed mimeographed material in one form or another, sometimes to a selected list of stations, sometimes to stations chosen almost at random. The officials in nearly every agency or bureau made speeches over the radio at one

time or another. Locally representatives of an agency might speak on the air, see to it that the station nearest at hand took the material prepared by the central office in Washington, prepare material themselves for broadcasting, or merely "cooperate" with the station doing a show about that particular group. Thus it happened that even the Washington office did not know just what had been presented on the radio about its functions. For instance, the FBI reports that the central organization does not do any broadcasting, but permits its members to do so. Several stations have been running, with the cooperation of the local representative, what must be very colorful programs about the FBI. But to find out who have and who have not put on local programs is impossible at the moment.

Fifty-two stations in the study, of which 25 were independent and 27 affiliated with a major network, gave information complete enough for a picture of their activities in this field. There was practically no difference between the affiliated and independent stations in the number of programs they reported about or for federal agencies:

	Affiliated	Independent
<u>Programs</u>	<u>Stations</u>	<u>Stations</u>
* Series	116	124
* Spots	60	41
* Singles	31	38

- * "Series" here refers to six or more programs thirty minutes, fifteen minutes, ten minutes, or five minutes in length. "Spots" are brief announcements; if stations carried them at all, they usually gave a good many, but often did not remember just how many for this particular agency. "Singles" here refers to one-time programs, such as special events (review of troops, variety show at a CCC camp) or isolated talks by officers of the agency, etc.).

This group of 52 stations reported programs for 42 bureaus, agencies, and departments. On pages 95-96 will be found a list of the agencies and the number of stations reporting each type of program. In spite of the great emphasis on National Defense and the activities of the Army and Navy, more stations reported taking the series of musical transcriptions from the WPA than any other

single series, with the transcriptions of the Farm Credit Administration next in wide distribution. The series of programs from the Office of Government Reports aiming to center the publicity for government agencies was reported by comparatively few of the stations.

There was comparatively little difference between affiliated and independent stations as to the particular agencies reported. The big transcription series from WPA, Farm Credit, and Social Security were reported by slightly more independent than affiliated stations, but not many. (For instance, 25 of 28 independent stations for which there is information on this point carried the WPA programs, while only 19 of the 28 affiliated stations did; 19 independents carried Farm Credit transcriptions, while 12 affiliates did so; and 12 independents carried the Social Security Board transcriptions, while 8 affiliated stations did so.) In spite of the fact that the major agencies using transcriptions were heard on affiliated stations, on the whole affiliates did not use so much of this type of material as the independents used.

Number of Programs Reported By:

<u>Form of Material</u>	(25 stations) (27 stations)	
	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Affiliated</u>
Transcribed	91	67
Mimeographed	47	38
Live Studio	28	67
Other*	10	22

- * "Other" refers to pick-ups from a CCC camp, a demonstration by a County Agricultural Agent, speech by an agency representative at some public gathering, a program taken off a network, etc.

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Series</u>	<u>Spots</u>	<u>Singles</u>
EXECUTIVE			
Office of Government Reports	10	-	-
(National Defense series)	13	4	1
TREASURY			
Bureau of Internal Revenue	3	2	-
United States Coast Guard	-	14	-
Secret Service Division	-	3	-
	-	-	1
WAR			
Air Corps	29	20	6
	1	4	4

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Series</u>	<u>Spots</u>	<u>Singles</u>
JUSTICE	5	-	3
Federal Bureau of Investigation	1	-	-
Immigration and Naturalization Service	2	-	-
(Special drive for Alien Registration)	3	-	4
POST OFFICE	2	3	-
NAVY	8	21	1
Marine Corps	1	14	2
INTERIOR	3	3	-
Fish and Wildlife Service	-	1	-
National Park Service	1	-	-
AGRICULTURE	11	-	2
A.A.A.	5	-	1
Agricultural Marketing Service	4	-	-
Farm Credit Administration	30	-	-
Farm Security Administration	2	-	-
Forest Service	1	2	1
Rural Electrification Administra- tion	2	1	-
Surplus Marketing Administration	2	-	4
COMMERCE	-	-	1
Bureau of the Census	4	1	6
LABOR	2	1	-
Wage and Hour Division	4	-	-
Children's Bureau	2	-	-
INDEPENDENT OFFICES			
Civil Service Commission	-	9	2
Federal Housing Administration	10	9	-
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	-	1	-
Federal Security Agency	1	-	-
Social Security Board	19	1	1
Bureau of Employment Security	7	3	-
Public Health Service	2	-	1
Office of Education	5	-	-
National Youth Administration	5	-	1
CCC	1	-	1
WPA	37	-	4
Selective Service System	1	2	2
TVA	-	-	1

The ban against the use of transcriptions is in part responsible for the lower number of such programs used on affiliated stations, for the answers by affiliated stations included programs they carried which were originated by the network. This also in part accounts for the much higher number of "live" broadcasts reported by the affiliated stations, for a program live in New York was occasionally reported as such when broadcast by a station in the Middle West. However, there is another reason for this: affiliated stations are likely to be better off economically than independent ones, their equipment is usually better, and they are likely to have more studio space. They are better able to originate a program than some of the smaller, less well-equipped independents.

In an effort to find out how these stations selected the agencies they put on the air, they were asked: "Assuming you have rejected material sent out by a federal agency and offers by federal agencies of speakers, program materials, and the like, would you please tell us which agencies you turned down, what the type of material was, and why you did not take it?" It is possible that some of the stations received little or no material of this kind. None of the agencies tried to reach all stations, and some of them have been located in towns where there happened to be no local representatives of such agencies. Considering the amount of material coming out of Washington, it was safe to assume that most of the stations had done some selecting.

Three of the stations refused to answer the questions. Nineteen said they had never rejected any programs, while thirty said they had. Four questionnaires were filled in by station people who had not made the decision and didn't know the station's policy. The number of those stating that they had rejected material was equally divided between independent and affiliated stations. Seventeen, while stating that they had turned down some agency, refused to say which one; five had turned down the WPA transcriptions, three the "manpower announcements" by the Civil Service Commission, two the Bureau of Employment Security, and one each Farm Credit, Immigration and Naturalization Service, NYA, Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of Government Reports, FHA, Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor.

There were forty-five reasons given by this group for rejecting various programs. They may be characterized as follows:

REASONS FOR REJECTION OF MATERIAL	
<u>Reason</u>	<u>Number of Mentions</u>
Program material at fault	12
Material not suited to our audience	9
Material did not fit in with our broadcasting plan	8
Material duplicated	5
Not enough time for all (1)	8
Other	3

However, there were indications elsewhere throughout the questionnaires that these "reasons" fitted in to basic attitudes toward the material from federal agencies. At one end of the scale there were seven station managers who indicated that they were grateful to the federal agencies for helping them to fill time which they otherwise would have had a hard time to fill with such excellent program material. Most of the station owners were mixed in their attitudes. Their difficulties with it were that there was too much material, that some of it was ill-adapted to the region to which it was sent, that it was uninteresting programming. They differed sharply in their attitude toward the solution for these problems. Ten felt that there should be further centralization of responsibilities for such programs in Washington, with program standards set there and forced on the other agencies, but almost as many preferred to take the initiative in the matter and handle such programs on their own. At the opposite end of the scale were those who were definitely opposed to programs from federal agencies; two felt that they lost business because the programs drove listeners away and advertisers didn't like this, and seven believed such material to be partisan and political in intention or effect or both, and resented the build-up for the administration in power.

- (1) It is obvious that the statement, "We did not have enough time to give all the programs we were asked to give," does not give the basis for selection, and is not comparable to the other "reasons."

Typical of the comments indicating these reactions are the following:

1. Pleased with federal program material.

"Government programs are received very favorably in this district, in particular the music and drama. We are glad to give government programs. They are of a high standard, and add to our program." Florida. "Reaction by both listeners and advertisers regarding such programs seems to be favorable. No unfavorable comment reported. This station has done a great deal of free work for almost every state or federal department that needed publicity in our section. We have never turned down any programs sent us by any federal or state agency, because most of the material was first class, and we believe in furthering the worthy aims of these agencies." Arizona.

"Some programs put out by government agencies have a very heavy listening audience. Others apply mostly to the farmer. Fifty percent of our listening audience are rural, and spot announcements by some commercial sponsors are placed in this time by their request. Programs sent out by our state and federal governments carry at the present time a very heavy listening audience, and this is due to the present war situation." Alabama.

2. Wish Government Coordination.

"We believe that better coordination and consequently better service could be rendered if all requests for time for federal agencies, regardless of the department, could come from one source. Better yet, we feel that a regularly established transcribed program sponsored by the government, in which all federal publicity could be incorporated would be the best solution. We believe that such a program would develop its own audience, thus assuring government publicity a wider circulation." California.

"There should be a government clearing house to arrange program schedules for all agencies. At the present time, so many agencies are clamoring for time that it's confusing to keep them all in orderly manner and give all an equal amount of consideration. National Defense, of course, takes priority over all other agencies at this station." West Virginia.

3. Prefer to solve the problems themselves.

"In 1938 we instituted our 'Trouble Shooters' program 9:45 to 10:00 AM Mondays through Fridays. The function of these shows is to inform the general public on various branches of the city, state and federal government activities...We turned down a WPA series out of Washington because we were fully covering WPA locally...We are happy to cooperate with government activities, but reserve the right to choose programs which are of particular value to our own community. We often consult civic leaders and the Chamber of Commerce for advice in these matters." Ohio.

"We look upon federal agencies as an authentic source of good educational programs. We exercise complete authority in production. Guarded from being vehicles of too blatant self advertising federal agency material can and does make valuable programs." Washington, D.C.

4. Efforts to keep such programs from hurting business.

"Listener reaction has been generally unfavorable to the majority of programs, with the urge to dial elsewhere strong. For this reason, most such programs when used are prefaced by the announcement of their length (which we try to limit to not more than five minutes) with the hope that being thus assured, listeners will stand by. From the standpoint of advertiser reaction, none care to follow such programs, requesting at least a thirty-minute period of separation." Michigan.

"We know very little about listener reaction, because we get so little response. As far as advertisers are concerned, their programs are not affected by government or other public service features. We make an effort to schedule these features in periods removed from commercial shows on which we want to carry a maximum audience." Iowa.

5. Dislike the political implications in such programs.

"Most program directors if pressed, would probably admit a reluctant attitude toward these government produced programs--because as an election approaches the talks become more and more political in tone and content and why give one party something that the other party has to buy?" West Virginia.

"A great amount of material coming out of Washington is purely propaganda, trying to justify the agency's existence. When we catch up with this, of course, we do not use it. Sometimes it slips by. Other programs do not contain so much propaganda, but neither are they so good. These, too, we must discard. Some of the programs are fairly good, but still contain propaganda. It is difficult to make a decision on these. Other programs, such as the FHA, have something very definite to offer the public in general. The only medium they have is through radio, newspapers and agents. On all of this, may I say that it is my personal opinion that the government should in some way pay the station for the time used. We must pay our personnel, we must pay our electric light bills, we must mark off the depreciation of equipment, and so on. The government agencies seem to assume the attitude that it is the privilege of the radio stations to broadcast these programs free for them. I do not consider it a privilege, but to put it frankly, a hell of a big favor on my part to give them the time. They spend a lot of money developing them and producing them, but nothing for the more important part, broadcasting them." Florida.

It is interesting that, of the stations which are trying to take a long-range view of the matter and have given some thought to the solution of the problems inherent in the situation, fourteen are affiliated stations and four are independent, and of those, three are non-commercial. Those who felt that they should solve the problem for themselves were all affiliated stations. Of the stations which had the extreme reaction, thinking the programs were either wonderfully good or diabolically political, ten were independent and four affiliated. This may reflect the fact that in general the affiliated stations are affiliated because they have done a better job than other stations, and it may also be an indication of the network attitude, which must seep through to the affiliates.

Regardless of which particular attitude the stations took toward the solution of the problem, many of them indicated that they were concerned over the low standards of government-produced programs. As professional radio people, they felt that professionals

should be employed to give a better radio slant to what was undoubtedly worthwhile material. Several indicated that straight talks drove listeners away, and that the musical and dramatic programs were preferred. Others wished the programs to be "sugar coated," with "entertainment" added. Four indicated that all federal programs should be transcribed, and that the records should contain music as well as talk. One of the larger stations in California summed up the attitude of many:

"It has been our experience that programs prepared by our staff in cooperation with federal agencies have invariably brought more response directly to our station than straight talks or interviews prepared entirely on the outside. Naturally, only a certain amount of this type of cooperation can be given. We also believe that the most ineffective type of program is the straight talk; interviews and round tables are always much better. In many cases, when we have been contacted by federal agencies for radio time, we have discovered that their material is not written for radio. There seems to be a tendency to use language incomprehensible to Mr. and Mrs. John Public. Summing up the matter, we feel that federal agencies could use radio to much better advantage if their material were prepared by people who know radio thoroughly."

The result of long years of "poor" material was commented on by one station, which said that he found listeners, if they would hold on long enough to listen, frankly surprised at the high caliber of some of the government programs. The word "federal" was enough to make them think the show would be bad even before they heard it. This criticism of the program standards has driven stations to take the initiative in putting such material on the air, or if they did not wish to do this, has driven them to putting such material on at hours when few would be listening. And a few bad programs have undoubtedly spoiled the market for others.

Rejecting uninteresting programs because they were uninteresting was one way in which stations solved the problem of more requests for time than they could handle. This was undoubtedly the least sensible way to solve the problem from the government's point of view, but, of course, perfectly natural from the broadcasters'

point of view. The next most frequent complaint was that the material was not adapted for local use. This was voiced mainly by urban stations about farm programs which they refused to take. In some instances this "not adapted for our area" meant a very detailed criticism. A small-network station, for instance, reported that the network refuses programs with the word "folks", or the salutation "ladies and gentlemen". These may be all right elsewhere, they say, but they are an insult to our audience. They also have had a good deal of trouble with some of the federal transcriptions. There are several distinctive accents in this region, and when they are aped by actors unconvincingly, the stations have refused the programs. A third way of establishing priority for programs was timeliness. Some stations, four reporting in this group, have worked out a plan whereby agencies get time on the air at certain seasons of the year and not others. Each is heard in turn, but in relation to its particular message. A few stations reported establishing priority by "importance" of the material. For most of them this meant that for the present they have discontinued almost all government material except National Defense programs. Just how they establish "importance" they could not say. One independent station manager reported that he took only the agencies heard on the major networks, because they, being nearer Washington, had more chance than he to decide between the various claimants for the air. Whatever the solution, this is one of the major problems for the majority of the stations which believe they should do some broadcasting for federal agencies, but receive many more requests than they can fill.

For some, the Office of Government Reports has been the solution. Only one, having tried this, decided to discontinue it. Most were pleased with the programs, and some referred new requests coming in to the local representative of the Office for inclusion in his series. This has gone even farther in the matter of centralization in some places. A small station in North Dakota reported:

"The matter of clearing time for government agencies individually by the stations has caused some confusion. In discussing this matter with some of the broadcasters throughout the state it was generally agreed that if time were cleared by a central agency

for the various departments much confusion would be cleared up. It has been the practice in some cases lately to refer the government agency requesting time to the state Office of Government Reports for time clearance. This system worked out very satisfactorily, as the stations work in close cooperation with the State Director of the Government Reports Office on all government publicity material."

Provided the State Director is adequate to the job, this may be a solution for the smaller stations.

Twelve stations reported initiating on their own programs to explain the functioning of various government agencies. In three cases these had to do specifically with agriculture, but the others treated many agencies and departments. One had a discussion of various agencies by high-school students (Oklahoma). Two others had adult round-table discussions: a "Taxpayers' Research Association" discussion of forms of taxation and spending during the income-tax period (Indiana), and the "Wisconsin Citizenship Forum" (Wisconsin). Others drew on agencies for talks, and built up the program with studio music, occasional dramatic sketches, etc. A station in Georgia, for instance, has started a program called "America Calling", using patriotic marches as a background, and bringing in representatives of various agencies to talk about the work of that agency as related to National Defense. Another has a program called "Brooklyn Speaks", on which all the representatives of agencies in Brooklyn speak their piece in turn. A third, already mentioned, is the "Trouble Shooters" program in Ohio, with spots for agency representatives. These "Catch-all" programs enable the station to keep the reins on the production, to rehearse the speakers, and, at the same time, to do their duty by the government.

Network originating stations are in a very different position than others in this regard. They do not accept transcriptions, and they are able to draw upon much higher officials and outside speakers for talent. They have much more money to put into sustaining programs and can help agencies to improve their programs with actors, music, directors, etc. Moreover, they must not be concerned with local problems, but must produce broadcasts for the whole country or a section of the country. These stations have worked out reciprocal

relationships with the federal agencies. Sometimes they suggest a program; sometimes they help an agency to produce one. Since they are not so well-adapted to presenting information for specific use, they have taken the more general material, such as that from the Office of Education and the Department of Interior. These "attitude" programs can be produced by outsiders as well as the government, since they do not depend upon research by experts on the agency staff and are not, strictly speaking, an explanation of the work of the agency. As we have seen, networks are producing more and more of this kind of program on their own.

VI. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

With the rise of totalitarian governments abroad, the functions of the new federal administrative agencies have been challenged by some observers, who feared similar trends in this country. These people have been concerned about the danger of centralization of control over various facets of citizens' welfare in Washington, and the danger that the independence of these groups from Congress may lead to an irresponsible bureaucracy. Their publicity functions have been criticized especially, because governmental propaganda bureaus abroad have performed notoriously well. Moreover, the intellectual climate of this country in the post-war period led to a critical view of all publicity functions. Pacifist sentiment has been fed upon horror of the activities of the Creel Committee as well as of the "Big Businessmen" who were supposed to have maneuvered us into the last war. With the growth of advertising and other publicity functions by private business into a major industry in this period, consumers' groups have grown up to challenge these attempts to sell ideas or commodities. Such an organization as the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which exposed as propaganda the information functions of groups, regardless of the nature of the group or its purpose, was indicative of the prevailing temper of mind. Only of very recent years has there been any thoughtful discussion of the difference between education and propaganda, between the presentation of necessary and useful information by some groups and propaganda, between propaganda by groups working constructively for the democratic way of life and that of groups which seek to undermine it.

These challenges have made especially difficult the work of governmental agencies in seeking to elicit citizens' participation in their work. Citizens have been wary of accepting information presented to help them carry out legislation passed by their Congress. Congress itself challenged the right of these agencies to use radio for publicity work. Organized groups opposing the work of the agencies have been quick to protest to Congress or to the agency itself about the publicity work undertaken to facilitate the carrying out of legislation intrusted to the agency. In using radio, the agencies have had their informational and publicity work further

subjected to the scrutiny of private business, which did not wholly approve of some of the governmental policies during the Roosevelt regime. The implications of governmental publicity can be judged only by keeping in mind its setting in the intellectual temper of the times, as well as the changing economy of the period.

In this mixed and difficult situation, radio publicity from the various departments had had a number of aims:

1. It has attempted to present specific information gathered by experts to help the citizen.
2. It has attempted to interest listeners sufficiently in certain kinds of information so that they would seek elsewhere for it.
3. It has attempted to elicit cooperation from citizens in the working of legislation which has been passed.
4. It has attempted to foster attitudes which would facilitate the administration of legislation.
5. It has attempted to create and support basic attitudes toward social life and government.
6. It has set a yardstick for programs from private agencies.

The first three of these aims have seldom, if ever, been questioned by anybody. The Department of Agriculture, the Children's Bureau, the FHA, for instance, have been chiefly engaged in these activities. When it comes to "attitude" programs, the opposition has been active. The Social Security Board and the Bureau of the Census, for example, have been criticized for producing programs which tried to get people to have a favorable attitude toward the duties which were required of them by law.(1) To programs attempting to mold basic

- (1) For instance, Variety, March 20, 1940, p.33, commented on a program in the "Democracy in Action" series from the Office of Education:

"The program last Sunday waded into the current controversy over the census-versus-constitutional rights...Although it stated at the close that the 'Office of Education endeavors to treat all subjects on these broadcasts in a non-partisan spirit,' the pro-census views were clearly given preference, while the arguments favoring right of privacy of the individual were brushed aside...

(cont)

attitudes, such as "Americans All--Immigrants All", "Gallant American Women", "What Price America", the reaction has been mixed. On the one hand such programs usually deal with attitudes which are accepted by all right-minded people, and carefully avoid the controversial. Just for this reason, however, there is a question as to why the government should put them on at all. The fact of the matter was, of course, that the government did put them on and others did not. During the depression broadcasters were not spending so much money as they are now on sustaining programs, and relief workers were available for the government and not for private business. Moreover, broadcasters had to be shown that this kind of program could be successful and useful to them. This yardstick function served a purpose, and then later was questioned by the professionals. None of these functions, however, is in any way undemocratic. They have in their broader implication furthered democracy by enlightening the citizen, by enabling him to take a more active part in his own government, and by providing competition in the idea market to those with a less democratic point of view about the relations between government and citizens.

The claim has also been made that radio publicity for federal agencies is undemocratic in that it is political in intention or effect or both. It is necessary to make a distinction here between the inevitably greater publicity given the administration in power at the moment and agency support for legislation still pending in Congress. Three agencies have been criticized for putting out political propaganda: the Department of Agriculture, WPA, and the Department of the Interior. There is no doubt that the Department of Agriculture through its radio programs did attempt to elicit the cooperation of farmers for laws passed to relieve the farm situation. Although they presented opposing points of view, the dice were loaded in favor of the administra-

(cont. from p.111)

Need and value of the questions regarding income were persuasively presented. but the actual issue of invasion of an individual's constitutional rights still wasn't squarely answered. Show held interest but coming just at this time, it's the kind of thing that may arouse further criticism of government-sponsored propaganda'."

tion. (1) The attitude of the WPA was expressed by the head of the Federal Theater Radio Division, who said, "I believe you can sell government the way you sell soap. That is why WPA programs have a plug for the WPA inserted in them." Both of these agencies have merely given the Administration point of view on matters already approved by Congress. The Department of the Interior program in the series "What Price America" actually seems to have been stumping for legislation which was still being discussed in Congress, yet, as a matter of fact, it was also dramatizing the situation which made the discussion of legislation necessary. Criticism of political activity in radio programs comes, as one observer has remarked, from the mistaken notion prevalent in America that even legislation on the books is party legislation and fair game for political sniping. There is a folkway in some circles that laws passed by an administration one opposes are to be broken, taxes to be avoided, and in general that it is good politics to discredit the laws of the opposing party by making them seem impossible of execution. This is not, of course, a generally accepted attitude, but it does prevail in some circles, and has undoubtedly led to some unjustified criticism of certain government radio programs. It is probably true that government programs always give a more favorable position to the party in power than to the opposition. There is no doubt that in recent years some of the legislation opposed by business interests would not have had a hearing from newspapers, which were under the thumb of the advertisers. If the Administration wanted to explain its position at all, it had to take to a medium which would accept its story. For many reasons radio proved to be more favorable to this than the press. At the same time, there is no reason to think that the opposition was not heard. It was in reality much better publicized than the administration point of view. Opposition ranging from that of Father Coughlin to that of W. J. Cameron had a regular hearing over the air. The National Association of Manufacturers in such radio programs as "American Family Robinson" were directly opposing the attempts of the Administration to establish basic attitudes which would

(1) Report of a Conference on Radio in Public Relations, etc.. p.3.

allow the New Deal theory of government to be tried out. Insofar as the creation of attitudes favorable to a theory of government subscribed to by one party enables that party to pass legislation further carrying out that theory, such broadcasting is partisan and political, both in intention and effect. But a realistic view of the matter is that the opposition is already busily at work with its political broadcasting in one form or another, and that the result is as much a democratic hearing of all points of view as the old debating system.

As a matter of fact the administration, whether Republican or Democratic, has always been under a disadvantage rather than an advantage in using radio publicity. Since such activities are centralized in Washington they can be "viewed with alarm" more easily than similar activities on the part of business, which are scattered all over the country. Congress holds the purse strings, and has been unwilling or unable to see that in order to compete with private business for the listeners' attention, money comparable to that spent by private broadcasters must be put up to produce comparable programs. In a Democracy no one forces listeners to turn to any one program, and the Government must compete in the open market for a sympathetic audience. Even if the Administration could force broadcasters to present its programs, which it cannot, the broadcasters could not guarantee an audience. To some extent the government has a monopoly of unique and immediately useful information which would attract listeners almost (but not quite) regardless of how it is presented. When this is the case, as with some of the Department of Agriculture programs, we find advertisers wanting to get the benefit of it. But for the majority of educational programs, comparable to the institutional advertising of big companies, the government has no inside track on talent or on showmanship. These require big money. Radio, like the movies, is a fabulous industry--Major Bowes alone gets \$1,000,000 a year. Yet the Office of Education was expected to put on three major shows for \$100,000 a year. Most radio publicity people in federal agencies earn far less than \$5000 a year; what network official or successful radio advertising man would work for so little? This has led to an attitude on the part of broadcasters that the least successful in the business go into government broadcasting.

Moreover, lack of finances has forced the government to pinch on program expenses. What bureau or agency can afford the Detroit Symphony Orchestra to lure listeners to hear the capsuled political philosophy of an Administration spokesman as Mr. Ford can for his point of view? In a sense the WPA Federal Music Project has done this, but without the prestige, and without the guest stars which are so much a part of the Ford Symphony program package. Most other agencies have been forced to rely on techniques which are simple and inexpensive, as the straight talk or interview, and the material is usually mimeographed, so that the agency has no way of knowing how good the speaker presenting the information will be. A few have gone into the field of elaborate, but fairly cheap melanges of a little music, chorus work, simple dramatic shots, narration. Without adequate talent and direction these have not been a great success. In addition, Congressional scrutiny has forced the radio men in the government to be quite high-toned. What is possible for the advertiser in the way of appealing to lower stratifications of audience taste is considered undignified for a government. We know that there is a stratification in listener program preference roughly parallel to socio-economic status. A government broadcaster may know that the type of program he should use to appeal to the group he wishes to reach is completely out of the question. Yet an advertiser is free to use the whole range of program forms in getting across his message.

Lack of money for programs and lack of trained personnel has made the government broadcasters rather inept users of the medium. In their relations with stations, for instance, they have relied on a piecemeal basis of contact, some outright stupid handling, and an aloof attitude which has annoyed a good many broadcasters. Advertisers are deeply concerned with station relations, often supplementing the networks' announcements of programs with other announcements, visits to the stations, gift samples, etc. They pay for time on the air, and how much more need those who ask for free time solicit cooperation. Some of the agencies leave this work to local representatives of the department, which usually makes broadcasters more willing to accept a program, although they are horrified, sometimes, at the representatives' lack of knowledge of radio. The Department of

Agriculture has made some effort to educate its field people in the use of radio, but few other groups have seen that this is a problem. No wonder that they have had their programs, if taken at all, put into bad listening hours.

There has also been a lack of realization by many people in the agencies that radio was a medium requiring any special ability or, indeed, that it was even worth using. When the Department of Labor, for instance, recently hired a woman to be concerned with broadcasting, she reported that she had to educate most of the people in the Department to think of radio at all. The experience of one agency, and even of bureaus within departments, has not been shared by others. Occasionally there will be cooperation, as when one group, having worked out a list of stations which were willing to take their programs, passed on the list to a new bureau, or when workers in the Office of Education helped out the Bureau of the Census, but for the most part there is too little exchange of views, and too little examination of the experience of others.

From many points of view the essential lack is some agency to coordinate the radio work of the various departments. The Office of Government Reports, which had hoped to be such a group, was not completely successful, because of the antagonism of broadcasters in the government who disagreed with its production methods or its theories of broadcasting, or who were afraid of losing their jobs if they cooperated. The recent debate in Congress on funds for radio work for this group reflected this failure, as well as the fear of "censorship" accentuated by developments abroad. Democracy means freedom for the expression of many points of view. but it need not mean inefficiency. If the experience and personnel of the government in radio were pooled. money could be spent more expeditiously, programs would be improved, stations would be happier, and more people would listen to federal programs. In a situation of national emergency such a central programming agency is more necessary than ever. Although it would seem unwise in wartime for the government to take over the operation of broadcasting stations, it must be able to reach citizens quickly and effectively. Without some central agency to do the work of coordination and to set up program standards, private broadcasters will

be put in the position of passing judgment on the merits of government programs and of establishing priorities for the various agencies wanting time on the air. Broadcasters are not in a position to do this adequately, for no outsider could, and in addition, the social attitude of broadcasters is often much like that of their advertisers, one that has challenged the whole theory of the Administration in recent years. It is up to Congress to realize that the morale of the nation in a time of national emergency can hardly be left in the hands of private interests.(1)

Finally, observers may wonder about the effectiveness of government programs so far. On this point it is almost impossible to get accurate information. As we have seen, most agencies did not check up on either the size of audience for their programs or their effect on listeners. Some, organized locally, could report that their agents found people in the field responding in one way or another, but none carried on studies comparable to those of advertisers, who would not think of buying a program without fairly careful scrutiny of audience reaction. Some of the programs were developed so that mail was requested, and this became an index, but most were not. Of the fifty-six stations studied which reported on this point, twenty-two said that they had never heard any reaction one way or another about government programs; fifteen made some such general favorable remark as "listeners seem to like them;" four said that reaction was "only fair;" four reported unfavorable reaction; while six each reported that there had been favorable reaction to some specific programs and not others, or from some groups and not others. Although this report does not show much unfavorable reaction, it is alarming in the number who report no reaction at all. If the government is to use radio intelligently, it must be able to study its listeners and find out how well it succeeds. This is another especially important point to keep in mind during a time of crisis. Then, of all times, the government should know what it is doing, and should produce programs to suit the audience and the situation.

- (1) For a more complete discussion of this problem, see C. J. Friedrich, "Controlling Broadcasting in War-time," Studies in the Control of Radio, No. 2. (Harvard University, 1940).

APPENDIX

1. Have you ever initiated from your station a program explaining the functioning of agencies of government? If so, will you please tell us what kind of a program it was, and when you did it?
2. Would you tell us something about reactions by listeners, or advertisers on your station to programs put out by government agencies?
3. From what Federal Agencies have you broadcast radio material in the last 18 months?
 - a. Name of agency.
 - b. How many programs did you put on for this agency?
 - c. What form were the programs? (Interview, drama, quiz, talk, etc.)
 - d. How long were the programs?
 - e. What day of the week and time of day were they?
 - f. When the material came to you, was it transcribed, live, or mimeographed?
4. Assuming you have rejected material sent out by a Federal Agency and offers by federal agencies of speakers, program materials, and the like, would you please tell us which agencies you turned down, what the type of material was, and why you did not take it?
5. We would be glad of any further remarks you might care to make.

RADIOBROADCASTING
AND
HIGHER EDUCATION

C. J. FRIEDRICH
with the assistance of
JEANETTE SAYRE SMITH

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STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

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No. 4

TO
LYMAN BRYSON
OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR ON THE AIR

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Preface

THE present study was originally scheduled for December. Its completion has been somewhat delayed by the entry of the United States into the war. In the meantime, Miss Sayre has left the Radiobroadcasting Research Project to become Mrs. Francis Smith, but she had made substantial contributions to the work. She collected and digested a large part of the material for chapters II-V and helped to interpret the results of the survey reported in chapter VI. Although I am ready to assume responsibility for the conclusions, all but those of the final chapter have been discussed with her.

Special thanks are due to the educational stations and their personnel for their friendly assistance in gathering the material, especially Mr. H. B. McCarty, Director of Station WHA; Mr. Frank E. Schooley, Program Director of Station WILL; Mr. R. C. Higgy, Director of Station WOSU; and Mr. W. I. Griffith, Director of Station WOI. Mr. Albert N. Williams was good enough to read and criticize the entire manuscript. Throughout the work, we have had the devoted assistance of Miss Miriam C. Berry.

To those who might question the wisdom of bringing out this analysis at the present time, I would say that both higher education and radiobroadcasting have entered a new phase. They will both emerge from the war substantially changed. More especially, the vast issues of morale and propaganda are lending a new and added significance to past experiments in educational broadcasting. Broadcasting for the sake of propaganda, morale, or education have this in common: they employ the air for social purposes rather than for the individual's entertainment. The problem of control, therefore, requires greater attention, as it always does when the community as a whole is involved.

The next two studies, "Congress and Radio" and "Pressure Groups in Radiobroadcasting," are to be published later this year.

C. J. FRIEDRICH

I

Educational Broadcasting—Stepchild of the American System

a. Pundits versus Philistines

EVER since radiobroadcasting got under way, educators in schools, colleges, and universities, in adult education centers and in civic groups, have sought to make effective use of the new medium. Their efforts have been crowned by only a moderate degree of success. Indeed, for many broadcasters educational broadcasting has been a sore trouble. They usually admit the proposition that a well-balanced broadcasting program should include educational material. The very fact that they operate their facilities under licenses providing for their use in "the public convenience, interest, or necessity" would make them aware of this general proposition. But being first and foremost businessmen engaged in making a success of their enterprise by getting as many people as possible to "tune in," they stress entertainment of the public as the first consideration. "If the public want to listen to Charlie McCarthy's wisecracking, why should we try to sell them Professor Dryasdust?" they object. When pressed hard, they may go farther and suggest that Charlie's earthy wisdom has more educational value than all the lectures in the world. "Aren't even the pundits quoting him?" As David Sarnoff once said in a much-cited passage: "I think that the listeners are the people who determine the quality of the programs."¹

To such arguments, which are common in the industry, the educators have made varied replies. They have challenged the attitude reflected in these views as irresponsible, have pointed out that there is no evidence that the public would reject what they have not had an opportunity to listen to, have doubted that the only standard should be how *many* people listen to a radio program. Such critical views have not failed to produce some effect. In the pages that follow an effort will be made to indicate briefly some of the results of this twenty-year-old tug of war between the pundits and the philistines. But before we take up the problems in detail, certain general remarks may be helpful.

¹ "Principles and Practices of Network Radio Broadcasting," testimony before the Federal Communications Commission, November 14, 1938, and May 17, 1939, p. 56.

b. *Why Radio Education?*

To start with, there is the perennial question: What is education? Unfortunately, even the experts disagree. They do so violently, in fact. It might be well to quote from a recent popular pamphlet which summarized the views of many experts consulted:

There are three main currents of educational philosophy in America. Each one sees itself as the right idea, and each one feels that democracy would prosper most if all adopted that particular philosophy. And yet, any fair-minded person will discover that education in our American democracy is woven together out of all three. What are these three philosophies? Labels are dangerous, but they are also very convenient. The three strands may be called the pragmatic, the humanist, and the Catholic view of education. The pragmatic view stresses the informational and the training side of education, the learning how to think, solve problems, and so forth. The humanist view emphasizes the importance of a cultural heritage, a broad appreciation of basic values, both moral and esthetic, but assumes that these values can be taught by the free teacher who has been broadly trained in that cultural heritage. The Catholic view, while also emphasizing the importance of moral values as the central goal of educational effort, would make the Catholic church, as the dispenser of divine revelation, the fountain of doctrine and truth concerning them. The Catholic view is, of course, to some extent shared by all churches, but few of the others have developed a comprehensive educational philosophy in predominantly religious terms.²

Whatever our outlook, all will concede that "the American people, perhaps more than any other people of history, have long believed in education."³ "For generations they have led the world in equalizing educational opportunities. . . . [The American people] apparently think of organized education as the one unailing remedy for practically every ill to which man is subject, be it vice, crime, sickness, poverty, injustice, racketeering, political corruption, race hatred, class conflict, or war among the nations."

Any attempt to understand the persistence of the issue of educational broadcasting must start from this deep-seated conviction of most Americans that education is the solution to democracy's problems. But why, the

² *America's Free Schools*, No. 5 of the series *Democracy in Action*, published by the Council for Democracy, Inc.

³ *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*, p. 43. This programmatic statement was issued by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1941. It deserves the closest attention of all who would gauge the importance and the meaning of education in America today.

broadcasters exclaim, should there be more educational material in radio programs than in the big popular magazines? Also, why should we accept the judgment of schoolteachers as to what is educational, rather than being permitted to use our own editorial judgment, as any magazine or newspaper can do? The answer to this question is usually given in terms of the limited facilities available for radio. So far as printed matter is concerned, the many educational needs of the American people can be and are being satisfied by special magazines and journals catering to these requirements. In the same way, it is claimed, adequate opportunity should be provided for educational broadcasting.

But do this comparison and the argument about "editorial judgment" really hold? If only a few magazines could be published, instead of the hundreds and hundreds which actually find their way into print, the demand for including educational material in them would probably be tremendous. Just assume for a moment that only the magazines with a million circulation might be printed. If the *National Geographic* could not be published separately, there would have to be a section for its material in, say, *Life*. If the *Survey Graphic* must be cut out along with the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Saturday Evening Post* or the *Ladies Home Journal* might have to find space for the material now printed in these "high-brow" journals.

The parallel which has just been drawn brings out further that there are two major alternatives in getting education on the air. They have both played a part. Both will be analyzed in the pages that follow. The discussion of educational broadcasting has often suffered from not drawing a clear enough distinction between the educational institution as broadcaster and educational material on commercial broadcasting stations. Educational broadcasting can be done by the educational institutions themselves, owning and operating broadcasting facilities, or educational programs can be provided by the commercial broadcasters with the more or less active coöperation of educational groups and institutions. An intermediate plan would have radiobroadcasters turn over a certain percentage of their time to educational groups and institutions.⁴

Both alternatives have been experimented with, and both have come to stay. Limiting ourselves in the discussion that follows to colleges and universities, we note that thirty-six educational broadcasting stations are being operated today by educational institutions. This list naturally does not include WNYC and WRUL.⁵ Most of these educational stations are

⁴ See the discussion in chapter IX of *Broadcasting and the Public*, by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

⁵ Both WNYC and WRUL present very interesting setups. The first, owned and operated by New York City, and the second, owned and operated by the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation of Boston, are so distinctive that it is planned to devote a separate study to them.

associated with state universities. Their growth and present layout is described in chapters II and III. Broadcasters generally admit that the best of these university stations, such as WHA (University of Wisconsin) and WOI (Iowa State College of Agriculture), are good. Hence their pattern is something every student of radio control problems should understand; they constitute an important and integral part of the American system today. But there were many failures on the road to this achievement, and therefore some indication of the conditions of these failures is also necessary.

c. The Role of Research

These failures have had strong reverberations in the educational world. Organized groups sprang up to stop their spread, and legislative proposals were pressed to protect educational broadcasting facilities against the inroads of commercial competition. The story of these efforts is told in chapter IV. It must, of necessity, be a thumbnail sketch; for the ramifications of these efforts are far-reaching and will be dealt with in part at greater length in another study.⁶ A very important weapon of these organized groups proved to be research. Since many of the members were scholars of outstanding ability, it was only natural that these groups should turn to *proving* their contentions and to *disproving* the contentions of their commercial opponents. The commercial broadcasters, in turn, developed research staffs of striking ability, magnificently provided with funds, and these were often able to outdo the pundits in the race to present the evidence for their side. How research has been employed in this struggle over educational broadcasting is sketched in chapter V.

d. The Money Angle

But the great battle between the commercial broadcasters and the educational radio stations brought in its train an increasing realization on the part of the commercial broadcasters that there was something to be said for the demands of the educational fraternity. Thus, while bitterly opposing legislative and administrative interference with "free radio," the broadcasters have in recent years entered into increasing practical working relationships with educational institutions and individuals. The striking development of radio forums is one outstanding instance of such coöperation. The Town Hall, Inc., in New York City, the "mother church" of adult education, has developed "America's Town Meeting of the Air"; Lyman Bryson of Teachers College, Columbia University, has achieved a broad popular success with his "Peoples' Platform"; while Chicago University's "Round Table" has succeeded in

* See our forthcoming study, *Congress and Radio*.

presenting the academic expert's controversial knowledge to more than eight million of the more intellectual listeners. If Congress contains the people's chosen political "educators," then Granik's "American Forum of the Air" also must be considered a significant contribution to educational broadcasting. But besides these giants of educational effort on the air,⁷ there are many equally valuable smaller forums, discussion programs, and so on. We are dealing with these undertakings only in so far as an educational institution or group still retains an element of autonomous control over the content of the program. In short, we are considering here only that part of education on the air which leaves to the educators as a group a significant part of the responsibility. A good pragmatic test for such responsibility is the assumption of a part of the financial responsibility. By this pragmatic test, only the Chicago Round Table of the forums listed above will come within the purview of this study, and it too is passing out of it.

It is often a mistake to seek far and wide for an explanation of what is probably the result of very obvious conditions. Thus the naive question as to why American educational institutions and groups have not been able to retain greater control is easily answered in the first instance by the patent fact that broadcasting has turned out to be a money-making proposition. Along with this commercialization of the use of radio facilities has come an ever-increasing cost for radio talent. Outstanding radio performers, such as Jack Benny, Raymond Gram Swing, and Kate Smith, command fabulous honoraria for their services. Benny's show costs \$22,000 a week for talent, Kate Smith's \$10,000, Raymond Gram Swing gets \$500 a broadcast. These sums paid to top attractions reflect the general situation. The lesser talent, such as actors and musicians, is thoroughly unionized, and as a result radio programming has become big business.

Educators, who are not engaged in the competitive struggle over business opportunities, cannot afford to use such talent, and so it has been a turtle race from the start. But even though this is true, it is a striking fact that the great endowed institutions have done least with radio. Harvard, Yale, and Columbia, to mention only three, have diverted little or none of their millions of endowment to invade the air. Why, for example, should Harvard not have used Mrs. Niemann's large bequest to set up comprehensive work in this field? The funds were ample for such a purpose, and the improvement in American journalism resulting from it might have been far-reaching. This is not said in order to suggest that it *ought* to have been done; certainly the program of the Niemann Fellows which was adopted has proved a most excellent one. But what is

⁷ The listening ratings of these four forums are as follows: "America's Town Meeting of the Air," 3.7; "People's Platform," 3.2; "University of Chicago Round Table," 8.7; "American Forum of the Air," 2.7.

interesting is that so far as we know the question was never even raised, nor has it been raised sharply in connection with any other recent donation. These facts seem to suggest an unawareness of the importance of radio as a medium of communication in contemporary society.

e. The Outlook for Coöperation

The writers themselves realize only too keenly how indifferent they used to be to the issues radio poses for education. To ascertain more fully what were the facts, and to determine the range of aroused interest in the medium, a study of the faculty attitudes was instituted at one of the large Eastern universities. The results of this study are embodied in chapter VI. While it may be argued that these findings are not typical, it is our belief that they are quite characteristic for most of the institutions which do not possess broadcasting facilities or activities, but more especially they are probably characteristic for the large endowed institutions in the East. Until the conditions here revealed change markedly, it is unavoidable that the potentialities of projecting higher education on the air will remain largely dormant.

There are signs that the pressures of the present emergency are increasing the radio awareness of educational groups and institutions and are leading them to a mounting appreciation of the medium's long-range importance for the future of democracy. It may be one of the happier results of the crisis that such indifference as now exists may be dispelled and a fuller coöperation between the great universities and the broadcasters may be initiated.

II

Losses and Gains of Universities on the Air

a. The University Owned Station—a Limited Success

MODERN radio engineering in its early phases was largely a product of the universities of this country. From the time when Marconi first began to experiment with radio waves, physics departments in various institutions conducted further studies into the new means of communication. It was natural, therefore, that when broadcasting as we know it now began in 1920, these institutions should petition the Department of Commerce for radio licenses. By 1925, 176 licenses to operate stations had been issued to educational groups of one kind or another.¹

It looked as if the educationally owned station had unique functions to perform for the people of its region, the college or university itself, and the rest of the broadcasting industry. Historically the stations were set up as demonstration projects for courses in physics. Then came a period when professors caught the vision of educating the vast mass of the uneducated by radio; they wished to extend the influence of the university beyond its walls. At the same time many were candid in their statements about the publicity value of radio in drawing attention to the institution and helping to bring in students. With the depression, advertising on commercial stations became much more flagrant than it had been theretofore, and many held that one of the chief functions of an educational station was to present material free from the annoying interruption of advertising. Occasional experiences with actual censorship of program content by advertisers strengthened the conviction that the university station should be one source of unbiased information for listeners.² With the success of the Ohio experiment in using radio in schoolrooms, as well as reports of successful broadcasts to schools in England, an additional function was laid on the university station: that of broadcasting to the public schools in the region. During the depres-

¹ Frost, S. E., Jr., *Is American Radio Democratic?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 216.

² See, for example, the experience of the University of Minnesota with censorship. *Education on the Air*, 1930. W. T. Middlebrook, "Educational Sponsorship of Radio Programs," p. 43.

sion NYA students and WPA workers were assigned to several of these stations, and demonstrations of their usefulness in teaching students to be broadcasters added another reason for the existence of school stations. Further, such stations were held to have a function in setting program standards for the entire industry.

"Often programs of great value have been developed on educational stations to be taken over by commercials and given nationwide circulation. Freed from the pressure of financial profit, these stations may venture where others fear to go until there is some concrete evidence of merit and success. In this way educators can and must make direct contributions to the progress of radio."³

Finally, institutionally owned stations were praised for their nuisance value; just because they were going concerns, they forced commercial broadcasters to be more coöperative with other universities than they might have been.⁴ Still, universities in their approach to broadcasting were often unclear or mixed in their purposes, and difficulties developed which hampered them in achieving their aims.

In the middle twenties, university stations suffered along with others from chaotic conditions. Stations were placed so near one another on the spectrum that interference was very common. At last a commercial station challenged the right of the Department of Commerce to license broadcasting at all, and the whole form of regulation fell to pieces. As a result, the Federal Radio Act of 1927 authorized a commission to review the existing licenses and reallocate them in accordance with the "public convenience, interest, or necessity." When the Commission took office, 732 stations were in existence, and since those owned by educational institutions were a considerable proportion of this number, they as well as the commercial stations were affected by this review order. The first method used by the Commission to weed out unwanted stations was to enforce standards for broadcasting equipment and to insist that stations should remain on the air for the number of hours daily specified in their licenses. Unable to comply with these requirements, 47 stations had given up their licenses by June 30, 1928, and 62 more were eliminated during the following summer. Still others were requested to share time with stations on the same wave length. Order was beginning to come out of the chaos.⁵

³ *Education on the Air*, 1937. S. E. Frost, Jr. (National Advisory Council on Radio in Education), "The Licensing of Educational Broadcasting Stations: A Retrospect," p. 54.

⁴ *Education on the Air*, 1937. H. B. McCarty, "Why the Educational Radio Station?" p. 64.

⁵ Hill, Frank E., *Listen and Learn* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937), p. 27.

For a number of reasons, educational stations were hit particularly hard by these orders. Many of them had been started in a burst of enthusiasm, but no money had been appropriated by the college or by the state legislature to keep the equipment in good condition. Others had been given very small operating budgets by their institutions; such stations found they could not fill the specified number of hours with the material they had available for broadcasting. Others were forced to defend their wave lengths against the challenges of commercial stations which wanted the same facilities, and either lost the cases or were unable to pay for the required litigation, and so defaulted. In still other cases those interested in radio were disappointed because the audiences for educational programs were so small. Many schoolmen became disillusioned about the new medium which they had thought would elicit a ready response for adult education. They lost interest in their college stations, refused to give time for broadcasting, and would not support requests for additional funds. Under attack, and without friends at home, all but the hardiest of these stations dropped out of existence. By 1936, 164 educational institutions which had formerly held licenses to operate radio stations had lost them, and only 38 remained.⁶

b. University Contributions to Broadcasting

In spite of differences in approach, facilities, and methods, educational stations as a whole have contributed a good deal to American broadcasting. It would be impossible, and unnecessary here, to enumerate the variety of program forms developed by these stations and the continuing service they have offered, but a few of the high lights of their contributions may be mentioned. Early efforts of these stations were generally of two kinds: agricultural extension work and classroom broadcasting. Indeed, the faculties of agricultural colleges, accustomed to thinking in terms of broad adult-education programs, saw the possibilities of the new medium long before their colleagues in the more academic private institutions. Pioneering work in the presentation of agricultural information has proved of invaluable assistance to farmers. Commercial broadcasters now use this material and make money out of it.⁷

In the early days the microphone was often brought into the classroom on the simple theory of extending the influence of the professor beyond the collegiate walls. The backbone of such broadcasting was most often social-science courses, such as history, government, and economics. Psychology and languages also played a role. Even today some stations, such

⁶ Frost, *Is American Radio Democratic?* *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷ For further details see Sayre, Jeanette, *An Analysis of the Radiobroadcasting Activities of Federal Agencies*, No. 3 of this series, "Broadcasting by the Department of Agriculture," pp. 35 ff.

as WSUI at the State University of Iowa and WILL at the University of Illinois, conduct this sort of program. More practical subjects were also taught. WKAR at the Michigan Agricultural College had a course in poultry management in which 500 listeners were enrolled,⁸ while WBAA at Purdue carried courses in bookkeeping, commercial law, and typing.⁹

Two criticisms were soon leveled at these programs: that the lectures, being directed at a class, were too long, too involved, and too academic for radio listeners; and that the effect of the programs was lost because there was no institutional follow-up of the radio students. The former criticism led in many places to the development of special lecture series which might or might not be called "courses," but which contained university material written and delivered with an eye to radio. WHA at Madison, Wisconsin, has developed such special series elaborately and successfully. The criticism calling for an institutional follow-up led to the development of listening groups, as for instance at the University of Minnesota station, which has organized groups to listen to its parent-education programs,¹⁰ and at WSUI, where radio clubs were organized in cooperation with the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station.¹¹ "Institutionalizing" of programs also was attempted at WOSU in Ohio, where an Emergency Radio Junior College was organized in connection with the FERA,—a government relief agency during the depression years. Later it has been conducted by the Ohio State University and has been very successful. More than 100,000 course registrations have been received, and a large number of students have been served with courses of instruction designed for radio. This work still continues on an expanding scale, with a continuous increase in listener interest.

Special programs evolved by these educationally owned stations have been very popular and have often been copied by commercial broadcasters. The WOI Book Club¹² is a notable experiment in a field others had not considered worth tackling, as was that of reading aloud well-written novels and thus competing with the "soap opera" usually offered to women throughout the day. The impetus for parent-education and child-welfare programs undoubtedly came from educators; WKAR, WSUI, WHA, and others have given programs of this kind. At a time when hor-

⁸ *Education by Radio*, Vol. 1, No. 28 (October 8, 1931), p. 114.

⁹ *Education on the Air*, 1937, p. 78.

¹⁰ *Education on the Air*, 1935, p. 268.

¹¹ *Education on the Air*, 1935, p. 87.

¹² This began in 1925 with 10-minute book reviews given by members of the library staff. The program was expanded because of the interest shown by listeners, and longer reviews became a weekly feature. In 1928 the reading of books over the air was begun and has been continued, with constant success. Today this feature is being widely copied. As an outgrowth of this activity, the WOI Radio Book Club was established on a cooperative, nonprofit basis, to supply books to the persons who listened to the program. See the *WOI Radio Book Club Catalog*, Ninth Edition.

ror stories were the rage for children's programs, WHA was putting on a successful competitor in "Afield with Ranger Mac," interesting stories of wild life told by a State Ranger, and WNAD at the University of Oklahoma had a popular story tellers' hour for children. Music-appreciation courses have been given by most of these stations, and some have made notable progress in the field of political education. Special religious broadcasts not available elsewhere have been put on by denominational institutions, and the stations at Luther College and St. Olaf's College have developed broadcasting in Scandinavian tongues and stressing Scandinavian culture. A few of the university stations have done a great deal of work in broadcasting to primary and secondary schools in their vicinity. Often this work was undertaken jointly by the Departments of Education in the universities and the State Departments of Education. And of course football was on the university stations long before it was a commercial proposition.

In spite of such demonstrated successes, and in spite of great faith in the use of radio for educational purposes on the part of a good many educators, university stations, as we said, frequently failed, and such as remained had a continual fight to keep going. The reason, anyone would say, was lack of money. In so far as the university stations were dependent upon state legislatures for funds, they often failed to build up good will and support at their source of funds. The inherent difficulties were almost insurmountable. When money was given, it was often with conditions attached. University broadcasters had to spend much of their time lobbying for their very existence. The stories of two stations, WHA in Madison, Wisconsin, and WOSU in Columbus, Ohio, will illustrate some of the problems involved.¹³

f. Station WHA (Wisconsin)

Station WHA, like many other stations of its kind, grew out of experiments in the Physics Department of the University of Wisconsin. In 1921 Professor W. H. Lighty of the Extension Division saw the possibilities of using radio in university-extension work and was able to convince others of its value. He became the first program director, working with a committee of twelve faculty members appointed by the President. Funds for the station came from the university budget. Early in the twenties the College of Agriculture in the University became interested in radio, also, and appointed a radio committee to oversee its contributions.

¹³ The material included here is admittedly limited. It is presented because such stories are not generally known and are hardly ever put down in writing. They are what people don't write about, for obvious reasons, yet they are important in any evaluation of the university-owned station as a solution to the problem of education on the air.

The chairman of the College of Agriculture committee also served on the University committee. In 1928, President Glenn Frank of the University appointed a smaller group of men to "investigate further the problems and possibilities of developing the University Broadcasting Service." Representatives of the Departments of Speech and Electrical Engineering and of the College of Agriculture were on this committee. During these years the Department of Agriculture and Markets had been operating Station WLBL in the northern part of the state in the interest of farmers.¹⁴

When the depression hit Wisconsin, there was some question of where the money for the station would come from. The funds for education were cut, as were all others, and no provision for the station was made in the University budget. However, the station had the enthusiastic support of Governor LaFollette and was granted funds from the Emergency Board for four years. During this period the preëlection party broadcasts and broadcasts by legislators during sessions were instituted, which helped public relations with the State Capitol greatly.¹⁵ Other state departments which had used the station, such as the State Highway Commission and the State Board of Health, also contributed to it.¹⁶

In 1936 the state made one appropriation for radio to the Department of Agriculture and Markets, in view of its work with Station WLBL, and Station WHA therefore nominally came under the jurisdiction of this department. Actual direction, however, was still in the hands of the University Committee appointed by President Frank in 1928.¹⁷ In June 1938 the Governor undertook to reorganize many of the state departments, and in doing so transferred to the Board of Regents of the University control over the station. This board authorized a State Radio Council consisting of the President of the University, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the secretary of the Board of Normal School Regents, the director of the State Board of Vocational Education, the director of the Department of Agriculture and Markets, the Dean of the University Extension Division, the director of the University Agricultural Extension, the Dean of the School of Education, and the Technical Director of the Radio Station.¹⁸ This State Council formulated broad policies for the sta-

¹⁴ For a more detailed account of this history, see the *Wisconsin Blue Book*, 1937, H. B. McCarty, "WHA, Wisconsin's Radio Pioneer," pp. 195 to 207.

¹⁵ *Education on the Air*, 1935, H. B. McCarty, "Legislative Aid for State Radio," pp. 91 ff.

¹⁶ *Education on the Air*, 1932, p. 67.

¹⁷ *First Annual Report of the Committee on Radio Broadcasting* (February 1939), pp. 1 and 2.

¹⁸ Statement of Policy Relative to the Use of the Radio Broadcasting Channels Licensed to Agencies of the State by the State Radio Council of Wisconsin, December 6, 1938, p. 1.

tion to follow.¹⁹ In 1939 the Wisconsin Senate rescinded the LaFollette executive orders and transferred the station back to the Department of Agriculture and Markets. But recently the station has been returned to the University and has become a separate division, with an increased budget of \$47,640.

In the meantime, Station WHA had applied to the FCC for a license to broadcast with 50,000 watts on a clear channel, unlimited time. This would have enabled the station to serve all parts of the state and to reach audiences hitherto unable to listen because of the daytime limitation on hours. The University Radio Committee, the State Radio Council, and numerous state and nonprofit agencies had approved this procedure. The FCC first placed the application on the docket for hearings on February 21, 1939, but it was repeatedly necessary to ask the Commission to defer action until the legislature provided the funds necessary to carry through the application. Just before the first hearing, the Governor called a conference in his office to discuss the application for a clear-channel station. Private broadcasters in the state and representatives of the National Broadcasting Company, called into the meeting, objected violently to the proposal that WHA should have increased power, saying that this was an unnecessary expense for the state and that their stations would furnish the evening hours for state service if the state would pay for the needed telephone lines. The Governor was never able to get these broadcasters to put their proposal in writing, and subsequent examination of the question showed that the necessary line charges would have been more than the cost of running the University station. Following this, a bill was introduced in the Assembly to provide money for the hearings before the FCC, and although several civic and social organizations appeared to endorse it, the Finance Committee opposed it. The bill passed the Assembly, but the Senate failed to act upon it. Consequently, the petition for increased facilities had to be withdrawn.²⁰

There is no doubt that this sort of setting makes it exceedingly difficult for a station to function. It is not able to plan for an orderly development of its work, as it does not know from one year to the next whom it will have to win over to its point of view. The opposition of the networks and the private broadcasters to the request for increased power is understandable, but such difficulties inevitably limit the service of the station. The time and money needed to carry on this sort of argument is bound to detract from the service which the administrators are able to give the station. These have proved, however, to be merely limitations on the service of the station; they have not changed the es-

¹⁹ See p. 34, below.

²⁰ Recent Actions Relating to the Development of the State Radio Broadcasting Service, October 13, 1939.

sence of that service in any material way. Other stations have found themselves in even more embarrassing circumstances, because the politicians of the state, after grasping the advantages of a state radio station, had to be dissuaded from using it for their own ends.

d. Station WOSU (Ohio)

The many and varied radio activities of Ohio State University tell a story of equal difficulties. In the very early days the station (WEAU, later WOSU) was under the Electrical Engineering Department. After a year of regular broadcasting, in 1922 a faculty Broadcasting Committee was appointed by the president of the University to direct the activities of the station. On it were representatives of the Alumni Association, the News Bureau, the College of Agriculture, and the faculty at large. Through the interest of this Committee the work of the station flourished, and new equipment was built to improve its service. With the use of the new transmitter in 1925, the station was put under a new department called the Broadcasting Station Department. This department still remained in the College of Engineering. From this time on the station employed professional directors and helpers and did not have to rely on the faculty for administration. Money for the station came from the regular appropriation to the Engineering College under the University budget.

WOSU has always remained a part of the Ohio State University. The budget has been a part of the regular University budget and has made steady progress, even through the depression years. WOSU staff members have been paid from the regular salary appropriations made in a lump sum to the University by the legislature. Even through the depression years, there was an increase in the budget, permitting a gradual expansion of the station's activities.²¹

e. The Ohio School of the Air

A distinctive experiment was undertaken in 1929. In that year, Mr. Ben Darrow started the Ohio School of the Air as an activity of the State Department of Education of the state of Ohio. Some aid was given this activity by the Payne Fund. Programs were broadcast by WLW, Cincinnati, with most of the programs produced in the WLW studios. A few programs were produced in Columbus under the supervision of the staff of the Ohio School of the Air in the studios of WOSU, which were loaned by the Ohio State University to the State Department of Education, but the production and planning of all programs was carried on by the staff of the School of the Air.

²¹ Information on WOSU was collected from Frost's *Education's Own Stations*, Darrow's *Radio Trailblazing*, and conversations with former employees of the station and the School of the Air as well as the management.

The operation of the Ohio School of the Air was continually under strain, because the budget usually worked on a six-month basis, and there was no way of telling whether it would be provided for by the next session of the legislature.

During the depression, the School of the Air was fortunate in having a governor in office who approved of its work. In spite of his support, its budget was drastically cut, but so were the budgets of other state departments. Some aid was obtained from the various Federal Relief agencies and through gifts solicited by the Director of the Ohio School of the Air, who was most proficient in procuring outside assistance. A radio workshop was set up under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and it contributed many programs to the School of the Air during the depression years.

A new difficulty arose in January 1935 with the inauguration of Governor Martin L. Davey. At first he was opposed to the state's carrying on the Ohio School of the Air and insisted upon surveys of the audience to find out how much demand there was in the schools for the programs. He wanted to know also what listeners in the homes thought of the broadcasts for schools, and later made a study of schools not using the broadcasting service to find out how well they liked it. When he wanted the Director of the School of the Air to support him in his campaign for reelection in the broadcasts for the schools, the Director refused. In retaliation the governor finally refused to support the School of the Air, and the Director was discharged.

The Director of the School of the Air, summarizing his experiences, felt that the political control of the school was one of its most difficult problems. He commented:

"There is danger that broadcasts supported from public funds may become involved in politics, even though the broadcaster plays no politics. This was true of the Ohio School of the Air. It was punished because it refused to become a tool of an administration. Legislators and the public must be convinced that education on the air is non-partisan and that all may benefit regardless of party affiliations. . . . There is a prime need for endowments and subsidies to sponsor ventures in education by radio until cities, states, and nations can provide funds and take over such projects."²²

More recently, when the Ohio School of the Air was discontinued under the direction of the Ohio State Department of Education, friends of broadcasting for schools in Ohio appealed to the new Governor and the

²² Darrow, B. H., *Radio Trailblazing* (Columbus, Ohio: College Book Company, 1940) pp. 125, 126.

legislature and prevailed upon them to ask for assistance from the Ohio State University in resuming the Ohio School of the Air. The University agreed to carry on the School of the Air and has since conducted the School as a part of the program service from the University station, WOSU. No difficulties have arisen since 1938, when this action was taken. Complete planning, administration, and production of programs are now undertaken by the Ohio State University, and the programs are broadcast through WOSU. The development has been gradual, although not so many different programs are broadcast as formerly, when the School was under the supervision of the State Department of Education.

f. University Broadcasting on Commercial Stations

Of the universities which broadcast but do not own their own stations, Chicago has probably had the most interesting and revealing history. From the middle of the twenties, a local, unaffiliated station in Chicago, WMAQ, carried classroom lectures from Northwestern University and the University of Chicago. The subject matter as well as the lecturers was decided on by a radio committee of faculty people appointed by the president of the University. Philosophy, American literature, and foreign languages were the main subjects at first.²³ At the end of 1930 the University of Chicago began experimenting with its Round Table program, originally devised because the University did have a "round table" at which professors collected at lunch time to talk over the problems of the world. The program seemed a logical extension of an existing activity. This was at first local, but it was soon taken over by NBC as a sustaining feature. At the same time several other programs were continued, including classroom lectures and book reviews. The arrangement was not entirely satisfactory, however, to either the University or the station. The educators complained that their programs were shunted around because of commercial commitments of the station, while the station complained that the program drove away buyers.²⁴ President Hutchins urged that, to solve this problem, commercial radio should guarantee time to education.²⁵ However, there was never any question of censorship, and the University said that from this point of view it was completely satisfied with the arrangement of putting its programs on commercial stations. Allen Miller, then director of radio work at the University, commented:

"The University of Chicago has been broadcasting over commercial stations for nearly thirteen years. In that time we have been as free,

²³ *Education on the Air*, 1930. Judith C. Waller, "The Problem of Program Management," pp. 386 f.

²⁴ *Education on the Air*, 1932, p. 53.

²⁵ *Education by Radio*, December 6, 1934. Robert M. Hutchins, "Radio and Public Policy."

if not more free from censorship, as would be possible in a state university where the legislature may become excited by radical expressions over the air emanating in the name of the university."²⁶

The network did not request advance scripts for the unrehearsed Chicago Round Table, but followed the policy that if the speakers in the course of discussion attacked any person by name he would be allowed to answer the charges on the network. This did happen when one professor attacked Father Coughlin, who requested time to answer him, but these occurrences were rare.

In 1934 President Hutchins proposed a plan whereby commercial radio should provide the facilities and support for education on the air, and the educators should be allowed to provide the program material without censorship. In response to potential criticism of the plan he commented:

"I am not impressed by the reply that the companies will get into trouble if they pay educators to broadcast. American education has an infinite capacity for taking tainted money and washing it. Far from getting into trouble, the companies will find that an indispensable condition of remaining in business is a good educational plan; and they will find that such a plan cannot be indefinitely maintained by the efforts of professorial volunteers, dragooned into speaking by Mr. Tyson (Advisory Council on Radio in Education) or the administrations of their universities."²⁷

This plan was brought into actuality in 1935 when the University Broadcasting Council was organized. An office was set up in downtown Chicago to centralize the radio work of three Universities, Chicago, DePaul, and Northwestern. Funds were contributed by the Universities in proportion to the tuition rate they charged: \$5000 each from Chicago and Northwestern and \$3000 from DePaul. Six stations in the Chicago area cooperated, contributing according to the commercial rate charge by the station. Their total came to \$16,000. An additional \$26,000 was provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. This annual budget of \$55,000 was a good deal larger than the available funds for radio which each University had had previously, \$4000 for Chicago and no special amount for the other two. Foundation support, as usual, was given on the supposition that at the end of the trial period of three years, the organization would become self-supporting.²⁸

²⁶ *Education on the Air*, 1935, p. 54.

²⁷ *Education by Radio*, December 6, 1934, p. 58.

²⁸ *Education by Radio*, February 1938, p. 5. Allen Miller, "A Successful Demonstration of Cooperation."

To carry through the plan, a staff of ten persons was hired, and approximately 256 hours of broadcasting a year were produced. There were many local programs, both series and single spots, and some notable network series, including the Northwestern Reviewing Stand, a book program, and the University of Chicago Round Table. Unfortunately, many difficulties appeared. There was a good deal of jealousy between the institutions as to which got the most credit. There were personality clashes and bickering over money. Finally the University of Chicago for all practical purposes withdrew from the setup, hiring a new director of radio, finding new funds, but keeping to the letter of its original contract with the Council by allowing its name to be associated with Chicago programs.

For about three years now Chicago has had the most professional setup of any University radio program. From the Sloan Foundation and the University, as much as \$110,000 a year has been made available for various radio activities. In addition to the Round Table, for about one half-year the Chicago radio office also produced "The Human Adventure," a series of programs about scientific research in universities. This was done in coöperation with CBS, using a good deal of CBS talent. Under a director formerly in commercial radio, Sherman Dryer, the whole approach to radio work has changed. The Faculty Radio Committee was abolished, and the system of paying professors for their radio appearances was instituted. This left control in the hands of the Radio Office and elicited more coöperation from the professors than they had given formerly. The Radio Office considers its task to be that of teaching the professors radio technique, but in no way does it censor or limit them in their expression of opinion. As a result of this professionalization, the number of stations on the network which carry the Round Table has increased three fold, the Crossley rating has jumped 500%, professors are more satisfied, and the network is happier. Considering the function of a University such as Chicago to be national in scope rather than local or regional, the Radio Office has canceled all broadcasts over local stations and has drawn a considerable proportion of the talent on the Round Table program from national organizations or has used men in positions of leadership rather than from the University proper. In essence, what has happened is that the University has set up a program-producing agency to handle its institutional radio advertising, rather than using one of the existing commercial organizations.

g. The Rocky Mountain Radio Council

Chicago considers its radio contribution as national in scope. Other universities have been working regionally, and still others locally, to produce educational programs for more limited audiences. Another approach

to the problem is provided by the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, which has made the regional resources of the Rocky Mountain area the basis for developing "its own resources and harnessing native vitality and abilities for intelligent direction of its own affairs and for leadership in the affairs of the nation."²⁹ The Rocky Mountain area is very well defined, as may be seen from the fact that less than one per cent of the population, when queried about radio listening, named radio stations other than Rocky Mountain stations. The underlying idea of this coöperative development is to pool the resources of nonprofit organizations and through such pooling to make available sufficient funds for professional advice in developing programs to be utilized on sustaining time of the Rocky Mountain radio stations. The prime contribution of the Council consists in bringing together and mobilizing resources for producing effective broadcasts.

The Rocky Mountain Radio Council was an outgrowth of proposals made by the National Committee on Education by Radio,³⁰ which held a meeting in 1937 in the area to canvass the situation and secure collaborators for the project. Several universities in the Rocky Mountain area had been broadcasting locally over commercial stations for a number of years, especially the Universities of Denver and Colorado. After more than four years of work in promoting this idea, funds for a council in the Rocky Mountain area were finally secured, partly from the foundations and partly from 27 local organizations which agreed to participate in this trial. Similar plans have been proposed for Texas and New Mexico, but as yet they have not been realized.

b. Conclusions

The University of Chicago setup and the Rocky Mountain Radio Council are no more typical of the radio organizations of the average university in the country than are the few successful university stations. Most institutions have broadcast sporadically if at all. Individual professors have broadcast through the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, or other professional groups. For the most part, such programs have been produced by the networks, and actual control of them has been turned over to the broadcasters. In spite of these few successful efforts, then, the control of education on the air has largely passed from the universities to the commercial broadcasters.

Whether this loss of control can be made up by developing new types of program service remains to be seen. Certainly the activities of the

²⁹ *Summary Report of the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, Inc., August 1, 1940, to July 31, 1941, p. 4.*

³⁰ See p. 47, below.

Rocky Mountain Radio Council, while atypical today, suggest a feasible pattern. There is, for example, the possibility that a New England radio council might be developed somewhat along these lines.

Unquestionably broadcasters will welcome this sort of coöperation, and therefore it is largely up to educational institutions to pool their resources for effective action. All these developments are, of course, indicative of the shift in the broadcasting field itself. Admittedly really significant program controls are associated with program service, not with the ownership and operation of the facilities. At the same time, the coming of frequency modulation, though temporarily delayed by the war, opens up a new area specially adapted to educational broadcasting. The absence of static is an important factor in understanding, while the limited range suggests local extension work. Whether universities should seek licenses for the construction of facilities of this type is not clear, but it is understood that the FCC would welcome such action.

III

Universities on the Air, 1940-1941

a. General Interest in Radio

THE extent of interest in radio may be shown by the fact that more than 400 colleges were offering special courses in radio during 1941. An analysis of the courses offered shows that about one third are technical, about one third are speech or drama courses, and the others deal with the problems of writing, production, and program planning. Only 24 institutions out of the whole number offered a course in radio education, and only 2 gave a course in Sociological Aspects of Radio.¹ Recently the University of Alabama adopted a plan to have radio courses in all seven departments of the College of Arts and Sciences, with a special Department of Radio Arts in addition.² At the same time, there has been a trend toward radio workshops in colleges, either as part of the Department of Speech or as an extra-curricular activity under the direction of faculty members. A successful workshop at the University of Syracuse, for instance, under the direction of Kenneth Bartlett, produces programs on local stations for Syracuse's civic organizations. Others may concentrate merely on programs about the university or by university people, but almost all have made arrangements with local stations to carry their programs.³

b. Noncommercial Education Stations

After twenty years of operation, the commercial system of American broadcasting has become well established, with the contribution of educators in our universities an accepted part of the pattern. Some educational institutions own radio stations devoted to the cause of education, attempting to do a job very different from that of the commercial broadcasters. Some institutionally owned stations try to emulate the commercial broadcasters and attempt to beat them at their own game. Other such stations have arrangements to exchange programs with networks. Still others are commercial, and some are network-affiliated. Other institutions have made arrangements with local stations to produce program ma-

¹ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1940), p. 1.

² *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1941), p. 3.

³ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1940), p. 1.

terials regularly or occasionally. Others cooperate with community organizations in radio councils which produce programs for commercial stations. And some institutions take no active part in broadcasting officially, but permit officers and employees to broadcast when asked or to work through such professional groups as the American Academy of Political and Social Science in producing programs.

In 1941 there were 36 stations which were owned by educational institutions. Of these, 5 were commercial and another 7 were commercial and affiliated with a network, while the remainder were supported by their state or institution.⁴ Most of these stations had been licensed before 1925, but several of them had changed hands during their history, some even going back and forth between commercial ownership and that of the institution. Most of them were in the Middle West, and none were owned by the big privately endowed institutions in the East. Most operated on limited time and on little power.⁵ As to functions, the going stations in 1940-41 fall into two classes: those which consider themselves unique because of their resources and which therefore try to appeal to special groups or special interests of many listeners; and those which believe that they must emulate the commercial broadcasters and try for a wide audience in order to make the most of the resources of the university.

In an attempt to analyze how these functions were carried out, the work of twelve of these noncommercial stations was studied in some detail in the summer and fall of 1940.⁶ There were three main concerns: the organization and administration of the station, the program policies and output, and the problems that arose in the course of the work. While each station is an individual entity, dependent upon local personalities and organizations for its character and success or failure, we may draw some general conclusions about stations owned and operated by educational institutions in the interests of education itself.

⁴ Of the 24 remaining, 2 were owned and operated by high schools (one of these dropped out during the summer of 1941), 2 by educational institutions which in turn were owned by church groups, 9 by agricultural colleges or the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture of a state (operated in cooperation with the agricultural college), and 11 by land-grant universities.

⁵ Eleven of the 36 are on unlimited time. Six have 250 watts or less; 18 have 250-5000 watts, and 12 have more than 5000 watts. One with 50,000 watts is affiliated with a network.

⁶ The stations included were:

WHA—University of Wisconsin
WILL—University of Illinois
WOSU—Ohio State University
WSUI—University of Iowa
WLB—University of Minnesota
WOI—Iowa State College

WCAL—St. Olaf College
KWLC—Luther College
WNAD—University of Oklahoma
WKAR—Michigan State College
KSAC—Kansas State College
KWSC—State College of Washington

We are grateful to these stations for the care with which they answered our lengthy inquiries.

c. Administration and Finances

In most cases, the administration of a university station is fairly independent of the faculty of the University. Seven stations are separate divisions of the university, responsible directly to the president; in two additional cases, although it constitutes a separate division, the station is managed by regular members of the faculty and is therefore a part of the institution. One of these stations is managed by the Extension Division and two others by the Agricultural Extension Division. All but one of the stations have radio advisory committees. Eight of these are "all-college" committees drawing on faculty members from several different departments in the institution. In one case the faculty advisory committee consists of people all of whom are actually engaged in the administration of the station. Only two institutions reported radio advisory committees drawing upon representatives of groups outside the university proper. The radio advisory committee on station WKAR (Michigan) includes representatives of the State Department of Agriculture, while WHA has a committee of representatives of several state groups, and another of faculty members. Most stations reported that these committees were rather inactive, with their contribution consisting merely of program suggestions or program promotion, while the real decisions of policy are left to the station manager or, in cases involving an expenditure of a fairly large sum of money, to the university president.

Financial arrangements of these stations are complex, and no two are alike. They may receive funds from the university, a church, the state, or even from gifts from listeners.⁷ The actual amounts appropriated vary from \$15,000 to nearly \$50,000 a year, with almost all of them drawing on more than \$15,000. This is in no sense an exact indication of the operating expenses of these stations. The budget of KSAC, for instance, contains no provision for salaries, which are paid from the regular Extension Budget, as all the station employees also work in the college. Most of the stations depend upon volunteer student help or NYA or WPA workers to quite an extent. Engineering expenses are often borne by the college engineering department, and such items as office space, telephone, light, electric power often are not charged to the station. Only very occasionally do they pay for talent, drawing chiefly on faculty and students, who are expected to perform for nothing, or on civic groups which are only too glad to get on the air.

⁷ Seven depend upon money allocated from the regular university budget. Two, in addition to such funds, draw upon gifts from listeners, and one of these further receives money from the church which owns the college. KSAC (Kansas) receives funds from the regular budget of the Extension Division of the College, while WOI is supported four fifths by the Agricultural Extension budget and one fifth by the Engineering budget.

d. Program Policies

In a few cases the stations have made definite statements of their program policies, while in others the rules are unwritten. The most specialized, of course, are those of the stations run by institutions affiliated with religious groups. WCAL, owned by St. Olaf College, which in turn is supported by the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, reports that the aim of its programs is "to provide the people with programs of a high cultural and moral value."⁸ In its brochure it reports its mission as:

"To bring to the people of the Northwest spiritual and cultural offerings for the enrichment of life.

To tell the wondrous story of God's love in Christ to a needy humanity.

To proclaim the message of life to old and young in the language which each one can best understand.

To give information in many fields of useful knowledge.

To gladden the hearts of music lovers through inspiring compositions by masters, old and new.

To brighten the days of shut-ins in homes and institutions.

To offer something of interest and value to every member of the family."

Luther College, in Iowa, also affiliated with the Lutheran Church, reports, "The policies of the station are in keeping with the aims and ideals of a Christian institution, such as Luther."⁹ There is particular emphasis here on Lutheran services, which have been broadcast daily since the station was founded. The station inclines to present programs "different from the ordinary run of commercial stations by endeavoring to give the listeners a cultural outlook . . . and with a station owned by a church-related college, religious emphasis has its specific importance."

Insofar as policies are concerned, the rest of the stations fall into four groups, although lines of demarcation are not exact. At one end is station KSAC, operated by the Extension Division of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. KSAC reports as its program policy: "If the program is of a nature that can be classed as furthering the work of the Extension Service and of the College in its educational activities, it is suitable for presentation over our station."¹⁰ The personnel are all members of the Extension Service of the college, and almost all the program material is contributed directly by the faculty. Two other stations which also are located in agricultural colleges have quite a dif-

⁸ Quoted from a letter from the Manager, August 1, 1940.

⁹ Quoted from a letter from the Production Manager, August 29, 1940.

¹⁰ Quoted from a letter from the Director, August 2, 1940.

ferent philosophy; they propound the view that although the backbone of their material is agricultural, they must appeal to a wide audience, and therefore they supplement the core of their programs with entertainment features, high class, of course, but less informational in tone than would be the case with Extension programs. One of these, Station WKAR (Michigan State College), states its prohibitions very simply, "No advertising, no politics, and no religion."¹¹ For a long time Station WOI (Iowa State College) observed similar prohibitions, but lately it has ventured into the field of controversial discussion, making sure that "all sides are presented." At the same time, the Director commented, "We do exercise some discretion as to what is presented and try to stay away from political issues or anything which will lead us into a discussion of religious issues."¹² Service broadcasts to farmers and housewives form the basis of their broadcasting day, with good music, book programs, and the like added to draw the attention of listeners.

Six stations report a more specifically educational job. The backbone of their work is either classroom lecturing or lectures by university people for "Colleges of the Air" or "Schools of the Air." Usually they cooperate extensively with outside organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, the D. A. R., and the American Legion. They do not ordinarily broadcast political addresses, and they maintain a nonsectarian attitude in religion. They try also to avoid controversial subjects. For a station depending upon classroom lectures, or even upon professors giving talks, situations must arise where a professor on the basis of his research and learning wishes to state a conclusion which may be challenged by some groups in the community. There are various ways in which the stations meet this problem. They may choose only speakers of outstanding authority, who have such reputations that they would not be questioned; they may choose to broadcast subjects which are less likely than others to challenge outsiders; they may urge the professor to be sure to give support for controversial statements. The station is usually extremely careful to cover itself in this matter. For instance, Station WILL at the University of Illinois has published a statement of "governing policies" which gives its position in the matter:

"Term No. 7: Subjects of a controversial nature will be presented only after approval of speakers and program by the President of the University. Within a reasonable time after such controversial program, opportunity will be given for the presentation of other viewpoints, if requested by their proponents.

¹¹ Quoted from a letter from the Director, August 7, 1940.

¹² Quoted from a letter from the Director, July 29, 1940.

I. Interpretation:

(1) In general, subjects will be held controversial when they represent issues of current interest on which public opinion is sharply divided or sensitive.

(2) The following subjects are recognized to be controversial and their discussion over the Station will not be permitted:

(a) Partisan political issues.

(b) Sectarian religious questions.

(c) Questions involving equality or relationship of races.

(3) It is realized that in the fields of science, philosophy, economics, sociology, art, agriculture, history, music, education, there may be differences of opinion. When opinions are expressed on such subjects they are expressions of persons having a right to speak with some degree of authority, or represent the results of careful scientific research. Consequently, such subjects will not be considered controversial in the meaning of the rule passed by the Board of Trustees.

II. Procedure:

(1) Discussion of subjects falling under I (2) will not be permitted.

(2) Speakers will not be required to submit manuscripts for addresses falling under the subjects listed in No. (3) above nor will those broadcasting directly from class rooms, but the attention of all speakers is called to the Statement of General Policy, the statement of legal responsibility with respect to copyrights, etc., and the statement relating to the content of programs as quoted above.

(3) In other cases where the material to be presented may be controversial, as defined in paragraph I (1), the speaker should prepare and follow a manuscript and file a copy thereof with the Station."¹³

The brochure goes on to say: "The radio audience is inclined to credit to or charge against the University of Illinois anything that is broadcast over WILL. The University, therefore, requests speakers to exercise that sound judgment and good taste, with respect to the form and content of their remarks, which the radio public expects to characterize anything emanating from this institution." Generally these stations concentrating on educational broadcasting emphasize the fact that the standard and

¹³ Governing Policies of Station WILL. (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois.) Interpretation and Procedure Under Term No. 7 of Statement of General Policy, University Radio Station, Approved by Board of Trustees, December 18, 1939.

tone of their programs must be comparable to that of the university's other activities.

Station WHA, Madison, Wisconsin, is in a class by itself with respect to policies. Although drawing upon the resources of the University, it has tried to build itself into an institution serving the whole state. In 1938 the Governor of Wisconsin appointed a state-wide radio committee,¹⁴ which set down broad policies for it to follow. Its first premise was indicative of the point of view of the group:

*"In the light of these cherished aspirations for individual security and freedom, the Council believes that the dominant consideration in the formulation and repeated review of the broad policies governing the use of the state's radio facilities is the dedication of the new agency of communication to democratic ideals and methods."*¹⁵

They held the function of the broadcaster to be the same as that of the educator: to perpetuate "the attained stage of social security by handing on the best in the established patterns of thought," and to prepare the way "for the orderly correction of the recognized shortcomings of the present order."¹⁶ They considered the necessary qualifications of the Director of State Radio Service to include "creative vision of the social possibilities of the use of radio in the 'public interest.' " He should "be active in discovering those public and semi-public organizations and those citizens whose contributions to the public interest and welfare can be extended by broadcasting," and went on to say, "the Director has a special opportunity for service in making arrangements for the discussion of important controversial issues of public interest."¹⁷ For a number of years Station WHA has turned over its facilities to the parties in the Wisconsin legislature for making campaign speeches, with equal facilities given to all parties and the choice of speakers left up to a committee of each group. There is no censorship. During legislative sessions the station offers a Congressional Forum on which legislators explain and interpret bills under consideration. Time is given equally to Senators and Representatives. The idea of this forum is to provide for a discussion of congressional affairs, not for campaigning. At other times the station has run Citizens' Forums providing for discussion of controversial issues. The station also puts on programs for schools and has a College of the Air, a series of programs presented by both members of the University and representa-

¹⁴ See above, p. 19.

¹⁵ Statement of Policy Relative to the Use of the Radio Broadcasting Channels Licensed to Agencies of the State by the State Radio Council of Wisconsin, December 6, 1938, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

tives of public organizations. WHA has sought in many ways to make itself a state institution rather than merely the voice of the University.

The only type of program which appeared on all of these stations was market news for farmers. Other types of programs and the number of such stations carrying them are as follows:

Agricultural information	5
Talks for farm housewives	6
Talks by university people given outside the classroom	10
Student programs	8
(Student dramatic groups, glee clubs, bands, debates)	
Programs by civic groups	8
(League of Women Voters, Kiwanis, etc.)	
Programs for use in schools	6
Lectures from the classroom	6
Programs by staff (not members of faculty)	6
Transcribed programs from government agencies	5
Religious talks	5
Religious meetings	3
Network sustaining programs	2

In addition, they all rely to a great extent on transcribed classical music.

There is a perennial debate among the stations on the propriety of broadcasting classroom lectures. The program director of WILL, which devotes 30 per cent of its available time to lectures from the classroom, reports: "We do feel that our classroom lectures, in spite of what any commercial broadcasters may say about them, are the most popular [of any of our programs] with our listeners desiring adult education."¹⁸ Station WLB also takes up the cudgels for them in its annual report:

"By broadcasting . . . classroom lectures, WLB achieves one of its principal objectives—that of bringing directly to its listeners many of the cultural and educational advantages of the university campus which otherwise would be available to only a few thousand people. Such things are suitable for broadcasting with little or no alteration."

But, the report goes on to add, "It would often improve these programs if they were adapted for radio, but this has not proved feasible."¹⁹ On the other hand, the Director of Station WOI comments:

"We have not used classroom lectures at all. We personally believe that this is an unnatural situation, both from the standpoint of the

¹⁸ Quoted from a letter from the Program Director, August 15, 1940.

¹⁹ Annual Report, Radio Station WLB. Period from July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940, p. 7.

lecturer and the response on the part of the students in the classroom. It also covers too long a period of time in which to maintain the interest of the listeners. We will agree that there may be a few listeners vitally interested in the subject who will stay tuned to a lecture during a fifty-minute period, but they are the exception. It is our belief that the average instructor can do better work if he boils down his essential points for a broadcast presentation of fifteen minutes or a maximum of thirty minutes."²⁰

Station WCAL gets around the problem by using only classroom lectures on music, in which the recorded music played as examples by the professor breaks up the talk. Most stations using these lectures, however, draw upon courses in history, government, and psychology. Obviously those depending upon demonstrations, such as those in science, are less well adapted for radio. At the present time, none of the stations having "Colleges of the Air," whether using classroom lectures or not, give credit for work done, as used to be the practice.

e. Special Problems

Undoubtedly there are problems in running any radio station, but does an educational institution have peculiar difficulties in doing so? The facts we have reviewed clearly indicate that it does. If the money does not come from advertisers, it comes from others, either donors or taxpayers. These are just as likely to have views on radiobroadcasting activities as any other people, and an educational institution dependent on their good will must take these views into account. That is what all this experience shows, and it shows that the views of these backers may at times be harder to satisfy than the views of advertisers.

The answers from various stations here surveyed to the question, "What are your chief problems in running the station?" varied greatly. Two stations entirely ignored the question, and one laconically answered, "The main problem in running a station is to keep it running." But what most of the answers emphasized was the bogey of financing the station. There can be little question that substantial improvements in the running of these stations could be gained by more generous financing, thus eliminating difficulties from defective equipment, inadequate personnel, and so on.

Frost mentions in his study of educational stations that a good proportion of those universities which relinquished their radio licenses did so because they were unable to pay for the necessary expense of keeping their

²⁰ Quoted from a letter from the Director, July 29, 1941.

equipment up to the standard set by the FRC or the FCC.²¹ The fact that the stations existing today have survived is a demonstration of their ability along these lines. Only two stations reported that they needed money for new equipment.²² One of these (KWLC) mentioned that they hoped to replace their obsolete equipment in the near future, although it had hampered them for some time. Three stations reported inadequate personnel owing to lack of finances. Station WILL does not have enough money to hire a writer to adapt scripts to radio. They feel that their programs would be greatly improved by such an addition and by more studios. WOI would like to improve its programming by having more people to work on fewer programs. Three stations also report having to curtail their publicity because of lack of funds. Two mention that they would have made surveys of their audience had they had the money, and regretted having to depend upon fan mail as an index of listener reaction.

Station WLB reported certain specific deficiencies. The man who runs their School of the Air, for example, is employed only half time, when there is obviously enough work for several people. A good deal of the program time is taken up with lectures from the classroom, of which they do not wholeheartedly approve. They would much prefer to have the professors rewrite their material for radio, reducing it in length and simplifying the language. They do not feel that they can call on professors to take on this extra work, however, without in some way compensating them, either by fees or by reducing their regular teaching load. When the station made such a request to the University, the reply was that it would be impossible at the present time.²³

Only a few of the problems of these stations were unrelated to money. Station KWLC had a special problem in presenting news on the air. For a time the station carried a program of news clipped from the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, but since news on adjacent stations was more up to the minute, world news was discarded in favor of a program of purely local news. This, of course, does not serve the listeners to this station who want news reports.

The chief problem at Station KSAC, which depends upon the Extension Division for personnel, is program planning, fitting into the

²¹ Frost, S. E., Jr., *Is American Radio Democratic?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 224 ff.

²² However, in May 1941 Station WCAD (St. Lawrence University), one of the oldest educational stations in the country, announced that it had given up its license because the University could not afford the cost of shifting the equipment as ordered by the FCC under the Havana Agreement to reallocate stations, and could not afford to modernize other equipment as required. Henceforth the University will broadcast over WSLB, a commercial station privately owned. *Broadcasting*, May 12, 1941, p. 105.

²³ Annual Report, Radio Station WLB, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

limited time available the material at hand. The staff of Station WOI would like to produce programs for the public schools, but they say:

"Because this is a technical institution and its faculty are very busy doing the things for which they are employed, we have not had much opportunity to draw upon the services of these people for a series of broadcasts that would be of interest in the elementary school field."²⁴

The Director of one station was candid in remarking on the problem of "the passive, somewhat perfunctory attitude of certain faculty members who should have contributions to make to the station." The difficulty of getting programs to fill in with during the summer months, when the usual faculty are away, bothered two stations. Time limitations prescribed by the FCC annoyed two others. These last four stations are vitally concerned with building up a loyal, steady audience, and they feel that these gaps in broadcasting lead potential listeners to turn to other stations.

f. Relations with Commercial Radio

There has always been a problem for these stations in how to conduct themselves in a world of commercial broadcasting. In the early days, the National Committee on Education by Radio was much concerned with the fact that commercial stations were trying to push the educational stations off the air, by forcing them to defend their licenses before the FCC. Few of the stations which remain report troubles of this kind. When WHA wanted to increase its time on the air and petitioned for a clear-channel wave length, it was opposed by NBC, but on the whole the stations are stabilized in their hours on the air and their wave lengths, and the commercial broadcasters seem willing to let them keep what they have. Increasingly there has been an exchange of views, experience, and even programs between the commercial companies and the educators, so that the educational stations are no longer in the distinctive position they used to hold. For several years, for instance, the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation brought employees from the university stations to study techniques at the offices of the national networks. The networks have sent their educational advisers to the conventions of the educators.²⁵ More and more discussion at these meetings deals with problems of educational programs on commercial networks, as well as the talk of the specific problems of the educational station.

²⁴ Quoted from a letter from the Director, July 29, 1940.

²⁵ It was claimed that the 1941 convention at Ohio State University was "taken over" by NBC and CBS. Mutual was disgusted with this, but sent a few representatives. Ohio State no longer puts up any money for this meeting.

When new studios were dedicated recently at Station WILL, NBC and CBS sent representatives to the ceremonies to give the main addresses in praise of the station.

Three of these stations have even drawn on programs produced by the networks. WOSU regularly carries some Mutual programs, and Mutual carries some of the programs produced by WOSU. This station also has lines to other commercial stations in Ohio. The Ohio School of the Air was made possible through the cooperation of the Crossley Radio Station, WLW. WOI used to use the sustaining features of CBS, but has abandoned this for a regular transcription library. WLB proudly announced that they had worked out an arrangement with the local NBC Blue outlet to carry all the sustaining features of the Blue network not carried by the regular station. They remarked:

"Another significant accomplishment [in 1940] was the arrangement to carry some of the programs of the National Broadcasting Company. This made possible the enrichment of our schedule through the addition of outstanding educational and public service programs, and it released our staff members from some production work. In this connection we must also realize that association with one of the national chains has considerable publicity and prestige value."²⁶

They tried to make a similar arrangement with the local Red Network outlet, but were unsuccessful. Now that the FCC has declared as not in the public interest the exclusivity clauses in network contracts with local stations, more educational stations may be able to make such arrangements.

g. Commercial Educational Stations

Five stations owned by universities and originally noncommercial have decided to take advertising in order to help meet expenses. We have information on two of these: WEW, owned by St. Louis University, and KUAO, Siloam Springs, Arkansas, owned by John Brown University. WEW carries very little material from the university. In recent years there has been only one program by professors, a round-table discussion of foreign affairs by the Department of History and Government. The policy is to appeal to minority groups, since the station has neither the money nor the network affiliation necessary to command big-time talent. There is a hillbilly show, a Bing Crosby half hour, German and Italian broadcasts, a symphonic hour, and so on. Undoubtedly, from the University's point of view the reason for the station is the Sacred Heart Hour

²⁶ Annual Report, Radio Station WLB, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

and the programs presenting the High Mass from the College Church. The Manager of the station reported that "The chief function of a station owned by an educational institution is to be objective in every broadcast effort."²⁷

KUOA depends on the University for more of its programs than WEW does. Although there is no faculty program board, the station reflects more of the University activities, carrying several series by professors and depending to a large extent upon student help. Its advertising policy is a good deal stricter than that of commercial stations operating on as small a budget as this (\$15,000, giving \$5000 for technical operation, \$5000 for programming, \$3000 for salaries, and the remainder for incidental expenses), for they reject advertising for "beer, liquor, wines, cigarettes, and religious broadcasts on a commercial basis." The fact that all the programs over the station are identified by listeners with the University, regardless of their commercial sponsorship, means that the program content must be acceptable to the University, which the manager reports "may or may not be desirable." The point of view of this station toward commercial broadcasting is worth stating for the light it throws on the problems of similar organizations:

"I am firmly convinced that a university owned station should be operated on a commercial basis, the chief reason being that there is a constant tendency toward degeneration in programs, especially during vacations and examinations, and the station is inclined to become a plaything. University stations are noted for their frequent changes in schedule. A back-bone of commercial programs effectively prevents service deterioration and erratic schedules. In other words, with sponsors carefully listening and checking up on the station, it has to operate with reasonable efficiency in spite of itself. Most university stations do not operate continuously during the day. This is one of the most effective audience killers that can be imagined. Sponsors will not buy time after a station has been off the air. Therefore, for sales reasons, it is much better that a station stay on the air continuously, and certainly for audience holding, this is necessary. The selling also gives young students an opportunity to get practical experience in the only angle of radio that is not overpopulated, and in the most highly paid branch of the profession—selling."²⁸

Clearly a station with commercial programs on the air must continually keep in mind the size of its audience.

²⁷ Quoted from a letter from the Manager, October 7, 1940.

²⁸ Quoted from a letter from the Manager, August 2, 1940.

b. Network Affiliates

Seven universities own radio stations which have become network affiliates, 5 with CBS, and one each with Mutual and NBC Blue. Three of these reported to us in the study. WTAQ, run by St. Norbert College, replied to our inquiry:

"While this station is owned by St. Norbert College, it is run exactly like any other commercial broadcasting station in the country. We do not do an unusually large amount of educational broadcasting. Naturally, we do carry the Columbia School of the Air and certain weekly broadcasts by our Brown County School system. Our program policies are in line with other NAB stations. There is nothing unusual in our program policies."²⁹

Station WHAZ, owned by Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, broadcasts only on Monday nights from six to twelve midnight. The Institute originates practically no programs (carrying NBC Blue), and runs the station merely as a demonstration for students in the Communication Engineering courses. On the other hand, WHCU's network affiliation at Cornell University may herald a new era in the relations between universities and broadcasters. Cornell has had a radio license for 18 years and began its broadcasting around a core of agricultural programs produced by the College of Agriculture. A homemakers' hour was added through the coöperation of the Department of Home Economics. However, when the Federal Radio Commission ruled that all the allotted broadcasting time must be filled, the University was unable to produce enough programs and entered into an agreement to have the remainder of their hours filled by the *Elmira Star Gazette*. After a number of difficulties with frequencies, a suitable one was obtained, and the Columbia Broadcasting System entered into a contract to allow the station to use their sustaining programs as desired. In the summer of 1940, Cornell took over the operation of the station and decided to sell time to cover expenses. A few months later the station became affiliated with CBS, with a plan to carry Columbia programs and "to originate for the network programs of information and entertainment in which students and faculty will participate."³⁰ This experiment is too new as yet to judge of its success or failure.

i. Programming Without a Station

Two other patterns of university radio work have already been touched on, the Round Table of the University of Chicago and the Rocky Moun-

²⁹ Quoted from a letter from the General Manager, July 31, 1940.

³⁰ *New York Times*, September 8, 1940.

tain Radio Council.³¹ In the latter, 6 employees in a central office in Denver coordinate the work of 27 regional organizations, including 13 educational institutions which vary in size from the Universities of Denver, Wyoming, and Colorado, to the Loretto Heights College and the Iliff School of Theology.³² During the fall and winter of 1940-1941, 15 series of programs were produced by the Council, of which 10 were in cooperation with educational institutions. Each drew upon the resources and interests of the special institution. One series, "Soldiers and Saints," dramatized "four hundred years of Jesuit history" for Regis College; another, "Agriculture in the News," in cooperation with the Colorado State College of Agriculture, did a traditional job of presenting agricultural information; while the Colorado Woman's College put on a program called the "Teen Age Girl" which was a notable success in a relatively untried field.

The preponderant position of the universities in the Council is shown by the fact that in the initial period, when 795 individual broadcasts were put on, 38 per cent were for the Universities of Colorado, Denver, or Wyoming, and about 47 per cent of the broadcast hours were for these institutions. The Radio Council works through the faculty radio committees and radio directors of the various colleges and universities and through the radio chairmen of civic organizations. The Council aids these individuals and groups in the planning, editing, directing, broadcasting, and transcribing of their programs, initiating and completing broadcast arrangements with radio stations, giving publicity to programs, obtaining copyright clearances, discovering and developing radio talent.

During the year 1940-1941, the Council made 1909 broadcasts from radio stations in the region, which is an average of more than 5 a day. This is almost 4 times as many broadcasts as were made prior to the organization of the Council. A number of the programs for which the size of the audience was measured had larger groups of listeners than any network sustaining series. A vast amount of educational broadcasting was presented. As the Council observes, "The educational organizations of the Rocky Mountain region have literally unlimited resources of ideas, information, experience, and tested methodology at their disposal. . . ."

Although the Council is now supported largely by foundations, there are hopes that this service may become self-supporting in time, perhaps

³¹ See above, pp. 23 ff. and 25 ff.

³² The educational institutions cooperating in the Council include Colorado College, Colorado School of Mines, Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (Extension Division), Colorado State College of Education, Colorado Woman's College, University of Colorado, University of Denver, University of Wyoming, Western State College, as well as the various school systems, libraries, and civic organizations. See *Summary Report of the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, Inc.*, August 1, 1940, to July 31, 1941.

with a per-program fee for consultation, with the personnel of the Council largely consisting of radio consultants in the various institutions. Since the component groups already contribute personnel, studio space, mimeographing, and the like, they are in part already taking over responsibility for it. To a large extent the Council is aided in its plan by the fact that there are few network stations in the Rocky Mountain area which have wide enough coverage to reach many listeners. Many people are dependent upon local stations for most of their radio programs. Service to the entire region has been aided by the use of transcriptions. The Council is an active clearing house for information about good programs, also.

A similar regional plan was proposed for Texas, but has not been worked out yet. The University of Texas is carrying on extensive research about radio in education and has a campus studio to originate programs. A new development in the region is the Texas Intercollegiate Broadcasters' Council, representing 12 Texas colleges and universities, which is working with the Texas State Network on a plan for general adult education programs.³³

Very recently an Educational Radio Council has been set up between Amherst, Massachusetts State, Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Springfield Colleges for the purpose of cooperating with the stations in that area. Another interesting development in this field is the Pioneer Radio Council, which began as the Radio Council of Western Massachusetts. This organization is supported by membership fees from women's clubs and Parent-Teacher Associations, and its aims and purposes are: "1. To coordinate civic and other groups interested in radio; 2. To develop mutual cooperation between radio stations and the general public; 3. To check up on the effectiveness and desirability of local and network programs. 4. To encourage the types of broadcasts best suited to the community."³⁴ The first president was a teacher, Miss Genevieve M. Allen, who directed the Council along educational lines in research and in pioneering with radio workshops in the school. Naturally the Council has been particularly active in the children's field. Its work is a beginning which holds out prospects for significant developments.

No doubt similar beginnings have got under way elsewhere. These developments bear close watching.

There are many other patterns of cooperation. For instance, the Speech Department of Montana State University puts on three programs on a local station, calling on both faculty and students for talent, but given under the direction of the chairman of the Department.³⁵ The University of Kentucky produces a "Southern School of the Air" originating in a

³³ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 2, no. 12 (December 1940), p. 2.

³⁴ Taken from a letter from the president of the Council.

³⁵ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 2, no. 12 (December 1940), p. 2.

station affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting System and carried by many Mutual stations.³⁶ The University of North Carolina has a studio and transmits programs to a neighboring station, which in turn sends them out over Mutual.³⁷ Faculty and students work together in putting on a program over WCCO for the University of Minnesota.³⁸ Of course the most usual arrangement between commercial broadcasters and educational institutions is that in which a college of agriculture supplies agricultural information to the station, but other ways of cooperating are being worked out.

The war effort may, of course, alter the trends profoundly. The broadcasters, obliged to take more and more government programs, may want to reduce the contributions of other public-service groups, including colleges and universities. This would be very unfortunate, since the emergency seems to have stimulated people in higher education into doing more radio work. Of course this is due partly to the fact that a large number of volunteers have been available for doing such programs. The work of American Defense, Harvard Group, is typical for these war trends, because formerly hardly any radio broadcasting was done in that institution. Now there is a weekly show of propaganda analysis, a monthly historical drama show with music, and other regular features are in the making.

j. Student Activities

One very novel trend in the field of educational broadcasting is provided by the activities of students. As a parallel to their journalistic efforts, they began on their own initiative to organize workshops and college stations. There are about 30 campus stations in the United States. Among them are Alabama, Antioch, Brown, University of California, Colorado State College of Education, Columbia, Connecticut, Cornell, Dartmouth, Georgetown, Hamilton, Hampton, Harvard, Iowa State, Knox, North Carolina, Ohio State, Ohio University, Pembroke, Princeton, Rhode Island State, St. Edwards, St. Lawrence, Swarthmore, Union, Wellesley, Wesleyan, Williams, and Yale.

These stations are held together rather nebulously by an organization called the Intercollegiate Broadcasting System—a student-run organization which has two purposes: to do intercollegiate programming and to secure advertising. To date there has been practically no intercollegiate programming, but considerable advertising has been secured for the stations. With the exception of Antioch, Ohio State, Swarthmore and Wellesley, all the stations carry advertising.³⁹

³⁶ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1940), p. 3.

³⁷ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 3, no. 3 (March 1941), p. 1.

³⁸ *Service Bulletin of the FREC*, vol. 3, no. 2 (February 1941), p. 4.

³⁹ See *Variety*, January 22, 1941, p. 36.

A college station has special problems. Its audience is composed entirely of students, and students like to spend their evenings in study. Accordingly, any successful college station must offer the sort of programs to which students can listen while they are studying. Surveys at Harvard, for instance, show that an overwhelming majority of the potential listeners like to hear classical music; they claim that it serves as "a background for their studying."

As a concrete illustration of these activities, we may give a brief description of the station which serves the several Harvard "Houses," the Crimson Network, developed by the Harvard *Crimson*, the undergraduate paper. This first went on the air in April, 1940, and by now has a staff of about 50. The station has been on the air throughout the school year with the exception of examination periods. The schedule runs for five hours a day, from 4:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon and again from 7 to 11 in the evening. The Network broadcasts nightly about 1 hour and 50 minutes of classical music recorded, and the entire afternoon program is devoted to recorded swing music. In addition, it offers dramatics, faculty and student forums and news commentary, sports, and poetry readings. It broadcasts concerts given at the University, forums in the House Common Rooms, and other university events.

The Crimson Network has one transmitter located in the basement of one of the Houses. From it wires run to the different Houses which are attached to the lighting systems. The "signal" is strong enough so that it can jump the short distance between the electrical outlets and the radios in the Houses, but it is so weak that it cannot radiate beyond the Houses. Reception has not yet been extended to the Yard, and so the potential listening audience is about 1700. The Network sports one tiny studio, a control room, three microphones, and two turntables.

These student-operated stations claim a very good showing on their listening time. An audience for an average of 1.26 hours a day makes the college stations seem more effective than the networks. A student survey at 7 colleges with campus stations gave these results:

Average daily time college stations are on the air	4.74 hours
Average daily time undergraduates listen to college stations	1.26 hours
Average time network stations are on the air daily	19-24 hours
Average daily time undergraduates listen to network stations	1.2 hours

All in all, broadcasting by students appears to have come to stay as a new addition to educational broadcasting in institutions of higher learning. It provides an admirable opportunity to the students to educate themselves while having fun in an interesting extra-curricular activity.

IV

Organizing in the Name of Education

a. Coöperation versus Competition

THE history of educational radio has been marked by a great deal of acrimony between commercial broadcasters and educators as well as among educators who had different ideas of how best to use radio for education. Such disagreements were confined to a limited group, but because they were able to get support from foundations or politicians for various organized activities, such groups had an appreciable influence. The difficulties started with the loss of station licenses by educational institutions at the end of the twenties. In most universities there was fairly general apathy about the loss of the stations, but a few persons were genuinely concerned.

The Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations was an early trade group, but it was generally impotent because of lack of funds.¹ The Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, which had a special interest in the field, had formed a Radio Committee having as its purpose "to protect the interest of the land-grant institutions on the air so far as practicable." This Committee also had been unable to do very much, for it reported in 1931: "It has been the hope of several members of the Committee that they could secure from the Federal Radio Commission definite rulings which would ensure, at least to every state and particularly to the Land Grant Institution thereof, a definite wave length or period, which could be used by the Institutions for educational broadcasting. This had not yet been accomplished at the end of August, 1929."² The National University Extension Association and the American Association for Adult Education were also interested, but were not active.³

Convinced that this was a matter which should be the concern of the Federal government, a number of the educators corresponded with Secretary Wilbur of the Department of the Interior and Commissioner Cooper of the Office of Education. Eventually Secretary Wilbur called

¹ *Education on the Air*. Seventh Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. (Ohio State University), 1936. Levering Tyson (National Advisory Council on Radio in Education), "Looking Ahead," p. 62.

² *Education on the Air*, 1931, p. 36.

³ Levering Tyson, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

a number of meetings to discuss radio education and in May 1929 appointed a committee to study the problem further.⁴ The group met in Chicago in June 1929 and constituted itself the "Advisory Committee on Education by Radio." Commissioner of Education Cooper led the meeting. There was a discussion of the field to be covered, and then an executive committee and three other committees were set up: one on ways and means to raise the necessary money; one for fact finding; one on research, which was asked to "develop techniques for evaluating the effectiveness of educational programs on the radio."⁵ By the end of the year the Committee had completed its work and ceased to function. Its report, handed in the following February, recommended that the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior take a more active part in educational radio, both in research and in policy formation, that an advisory committee "representing educational institutions, commercial broadcasters and the general public" be formed to work with the Office of Education, that certain programs be produced, and that the committee keep the President and the Federal Radio Commission continually aware of the importance of education on the air.⁶

As a result of this report, meetings were held during the spring of 1930 to form the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education to perform the advisory functions as outlined. The Council was to have approximately seventy members, including representatives of the broadcasting industry, and it was to be supported by grants from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. In October of that year, however, Commissioner Cooper called another meeting in Chicago "presumably of the same groups in the Advisory Council, but really in the interests of institutionally owned and operated stations."⁷ This meeting denounced the Council as operating in the interests of the industry and not of the educators and formed another group to be known as the National Committee on Education by Radio. It stated its purpose to be:

"To secure to the people of the United States the use of radio for educational purposes by protecting the rights of educational broadcasting, by promoting and coordinating experiments in the use of radio in school and adult education, by maintaining a Service Bureau to assist educational stations in securing licenses and in other technical procedures, by exchange of information through a weekly

⁴ *The Future of Radio and Educational Broadcasting* (University of Chicago Press, May 1934), Levering Tyson, "Where is American Radio Heading?" p. 4.

⁵ "Report of the Advisory Committee on Education by Radio to the Secretary of the Interior." *The Congressional Record*, vol. 72 (June 20, 1930), p. 11290.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11292.

⁷ Tyson, *The Future of Radio and Educational Broadcasting*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

bulletin, by encouragement of research in education by radio, and by serving as a clearing house for research."⁸

This Committee was supported by the Payne Fund, and it included people from the National Council of State Superintendents, the National Association of State University Presidents, the Association of College and University Broadcasting Stations, the National University Extension Association, the National Catholic Educational Association, the American Council on Education, the Jesuit Education Association, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, and the National Education Association. At its first meeting it recommended legislation to protect the rights of educational broadcasting:

"The Conference on Radio and Education meeting in Chicago, Monday, October 13, 1930, recommends that the Congress of the United States enact legislation which will permanently and exclusively assign to educational institutions and to government educational agencies a minimum of fifteen per cent of all radio-broadcasting channels which are, or may become available to the United States. The Conference believes that these channels should be so chosen as to provide satisfactory educational service to the general public."⁹

This recommendation was directly contrary to the vested interests of the broadcasting industry, and it split the forces interested in education by radio for the next crucial years over the issue whether educators should compete with the commercial interests or cooperate with them. In spite of the challenge, the National Advisory Council decided to continue on its former course, making studies of radio and cooperating with NBC and CBS in several series of programs. These were intended to demonstrate techniques to the educators, but most of them were talks in dialogue form or, later, by a panel. The subjects were varied: "American Labor and the Nation"; "The Lawyer and the Public"; "Doctors, Dollars, and Disease"; "You and Your Government"; "More for Your Money"; "Art in America"; "Psychology Today"; "Vocational Guidance"; "Coping with Crime"; "Economics and the New Deal"; "Economics in a Changing Social Order."¹⁰ The programs were produced in cooperation with such national organizations as the American Bar Association, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the American Federation of Labor. From 1931 to 1935 the Council

⁸ *Education by Radio*, vol. 1, no. 1 (February 12, 1931), p. 1.

⁹ *Education by Radio*, vol. 1, no. 6 (March 19, 1931), p. 4.

¹⁰ Hill, Frank E., *Listen and Learn* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937), p. 40.

was the most active center outside the industry for the production of public-service programs, occupying a position later taken over by various government departments.¹¹

b. Legislative Difficulties

Meanwhile the National Committee on Education by Radio was pursuing a different policy. Senator Fess of Ohio had been induced to introduce a bill to amend the Radio Act of 1927 by providing that 15 per cent of all of the radio-broadcasting facilities be reserved for educational institutions. From January 1931, when the bill was introduced, through 1934 the Committee spent most of its time organizing public opinion in support of the bill. It was behind a series of debates organized by a national high-school debating society on the virtues of the British system of broadcasting versus the American system. The Committee's bulletin, "Education by Radio," continually showed the disadvantage of radio advertising, the advantages of state-owned radio systems, and the fine work of educational stations in this country.

The idea that any special group should have a claim to certain wave lengths was contrary to the general outlook and policy of the Federal Radio Commission. Early in its effort to reallocate stations on the limited spectrum, it had decided that general-interest stations were to be preferred over those owned by groups having a special point of view. The position was enunciated in the decision on the application of one such station for a renewal of its license:

"There is not room in the broadcast band for every school of thought, religious, political, social, and economic, each to have its separate broadcasting station, its mouthpiece in the ether. If franchises are extended to some it gives them an unfair advantage over others, and results in a corresponding cutting down of public service stations."¹²

Religious and labor stations were particularly hard hit by this decision. In order to get around it, amendments to the Federal Radio Act of 1927 were introduced in Congress to reserve one clear channel each for the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Labor.¹³ The Commission opposed this as "class legislation" and, unfortunately for the educators, put the Fess

¹¹ For further information on this point see Sayre, Jeanette, *An Analysis of the Radiobroadcasting Activities of Federal Agencies*, No. 3 of this series.

¹² *FRC Third Annual Report*. "Grounds for Decision in the Matter of the Application of the Great Lakes Broadcasting Company," 1928-1929, p. 34.

¹³ *Congressional Record*, vol. 72 (May 9, 1930), p. 8707; vol. 74 (December 16, 1930), p. 793.

Bill in the same category. When challenged, some of the Commissioners suggested instead a proposal that regular commercial stations be required to give a certain proportion of their time to educational broadcasts, but they did not think it feasible to decide the specific hours or types of broadcast to be put on.¹⁴ Senator Fess did little about pushing his bill, and it was not even reported out of the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The National Catholic Educational Association and the Jesuit Education Association were, we said, represented on the National Committee for Education by Radio. They did most to promote the interest of the Committee in these reserved channels. The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, the Paulist Fathers, owned Station WLWL in New York. Over a period of years it was shifted about by the Federal Radio Commission and given progressively less time on the air, until finally, in 1934, a number of Catholic organizations combined to petition Congress in behalf of this station and to urge a bill to guarantee 25 per cent of the air waves to "educational, religious, agricultural, labor, cooperative, and similar non-profit making associations." Their chief friends at court were Senator Wagner of New York, who in April 1934 introduced into the *Congressional Record* petitions from the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Women's Union of New York State on behalf of the bill,¹⁵ Senator Hatfield of West Virginia, and Congressman Rudd of New York. At the request of Reverend Father John B. Harney, the Superior of the Society, a meeting was held in the office of Congressman Connery of Massachusetts and was attended by several Catholic Congressmen "and representatives of labor, various religious denominations, and other organizations favoring this legislation." This group delegated a committee to write a bill, which was introduced by Mr. Rudd.¹⁶ Even the legislature of New York rallied to support the station and presented to Congress a petition on its behalf.¹⁷ As was usual with radio bills, this was sent to the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries, where it was debated. In spite of the fact that Father Harney himself and others appeared for it, the Committee decided not to include it in the Federal Communications Act then under discussion, but instead to insert a clause in the Act requiring the about-to-be-created Commission to investigate at once the problem of education on the air and to recommend to Congress proper steps to safeguard educational interests.

¹⁴ *Education on the Air*, 1931. Armstrong Perry (Specialist in Education by Radio, United States Office of Education), "The College Station and the Federal Radio Commission," p. 41.

¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, vol. 78 (April 13, 1934), p. 6530.

¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, vol. 78 (April 19, 1934), p. 6939.

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, vol. 78 (April 27, 1934), p. 7507.

On May 15, 1934, the Communications Act was debated in the Senate. Senator Wagner at that time presented an amendment to the Act embodying the proposals contained in the rejected Rudd bill and bringing debate on the issue out into the open. Wagner, supporting the amendment, declared that "commercial stations enjoying the free use of the air have captured 98 per cent of the broadcasting today, while nonprofit-making stations, devoted to educational, religious, cultural, agricultural, and labor purposes have secured only 2 per cent."¹⁸ Then Senator Dill of Washington pointed out that the amendment included the clause: "the licensee may sell such part of the allotted time as will make the station self-supporting," and that this clause meant that the programs of these educational stations would be exactly like those of the regular commercial broadcasters. At this point Senator Fess, who had been inclined to favor Wagner's amendment, as embodying the principles of his former bill, withdrew his support. Senator Clark of Missouri added insult to injury by commenting that "in Missouri there were several stations ostensibly organized for religious purposes or for educational purposes, but which, as a matter of fact, were profit-making institutions." The next attack was led by Senator Copeland of New York, who remarked that this amendment was proposed by one disgruntled station and that but for that station all would have been well. Wagner and Hatfield both admitted that Father Harney had been the chief protagonist of the bill, but added that many other station representatives were interested in it. Senator Dill commented that he was interested in the welfare of educational and religious stations, but that no one had solved the problem of financing them, and that this amendment did not seem the proper one under the circumstances. Finally Senator White of Maine told of the points made against the bill when it was in committee. He said that when the Federal Radio Act of 1927 had been first debated, it was proposed that a certain proportion of the wave lengths be set aside for educational and other nonprofit institutions, but that this proposal had been defeated for the simple reason that the administration of the Act would have been impossible. There would have been great competition among the eligible institutions for the guaranteed time and yet no basis to decide between their claims. This seemed to clinch the matter, and the amendment was defeated.¹⁹ In short, the counter combination of the broadcasting interests succeeded. Behind the scenes they had engaged in great activities. As *Variety* put it:

"Frantic efforts to mobilize strength to defeat this amendment occupied industry lobbyists all last week. . . . The controversy may

¹⁸ *Congressional Record*, vol. 78 (May 15, 1934), p. 8828.

¹⁹ *Congressional Record*, vol. 78 (May 15, 1934), p. 8845.

involve unprecedented test of power of radio to direct public opinion and nation wide appeal to listeners to stand by present setup. Broadcasters last week threatened to call on audiences to write Senators as last-resort move to beat back assaults on their rights.²⁰

However, the provision in the Act as passed that the new Commission should hold hearings on the possibilities of education by radio gave the educators a new chance. Hearings were held in October and November 1934, and many representatives of institutions and departments in the Federal government, as well as the commercial broadcasters, appeared to testify. Those who challenged the existing system set forth too many different and conflicting ideas. Some wanted 15 per cent of the air for education, some 25 per cent; others suggested that each commercial station be required to broadcast a specified number of hours of public-service material; still others wanted a government-owned network to compete with the private broadcasters; and so on. The commercial side suffered from no such confusion. Well-known university people were lined up by the National Association of Broadcasters to tell of the fine cooperation they had received from the networks. Several public figures spoke of the wonderful educational programs that commercial radio had made possible. The Commission was urged to believe that the poor struggling university stations should not be granted any further aid because their product was not so good as that of wealthier stations. The inevitable result of such divided opinion on one side and glowing testimonial on the other was the recommendation that:

"At this time no fixed percentages of radio broadcast facilities be allocated by statute to particular types or kinds of nonprofit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of nonprofit activities."²¹

The Commission recommended, however, that conferences be held to make plans for "mutual cooperation between broadcasters and nonprofit organizations," and that the Office of Education be encouraged to continue its good work for radio.

c. The Federal Radio Education Committee

In order to carry out these recommendations, the Broadcast Division of the FCC set up the Federal Radio Education Committee in December 1935. Dr. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education, became its chairman, and the committee included 40 representatives of the industry, educa-

²⁰ *Variety*, May 8, 1934, p. 37.

²¹ *Congressional Record*, vol. 79 (March 21, 1935), p. 4144.

tion, religious organizations, and labor. Work was to be done by a number of subcommittees, but the actual direction was to be in the hands of an executive group consisting of four people from the industry, four educators, representatives from the Commission, and the Chairman. The men responsible for public-service broadcasting in CBS and NBC and the president of the NAB were members. After a number of meetings it was decided that the FREC could make no definite recommendations or rulings about education on the air because they didn't know what radio education was, nor did they know what it did to listeners. Accordingly, the central committee came out in favor of research, which has since been undertaken by a number of special projects.²² In 1939 the FREC began publishing a monthly bulletin telling of educational programs on the networks and the activities of educational stations, reporting on research, and commenting on other radio developments. Special pamphlets embodying the findings of research have been published. The FREC has also supported the Federal Radio Script Exchange in the Office of Education, which has distributed many scripts and a few recordings of programs to educational stations, dramatic groups, and schools throughout the country.

The report of the FCC on education had also included the provision that

“Coöperation with the United States Commissioner of Education and other governmental agencies already established to assist in building helpful radio programs will be sought to an even greater degree than now exists.”²³

Under Commissioner Studebaker, who has a more aggressive attitude toward education on the air than his predecessor, Dr. Cooper, this plan came to fruition. In December 1935 the Educational Radio Project of the Office of Education was authorized, stimulated by the Congressional mandate to the Department to provide education for CCC camps. Being a WPA project, one of its aims was to employ workers, but its more significant purpose was to experiment with techniques for educational broadcasting. In the course of the next four years, 12 major network series were presented, ranging in form from rather simple question-and-answer programs to elaborate combinations of dramatization, narration, music, choral background, etc. Through the Radio Script Exchange scripts of these programs were made available for local use, and recordings of one admirable series, “Americans All—Immigrants All,” were distributed at cost. Listening groups were organized for some

²² See below, Chapter V.

²³ *Congressional Record*, vol. 79 (March 21, 1935), p. 4145.

of the programs. Almost all drew upon existing organizations for research or promotion. However, in spite of evidence of a good deal of listener interest, a fine record of cooperation with outside organizations, and network support, the Radio Project was denied funds by Congress in 1940, and the Office has since ceased its active radio program production, concentrating instead on developing a script, transcription and information exchange. For this period the Office of Education had performed the programming function formerly done by the Advisory Council. For many reasons the networks have taken this over for the present. They are now working with the various nonprofit organizations wishing to put on programs, and are doing the production job formerly done by the other groups.

d. Network Educational Policies

This is not to imply that for some time the networks had not been active in the field of education on the air. Quite early, NBC had set up an Advisory Committee consisting of national leaders in labor, religion, education, business, music, philanthropy, etc. They stimulated work on the network in their various fields. When the National Advisory Council was organized, NBC supported it and carried many of its programs. From the first the network made sure that people knew what they were doing in the field of education. Meetings of the Advisory Board were well publicized, and booklets were distributed telling about NBC's contributions to education on the air. With the appointment of Dr. James R. Angell, formerly President of Yale University, to be advisor in educational broadcasting in 1937, the network gave another demonstration of its interest. Angell spent some time looking into the situation and finally came out in support of the policy of making network radioprograms available to schools through recordings to be used by the teachers in group meetings or in classrooms. In 1940-1941 NBC laid plans for a large-scale distribution of transcriptions of their best sustaining programs for such use, but this was held up by the clash with ASCAP, since much of the music on the better programs of former years, planned for inclusion in the series, was ASCAP controlled.

Columbia, being a newer network, was somewhat later in organizing an advisory board. In 1938 Lyman Bryson was named chairman of their education board, consisting of other educators and labor leaders. The network had already carried many of the programs produced by the Office of Education and other governmental agencies and had taken the lead in such programs as the Columbia Workshop. In 1930 CBS originated the American School of the Air, an hour-length program each morning to be used in schools. It effectively cooperated with the National Education Association. Lately this program has been marshaled into

the defense effort and is now a "School of the Air of the Americas," sending educational programs to South America. CBS differs from NBC in that it believes in the advisability of some network broadcasting to schools, in spite of the great inherent difficulties such as varying time schedules. After working with numerous non-profit groups, both networks have come to the conclusion that it is to their advantage to produce programs of their own, rather than to cooperate with outsiders. They claim that they had to do most of the work before and got little credit for it. This trend is a natural one, considering the highly skilled professional writers, actors, and producers at the command of the networks.

In addition to producing programs, the broadcasters have, through the National Association of Broadcasters, attempted to promote education by radio in other ways. The NAB has been prominent in supporting the FREC and has published bulletins to publicize this work. The first, in 1938, was a guide to the better use of radio written by Professor Kenneth L. Bartlett. Its aim was to tell the educator aspiring to use the radio how best to get his message across. The second, published in 1939, was called "How to Use Radio in the Classroom" and was compiled by Norman Woelfel of the Ohio State University Evaluation of School Broadcasts. It also was a practical handbook, designed to tell teachers how best to make use of radio for school listening. In July 1939 the NAB approved a Code which dealt with the duties of broadcasters in sponsoring educational programs. The Code suggested that those stations which did not have a reservoir of talent sufficient to produce educational programs comparable to those on the networks, should cooperate with local community organizations and projects for gathering program material. Each station was advised to have an educational director to be responsible for this work. Forums on the air were praised as an excellent way for the stations to discharge their duty of presenting educational topics. The viewpoint expressed in the NAB Code is a good deal more advanced than that held by some broadcasters, as may be seen from the fact that the assessment to the industry for its share in supporting the research work of the FREC had a deficit of \$35,000.²⁴ The Code, however, has set a standard for stations to follow. The publication recently of a list of "educational directors" of all the NBC affiliates is an indication that the stations are taking their responsibility in this direction more seriously.

e. Special Groups

In spite of the fact that most of the initiative for education on the air has now passed from the educators to the broadcasters, the pressure

²⁴ Code Manual, issued by the NAB Code Compliance Committee, "Educational Broadcasting," p. 9.

groups have not entirely disbanded their forces. In 1935 Dr. Arthur G. Crane, President of the University of Wyoming, suggested a plan for "American Public Radio Boards." These were to be groups of individuals from various nonprofit organizations who would hire experts to help the cooperating organizations with programs, bring pressure on the local radio stations to carry the programs, and then help in audience building through the agency of the membership. The boards were to be local, regional, and national. The National Committee on Education by Radio supported this proposal and tried to find sponsors for the interested groups.²⁵ It was at first suggested that the Federal government should support such boards, but this idea was soon given up.²⁶ In addition, the members of the National Committee on Education by Radio have continued to publish their bulletin reporting on events in radio education, and have appeared before the FCC on several occasions in behalf of radio educators.

The National Advisory Council on Radio in Education also turned to new fields with the hearings on education by the FCC. In 1936 it proposed to promote radio workshops, laboratories for training radio workers, research, and program experimentation. With the cooperation of the Federal Radio Project of the Office of Education, such a workshop was organized at New York University developing the first full four year radio course. Students were given an intensive course in writing for radio, production, acting, program planning, and the like. The courses were vocational rather than academic. In 1937 the Council sponsored three important publications: a study of educational radio stations by S. E. Frost, Jr.,²⁷ a summary of findings and analysis of the whole broadcasting structure by the same author,²⁸ and a pamphlet called "Four Years of Network Broadcasting," which summarized the experience of the Advisory Council with broadcasting. It told of the unfortunate experience of the Council with networks which changed Council programs around from time to time, shifted them from one network to another, and in general did not permit the Council to build up a regular audience for them and did not keep stated agreements. All this was quite contrary to the testimony of the group before the FCC some three years before and would have aided in the case of those supporting Senator Wagner's amendment had it been published in time. In January 1937 Dr. Levering Tyson, who had been the real leader in the Advisory

²⁵ *Education by Radio*, May 1936, p. 13; September 1936, p. 29.

²⁶ *Education on the Air*, 1935. A. G. Crane, "Safeguarding Educational Radio," pp. 123 f.

²⁷ Frost, S. E., Jr., *Education's Own Stations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

²⁸ Frost, S. E., Jr., *Is American Radio Democratic?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

Council, retired to become President of Muhlenberg College. Since this time the Advisory Council has been practically inactive in the field.

There are, however, numerous other groups that are still active. The American Association for Adult Education sponsored a study by Frank E. Hill in 1937 covering the whole field,²⁹ and a second by the same author called *The Groups Tune In* in 1939-40 (published by the FREC). Ohio State University Institute for Education by Radio holds a conference each year. These conferences have grown in importance, since they provide about the only regular opportunity for extended discussion of the cultural problems of broadcasting. Conferences of people in all branches of education can count on speakers from the networks and are being made increasingly radio conscious. The National Education Association has leaders interested in radio education, as do Catholic education groups. None, however are as independent of the industry as were the early groups battling for their rights on the air.³⁰

f. Conclusions

The story of the activities carried on by various groups in the name of education clearly shows that the search for improvement in the standards of broadcasting is intimately tied up with the problems of education on the air. Commercial broadcasters readily agree today that many significant improvements and additions have resulted from the desire of radio to meet educational critics part of the way. Emergency and war have hastened this trend. While we are as yet far from having realized the goal which is expressed in the NAB Code provision that every radio station should have an "educational director," at the same time, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters has provided university radio stations with a distinct trade organization of their own by means of which they can bring pressure when pressure is needed. This organization, which has been in the field since 1925, seeks "to promote, by mutual coöperation and united effort, the dissemination of knowledge to the end that both the technical and educational features of broadcasting may be extended to all."

²⁹ Hill, *Listen and Learn*, as previously cited.

³⁰ Announcement has just been received of the formation of a new organization to promote radio education, to be called "The Association for Education by Radio." William Boutwell of the Office of Education is president, and represented on its board are persons interested in all phases of educational broadcasting.

V

Research as a Weapon for Control

a. Three Approaches

FROM the beginning, education on the air has suffered as well as benefited from the fact that educators are more prone to sit back and look for facts before they leap than are salesmen of beer or patent-medicine. Being scholars, educators often have turned to *proving* their contentions and to disproving the contentions of their commercial opponents. Thus research became a weapon in the struggle over radio.

The impact of much research was lessened, however, by the fact that scholars interested in radio have not approached the problems with the same question in mind. Their basic attitudes toward education by radio led them to look for different kinds of facts. Looking back over the years we find that in the early days there were in general two major approaches: that which held that we must find out whether radio could educate better than print, and that holding radio to be an important new medium and insisting that we must find out how best to use it. The former view led to studies of eye versus ear, studies of the retention of material presented by radio, and the like. The latter view was common among people doing two different kinds of studies: those of techniques of presentation of radio material (rate of speaking, vocabulary to be used, etc.), and those which dealt with the administration of radio education. Such studies are still going on, but there is, in addition, a third approach.

Of late broadcasters as well as some educators have been asking, "What role does radio play in the lives of the listeners?" This approach has been developed in the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University and directed by Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld. The contributions of this approach to an understanding of educational broadcasting are incidental to its broader purposes of understanding the social function of radio. Educational broadcasting has been accepted as part of the job of commercial broadcasters and is no longer mainly the concern of educational groups. It hence has become an integral part of the total program pattern of American broadcasting. This type of research is primarily observational and analytical. It takes the existing system for granted and

seeks to explore its place in American life.¹ Its findings may suggest changes and reforms, but it is not oriented in terms suggested by desired reforms in the first place. We shall not be concerned with it here.

b. Pragmatic Beginnings

At the outset, research in education by radio was definitely developed in accordance with practical needs. Concrete reforms were the goal. As soon as the difficulties of educating by radio became apparent, educators sought funds from various foundations for "promotional research." One of the first studies in the field was that by Mr. Ben Darrow for the Payne Fund on the possible use of radio in broadcasting to schools. During the winter of 1927-1928 he studied reports from "superintendents and principals representing 46,000 American classrooms. These reports evidenced a very live interest in the possibilities of broadcasting for schools. Those replying to the questionnaire estimated that 44 per cent of their schools would equip themselves with radio receiving sets if such broadcasts as had been suggested were made available."² With this information, and with the aid of other foundations, Mr. Darrow was enabled to organize the Ohio School of the Air, the first large-scale experiment of this kind. The Carnegie Corporation, devoting much of its funds to education, also became interested in the problem and gave an appropriation to the American Association for Adult Education to be used for making a survey of the field of radio education. At about the same time, Dr. William John Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, called a conference of persons interested in the subject which recommended that the United States Office of Education should take an active part in promoting radio education and, among other things, should "outline techniques for research and carry on investigations into best methods of broadcasting, and compare the results of lessons sent to schools by radio with the results obtained by other means."³ Since no money could be secured from Congress for this project, foundations were drawn in to support it, and the Carnegie project and that of the United States Office of Education were merged, enabling the Office to engage Mr. Armstrong Perry as research worker.

c. Audience Surveys

Meanwhile educators were broadcasting, either over their own stations to adults or to schools, or over commercial stations. Commercial

¹ See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Remarks on Administrative and Critical Communications Research," in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* (1941) pp. 1 ff.

² Darrow, B. H., *Radio Trailblazing* (Columbus, Ohio: College Book Company, 1940), p. 10.

³ *Congressional Record*, vol. 72 (May 29, 1930), p. 9184.

broadcasters had been making studies of their audiences for some time; in fact, they had to, in order to sell programs to sponsors. Gradually educators too became concerned with this intangible, the radio audience. Thus one of the first things that educational broadcasters turned their attention to was audience surveys, which led to a good deal of work on the techniques of audience measurement. A great many such studies were undertaken, and were finally analyzed and compiled by Frederick H. Lumley working at Ohio State University.⁴ Herman Hettinger, professor at the Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, and an authority in the field of audience measurement, was called into several conferences of educators to tell them what he and commercial broadcasters knew about the radio audience in general. Discussions at the various educational meetings always led to the conclusion that "we must know more about our audience." But in following this lead, the educators found themselves face to face with the fact that such audience surveys as had been made by commercial companies rarely covered educational programs. They also found that techniques commonly used by commercial concerns were too expensive for educational purposes. Under the circumstances, in spite of wider interests, radio educators at first concentrated on studies of the use of radio in the classroom. For instance, in 1930 the Wisconsin University station reported a study of a comparison of radio and other media in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in teaching certain specific subjects, a study supported by the Payne Fund.⁵ About the same time, Margaret Harrison of Teachers College, Columbia, made a study of the use of the Damrosch Music Appreciation Hour in rural schools.⁶

d. The National Advisory Council

The wider implications of radio education were at this time tempting those interested in education over the air to take sides on the question of whether certain facilities should be reserved for education. The National Advisory Council,⁷ unwilling to commit itself on this issue, in the early thirties voted to "concentrate on the accumulation of useful data concerning broadcasting and experimentation with programs." Under W. W. Charters, Chairman of the Committee on Research, a clearing house for information was set up, and workers in the field were kept informed about what others were doing. The Committee decided not to

⁴ Lumley, F. H., *Measurement in Radio* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1934).

⁵ *Education on the Air*, 1930. H. L. Ewbank, "The Wisconsin Plan for Radio Development," pp. 284 ff.

⁶ *Education on the Air*, 1932. Margaret Harrison, "Measures of the Effects of Radio Programs in Rural Schools," pp. 245 ff.

⁷ See on the Council above, pp. 48 and 57.

do any investigating of its own, but examined projects for which assistance was needed and attempted to find the necessary funds. The money of the Council itself had gone into the production of programs rather than into research. As a result of its examination of current studies and as a guide for the future, the Council published in 1931 a pamphlet on "Research Problems in Radio Education," listing "Fields and Problems" of research. The list of topics to be investigated gives some indication of the wide scope of the problems about which workers in the field thought they needed more information: "The objectives of radio education, administration of the station, curriculum materials, the broadcaster and his methods of presentation, the classroom teacher and his methods of teaching, the pupil and his learning, adult audiences and their learning, equipment, measuring results, psychology, history of Radio Education, comparative radio education."⁸

A bulletin on radio education abroad was issued by the Council, as well as several bulletins helping to define the objectives of radio education. In 1933-34 the organization voted to aid a survey made by Dr. Cline M. Koon of the Office of Education on the use of radio by public-service organizations. The study consisted of an analysis of the use of radio by more than 300 public-service groups, including the type of broadcast they preferred to use, the length of broadcast, relations with broadcasters, and so forth. Its aim as stated in the study explained the kind of approach intended: "to promote better understanding and mutually helpful relations between broadcasting stations and chains of stations, on the one hand, and voluntary organizations with public-service objectives, on the other."⁹ This study was in line with the main objective of the Council, that of promoting cooperation between the various groups working for education on the air.

e. The National Committee

In the meantime the "National Committee on Education by Radio" was urging that a certain percentage of the broadcast spectrum be reserved for education. It therefore supported studies which sought to show the value of educationally owned stations. In 1932 the Committee gave money for a study of broadcasting in the land-grant colleges and state universities made in coöperation with the Radio Committee of the Land Grant Colleges, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Office of Education, and the Advisory Council. The Department of Agriculture was at this point very much concerned with improving the

⁸ Charters, W. W., "Research Problems in Radio Education" (National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, Bulletin no. 4, 1931), pp. 12-17.

⁹ *Education on the Air*, 1932. Cline M. Koon, "Radio Studies of the United States Office of Education," p. 347.

broadcasting service to farmers. The situation in 71 colleges and state universities was surveyed, and 631 persons were interviewed on their attitudes toward educational broadcasting. The study included material about equipment in use, the financial setup of the radio work of the institutions, how such groups were controlled, programs produced, personnel required, etc. Briefly its conclusions were that publicly supported institutions had a duty to extend their service to the people of their state and that radio should be used for this; that a few good programs well publicized and well followed up were more effective than a variety of poorer programs; that sufficient money should be appropriated by the institution to ensure a high standard of broadcasting; that more listener research should be done by the educational broadcasters; and finally that

When one of these institutions has made all the necessary preparations to establish its own broadcasting station, it should be mandatory upon the Federal Radio Commission to issue a license and assign such power, frequency, and hours of operation as may be necessary to enable the institution to render a reasonable service to its constituents."¹⁰

This study, like that of the National Advisory Council on broadcasting by public service organizations, was an investigation of specific aspects of broadcasting higher education. It took for granted the value of such educational broadcasting.

f. *Psychological Studies*

Other research workers in the universities were concerned with the psychological effects of radio. To some extent the material uncovered was incidental to other types of studies; for instance, an examination of the effectiveness of radio lessons at the Ohio School of the Air led to some conclusions about the psychological effect of radio.¹¹ Major work with this approach, however, was done by Cantril and Allport at Harvard University and incorporated in *The Psychology of Radio*, published in 1935.¹² The authors summarized most of the relevant work which had gone before and reported a number of new experiments. After a careful examination of the facts known about the effectiveness of radio instruction, they recommended the use of radio programs to supple-

¹⁰ Tyler, Tracey F., "Some Interpretations and Conclusions of the Land Grant Radio Survey" (Washington, D. C.: National Committee on Education by Radio, 1933), p. 25.

¹¹ *Education on the Air*, 1930, pp. 275 ff.

¹² Cantril, Hadley, and Allport, Gordon, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935).

ment but not to supplant other types of teaching and gave many hints as to its most effective use. One of their chief findings, that of the uncritical attitude of people listening to radio programs, led them to urge caution in using radio in adult education. On the whole, their conclusions favored the school of thought which held that radio educators must cooperate with commercial broadcasters in order to make their message as telling as possible.

g. The Foundations

Two men have played an important role in guiding much of this research activity in their position as foundation executives, Mr. John Marshall of the Rockefeller Foundation and Mr. Howard Evans of the Payne Fund. It would be difficult to assess their specific contribution, but there can be little doubt that both have been in the forefront of the fight for better broadcasting through better understanding. On the whole, it can be said that Mr. Evans has been the backer of outspoken reformers, while Mr. Marshall has been more conservative in his leanings. Indeed, Evans drew up memoranda outlining alternative systems for control of the broadcasting industry, which were presented to various members of Congress. Evans has also repeatedly testified before the FCC. The foundations have made an effort to interfere as little as possible with the scholars who are engaged in the research which they were financing. At any rate, there can be very little doubt that our knowledge of radio and its functioning would be materially less than it is had it not been possible to secure financing for expensive research undertakings. Not only the Radio Broadcasting Research Project at Harvard, but the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University, the Princeton Listening Center, the Rocky Mountain Radio Council, the Ohio State University Evaluation of School Broadcasts, and many other undertakings owe their existence to this controlling influence. Farsighted broadcasters are more and more inclined to welcome the stimulus and help that comes to them from these quarters, even if they may at times be annoyed by the persistent criticism and by suggestions which seem incompatible with their commercial interests.

b. The FREC

As a result of the fight between the organized groups and a change in the position taken by the commercial broadcasters, the FCC finally decided to take a hand in the administration of education on the air by organizing the Federal Radio Education Committee. This Committee, headed by the United States Commissioner of Education, refused to

take a stand about radio education without further research.¹³ In 1936 sixteen study projects were outlined and efforts were made to secure support for the research. The next year funds were obtained from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and work was begun on three projects: (1) a study of the evaluation of school broadcasts at the Bureau of Educational Research at Ohio State University, which constituted a continuation of work in progress there; (2) experimentation with a short-wave station for use in a school system in Cleveland; (3) a study of the role of radio in the life of the listener at Princeton University. The third of these projects has since been transferred to the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University. It represents an approach to the problem which is to some extent an outgrowth of the work of Cantril and Allport, mentioned above. The emphasis has been on social service rather than on laboratory experiments. They both started with analyses of the role of commercial radio and attempted to deduce therefrom facts which would be of use to those interested in radio education.¹⁴

In 1939 the FREC began publishing a monthly bulletin telling of educational programs on the networks, the activities of educational stations, research done by various projects, and comments on other radio developments. In general the FREC publications have reflected its stated purpose:

"To eliminate controversy and misunderstanding between groups of educators and between the industry and educators; and to promote actual coöperative arrangements between educators and broadcasters on national, regional, and local bases."¹⁵

The slant has been promotional rather than critical in most instances, with the research reported in most of the bulletins centering around questions of the administration of radio education. Here are some examples. A study of the policies of Station WMBD in Peoria, Illinois, points to ways in which a station can better serve its community. Cooperation between broadcasters and nonprofit organizations is surveyed in another pamphlet, and in still another forums on the air are praised as a means of presenting controversial topics. Group listening is the subject of one in which the value of organizing groups to listen to specific programs from both the educational and the promotional points of view is demonstrated.

¹³ *Education by Radio*, vol. 6, no. 9 (September 1936), p. 31.

¹⁴ A mature product of this approach is Lazarsfeld, Paul F., *Radio and the Printed Page* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pierce, 1940).

¹⁵ From a brochure of the FREC, "What the Federal Radio Education Committee Offers You."

The Ohio project for the Evaluation of School Broadcasts has produced a number of bulletins, some of which are distributed by the FREC. "How to Judge a School Broadcast" sets up criteria both as to content and form by which a teacher can determine whether a broadcast or a recording should be played in the schoolroom. "The School Radio-Sound System" includes administrative considerations and a brief discussion of student broadcasting and a radio-drama workshop as well as technical information. So far only one pamphlet has utilized the material gathered by the Office of Radio Research, "Listeners Appraise a College Station," by Alberta Curtis. This is somewhat critical and presents information useful in analyzing the possible functions of a college station. In addition, the FREC-sponsored projects have published material under their own auspices.

As was pointed out by Wrightstone at the Institute for Education by Radio in 1940, the greatest progress to date in research on radio has been made in the field of audience measurement, because of the natural interest of commercial broadcasters in this material, and little or none on an analysis of the effect of radio on the audience. Such work as is being carried forward on such problems is supported by foundations and suffers from inadequate funds and the lack of tenure of the workers.¹⁶ The types of research of which Mr. Wrightstone was talking here, however, were indicative of the approaches of the older pressure groups.

i. Content and Control

Of late there has been an interesting new development, analysis of content of broadcasts and of the control of programs and the relation of this control to program content.¹⁷ It is in keeping with the shift in control over educational broadcasting, for the major part of radio education is now controlled by commercial companies. This type of research is predicated on the belief that educators should evaluate material on the air and help the commercial broadcasters with their work in this field. With the coming of war and the great expansion of governmental activity in broadcasting, it is likely that we shall see considerable further work along this line. The FCC listening posts have been concerned with tracing the influence of disloyal groups upon program content. There has been set up under the Office of Facts and Figures definite

¹⁶ *Education on the Air*, 1940. J. W. Wrightstone, "The Status of Research in Education by Radio," pp. 319 ff.

¹⁷ This approach has grown out of a combination of our methods with those of Cantril and Lazarsfeld. For an example of this approach see "Shortwave Listening in an Italian Community," by Jerome S. Bruner and Jeanette Sayre, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter 1941).

research work intended to trace the origin of various morale programs. The War Communications Research, directed by Harold Lasswell at the Library of Congress, concerned with the effects of war propaganda upon the American public, should likewise yield significant results in this field. The insights gathered in these practical workshops are likely to have a profound effect upon the future of educational broadcasting.¹⁸

j. Conclusions

All in all, it is clear that educators have been successful in broadening their place in radio by research furnishing evidence of the importance of radio for education. This is true even though in the course of time they changed their own position and came more and more to rely upon educational broadcasts by commercial stations on a sustaining basis, rather than upon building and operating their own broadcast facilities. There remains a definite field for such independent activities, however. We have already noted that with the coming of FM a new era may be opening for the educationally owned and operated station. Research may also play a vital role in developing such program services as the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. The work at the University of Texas has been noted in this connection.

There are other important and as yet unexplored fields of research which may vitally affect the control of all broadcasting in the future. The morale problems presented by the war may stimulate the gathering of data upon which to base analyses not only of what the role of radio actually is today, but also upon what that role might be, if different programs were offered.¹⁹ Highly significant contrast studies might result showing the role of radio in the lives of listeners to WQXR and WNYC as contrasted with other types of program material.²⁰ Again, if the morale of a group of potential draftees can be shown to have been profoundly affected by a single radio address of the president, because 30% changed their view of the damages at Pearl Harbor, this may have educational significance of the highest order.

The problems of control to which our own research is directed also call for further detailed exploration. Radio control problems cannot be studied in isolation from the total pattern of control in the country. It is in this field that the contribution of the political scientist must lie;

¹⁸ Compare *Radio Research*, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pierce, 1941).

¹⁹ See Harold D. Lasswell, "Radio as an Instrument of Reducing Personal Insecurity," in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* (1941) pp. 49 ff.

²⁰ WNYC, city-owned, has enlisted consumer interest; WQXR, pre-occupied with high-class music, has been able to build up a considerable following among high income groups not much interested in other radio programs.

for a broad grasp of the workings of government, parties, pressure groups, and the rest is paramount for significant research here. Again, this approach is broadly observational in its outlook, and since educational institutions are run by politicians, businessmen, alumni, and even faculties, a fuller understanding of the way controls function in radio is likely to shape institutional policy in the field of educational broadcasting, by indicating the possibilities and limitations of such work.

VI

Faculty Attitudes on Radio

a. A Test Case

IT has been alleged that one of the greatest obstacles to the development of educational broadcasting has been the indifference and even hostility to radio of many faculty members in the institutions of higher learning. Frequently pioneers in educational broadcasting have found themselves handicapped by lack of support from their own colleagues, as we have seen. In many of the great Eastern universities, particularly the endowed ones, radio broadcasting has played no conspicuous part in the university's work. Extension courses are carried on more or less in the manner of the past, and no attempt is made to utilize the radio as a channel for reaching the adult groups who are interested in such work, in spite of the fact that some of the state universities and colleges have shown that there exists an intense interest.

There is no adequate explanation for this lack of activity. One might speculate about it, but rather than engage in armchair philosophizing, it has seemed desirable to ascertain what the facts are. We undertook, therefore, to poll the entire staff, both teaching and administrative, of a large Eastern university to determine what their attitudes actually are with regard to radio broadcasting and the role their university might play in this field. We selected a university in which no official radio activities are carried on. It is our belief that the attitudes revealed by our study are characteristic of other similar institutions, both large and small.

The institution is located in a metropolitan center where a great many radio programs can be heard. We attempted to find out three things: (1) the interest in radio in general; (2) the attitudes toward the University's role in radio; (3) the extent of the staff's willingness to participate in radio activities. We also offered an opportunity to express such other ideas as might be prevalent. We used a straight questionnaire without interview. This method has the disadvantage of leaving it uncertain how representative the answers to the questionnaire were. It seems, however, reasonable to assume that in most instances those who did not answer were not very much interested. A few inquiries confirmed this general supposition. While occasionally there

might have been an individual who, in spite of great interest in radio, did not answer the questionnaire, the fact that the questionnaire was sent by a colleague would insure that most of those addressed would answer if they were interested.

The following questions were asked: (1) On an average, about how many hours a week do you listen to the radio? (2) What are your favorite radio programs? (3) Have you ever broadcast? If you have broadcast regularly, over what stations have you talked and on what subjects? How recently have you broadcast? (4) Would you be in favor of the university (a) creating a forum for the discussion of broadcasting policies? (b) actually producing or aiding in producing programs to show the university's contributions to knowledge? (c) actually producing or aiding in producing programs to show the place of a university in our present-day democracy? (d) stimulating practical work in radio, such as writing and production among students? (5) If you are in favor of any of the above activities, would you be willing to discuss plans for establishing such work? If *yes*, in which would you be interested? (6) If such work were established, would you be willing to work in with any of the projects? If *yes*, which ones? (7) We would be grateful for any ideas you may have as to action which should be taken here in connection with radio.

Out of 1104 members of the faculty and administration, 238 answered the questionnaires. While 21 per cent constitutes a reasonable return, the size of the return is perhaps in itself an indication of a certain lack of interest. The distribution between the several groups or fields, Humanities, Social Studies, Natural Sciences, Professional Schools, was rather even, being 22 per cent, 25 per cent, 19 per cent, and 21 per cent respectively. From a miscellaneous group, consisting mostly of persons engaged in administrative work in the university, 18 per cent responded. There is no indication that personal factors, such as acquaintance with the writer of the letter requesting the information, played any important part.

b. Program Preferences

A surprisingly large number, 53 per cent of those answering, have broadcast at one time or another. Of these, 56 had broadcast within the last year, and an additional 71 within the last few years. It was clear, also, that the fact of being called upon to appear on the radio had stimulated their interest in radio. There seems, however, to be rather a general lack of what might be called radio-mindedness in this faculty. An analysis of the number of hours a week that the faculty members devote to listening to the radio shows that they listen less than any other group that has been sampled.

Their program preferences show a selective use of radio. The majority of them, answering the question about favorite programs, did not name specific ones, which is in itself an indication of a lack of radio-mindedness as compared with other groups studied. Their answers often were "news" and "good music." The types of programs preferred were as follows:

News	151	Forums and talks	34
Good music	142	Sports	11
Quizzes	61	Drama	14
Comedy and variety	39	Light music	3

This is an indication of the extent to which specific interests motivate their listening. Other studies have shown that since the outbreak of war, persons very eager to follow the course of events have turned more and more to the radio as a source of news, regardless of their interest in radio in general. Selective listening to high-class music is peculiar to another special group of persons who are quite uninterested otherwise in radio programs.

As one would expect from these type preferences, favorite programs are of a relatively high-brow nature. Those mentioned more than once were these:

Information Please	60	Jack Benny	9
Philharmonic Orchestra	51	Bob Hope	5
Raymond Gram Swing	46	Helen Hayes	5
Ford Hour	18	Fred Allen	4
CBS Roundup of European News	15	Radio City Music Hall	3
Charlie McCarthy	13	Gracie Allen	3
Lowell Thomas	12	Kraft Music Hall	3
Metropolitan Opera	10	Voice of Firestone	3
NBC Symphony	10	BBC News	3
Elmer Davis	10	Adventures of Sherlock Holmes	2
Town Meeting of the Air	10	Alec Templeton	2
University of Chicago Round Table	9		

c. *A Contrast*

It might be interesting to compare these preferences with the preferences expressed by two groups of Harvard graduates, men of the classes of 1921 and 1924.

Radio Preferences of the Class of '21¹
Approximate Percentages

Symphony and Opera	26	Round Tables	3
Information Please	21	Dramatic Performances	3
Jack Benny and Fred Allen	7	Swing and Crooners	2
Charlie McCarthy	5	Quizzes	2
Other comedians	5	Various programs	6
Ford Hour	3	None or not stated	15

Radio Preferences of the Class of '24²
By numbers

Symphonic and operatic	217	Other comics	60
Information Please	172	Ford Hour	60
News and commentators	142	Crooners and swing	48
Charlie McCarthy	98	Orson Welles	23
Jack Benny	70	Various others	150
Town Meeting of the Air	66	None	44

Clearly, there is a definite parallel between Harvard graduates and this university faculty, suggesting that these faculty preferences are typical for the professional middle classes generally. Incidentally, the amount of listening among Harvard alumni is somewhat nearer the national average.

d. Views on the University's Role

The group answering the questionnaire approved overwhelmingly of the university's taking a more active part in radio work of one kind or another. The suggestion most favorably received was that the university should actually produce or aid in producing programs to show the place of a university in our present-day democracy. This was approved by 63 per cent of the respondents.

Sixty eight of those answering, or 28 per cent, were willing unconditionally to devote their time and energy to a discussion of the problems of radio activities for the university and the actual projects which might be developed out of such discussion. Another 33 per cent would be willing to cooperate under certain conditions, but 39 persons refused to take any part. The largest group among those answering who indicated an activity in which they wished to participate chose to produce or to aid in producing programs to show the university's contributions to knowledge.

¹ From *Harvard '21: A Collective Biography*.

² From *Harvard '24: A Collective Biography*.

There were many interesting proposals for university activities. Five persons wanted the university to start a station, perhaps in collaboration with one of its neighbors. There was also much concern about the place of radio work in the curriculum or among the extra-curricular activities of the students.

The program suggestions were interesting. Many wished to present programs showing the contributions of science to everyday life or explaining scientific phenomena. The specific program already on the air which aroused the greatest amount of discussion was the University of Chicago "Round Table." Many of the faculty expressed a willingness to contribute to a similar discussion, remarking that its chief advantage was that it crossed departmental lines; others saw it as a way to reach the layman with expert opinion about current affairs.

e. Radio Interest

As might be expected, variations in interest in radio as such seem to affect an individual's interest in the university's activity in this field. Those who are least likely to listen to radio programs have the least desire to participate in radio projects. Half of those who declined to cooperate in such activities listened less than two hours a week, while only one quarter of those who were willing to cooperate listened as little as this. Moreover, those whose interest in radio was limited to certain specific programs, either music or news, were less likely to wish to help than those who had a more general interest in various types of programs. Two thirds of those who were unwilling to take any part in radio activities confined their listening to either music or news, while less than half of those wishing to help had such restricted interests.

This factor of radio interest appears even more striking if we combine these two indices, the amount of listening and the type of program preferences, into one index, interest in radio. The group falls numerically into three divisions which we may call low, medium, and high interest. The "low" group consists of those who listen very little and have specific interests; the "high" group consists of those who listen more than five hours a week and have general interests; and the others are grouped in a "medium" classification. When we combine the answers to the four parts of question (4), we find that 56 per cent of those with low interest in radio were favorable to university activities in the field, while 72 per cent of those with high interest were in favor of such activities. Curiously enough, 86 per cent of the medium group favored an increase in university radio activities. The explanation may lie in the fact that the high group included a number of men working in the natural sciences, who had an avid interest in broadcasting and who both

listened more and had a wider range of program interests. They mentioned such programs as "Charlie McCarthy," "Gracie Allen," "Vic and Sade," and "Fibber McGee." These people were not so much interested as some of the others in "improving the tone of American radio," and therefore they were less insistent that the university take an initiative in this direction.

Social scientists are more aware than any of the other groups polled of the possibility of university contributions in the radio field. Among the natural scientists, opinion was least favorable toward student participation in radio work and most favorable toward programs to show the place of a university in a democracy. Social scientists listen to the radio less than natural scientists, and those in the professional schools less than those in the humanities. Therefore, although radio-mindedness is a factor in the attitude toward the university's activities, it is certainly not the only factor. In general, the motivation of the social scientists who are interested in these projects seems to be a desire (a) to improve broadcasting and so to educate the public at large, or (b) to sell the university and/or private education to the public by means of radio.

f. Summary and Conclusions

This study has shown that while there evidently is no universal support in the faculties of our colleges and universities for educational broadcasting, there is nevertheless a substantial minority which is decidedly in favor of such work. Considering the care and caution with which scholars approach any subject with which they are not thoroughly familiar, one might even say that there is surprising support for putting the findings of scholarship on the air and for making available to a larger audience the many things which a great university has to offer. We must not forget that other activities of the university might also be found to be strongly supported by only a small segment of its faculties. All the newer adventures in higher education, such as work in business and public administration, in journalism and similar fields, are questioned on various grounds by many thoughtful men connected with academic institutions. To be able to report, as we are in a position to do, that well over 10 per cent of this university's scholars are willing to go a long way in coöperating with any well-worked-out program of educational broadcasting is quite encouraging.

Our study has certainly brought to light evidence that a sizeable group of people, nearly one hundred faculty members, are genuinely interested in the university's contribution to radio. Regardless of what the university might do as an institution, it would appear that broadcasters and other agencies concerned with programming might be well rewarded for looking more carefully into the possibilities of enlisting

some of these persons for help in connection with their sustaining programs. Many of these men have definite ideas as to what they would like to do and how they could contribute. Others are interested, but not so sure how they might best be able to help in projecting the university's work onto the air.

While we do not feel free to quote individuals, it seems desirable to sum up the glimpses one catches from such individual observations. Some mention that they have been in other universities which have broadcast. Others have been called upon by broadcasters to speak. Still others are concerned with what they feel to be the lack of a sense of responsibility of the university for the education of citizens outside its walls and hope that radio may serve to bridge the gap. There are also those who have a reformist interest in radio and hope that the university may help to elevate the broadcasts to a higher cultural level. They in turn have stirred up their colleagues to take a similar interest. All in all, there is here a small but intensely interested group of people who could be drawn upon in any effort in the field of educational broadcasting. They constitute a considerable unused talent resource, to be used by the university, the government, and the industry.

It would be well, however, to use caution in relying upon this interest. Our inquiry clearly revealed that even those interested in radio paid scant attention to the mass of material which constitutes the backbone of broadcasting and which appeals strongly to less well educated groups. Their approach often is academic. Professors, like politicians, often overestimate the value of talks over the air. While talks have a definite place, the average listener is easily bored. In the lecture room, those present do not feel free to leave until the lecture is over, which permits the lecturer to build his story without regard to temporary fatigue on the part of the listener. By contrast, the radio listener has no hesitation in turning the knob at a moment's notice. This need of holding listener interest every minute of the program accounts for the dynamic pulse of most radio. Academic people whose interest is too limited to follow all kinds of radio programs rarely reach first base in radio techniques. To be specific, they rarely appreciate that a lecture usually should be entirely recast for radio presentation, and considerably shortened. They often do not realize the much greater speed of radio speech. How many academic lecturers could effectively handle more than 2000 words in 13 minutes, as does Raymond Gram Swing?

Only a few of the men who answered the questionnaire had considered that university people should seek to make their contribution to the radio in a way which will be accepted by the community. And if they did, they often fell into the opposite error of thinking that anything must be in dramatic form in order to command a wide audience.

It is, of course, true that dramatic presentation is admirable for radio purposes, but its execution presupposes talent resources which the average university community does not possess. An amateurish play is worse by far than a good talk. The first task would seem to be a definite effort to develop the techniques of good radio talking on the part of some outstanding men in key fields of public interest. Voice quality is an extremely important factor here; two men of equal scholarship may differ widely in their ability to become effective on the radio. As Charles A. Siepmann has said, "The resources of the spoken word still to be developed and exploited beyond anything we now dream of stand as a signal example of a technique that has attached to it . . . intimacy and sincerity."³

There are many forms in between straight talks and outright dramatics which are well adapted to different fields. The musical resources of a great university are an obvious case in point. Skillful interviews and question-and-answer programs can have a powerful appeal. Reading of great books has been, as we saw, a decided success on some university stations. Yet none of these forms played any considerable role in the thinking of this group of outstanding university men, thus attesting further their lack of concrete "feel" for the medium.

Is it unfair to suggest that the industry has been unwise in allowing such indifference to remain unchallenged? It is obvious that radio people have been so busy developing the astounding possibilities of their new medium that they have had little time to give to such outlying regions as university faculties. Our inquiry has revealed that they contain a group of extraordinary talent whom it might be worth cultivating. Their potential contributions to sustaining programs appear to warrant it.

³"Radio and Education," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, vol. IX, page 108.

VII

Higher Learning and Radio

a. An Untested Assumption

THE discussion so far has proceeded as if it were to be *assumed* that it is desirable for an institution of higher learning to develop radio activities. Nowhere has the question been raised as to whether such activities would be in the institution's interest. In proceeding on this assumption, the study has followed the prevailing fashion in the field. Practically all existing studies have adopted this view.

And yet, there is no obvious answer to this question, once it has been raised. Indeed, the lack of interest which we showed to be characteristic of a university faculty is probably at least in part traceable to a definite conviction that the university should not concern itself with the radio, except as a special field of research in physics, psychology, and the social sciences.

It is a curious, yet undeniable, fact that the industry, in its effort to counteract the organized demands for educational broadcasting, has rarely, if ever, raised this issue. The radio industry's continuous battle against proposals looking toward the assignment of wave lengths to educational institutions has been cast in terms reminiscent of Thorstein Veblen's analysis of American universities.¹ The captains of erudition, as Veblen called the educational administrators, have been put under pressure by the businessmen on the governing boards. They have been urged not to enter upon competition with the radio industry, for since radio has turned out to be a money-making proposition, it "belongs" to business and not to learning.

b. Advancement of Learning

Actually, it is doubtful that Veblen, at least, would cast the argument in those terms. For Veblen insisted that the only duty of a university is the conservation and advancement of learning. A university is a body of mature scholars and scientists, and all but the search for knowledge is outside its proper scope. Vocational efforts of all kinds, but more especially business and engineering, are not appropriate fields of university work. "They [such schools] are necessarily and habitually impatient of

¹ *The Higher Learning in America* (1918).

any scientific and scholarly work which does not lend itself to some practical, pecuniary use. . . ."²

From such a standpoint, radio activities in general, and the operation of a radio station in particular, are decidedly contrary to the educational institution's best interest. Nor is Veblen, the radical, the only voice calling for a retreat to the ivory tower. Equally insistent is Abraham Flexner. In his *Universities*, he stated dogmatically that a university has "four major concerns: the conservation of knowledge and ideas, the interpretation of knowledge and ideas, the search for truths; the training of students who will practice and 'carry on'."³ On the basis of this general view, Flexner demands that universities dispense with business schools, revamp education and engineering schools, restrict extension courses. Obviously, such an outlook would have little use for radio activities, more "low-brow" than extension courses by far.

c. *Democratic Needs*

There can be little question that Flexner's position represents a viewpoint widely held amongst the best scholars of the country. Obviously, any argument in favor of radio in education faces the formidable task of overcoming deep-seated convictions concerning the true role of the universities. The notion that there is and must be an intellectual elite is firmly rooted in our institutions of higher learning. It is particularly strong in our great endowed universities. In the state universities adjustments have had to be made to the fact that a popularly elected legislature controls the funds. In other words, the state universities are more definitely embedded in the democratic scheme of things. Yet even there, as we have seen, the university-operated station is the exception, rather than the rule. Anyhow, the struggle of these stations for survival reveals the disadvantage of dependence upon a popularly elected legislature.

The ivory-tower theory draws a hard and fast line between learning and politics. But does such a line really exist? Is not the idea of a wholly detached science contrary to reality? The totalitarian powers are showing every day what will happen to scholars who consider themselves and their work unrelated to the thought of the community at large. Even the most abstract science must face the possibility of use and abuse. Hence, higher learning has a vital interest in a full understanding of its role by the community at large. An institution of higher learning in a democratic society cannot thrive unless it recognizes the need of continuously demonstrating its value to the rest of the people. An appreciation of this fact is the distinguishing characteristic of those faculty

² See Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (1934), p. 398.

³ Abraham Flexner, *Universities* (1930), p. 6.

members who agreed that the university's place in a democracy should be a continuing theme. Academic freedom is not a gift from heaven (or, as it once was, from a benevolent monarch), but a privilege earned by continuous service to the community. This service must be recognizable, as well as real.

d. Reaching the Common Man

Modern man has great reverence for scholarship. The common man is quite prepared to recognize the contribution of the expert. Democracy and science are interdependent.⁴ The belief in the common man and in the value of workmanship are supplementary, not mutually exclusive. Radio activities on the part of the university provide an important bridge between higher learning and the people at large.

A special situation exists in the social-science field. Here continuous contact with the community around us is helpful in developing those studies which are of maximum significance. We do not wish to argue here for a shallow, short-range utilitarianism. But the pattern of ideas and values in the community is in a continuous state of flux, and contact between town and gown contributes to the health of both. Extension work and radio activities should, at least in part, be looked at from this vantage point.

But radio presents a special case. Its place in a democratic society is so novel, yet so central, that it is entitled to the best thought in developing its programs. This highly desirable goal has only been achieved in small part. It is by no means necessary to adopt the notions prevalent in the British Broadcasting Corporation before the war. When Sir John Reith stated that it is radio's function to give the public what it needs, not what it wants, he distorted an important insight.

Interestingly enough, Flexner likewise says: "Universities must at times give society, not what society wants, but what it needs." His is the same intellectual arrogance as Sir John's; they both imply that there is some kind of elite, god-appointed or self-appointed, to lay down what society needs.

Much sounder and nearer a true balance is another view: "Educators voice the public's need and define that body of consistent principles on which true education rests. But they can only do so by a transfer of their attention to the priorities of need of those whom radio, the peoples' instrument, serves, and by a more practical familiarity with the resources of interpretation which radio offers. Educators can foster criticism."⁵ Thus radio in higher education raises the whole gamut of problems that

⁴ Marie T. Swabey, *Theory of the Democratic State* (1937), ch. II.

⁵ Charles A. Siepmann, "Radio and Education," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, vol. IX, No. 1 (1941), p. 120.

revolve around the university in a democratic society, of the common man versus the elite.⁶

e. Concluding Remarks

It is against this general background that the findings of our study must be projected. The great difficulties of those scholars who are keenly aware of and interested in radio is that they evidently are caught between the hostility of the hide-bound pundit and the contempt for all standards of the indiscriminating philistine. The story of educational broadcasting to date shows a small band of enthusiasts struggling against overwhelming odds.

Insistence upon the need for standards has been met time and again by the same come-back: Radio is an "emotional" medium. Therefore, the argument runs, educational material is unsuited to it. Broadcasters can point with conviction to studies of audiences showing that people do not like to listen to "talk" programs; prefer drama and music to "facts"; want such facts as they do get jazzed up. Educators have stood their ground until it became clear that the few definitely "high-class educational" shows on the air have steady and loyal audiences. Yet it remains true that the number of people who appreciate serious programs are fewer than those who like Jack Benny. It is also true that those who like one serious program are likely to follow serious programs around the dial, so that we are not reaching the audience of "America's Town Meeting of the Air" plus the audience of the "Chicago Round Table" plus the audience to the New York Philharmonic. Instead groups listening to these programs overlap to a considerable extent.

On the other hand, mass interests predominate. For every series of talks by an eminent psychologist there are ten on "how to cure your mother-in-law problems over night." For every "open" debate on consumer protection versus advertising, there are all the advertisements that go on just the same. For every dramatization by Norman Corwin or Arch Oboler there are twenty series of sentimental claptrap. Broadcasters justify this state of affairs by counting the noses of those with taste and those without. The essential matter is that the commercial broadcasters, advertisers, and advertising agencies, have kept control over the distribution of programs in the total schedule, subject to occasional checks by the Federal Communications Commission.

What, then, should be done by institutions of higher learning to strengthen education on the air and higher standards? If finances were no factor, the university-owned and operated station would seem best.

⁶ See *The New Belief in the Common Man* (1942) by the author.

It allows the university to present itself to the public without interference of any kind. The university's radio personnel are able to allocate time according to the resources of the university and the demands of other commitments of the university's staff. Judging by other studies, there might be a special audience for a university station which would be loyal and enthusiastic. Yet the financial requirements of this approach are great. Equipment, radio technicians, program directors, studios, promotion,—they all cost money.

There are three other possible approaches: that radio stations will draw upon university people and "produce" them, that the university will cooperate with other nonprofit institutions in producing programs, and that the university will develop a program-producing, though not a broadcasting, service. The first is what actually happens in the largest group of universities today. It leaves entire control in the hand of the broadcasters. Therefore, the other two approaches seem more promising. It is not as difficult to build and finance programs as it is to operate and finance a complete station. Although commercial companies may take or leave the contribution of the university at will, good sustaining programs are much in demand and the university may control the content of its programs pretty well.

The financial prospects of our universities are not rosy. With retrenchment indicated on all sides, it seems best to concentrate upon one first-rate contribution, as has been done by the University of Chicago. Besides that, faculty members in suitable fields may well be encouraged to help in programming, wherever possible. If present indications can be trusted, the needs of war will greatly stimulate such participation.

CONGRESS AND THE CONTROL OF
RADIO-BROADCASTING

BY

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*Radio-Broadcasting Research Project
at Harvard University*

STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

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CONGRESS AND THE CONTROL OF RADIO-BROADCASTING, I

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I. THE PROBLEM

Ever since the first regularly scheduled public radio-broadcast in 1920, Congress has played a unique and central rôle in the control of radio-broadcasting. As an agency for legislation, it has created the regulatory mechanisms under which the radio industry functions, and it has written the laws which govern this important area of communications. Congress, in fact, has set the pattern within which the various groups and interests operate, subject, of course, to the working rules of the capitalist order. In doing so, Congressmen have been at the beck and call of millions of constituents interested in radio as listeners or broadcasters, as educators or clergymen, as big or little business men. In caring for all of these varying interests, Congress has concerned itself with a few broad problems: what is heard on the radio, who shall control what is heard, who is able to hear what goes over the air, and who profits from radio. But Senators and Representatives are not merely the puppets of various pressures; they have a distinct political interest in programming, profits, and control. They have in radio a potent mold of public opinion—a powerful instrument which can help them to victory or defeat in the next election—and they have used it and will continue to use it to serve their personal fortunes, their parties, and their platforms. Thus in their own interest as well as in the inter-

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est of their constituents, Congressmen themselves form a pressure group, or rather a number of small but intensive pressure groups, influencing, cajoling, threatening, or entreating the regulatory Commission which they have created.

Congress makes itself felt not only as an agency for legislation, but also as an agency for criticism. There is a long history of Congressional attempts at investigation of the Federal Communications Commission or the industry. Also, the Senate, in confirming members of the Commission, and the House, in considering annual appropriation bills, have taken opportunity to criticize and question the Commission.

But even a cursory study of Congressional debates or hearings reveals the inadequacies of Congress in handling matters of technical complexity. Actually, Congress has always been a step behind technical progress in the radio field, following new developments with legislation only when these have grown big and important enough to demand the attention of Congress. These difficulties may be inherent in the nature of radio and in the nature of our Congressional system as well.¹ How can a Congress of laymen, working under complicated machinery, intelligently and with dispatch handle a technical phenomenon which has important social implications? How can Congress best make use of the "experts," and who should these experts be? What can be the job of Congress in regulating radio-broadcasting, and how can it best be done?

II. THE RADIO ACT OF 1927

Congress did not enact regulatory legislation until seven chaotic years after radio-broadcasting had made its debut. Meanwhile, the growing industry functioned under the Radio Act of 1912, which

¹ A number of general studies of radio-broadcasting which touch incidentally on the problems of government and control have been published in recent years. Among these should be noted: Francis Chase, Jr., *Sound and Fury* (Harper, 1942); S. H. Dryer, *Radio in Wartime* (Greenberg, 1942); C. J. Friedrich, *Radiobroadcasting and Higher Education* (Studies in the Control of Radio, No. 4); R. J. Landry, *Who, What, Why is Radio?* (Stewart, 1942); P. F. Lazarsfeld, *Radio and the Printed Page* (Duell, 1940); C. B. Rose, Jr., *National Policy for Radio Broadcasting* (Harper, 1940); Jeanette Sayre, *An Analysis of the Radiobroadcasting Activities of Federal Agencies* (Studies in the Control of Radio, No. 3); C. A. Sicpmann, "Radio and Education" (*Studies in Philosophy and Education*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1941). Very important also is R. E. Cushman, "Independent Regulatory Commissions," in Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (1937).

authorized the Secretary of Commerce to issue station licenses. Though this act had been drafted with reference to radio-telegraphy and radio-telephony, it was used by the Secretary in an attempt to allocate frequencies in the broadcasting band, regulate hours of operation, and fix power. But in 1926, when the Secretary of Commerce brought suit against a radio station for jumping its wave length and operating at hours not designated by its license, a Federal court decided the case in favor of the station.² This ruling was corroborated in an opinion of the Attorney-General stating that the Secretary could not designate frequencies, hours, or power, and could not refuse a license. Thus the act ceased to have any effect for radio-broadcasting and the need for new legislation became urgent. The idea of radio legislation was certainly not an entirely new one in Congress. Between 1921 and 1927, more than fifteen bills had been introduced in both houses to "regulate radio communications" and several more to amend the 1912 act to meet the new situation; but these died in committees, most often without hearings.

As Representative White put it, the new act was introduced at the request of listeners, industry, the fourth National Radio Conference, and two chief executives.³ Its history is a fine illustration of legislative confusion and wrangling. This was owing in part to the number of slightly differing bills presented in both houses,⁴ which lengthened the legislative process, while the necessity for immediate enactment of some kind of law before the end of the short session was extremely pressing. In part, too, it was owing to the difficulties of legislating for a rapidly changing medium and to the ignorance of all but a few Congressmen concerning the technicalities involved.

The debates on the 1927 act were marked by lengthy arguments on proper parliamentary procedure (an hour and ten minutes having once been consumed on the question of whether the bill could properly be called up), confusion over radio terms and technicalities, criticism of the conduct of the debates, and constant irrele-

² U. S. v. Zenith Radio Corporation, 12 F (2nd) 614.

³ *Cong. Rec.*, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., Mar. 12, 1926, debate in House of Representatives on H. R. 9971.

⁴ H. R. 5589; H. R. 9108; H. R. 9971; and see H. Rept. No. 464, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., and Sen. Rept. No. 772, 69th Cong., 1st Sess.

vancies.⁵ There is no question that the legislation was largely determined before it reached the floor of the House, and the long debates were often involved and unnecessary, leaving the majority of the members as much in the dark as ever about the intricacies of radio and radio legislation. Representative Davis's warning, "You are dealing with what is going to be the most powerful political instrument of the future," did not make much impression on the final bill.⁶

In January, 1927, the conference committee submitted a compromise bill.⁷ The House wanted the Secretary of Commerce to retain authority to issue licenses, subject to review by a commission, while the Senate was interested in the establishment of a permanent radio commission. By the compromise, the Federal Radio Commission was established on a temporary experimental basis for a year, after which powers and authority of the Commission except as to revocation of licenses would revert to the Secretary of Commerce and the Commission would continue as an appellate body only. The compromise was not enthusiastically received. Debating acceptance of the conference report, the House agreed that the legislation was not perfect, but that since something had to be done immediately, it was better than nothing. To Representative White, the new radio legislation established "that the right of the public to service was superior to the right of any individual to use the ether."⁸

The Commission was given power to classify radio stations, assign frequencies and wave-lengths, and regulate interference. Congress passed the Radio Act only a few days before it adjourned, and failed to make any appropriation for the Commission, which therefore was left to function without funds.

III. THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

From 1927 to 1930, the Federal Radio Commission existed as the licensing authority on a year-to-year basis, being renewed annually until made permanent. Its uncertainty of tenure, its complete dependence on the Congress for existence, made the FRC a timid agency, sensitive to Congressional criticism and appeals. It continued to function until the Federal Communications Act in 1934.

⁵ *Cong. Rec.*, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., Mar. 12, 1926, debate in House of Representatives on H. R. 9971. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ See Conference Rept. on H. R. 9971, H. Rept. No. 1836, and Sen. Doc. No. 200, 69th Cong., 2nd Sess. ⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, *op. cit.*

For some years, various government officials had expressed an interest in the establishment of an over-all commission concerned with communications. The existing set-up was unsatisfactory, since authority was divided between the ICC and FRC and the Department of Commerce. In 1932-33, a legislative attempt to combine the radio division of the Department of Commerce with the Commission was stymied by President Hoover's pocket veto after the bill had been passed by both houses.⁹

Early in 1934, President Roosevelt set up an interdepartmental communications committee including Secretary of Commerce Roper, Senator Dill, Representative Rayburn, Dr. Irwin Stewart, Dr. W. M. W. Splawn, and Major-General Charles Saltzman to urge legislation in Congress for the establishment of a federal communications commission with authority over both wire and radio companies. The understanding was that if the attempt at legislation failed, Senator Dill would ask the return of the radio commission to the Department of Commerce.¹⁰ The committee submitted a report to the President which he in turn transmitted to the interested Congressional committees. Briefly, the Committee recommended "the transfer of existing diversified regulation of communications to a new or single regulatory body, to which would be committed any further control of two-way communications and broadcasting."¹¹ The *New York Times* saw in the report "new evidence of a trend toward government regulation of public necessities," and Mr. David Sarnoff's lecture before the Army Industrial College was widely interpreted to mean that the radio industry was now reconciled to government control.¹²

With the approval of the President, Senator Dill and Representative Rayburn started drafting bills¹³ after agreement that controversial subjects should be omitted. In other words, the bill was to be minimum legislation, leaving the way open for the new commission to study the problem with a view to further legislation. Despite word that Roosevelt wanted the Dill bill made law, it immediately became a center of controversy, because it called for

⁹ H. R. 7716. For the history of the Commission, see Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Federal Radio Commission; Its History, Activities, and Organization* (The Brookings Institution, 1932).

¹⁰ *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1934, p. 29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1934, p. 28.

¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1934, p. 12.

¹³ S. 2910; H. R. 8301; see Hearings before the Comm. on Interstate Commerce on S. 2910, U. S. Senate, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Mar. 9-15, 1934.

repeal of the Radio Act of 1927. Under this act, the industry had jockeyed itself into a position of legal security which would be lost if the act were repealed.

A revised bill,¹⁴ product of the hearings before the Senate subcommittee, was introduced by Dill on April 5. Meanwhile the House committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was holding a hearing on the Rayburn bill, which enjoyed the support of the industry because it did not repeal the Radio Act of 1927 but simply abolished the FRC.

Senate leaders met with President Roosevelt to determine his wishes concerning the legislation. "It was apparent," said the *New York Times*, "that his desires would control to a large extent."¹⁵ The greatest controversy was over the so-called Wagner-Hatfield amendment, which would require that twenty-five per cent of facilities be allotted to religious, cultural, agricultural, coöperative, labor, and similar non-profit organizations. *Variety* reported that "the NAB were in a panic checking off names of Senators and trying to pull wires and get votes." The NAB wrote to all Senators asking them "not to destroy the whole structure of American broadcasting."¹⁶ Senator Dill, though in favor of educational and religious broadcasting, disliked the method suggested in the amendment and argued that the so-called non-commercial stations would have to sell almost seventy-five per cent of their time to be self-supporting. Dill preferred to see the commercial stations required to give a certain part of their time to non-profit organizations.¹⁷ The amendment was rejected, but *Variety* noted that "the Dill bill went whooping through the Senate without even the formality of a record vote after less than four hours' debate."¹⁸

The Rayburn bill, meanwhile, was favorably reported from the House committee and passed after some blistering remarks by Representative McFadden against the CBS-NBC monopoly and censorship. "The strong hand of influence," said McFadden, "is drying up the independent broadcasting stations in the United States and the whole thing is tending toward centralization of control in these two big companies . . ."¹⁹

¹⁴ S. 3285. ¹⁵ *New York Times*, Apr. 14, 1934, p. 7.

¹⁶ *Variety*, May 8, 1934.

¹⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., May 15, 1934, debate on S. 3285, p. 8828 ff.

¹⁸ *Variety*, May 22, 1934.

¹⁹ *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., June 2, 1934, debate in House of Representatives on S. 3285.

A new bill emerged from the conference committee as a substitute for both the Senate and House bills.²⁰ It established the Federal Communications Commission, with seven commissioners to serve seven-year terms, and, with a provision for the Commission to fix its own divisions, not to exceed three. The Federal Radio Commission was abolished and the Radio Act of 1927 was repealed, though the radio provisions enacted in Title III of the new bill were similar to the former act. The Commission was given power to issue licenses, classify stations, assign frequencies, determine locations, and inspect apparatus. The system of equal allocation of broadcasting facilities within five zones was continued. However, additional licenses outside the quota for stations not over 100 watts were authorized in an attempt to cure the inadequacies of the quota system. The act further provided that the Commission should have authority to regulate chain broadcasting. Censorship was prohibited, lotteries banned, and equal facilities for candidates for public office provided. There were detailed regulations for issuance of licenses to aliens and to corporations in which aliens were interested. The FCC was asked to study "new uses for radio, provide for experimental use of frequencies, and generally encourage the larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest." The Commission was further asked to study the possibility of allocating a percentage of radio-broadcasting facilities to non-profit activities. After debate in the House, where certain Congressmen were unwilling to "rubber stamp a Senate bill,"²¹ the conference report was adopted. President Roosevelt signed the bill, and on July 1 the act went into effect.

IV. RELATIONS BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE COMMISSION

That Congress was seldom satisfied with the administration of the Federal Communications Commission is evidenced by the plethora of attempts at investigation and the harsh criticism in debates and hearings. Even as the bill abolishing the Federal Radio Commission was being discussed, there were three Senate resolutions to investigate it,²² but none of these was acted upon. In 1936, a House resolution was introduced asking for investigation of the

²⁰ See Conference Report on S. 3285, H. Rept. 1981, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess.

²¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., June 4, 1934, debate in House of Representatives on Conf. Rept. on S. 3285.

²² S. Res. 250; S. Res. 260; S. Res. 275.

Commission, especially with regard to abuses in granting of licenses, broadcasts of obscene programs, and monopolistic practices.²³ The next year, Representative Connery again introduced the resolution,²⁴ but the Rules Committee refused to report it out. Connery's zeal for investigation was occasioned by the clergy's wrath at certain supposedly obscene broadcasts, and by the refusal of licenses and time to religious organizations. Meanwhile, Senator White, in a speech condemning monopoly, newspaper ownership of stations, trafficking in licenses, and chain broadcasting, urged investigation of the act and the Commission.²⁵ The Senator's chief concern was whether the FCC was carrying out the congressional purpose. Said he: "I do not view with complacency administrative disregard of legislative purpose."²⁶ It was the function of Congress and not of the administrative agency to determine questions of government policy. The FCC, by its rulings, was nullifying the congressional intent and in fact creating legislation of its own. The White resolution²⁷ authorizing the ICC to investigate the industry was unanimously reported from the Interstate Commerce Committee and barely missed passage. The next year the Senate Audit and Control Committee reported out Senator White's resolution, and he and Senator Wheeler were very anxious to have it come to a vote. Friction in the Commission had given new point to the resolution. As Representative O'Connor said: "There is a division in this Communications Commission as to whether there should be an investigation. It is an internal family row . . ."²⁸ Commissioners Payne and Craven had declared they welcomed a Congressional probe.²⁹ In February, 1938, Chairman McNinch, appointed the summer before in an effort to straighten out Commission affairs, aired charges in a network address against some of his colleagues who had disagreed with him on matters of policy and practices. But it was pointed out that the FCC itself had undertaken a study of the alleged monopoly and was, as its opponents claimed, in the ridiculous position of investigating itself.

But MacFarlane and Connery in the House had not given up hope of an investigation. At long last, the Rules Committee reported out the Connery resolution,³⁰ one of several pending before it, and there

²³ H. Res. 394, by Representative Connery.

²⁴ H. Res. 61.

²⁵ *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., Mar. 17, 1937, p. 2332.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ S. Res. 149.

²⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 9323.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5284 ff.

³⁰ H. Res. 92.

followed a long and stormy session on the floor of the House.³¹ Representative O'Connor of New York, chairman of the Rules Committee, declared that he had never seen such lobbying against a resolution, and although he cared little about the fate of the resolution, he hated to see the House ruled by a lobby. Throughout the debate there were references to the lobbyists. Said Representative O'Connor: "You will find difficulty in getting through the lobby because of the crowd of radio lobbyists," and Representative Connery quoted the Washington Merry-Go-Round, to wit: "Apparently the RCA is worried about a congressional investigation. [It has sent a] high powered publicity agent scurrying around the Halls of Congress to mold public opinion." At the last minute, some of its staunchest supporters, Representative MacFarlane, for example, voted against the resolution for one of two reasons. Either they decided to rely on the Temporary National Economic Committee's investigation of monopolies, or they saw in the investigation a chance for Republicans to smear Democrats. Representative Fish declared: "I am willing to bet dollars to doughnuts on a new campaign hat that the Democratic majority does not dare adopt this resolution." But when Representative Celler asked O'Connor: "Does the gentleman feel . . . that this resolution will give great comfort to the . . . Republican party?," O'Connor replied: "I do not think there is anything to that at all. My concern is to preserve the Democratic party against political scandals which exist in the FCC My misguided Democrats, submit to this pernicious lobby if you will, but I feel you are making a grave mistake." At any rate, the resolution was defeated by a good majority, and two days later the White resolution was passed in the Senate.³²

Less than a year later, Connery again asked for an investigation³³ of the radio monopoly, and in 1940 Senator Tobey submitted a resolution to investigate, among other things, the administration of the Communications Act of 1934.³⁴ Representative Wigglesworth presented a resolution in 1941 to investigate the FCC.³⁵ Early in 1942, Representative Cox, criticizing Chairman Fly, announced his intention of offering a resolution for investigation of the Commission, and the following month he introduced the resolution to

³¹ See *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., June 14, 1938, pp. 9313-9325, for this debate and the quotations below.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 9578.

³³ H. Res. 462.

³⁴ S. Res. 300.

³⁵ H. Res. 51.

probe the organization, personnel, and activities of the FCC.³⁶ Fly was stoutly defended by Representative Rankin and the resolution blocked. On the first day of the new session in 1943, Cox reintroduced the resolution for a select five-man committee inquiry, charging the FCC with "terroristic control" of radio, and denouncing Chairman Fly in no uncertain terms.³⁷ The House voted almost unanimously for the Cox resolution.³⁸

By keeping tabs on personnel, Congress has had another means of determining direction of the Commission. After the passage of the 1934 act, there was a good deal of political activity to block the appointment of the Federal Radio Commissioners to the new agency, and *Variety* reported leading Congressmen "working tooth and nail to grab off patronage."³⁹ The hearing on renomination of Colonel Thad Brown in 1940⁴⁰ is a notable example of Congressional power over personnel. Senator Tobey launched a one-man crusade against a favorable report and used the renomination hearing to open up the monopoly charges against both major networks and to condemn the Commission's handling of the problem. Since Brown had been chairman of the FCC committee investigating monopoly, Senator Tobey attempted to make Brown's renomination depend on the adequacy of the committee's report. Though all appointments are determined in part by politics, the political tie-up in Brown's case was particularly evident. The background of this situation is typical, for Senator Tobey's concern for the public interest came in response to specific urgings. The story, as pieced together from "inside" information and from the trade press, was roughly as follows: A priest of the Roman Catholic Church, hailing from Portsmouth, N. H., who had done some broadcasting and wanted to do more, had been given the cold shoulder by CBS. Thereupon, he insisted that radio was a vicious monopoly and that something should be done about it. He demanded that Senator Tobey find out what had become of the Commission's long-heralded monopoly investigation. Colonel Brown, it would appear, had not been especially active as chairman of the FCC committee

³⁶ H. Res. 426.

³⁷ H. Res. 21.

³⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 19, 1943. See also H. Res. 55 by Rep. Sparkman, Jan. 18, 1943, to broaden investigation to cover the industry.

³⁹ *Variety*, June 13, 1934.

⁴⁰ See Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, U. S. Senate, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., on Nomination of Thad H. Brown for Reappointment as Federal Communications Commissioner.

charged with that particular investigation. To make it worse, Brown was generally credited with being a "spokesman" for the industry on the Commission, though it became quite clear that other members of the Commission as well were at times unduly responsive to the industry's viewpoint. The local political angle lent further unsavory odor to the situation when it developed that Senator Tobey's political opponent, Senator Moses of New Hampshire, had acted as an intermediary in securing special favors for Sarnoff, president of RCA and of the National Broadcasting Company. In any case, Commissioner Brown's renomination was rejected by the Senate, and he died shortly thereafter.

Congress can be effective not only in confirming personnel, but in granting or withholding appropriations. This power over appropriations has been important from the very first year of the Federal Radio Commission, when Congress failed to appropriate any funds at all, to last year, when a House committee adopted an amendment denying funds for salary to an FCC foreign broadcasting agent whose appointment had been criticized.⁴¹

But these recognized Congressional activities do not begin to suggest the extent and intimacy of the relations between Congress and the Commission. In 1940, the Attorney-General's Committee on Administrative Procedure noted that "it is a widely and firmly held belief that the FCC had been subjected to constant external pressure, particularly by members of Congress";⁴² but an adequate job of documenting these pressures has never been done and, indeed, would be almost impossible to do. While it is true that all communications submitted to the FCC in connection with any case must be "on the record," there is no way, for example, of checking informal telephone conversations and social meetings. Being only human, it would seem impossible for Commission members, in the words of Senator Tobey, to avoid subconscious influence, and, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion. If the FCC is to be above suspicion, a duty devolves upon Congressmen as well as upon Commissioners. Congress condemns the FCC for being oversensitive to political pressures for which it is itself responsible. Congress might do its part to preserve the independence and integrity of the Commission it created. As the Acheson committee

⁴¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 22, 1942.

⁴² *Administrative Procedure in Government Agencies*, Part III, p. 59. Sen. Doc. No. 186, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess.

monograph points out, Congressional response to constituents in the matter of licenses and frequencies is heightened because of the political value of radio and radio-broadcasters to the Congressman in his home town or state. "Attempts by Congressmen to utilize their official positions as an excuse for special pleading (under the guise of explaining 'peculiarities of local situations') are made with some degree of frequency from the time an application is filed until the Commission has rendered its final order."⁴³ Commenting on the report, *Variety* notes that the "errand boy" Congressman has become increasingly active in radio matters, and that this is one of the most vicious aspects of the back-door radio lobby in Washington.⁴⁴ The situation calls for reconsidering and redefining the relations between Congress and the Commission.

V. CONGRESSIONAL INTERESTS IN RADIO-BROADCASTING

(1) *Broadcasting by Congressmen.* Having recognized the political value of radio, Congressmen have made good use of it. For example, CBS reports that from 1929 to 1940, Senators addressed radio audiences over Columbia sustaining programs more than 700 times and Representatives more than 500 times. Often Congressmen resent the fact that radio stations outside their immediate constituencies refuse to carry their speeches when these are offered by the networks. But in general Congressmen have little to say to the people of the country and direct their remarks toward their own "local corner of the republic." There has been little occasion for complaints about the use of radio by Congressmen. During election campaigns, however, when political candidates pay for time, there have sometimes been charges of discrimination by stations or slander by speakers. Such charges were brought by Senator Stiles Bridges of New Hampshire against Station WMUR of Manchester as a result of its activities in the elections of November, 1942. Senator Bridges asked the FCC to suspend WMUR's license to compel it to cease engaging in false and malicious propaganda. Francis Murphy, who unsuccessfully opposed Bridges for election, is chief stockholder and director of Radio Voice of New Hampshire, Inc., which operates the station. Bridges charged that the station broadcast as news political statements promoting Murphy and slandering Bridges.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Variety*, Feb. 21, 1940.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1942.

There has been from time to time a movement in Congress to broadcast proceedings of the Senate and House directly from the floor, and at least four bills to this effect have been introduced, but they have not been acted upon.⁴⁶ It is interesting to speculate on the effect a radio audience would have on Congressional debates and procedures.

(2) *Concentration of Control.* In the main, the interests of Congressmen in their dealings with the regulatory commission and in their attempts at legislation have been marked out for them by a number of well-organized pressure groups which represent the Congressman's constituents more effectively than they could ever represent themselves. In general, these interests fall into three categories: control, program content, and adequacy of service; but in fact this can be only an artificial grouping, since the three types of problems are interrelated. Probably the hottest issue politically has been that of control, and from the point of view of time consumed in hearings and debates, Congress has been more concerned with the problems of monopoly than with any other aspect of the radio industry. Competition has always been considered desirable in the American economy, but particularly in radio has Congress been vigilant to preserve competition because of the nature of radio as a mold of public opinion and an instrument of political power.

The burden of safeguarding the growing industry from the dangers of monopoly was given to the Commission at the outset, when, in the 1927 act, Congress directed the Commission to refuse licenses to those found guilty of unlawful monopoly. But in 1931, RCA, found guilty of violating the anti-trust laws, did not lose its licenses. Congress was dissatisfied with the job the Commission was doing in preventing monopoly, and indeed it had reason to be. The debates on the Communications Act of 1934 were marked by blasts against the so-called radio trust. "Broadcasting in the United States is rapidly becoming a monopoly in the hands of these two systems" [NBC and CBS], said Representative McFadden.⁴⁷ Congress was influenced by a flood of articles like that of Eddie Dowling, who asserted that the radio industry was a "private monopoly of immense power . . . playing both ends against the middle and subject to no authority or control except a purely technical

⁴⁶ S. Res. 28, Dec. 7, 1931; S. Res. 71, Dec. 14, 1931; S. Res. 29, Mar. 15, 1933; S. Res. 93, Mar. 15, 1937.

⁴⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., June 2, 1934, p. 10309.

supervision of wave-length assignments."⁴⁸ The 1934 act provided that a court may revoke a license if the licensee is found guilty of violating the anti-trust laws. In 1935, Representative Monaghan presented a bill⁴⁹ for government control in which radio monopoly was cited as the chief abuse of the present system and as proof of the necessity of government control. In the course of the debate, one Congressman said: "The president of NBC publicly admitted that the primary purpose for which his company was organized was not to serve the public interest but to serve the radio manufacturing industry and the Bell Telephone Company."⁵⁰

Concern over concentration of control reached a new high in 1937, when there were pending at the same time no less than four resolutions⁵¹ for investigation of monopolistic practices. Stating that a "colossal fraud was being perpetrated on the American people," MacFarlane claimed that the monopolies controlled all forty clear channels, all stations of over 1,000 watts operating at night, and ninety-three per cent of transmitting power.⁵² In his resolution, Senator White noted that "there has come about a monopolistic concentration of ownership or control of stations in the chain companies of the United States."⁵³ The monopolies were accused of stock racketeering, of faulty financial practices, of trafficking in licenses. Later, when the problem of introducing television came to the fore, the radio monopoly was condemned for handling patents and production in a manner against the public interest.

None of the resolutions for investigation of monopoly was ever passed, but in 1938, under Congressional pressure, the FCC appointed a committee of three Commissioners particularly to determine regulations for chain broadcasting and the growing networks which had occasioned the monopoly charges in Congress. The report was not issued until May, 1941,⁵⁴ and meanwhile Congress had grown impatient and started hearings of its own. In the summer of 1940, in considering the renomination of Thad Brown to the Commission, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce held

⁴⁸ "Radio Needs a Revolution," in *Forum*, Feb., 1934.

⁴⁹ H. R. 8475.

⁵⁰ *Cong. Rec.*, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., Aug. 23, 1935, pp. 14310-14316.

⁵¹ H. Res. 61; H. Res. 92; S. Res. 149; H. Res. 321.

⁵² *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., July 19, 1937, p. 7282.

⁵³ *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., July 6, 1937, p. 6786.

⁵⁴ *Report on Chain Broadcasting*, FCC Commission Order No. 37, Docket No. 5060, May, 1941.

lengthy hearings at which the financial manipulations of the major networks and of the RCA were exposed.⁵⁵

Although they made a loud noise, the actual number of Representatives and Senators speaking against the radio monopoly and demanding investigations could be counted upon the fingers of one hand. Those Congressmen on the other side of the fence were mostly inarticulate because the popular trend was to crusade against monopoly and they saw no need to make themselves unnecessarily unpopular. But there is little doubt they did a good deal of off-the-record work with the Commission for those who had important financial interests in the industry.

(3) *Adequacy of Service—Technical.* Congressional concern with concentration of control was occasioned not only by interest in financial manipulations and business practices of the licensees, but also by fear that monopolies would not provide adequate service to listeners. Whether service is considered adequate will depend in part on one's idea of the function of radio, and in part on the group whose interests are being considered primarily. It is obvious that the listening public ought to be the chief concern of the broadcaster. There is not one public, however, but several publics to be served. The needs of audiences in various parts of the country, in rural and urban areas, must be weighed against each other and some kind of balance achieved, since restricted facilities cause problems of allocation to persist. Although the actual job of allocating frequencies has fallen to the Commission, Congress has aired its views at length on the maximum and optimum use of the limited broadcasting band and has incorporated its ideas in general legislation to form the basis of an allocations policy for the Commission. That it has not always been successful has been due to its own inadequacies as a body of non-technical persons legislating in an engineering sphere, to its faulty use of experts' knowledge, and to the continually advancing state of radio.

In the Radio Act of 1927, Congress's vague dictum to the Commission was to distribute facilities "among the different states and communities so as to give fair, efficient, and equitable radio service to each of same." This proved unsatisfactory, since it left too much discretion to the Commission, and in general Congressmen were

⁵⁵ Hearings before Committee on Interstate Commerce, U. S. Senate, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., on Nomination of Thad H. Brown for Reappointment as Federal Communications Commissioner, July-Aug., 1940.

not pleased with the job. The next year, therefore, the so-called Davis Amendment was passed, providing for equal allocation of station facilities to each of five zones, and allocation to states within each zone according to population. But the theory behind the Davis Amendment proved fallacious. The five zones were unequal in population distribution and in area, so that while the number of stations was equal, the amount and type of service were not. Early in 1932, Senator Shipstead introduced a bill⁵⁶ to correct the inequalities created by the Davis amendment by distributing radio facilities by state rather than by zone, but this was killed in the Interstate Commerce Committee. At that time Congress was concerned with a bill to revise the 1927 act,⁵⁷ and the debates offered an opportunity for representatives from Western states to stump for a more favorable allocations structure. "Every district in the United States is entitled to at least a small station, and if they are country people they are entitled to rights just the same as city people," said Representative Blanton.⁵⁸ In the 1934 act, the inequality of the zone system was partially corrected when a section was provided to allow additional licenses outside the quota for stations not over 100 watts. The zone system was finally abolished by Senator Wheeler's bill, which became law in 1936.⁵⁹

But it was not only the problems of allocation of frequencies that worried Congress, but also problems of power. On this subject, there are two schools of thought in Congress, as there are in the industry. There are those who would go all out for a small number of superpower and clear channel stations, and on the other hand, those who are interested in large numbers of small-power, local stations. Of course, this is stating the case in extremes, since there are any number of Congressmen who think it would be nice to have a few superpower stations and some low-powered stations, some clear channels and some locals, etc. This is not the place to discuss the varied ramifications of the complicated issues of superpower and clear channels. Since in certain respects the subject is a sectional one, Congressmen have been busy presenting the views of their respective constituents to the Commission, which has held a number of hearings on the problem. In 1938, the Senate adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Wheeler of Montana,⁶⁰ who has

⁵⁶ S. 3649.

⁵⁷ H. R. 7716.

⁵⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., Feb. 10, 1932, pp. 3681-3705.

⁵⁹ S. 2243.

⁶⁰ S. Res. 294.

been a leader in the fight against superpower, to prohibit stations with power above fifty kilowatts, claiming that such stations were against the public interest because of their adverse effect on small stations and their tendency to aid concentration of control. When the FCC revoked WLW's 500 kilowatt license in 1939, Representative Sweeney of Ohio objected strenuously, demanding "radio parity for rural listeners."⁶¹ Most recently, the hearings on the Sanders bill⁶² before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have been the occasion for Congressional reconsideration of superpower and clear channel.⁶³ The Sanders bill called on the Commission to report to Congress on its administration of Section 307 (b) of the Communications Act of 1934. By this section, the FCC was directed so to distribute licenses and power as to provide "fair, efficient, and equitable" radio service to the several states and communities. Clear Channel Associates, through Victor Sholis, demanded more superpower stations.⁶⁴ Against them, Paul Spearman, representing a group called Network Affiliates at the hearings, recommended, among other things, that Congress limit power to fifty kilowatts.⁶⁵ The testimony of the Clear Channel Associates was in some degree counteracted by that of E. K. Jett,⁶⁶ chief engineer of the Commission, who claimed that the station serving the widest rural area is not a clear channel station at all. The whole subject of allocations promises to be one of the most pressing issues before Congress in postwar radio legislation.

(4) *Adequacy of Service—Programming.* The problem of adequacy of service involves not only the technical engineering aspects of allocation, but the social aspects of program content as well. For a long time, one of the arguments against clear channel stations has been that the culture of local areas will suffer without local stations. Similarly, those who object to widespread network broadcasting are afraid that programs emanating exclusively from the big cities and talent centers of the country will make New Yorkers and Hollywoodites out of all Americans, and local American music, dancing, and humor will be forgotten.

⁶¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., May 16, 1939, pp. 2020-2022 (Appendix).

⁶² H. R. 5497, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess.

⁶³ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. R. 5497, Apr. 14-July 1, 1942.

⁶⁴ See Hearings on H. R. 5497, Part 2, p. 687 ff.

⁶⁵ See Hearings on H. R. 5497, Part 1, p. 397 ff.

⁶⁶ See Hearings on H. R. 5497, Part 3, p. 1032 ff.

It has been suggested that there is a basic conflict between the method of allocating facilities and the manner of using them. Though the Commission allocates facilities scientifically, it has no comparable criteria for evaluating the utilization of them. Indeed, Congress did not intend the FCC to have an interest in programming outside of the very general interest implied in the phrase "public convenience, interest, or necessity." At various times, Congress has sought to remedy this vagueness by providing for more definite programming control. The most notable effort in this direction was the amendment to the act of 1934, introduced by Senators Wagner and Hatfield, for twenty-five per cent allocation of facilities to non-profit organizations—religious, educational, labor, agricultural, etc.⁶⁷ Wagner and Hatfield made it clear that the non-profit groups were demanding legislation. The chief proponents of the amendment were the Paulist Fathers, whose station, WLWL in New York, had suffered a cut in broadcasting hours. Testifying before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in March, 1934, Father Harney suggested that twenty-five per cent of facilities be assigned to "human welfare" organizations, leaving to the Commission the power to divide the twenty-five per cent between the various groups, and allowing the non-commercial stations to sell time to the extent of supporting themselves. He cited the "beggarly and outrageous" allocation of facilities to educational stations.⁶⁸ Father Harney quoted from a letter which Sykes, chairman of FRC, had written to Representative Merritt, a member of the House Committee, in which Sykes said: "Many special interests are able to appeal to Congress, or to particular members of a Congress, and time does not permit a complete hearing on the question at issue. It seems most desirable, therefore, that all cases be heard by the administrative body."⁶⁹ But Harney was determined that the issue should come directly to the Congress, and indeed it was brought to the House by Representative Rudd as an amendment to its Federal Communications Act and to the floor of the Senate by Senators Wagner and Hatfield as an amendment to the 1934 Federal Communications Bill, and de-

⁶⁷ See *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., May 15, 1934, pp. 8828 ff.

⁶⁸ Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on S. 2910, Mar. 9-15, 1934, pp. 184-192.

⁶⁹ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. R. 8301, Apr. 10, 1934, p. 151.

bated at length before it was defeated.⁷⁰ At that time, it was pointed out that eighty per cent of the time given to education by commercial stations was sustaining time, when the stations would be presenting programs at their own expense anyway. The amendment was defeated, not so much because Congressmen objected to educational and religious broadcasting, but chiefly because of the faulty drafting of the amendment and the administrative difficulties envisaged in carrying out the particular plan proposed.

There was also growing dissatisfaction among certain Congressmen with the use of radio facilities for commercial advertising. In a speech before the meeting of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1932, Representative Edwin Davis declared that "radio is not maintained to sell goods,"⁷¹ and that the only justification for advertising is to maintain radio financially. He suggested legislation by Congress on the length and quality of advertising. This suggestion is particularly interesting in view of the recent campaign by listeners and broadcasters against objectionable advertising. Liquor advertising, especially, was in the orbit of Congressional concern, and from 1934 on, no less than ten bills were introduced to prohibit liquor advertising on the air.⁷² "There comes over the radio nightly," said Representative Culkin, "a glorification of booze."⁷³ It was insisted that liquor was as offensive as lotteries, which had been banned from the radio by the act of 1934. Although the bills never came out of committee, the forces which had been working on Congressmen to ban liquor advertising had done an effective job on the NAB, which decided to prohibit such advertising on the air.

(5) *Censorship and Free Radio.* In general, Congress has from the outset been concerned with the type and quality of programs on the air, and there was some recognition of this concern in the Federal Communications Act when it prohibited lotteries and "obscene, indecent, or profane language." At the same time, however, Congress showed its concern for free speech and freedom from censorship when it wrote into the act that nothing "shall be under-

⁷⁰ *Cong. Rec.*, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., May 15, 1934, p. 8842.

⁷¹ See *Cong. Rec.*, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., Apr 22, 1932, p. 8699.

⁷² S. 3015, Mar. 10, 1934; H. R. 8404, June 7, 1935; H. R. 3140, Jan. 18, 1937; S. 3550, Feb. 25, 1938; H. R. 9624, Feb. 25, 1938; H. R. 251 and H. R. 252, Jan 3, 1939; S. 517, Jan. 10, 1939; S. 575, Jan. 12, 1939; H. R. 123, Jan. 3, 1941; H. R. 6785, Mar. 13, 1942.

⁷³ *Cong. Rec.*, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., June 18, 1935, p. 9613.

stood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communication . . . " and prohibited the Commission from fixing rules "which shall interfere with the right of free speech."⁷⁴ Congress said also "the licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast."⁷⁵ These two concepts of freedom of speech and program quality, while certainly not paradoxical, have frequently involved the Commission, the industry, and Congress in conflict situations. On not a few occasions, Congressmen have been agitated at allegedly "obscene and indecent programs" on which the Commission had taken no action. But always in their remarks in House or Senate they were treading on precarious ground, since the line where censorship infringed on free speech was ill-defined at best. Though it was agreed that programs should be fit for all to hear, the idea of censorship was anathema to a large number of Congressmen. Yet Congressmen particularly deplored the broadcasts by "Doc" Brinkley,⁷⁶ who continued to broadcast into the country from Mexico when the FCC refused him a license, a Mae West broadcast over a major network,⁷⁷ and a Mexican program with an obscene song.⁷⁸ Congress called upon the broadcasting industry to "clean its stables,"⁷⁹ and action was demanded of the Commission; but beyond this Congress did not go.

Religious and political broadcasting were most affected by the problems of censorship vs. free speech, and these were the two fields with which Representative McFadden was concerned in a bill introduced in 1934 to abolish radio censorship and provide equal treatment for political candidates.⁸⁰ His bill was directed particularly to the protection of persons running for public office, and of religious propaganda over the air. The hearing was mostly taken up with testimony by Jehovah's Witnesses, who claimed to have been shut off the air, as indeed they had been, though, as Bellows

⁷⁴ Federal Communications Act, June 19, 1934, ch. 652, sec. 326, 48 Stat. 1091.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, sec. 315, 48 Stat. 1088.

⁷⁶ See *Cong. Rec.*, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., Apr. 11, 1932, p. 7862. See also "The Development of the Control of Advertising on the Air," by Carl J. Friedrich and Jeanette Sayre, *Studies in the Control of Radio*, No. 1 (1940).

⁷⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., Jan. 14, 1938, p. 560; Jan. 26, 1938, p. 357 (Appendix).

⁷⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 74th Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 15, 1936, pp. 417-422; June 20, 1936, p. 10660.

⁷⁹ *Cong. Rec.*, 77th Cong., 2d Sess., June 9, 1942, p. 5260. ** H. R. 7986.

of CBS put it, not through the exercise of censorship, but through the exercise of selection.⁸¹ While it was true that licensees had no power to censor, he said, they did have the right to select and were under the constant necessity of doing so. Thus the broadcasters got around the issue.

After passage of the Communications Act, three bills were introduced to clarify the confusion over censorship.⁸² These would have required stations to devote certain hours to unrestricted discussion of public issues without payment, and would have protected licensees from libel suits on the broadcasting of public questions. The whole issue was highlighted when Father Coughlin was forced off the air, and again in 1941 when the discussion of isolationism vs. interventionism deeply stirred the country. At that time, Senator Wheeler was accused of having used his influence to prevent broadcasts of Walter Winchell's programs over a Montana network. The head of this network, the Z-Bar, declared that stations had deleted the commentator's programs "as a protest to a very unfair system of presentation that is not conducive to free speech." "Under the present system," he said, "the networks have no way of even calling to the attention of listeners . . . the time a speaker of differing views will be heard."⁸³

The most recent legislative attempt to clarify the censorship issue was the bill introduced by Representative Ditter of Pennsylvania at the beginning of 1940.⁸⁴ *Variety* saw in the bill "an avowed move to end backdoor censorship and political jockeying."⁸⁵ Recalling the Congressional intent in the act of 1934 to deny the FCC any censorship powers, Ditter declared that the "public convenience, interest, or necessity" clause was being used as an excuse to censor programs.⁸⁶ Congress and the courts, not the Commission, should determine program standards in the public interest. Furthermore, Ditter contended that program standards should be set up in advance and objected to "ex post facto censorship" (as Commissioner Craven called it) at hearings on license renewals.

⁸¹ Hearings before Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries, House of Representatives, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. H. 7986, Mar. 15-20, 1939, p. 158.

⁸² H. R. 9229, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., Aug. 23, 1935, p. 14399; S. 2755, S. 2756, S. 2757, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., July 8, 1937, p. 6893; S. 3515, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Mar. 5, 1940, p. 2337; H. R. 1082, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 3, 1941, p. 20.

⁸³ *Broadcasting*, July 28, 1941. See also July 14, 1941.

⁸⁴ H. R. 8509. ⁸⁵ *Variety*, Feb. 21, 1940, p. 23.

⁸⁶ *Cong. Rec.*, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., p. 806 ff. (Appendix).

Though he conceded that there were limitations on free speech, he said: "We certainly never intended to delegate to this Commission the power to impose its judgment as to what are good programs and what are bad programs."⁸⁷ The bill would completely deny the FCC the right to consider program offenses in passing on renewals. To date, Congress has not acted on this problem. However, the confusion under which the industry and the Commission previously labored has been mitigated by the directives provided by the War Information and Censorship agencies.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

CONGRESS AND THE CONTROL OF RADIO-BROADCASTING, II

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VI. CONGRESS AND RADIO IN WARTIME

Congress established a policy for wartime radio under Section 606 of the Communications Act of 1934 when it gave the President power to take over the entire radio industry in time of war or national emergency. He took advantage of this in September, 1940, when by an executive order he created the Board of War Communications (previously the Defense Communications Board). In the 1934 act, too, he was given wide authority to suspend the FCC rules and to close stations or to use them as he saw fit. In September, 1939, when a state of "limited national emergency" was declared, there was speculation as to the effect that this section would have on the broadcasting industry. Certain Congressmen showed an inclination to back down from the principle of broad Presidential powers over radio. Representative Ditter's bill of 1940, enthusiastically supported by the broadcasting industry, was intended to curb the wide powers the Communications Act had conferred upon the President. This bill, never acted upon, would have added a provision that no transmitter might be confiscated or silenced because of the "character or contents of any program" or in order to permit the government to engage in or control broadcasting, except upon proclamation by the President that the United States was actually at war.

Previously, Congress had enacted some legislation which is pertinent to the war. In 1932, for example, a law was passed that licenses should be issued to qualified United States citizens only,⁸⁸ and in 1941, by a new act, the Commission was enabled to consider the character and capacity of potential licensees in order to guard against "subversive" individuals.⁸⁹

In 1940, a bill authorized communications utilities to contribute free voluntary service to national defense, consisting of experimentation and drill of radio facilities and indoctrination of personnel in preparation for national defense.⁹⁰ There was also some concern

⁸⁸ S. 4289. ⁸⁹ H. R. 5074.

⁹⁰ S. 3018, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Mar. 13, 1940, p. 2761. See also "Controlling Broadcasting in Wartime," by C. J. Friedrich, *Studies in the Control of Radio*, No. 2 (1940).

in Congress with radio-broadcasting of war news. Prior to our entry into the war, some Congressmen feared that over-emotional radio news broadcasts were being used as propaganda for intervention, and in August, 1941, Senators Clark and Nye announced a resolution for investigation of radio and film material designed to influence the public mind in the direction of participation in the war.⁹¹

During the last few years, Congress has appeared to be skirting radio-broadcasting issues because of the pressure of other work and also because the industry has not been anxious to have legislation initiated. But the session begun in 1943 is providing a good deal of interest and activity in radio-broadcasting issues. The Select Committee to Investigate the FCC appointed by the Speaker of the House in January, 1943, as a result of Representative Cox's resolution,^{91a} seriously threatened to discredit the whole process of legislative investigation by conducting star-chamber hearings and building up a sensational case in the press against the Commission. The entire inquiry was colored by the personal prejudice of the former chairman, Representative Cox, whom the FCC had charged with receiving pay for representing a radio station before the Commission. In May, 1943, Commissioner Durr formally petitioned the Speaker of the House to disqualify Cox as a member of the committee because of his personal interest in the investigation and his bias against the Commission.^{91b} In September, the Judiciary Committee, to which the petition had been referred, returned it, alleging lack of jurisdiction. Commissioner Durr re-submitted it, backed by a strong open letter from the *Washington Post* to Speaker Rayburn demanding Cox's removal. Under pressure of public opinion, Cox resigned on September 30, and Representative Lea was later appointed chairman of the committee. Hearings were resumed under the new chairman in November. There are indications also that Congress will attempt to write a new radio act, and hearings on the Wheeler-White radio bill were begun in November.

VII. RECENT ATTEMPTS AT LEGISLATION

Since 1939, attempts at legislation, inspired by dissatisfaction with the FCC, have been concerned with reorganizing the Com-

⁹¹ S. Res. 152. See also H. Res. 292, 77th Cong., 1st Sess.

^{91a} H. Res. 21.

^{91b} For the documented story of the Cox Committee investigation, see *Memorandum in Support of the Memorial to the House of Representatives for Fair Play to the Federal Communications Commission*, published by American Civil Liberties Union, Sept., 1943.

mission. In January, 1939, President Roosevelt wrote to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Interstate Commerce: "I have come to the definite conclusion that new legislation is necessary to effectuate a satisfactory reorganization of the Commission. New legislation is also needed to lay down clearer Congressional policies on the substantive side—so clear that the new administrative body will have no difficulty in interpreting and administering them." The next month, Senator Wheeler introduced a bill to create a new commission of three members, to provide for administrative assistants, and to create a department of research and information.⁹² Although it was at first thought that the bill would pass without trouble, opposition developed, and Representative Wigglesworth objected to it as "an attempt to conceal from Congress and the people facts and practices."⁹³

Senator White later introduced a counter-bill to reorganize the Commission⁹⁴ on the basis of the report of the Attorney-General's Committee on Administrative Procedure. Though this bill was never acted upon, it was important as the forerunner of the Sanders bill,⁹⁵ introduced in the House in August, 1941. The Sanders bill was concerned chiefly with reorganization of the Commission into the Divisions of Public and Private Communications. The Commission would be asked to study and report on regulation of relations between networks and licensees, licensing of networks, qualifications of licensees, allocations, etc.

The exhaustive hearings on the Sanders bill⁹⁶ running from April to July provided an opportunity to review many radio-broadcasting problems such as Commission procedure, relations between networks and station affiliates, licensing of networks, clear channel and superpower, monopoly, and chain broadcasting. Although this particular measure was shelved in the House Interstate Commerce Committee, a similar bill for reorganization of the FCC was introduced at the beginning of the session in 1943⁹⁷ by Representative Holmes. Like the Sanders bill, the Holmes bill calls for two separate divisions in the FCC, and the Commission is asked to study and report on policy matters. (Since the foregoing was written, Senators Wheeler and White have introduced a bill—S. 814—

⁹² S. 1268, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., Feb. 8, 1939, p. 1275.

⁹³ *Cong. Rec.*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 903 (Appendix).

⁹⁴ S. 1806, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., July 31, 1941, p. 6641.

⁹⁵ H. R. 5497.

⁹⁶ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess.

⁹⁷ H. R. 1490.

which parallels the Holmes bill in certain respects and carefully defines the limits of FCC authority).

Congress has recently been interested in other issues. In August, 1942, Senator Clark submitted a resolution⁹⁸ requesting the Committee on Interstate Commerce to investigate thoroughly the results of the action of the American Federation of Musicians in denying "its members the right to play or contract for recordings." The resolution was agreed to and a sub-committee appointed to investigate, with Senator Clark as chairman. In January, 1943, hearings got under way as a result of the Clark resolution, with James C. Petrillo, head of the musicians' union, testifying. It is expected that the authority of the sub-committee will be extended and hearings continued. Senator Clark had also introduced a bill to prohibit contracts and combinations which prevent making of recordings for use by radio or juke boxes. The bill would make the AFM liable to criminal prosecution under the anti-trust laws. The measure was not acted upon, however, and Clark reintroduced it in the new session,⁹⁹ threatening direct appeal to the President if Congress does not act on the bill. Senator Wheeler and others are said to be opposed to this bill because they do not want to see the anti-trust laws used against labor.

Congress also was concerned with the refusal of NBC and CBS to sell time to the Coöperative League, and in October, 1942, Senator Norris presented a resolution for an investigation of the matter.¹⁰⁰ The broadcasters said that they would sell time for co-operatives to advertise their goods but not their politics, since the latter was a controversial subject, which, incidentally, might offend other advertisers. On the floor of the House, Senator Wheeler said that there could be no excuse for the companies' denying the coöperatives the right to buy time because the subjects were controversial, and pointed out that sponsored radio news commentators discuss controversial subjects continually. He concluded that the networks were acting on "the basis of their own selfish interests and not on the basis of the best interests of the country as a whole."¹⁰¹ A couple of months later, at conferences between the NAB Code Committee and officials of the Coöperative League, the matter was settled and coöperatives were allowed to broadcast as long as their commercial copy advertises a specific product and does not attack other business systems.

⁹⁸ S. Res. 286.

⁹⁹ S. 2874 and S. 149.

¹⁰⁰ S. Res. 305.

¹⁰¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., Oct. 15, 1942 (p. 8467 unbound).

VIII. THE CONGRESSIONAL SYSTEM¹⁰²

It has been suggested that Congress has not always done an adequate job in the field of radio legislation, that it has been confused, that it has placed personal or sectional interest above the public interest, and that its relations with both the industry and the regulatory commission would bear investigation. Some explanation for these criticisms may be found in the fact that Congress is a political and not a technical body, working through slow and complicated legislative machinery, dealing with a rapidly changing medium for which there are no precedents.

Congress has had to face the job of establishing a pattern for radio regulation with no experience in a comparable field. Unlike the railroads and the telegraph, radio is *not* a common carrier, a fact upon which the industry has always been careful to insist. It is, like the newspaper, a carrier of ideas and opinions, but the press has never been subject to licensing. The responsibility of Congress toward radio, therefore, is not too clearly defined. It has to wend its way cautiously so as not to overstep double bounds—the bounds of control which the government has set for itself in dealing with private industry, and those bounds which the Constitution establishes for preserving freedom of speech. Because Congress has faced unique problems in radio, it has had to grope its way toward a satisfactory legislative policy.

Congressional difficulties have been aggravated by the complicated machinery through which Congress must work to get its job done. In this machinery, the House and Senate committees (in the case of radio, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and to a lesser degree the House Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio, and Fisheries) stand out as the most important cogs in the legislative wheel. Although officially the House and Senate legislate, every one knows that they do little more than approve or disapprove what the committees report to them. If a committee decides to kill a bill, it never reaches the floor; if a committee chooses to report out a bill, it will come to the floor for debate, where amend-

¹⁰² See Roland Young, *This Is Congress* (1942). See also L. W. Haney, *A Congressional History of Railways in the United States*; G. H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States*; H. Hazlitt, *A New Constitution Now*; L. Rogers, *Crisis Government*; W. Wilson, *Congressional Government*; and C. J. Friedrich, "Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility," in *Public Policy*, Vol. I, Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University.

ments may be added. Thus the character of legislation is almost completely determined before it reaches the floor of either house. The committees are swamped with detailed material, but the majority of Congressmen are necessarily left in the dark about the problems and implications of a particular piece of legislation.

Although it is possible for legislation to be determined even before the committee hearings by a powerful lobby and the resulting predispositions of committee members, the committee hearings are usually the heart of the whole procedure. Here the off-the-record lobbyists are given the opportunity to affect legislation as on-the-record witnesses. At the hearings on the Sanders bill, no fewer than ten interested groups took advantage of this.¹⁰³

Committee hearings, though usually on a more informed level than the debates on the floor, sometimes reveal the ignorance of various Congressmen on the matters under discussion. There would seem to be less excuse for this at the committee hearings than in the general debates, since members of Congressional committees are supposed to specialize in the subjects dealt with in their own committees, rather than to rely exclusively on experts. At the House Committee hearings on the 1934 bill, Representative Merritt said to Sarnoff, then testifying: "Radio is always a mystery to me, as to many other people. Does a new circuit have to do with a particular frequency that is used on that circuit?"¹⁰⁴ At the Senate hearings at the same time, Senator White said: "The chairman will recall that when we were working on this act in 1927 the word frequency was not quite so common as it is now." To which Senator Dill replied, "We were not sure about it ourselves, sometimes."¹⁰⁵ At these hearings, Senator Long was under the impression that the bill being considered sought to combine the ICC with the FRC. More recently, at the hearings on the Sanders bill, at least one member of the House committee had no idea what a reference to the Commission's network regulations meant.

Most of the general debates on the floor are even less satisfactory than the hearings. There is seldom a stating of broad issues, as is the case with Parliamentary discussions concerning the British

¹⁰³ NBC; Blue Network; Mutual; Network Affiliates, Inc.; General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.; Federal Communications Bar Association; NAB; CBS; Clear Channel Broadcasting Service; Newspaper-Radio Committee.

¹⁰⁴ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. R. 8301, Apr. 10, 1934, p. 294.

¹⁰⁵ Hearings before Committee on Interstate Commerce, U.S. Senate, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on S. 2910, Mar. 9-15, 1934, p. 45.

Broadcasting Corporation. The chief value of the debates seems to lie in the opportunity they afford Congressmen to blast the Commission or the industry. Although no immediate or obvious action may result, the Commission or industry, as the case may be, usually heeds the Congressional warning. There has been much criticism of this system whereby the standing committees determine the bills and resolutions to be considered by Congress, and a good deal of dissatisfaction with the cumbersome road Congress must travel to get a bill passed.

IX. LEGISLATION FOR A CHANGING MEDIUM

Not only procedural difficulties make it onerous for Congress to legislate successfully for radio. There are the difficulties inherent in radio itself—the fact that it is a highly technical and rapidly changing medium. At the recent hearings on the Sanders bill, Commissioner Craven noted the significance of technical progress on the “general philosophy and regulation of communications,” and stated that it seemed essential that Congress should not base long-term legislation upon what may appear to be a good detailed solution of today’s minor radio troubles.¹⁰⁶ Congress is by no means unaware of its inadequacies in a field where legislation may become obsolete quickly. It has preferred to legislate generally and let suggestions for more specific legislation come from the Commission. At the 1934 hearings, Bellows of CBS asked that the Commission be left free to deal with technical engineering problems in its own way. “So far,” he said, “Congress, and we think wisely, has kept away from all purely engineering questions with regard to radio, recognizing that the solution of such problems is exactly what the Commission exists for.”¹⁰⁷ Aylesworth of NBC seconded this idea and suggested that only a commission with broad powers could give the industry the flexible regulation it required. In the 1934 act, Congress requested help in planning policy when it asked the Commission for a report on desirable amendments. The next year, Representative Scott introduced a resolution for the creation of a broadcasting research commission to study the technical aspects of radio and lay the broad lines for a regulatory policy, since neither Congress nor the Commission had time for this; but it was not acted

¹⁰⁶ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. R. 5497, p. 985 ff. of Committee Print.

¹⁰⁷ Hearings before Committee on Interstate Commerce, U.S. Senate, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., on S. 2910, Mar. 9–15, 1934, p. 57.

upon.¹⁰⁸ Frank Mullen, vice president of NBC, recounting the new developments in the ultra-high frequencies, said at the Sanders hearings: "It should be remembered that the broadcasting industry is, in effect, operating under an old law so far as this progressive industry is concerned."¹⁰⁹ The radio act of 1927, reenacted in 1934, was promulgated when present broadcasting problems were non-existent. Burns of CBS also spoke of the rapidly changing industry: "It is not the same industry that it was when the Commission began its hearings in 1938."¹¹⁰

X. CONGRESS AND THE EXPERTS

Congress makes no pretense to being a body of engineering or technical experts; indeed, as was said before, the majority of Congressmen know little about radio. Naturally, therefore, Congress's final decisions sometimes have represented what is best for the most powerful, or simply for the majority of, interests which have been heard. For its information, Congress has had to rely on the experts, most of whom come from the industry or from other interested groups, and are in fact propagandists. Since disinterested experts are almost impossible to find, Congress has had to balance the claims of one expert against those of another. Both informally and formally—at Commission and at Senate and House committee hearings—the experts—engineers, lawyers, broadcasters, etc.—have been allowed to hold forth, and indeed have been pumped dry by their hearers. At the Sanders hearings, there was a discussion of radio experts, in the course of which their versatile backgrounds came in for a bit of ribbing. At another point, when Mr. Fly stated that the Commission depended largely on advice and information given it by experts, Mr. Brown, a member of the House Committee said: "I wonder if you can tell me what an expert is. I would like for you to define an expert." An ordinary damn fool away from home was suggested as a good definition. But Fly replied seriously: "We pick them out of the industry," and added that they were well qualified in their respective fields.¹¹¹ It is true that the Commission staff contains disinterested persons, but for the most part the Commission personnel is not called upon to inform Congressmen on radio

¹⁰⁸ H. Res. 370.

¹⁰⁹ Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., on H. R. 5497, p. 187 of Committee Print.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

matters, and Congressmen rarely find time to study the Commission's materials and publications.

XI. CONGRESS AND THE PRESSURE GROUPS

As the highest legislative authority, Congress has a central position in the pattern of control, central in the sense that it stands between broadcasters, listeners, and advertisers on the one hand and the FCC on the other. It is at once the sounding board of the pressure groups and a curb upon the Commission. Some notion of the widespread activities of pressure groups has been given above. In general, two types of organized interest groups have attempted to use Congress. Those wishing to obtain licenses, increase power, and buy stations constitute one group. KWSC, of Pullman, Washington, e.g., reportedly boasted that it got Clarence Dill to see to it that the FCC increased its power. The other group consists of those interested in program content, either as listeners, as broadcasters, or as potential broadcasters. The number of persons steadily appealing to Congressmen as well as Commission members is appalling. At the Sanders bill hearings, Chairman Fly complained about the many persons representing the 900 radio stations throughout the country. Whenever anyone purports to represent large groups of people, he said, you must ask, "How does he get that way, and does he really represent them?" When a Congressman suggested that Fly had set himself up as a "czar," he flared: "What do you mean by my setting myself up as a czar? Why, these people set themselves up to run the government."¹¹² And, indeed, so successfully have the interest groups brought pressure on Congress and the Commission that they have played an important rôle in influencing regulatory policy. An amusing incident which occurred during the Sanders hearings illustrates the intimate nature of this influence. During the testimony of Alfred McCosker (chairman of the Board of Directors of Mutual), a question was raised involving a passage in the Commission's report on chain broadcasting. When the witness hesitated, one of the committee members, who shall remain unnamed, obligingly offered his copy for check. As he handed down his copy, those present noticed that it bore the office stamp of the Columbia Broadcasting System. General laughter indicated that everyone recognized the humor of the situation.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 845.

XII. CONGRESS AND THE INDEPENDENT REGULATORY AGENCY

Perhaps the most fundamental problem, however, is the relationship between the Commission and Congress, involving as it does the respective functions of each body and the whole theory of the independent regulatory agency. Congressmen have always been concerned with whether or not the Commission was fulfilling the Congressional mandate. The legislators themselves do not always agree on the meaning of certain sections, so that Congressional intent is very often a matter of interpretation. At the Sanders hearings, the importance of the interpretation of the phrase "public convenience, interest, or necessity" was pointed out by Louis Caldwell during discussion of the broadcasting regulation. "Those who attack the Commission's regulations," he said, "have told you repeatedly that Congress did not give the Commission any such power and did not intend to. I believe, with the Commission's law department, that Congress did give the power and intended to give it. *The question as to who is right turns on the meaning of the formula,*"¹¹³ which is the only limitation Congress placed on the Commission's authority to make regulations for chain broadcasting.

Beyond this, there is the problem of where exactly the responsibility of Congress ends and that of the Commission begins. In large part, the answer to this depends on one's theory of the American governmental system. A conservative like Commissioner Craven would argue that the Commission is an agency created by Congress to administer policies established by Congress. In his opinion, the Commission has no power to go farther and attempt to enforce what Congress decided not to do.¹¹⁴ In his opinion in the Pottsville case, Justice Frankfurter wrote: "Congress, which creates and sustains these agencies, must be trusted to correct whatever defects experience may reveal."¹¹⁵ Formally and traditionally, regulatory agencies like the FCC are supposed "to return to Congress for further instructions" whenever they find themselves confronted with novel situations which the act authorizing their work did not anticipate. On the other hand, the view that the administrative agency must necessarily have legislative power was presented by Mr. Bingham of the Federal Communications Bar Association at the Sanders hearings. Said he: "The type of regulation

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 613. ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 965 ff.

¹¹⁵ *FCC v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co.*, 309 U.S. 134 (Jan. 29, 1940).

must necessarily change from time to time as there are developments in the particular subject being administered." It is impossible for Congress to "make rules for the unforeseen future regulation of the subject-matter, and therefore it must delegate some legislative power to an administrative agency." Especially in radio communications, there have been great technical developments since the act of 1927, and "it would be impossible for the Congress to lay down all rules and all regulations governing communications in an act."¹¹⁶ Not all industry representatives, however, feel that the Commission should assume more power. Neville Miller of the NAB condemned the indefiniteness of the act which causes "pressure upon the Commission to assume powers far beyond those granted by the Congress to a regulatory Commission." Moreover, complained Miller, a broadcaster cannot challenge the Commission's authority by referring to the act.¹¹⁷ As we have shown earlier, Congress itself has never been happy about the duties and set-up of the Commission.¹¹⁸

XIII. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study on the rôle of Congress in the control of radio-broadcasting are fairly clear. In general, the record is one of confused efforts to "regulate" a very young industry in response to a multitude of complaints and pressures, but with no real understanding of the situation. Neither the Congress as a whole nor the committees of the House and Senate concerned with radio legislation have ever produced a genuine "policy" for radio-broadcasting. They never have provided a pattern for the most effective utilization of radio in the development of American democracy. Such basic issues as whether radio-broadcasting is entitled to the same constitutional rights as the press have never been settled. Good arguments can be advanced on both sides, but without a decision the conduct of radio is fraught with unnecessary tensions and conflicts.

Characteristically, the basic statute, the Federal Communications Act of 1934, provides a compromise through a contradiction. It charges the Commission to see to it that radio-broadcasting facilities are managed "in the public convenience, interest, or necessity," yet it forbids the FCC to concern itself with the content of

¹¹⁶ Hearings on H. R. 5497, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹¹⁸ For a competent analysis, published since this was written, see Thomas P. Robinson, *Radio Networks and the Federal Government* (1943).

radio programs by stigmatizing such sharing of responsibility as interference and censorship. Sharp conflicts are bound to be the result of such a self-contradictory policy. In order to resolve it, Congress would have to address itself to such basic questions as these: What rôle do we want radio-broadcasting to play in the nation's political, religious, and cultural life? Do minorities with particular educational and other interests have special rights or not? Should managements with a predominantly commercial outlook determine the programs to be presented and the time of presentation, or should listeners have a voice in this matter? These and many similar questions have had no thorough exploration in Congress, though their answers are admittedly basic to a national radio policy. To be sure, individual Congressmen have voiced subjective, if emphatic, opinions on these subjects. Such expressions have been haphazard, lacking any substantial support of scientific evidence such as guides Congress in more traditional fields of public policy; they have had virtually no effect upon the actual pattern of control.¹¹⁹

Since America's entry into the war, all these shortcomings have become more strikingly evident. The vital rôle of radio in relation to public opinion and national morale, and hence in relation to the war, is universally admitted; yet no effective policy has been evolved, because commercial management has resisted suggestions for over-all planning. It is true that many fine programs have been offered by networks and individual stations, and many good directives have issued from the Office of War Information and related agencies. At the same time, however, sharp criticism has been voiced by various groups of the public, both expert and lay.¹²⁰ Perhaps the most striking of these challenges has come from a rather unexpected quarter. In its August, 1942, issue, the *Reader's Digest* launched a virulent attack upon what it called "Radio's Plug Uglies." It invited letters from readers on the subject of offensive advertising plugs, and in the October issue was able to report that 15,000 letters had already been received from listeners all over the country, denouncing the radio announcers' outpourings.

¹¹⁹ See for a carefully elaborated policy pattern the study based on a report of a committee of the National Economic and Social Planning Association, C. B. Rose, Jr., *National Policy for Radio Broadcasting* (1940).

¹²⁰ On the problem of responsibility, see "Radio in Wartime," in *Education on the Air* (1942), edited by Josephine MacLatchy.

In spite of public attention and debate, Congress has done little or nothing to forge a policy for radio-broadcasting in wartime. Leading members of both the House and Senate have confessed virtually complete ignorance of the issues involved. One of the most striking special fields requiring careful attention is that of foreign-language broadcasting.¹²¹ Nothing responsible has been said or done on this score in Congress or in its committees, and yet there can be little doubt that the issues involved are crucial. In the absence of any guiding policy from Congress, the Federal Communications Commission had to venture into this field without adequate authority or directives. During the summer of 1943, the Cox Committee investigating the FCC was almost entirely concerned with the activities of the Commission against pro-Fascist Italian and German language broadcasters, and attempted to prove that there was no legal authority for the "domination of foreign language broadcasting stations by the FCC. . . ." Actually, at the request of the Office of Censorship, and in line with its responsibility to use the licensing power in the public interest, the Commission had done a good job of investigating and causing removal of pro-Fascists who were broadcasting in Italian and German.

The weaknesses of our Congressional system show up strongly in the regulation of radio-broadcasting. The failure of the democratic process to function satisfactorily raises grave general issues transcending this study. But in the particular field with which we are concerned the facts speak eloquently and call for a specific remedy. It is the writers' settled conviction that in view of Congressional organization, a regular committee of Congress should devote its entire time to communications problems, among the toughest of which are those confronting radio-broadcasting. Only through such a committee could at least some members of Congress acquire the knowledge demanded by the technical complexity of radio and the crucial nature of the issues involved. Only when guided by such a committee will Congress be able to rise to the task of formulating a genuine public policy for radio-broadcasting in the country which has seen the most extraordinary development of this medium of opinion, propaganda, and morale, under a unique system of private ownership and government control.

¹²¹ See Jerome S. Bruner and Jeanette Sayre, "Short-Wave Listening in an Italian Community," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4; Jeanette Sayre Smith, "Broadcasting for Marginal Americans," *ibid.*, Vol. 6, No. 1; C. J. Friedrich, "Foreign Language Radio and the War," *Common Ground*, Autumn, 1942.

SMALL STATION MANAGEMENT
AND THE CONTROL OF RADIOBROADCASTING

A CASE STUDY

ARNOLD ARTHUR ULIN

with a preface by

Carl J. Friedrich

STUDIES IN THE CONTROL OF RADIO

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PREFACE OF THE EDITOR

Control of radiobroadcasting activities in the United States is shared by many different elements in the community. As previous studies have shown, and others are going to show, the Congress, interest groups, educational institutions, advertisers, churches, and administrative officials, all participate in shaping the product of radiobroadcasting stations in the United States today. Perhaps the most crucial and certainly the most central administrative core of such control is provided by the management of radio stations and networks. In fact, it may well be said that, in a system of relatively free enterprise, management has the last word. No student of the control of radiobroadcasting can therefore neglect the role of management.

Management in a free society is as varied as human nature. Consequently, any student of management of business enterprise in a field in which personal factors play so vital a role as radiobroadcasting, will have to approach such a study by the case method. Where the networks are concerned, only a few cases are involved, of course, but each would be a far-flung enterprise of research. It is hoped that in the course of time a study for each of these networks can be offered in this Series. In the meantime, however, it seemed well to undertake some case studies of small independent stations, for that surely represents a very distinctive and, in the aggregate, quite substantial part of radiobroadcasting activities in the United States. The findings of Mr. Ulin have been presented in disguised form in order to enable us to be realistic from a practical standpoint. It is hoped that this will be considered helpful by the reader.

No definite conclusions of a comprehensive order can be drawn from a single case. Others, representing different political and social conditions, will have to be undertaken and compared with the results of the present inquiry. But Mr. Ulin blazed an important trail, and one which ought to stimulate further intensive efforts in this vital aspect of the control of broadcasting in the United States. Our system of "free radio" needs the small station and its management. Only by studying its problems and the share of the responsibility which it bears, can significant progress be achieved.

C. J. Friedrich

*** FINIS ***

SMALL STATION MANAGEMENT AND THE CONTROL OF RADIOBROADCASTING

ARNOLD ARTHUR ULIN

Radiobroadcasting Research Project at Harvard University

The Problem

What is management's role in the complex pattern of influences that divides the control of radiobroadcasting among government agencies, advertisers, pressure groups, and various other interested parties? Who makes the decisions affecting the different elements of a radio station's many services? How are these decisions carried out by the chains of individuals that make up the organization of different types of stations? It is the process whereby management policies are formed and carried out by the station organization that this study attempts to clarify.

Most standards in broadcasting have been evolved as specific cases arose rather than as the result of any broad social philosophy. No positive policy on what should be done is present¹. Because it is so difficult to foresee the results of one's actions in the broadcasting field an environment of fear seems to be produced which makes it difficult for individuals to take a decisive stand on many of the issues they are confronted with. This situation is well illustrated by a recent poll of station managers which indicated their attitudes towards editorializing². Despite the fact that the NAB has been demanding to have the Mayflower decision repealed, that 88% of all managers think they have the right to editorialize, only 55% of all respondents said they would editorialize if permitted to do so! The reasons for the hesitancy were that most managers (87%) felt editorializing would create new problems for stations, particularly in the political and social fields. The significance of this here does not concern the advisability of "editorializing" as such, but indicates that managers have problems that prevent their taking decisive action on their decisions.

Inability to react quickly and decisively to significant problems of the day can have serious consequences for management and the community as the ensuing case will reveal. In addition to relying on lessons derived from past mistakes, the development of a positive approach for handling immediate and long run community needs seems essential. Study of the many complex factors controlling management's policies and performance in the following case provides no simple answer to such problems, but should make for a better way of thinking about management's role in the control of radiobroadcasting.

Method

The station selected for study was chosen purely on the basis of its size and willingness of management to cooperate with the study. No knowledge about the organization of any kind was available prior to the investigation.

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1. See Friedrich, C.J. "Studies in the Control of Radio" Nos. 1-5.
 2. Broadcasting: January 12, 1948

The author was given complete freedom to consult records and all personnel and to take part in all station activities. No formal interviews were conducted, but each member of the organization was given the opportunity to talk about whatever he wanted to for as long as he desired. A special office provided by the management of the station assured privacy when needed. In each instance an attempt was made to find out who was responsible for the decision at hand and how these decisions were actually carried out. Most of the interviews were recorded verbatim, but many observations picked up while having a cup of coffee with staff members or sitting around the station were recorded.

* * *

The following case study was written in a manner that reveals the effect of differing individual viewpoints on the whole organization. Because of this the first few pages may seem to the reader to be filled with many irrelevant details. As the reader proceeds through the case, however, he will eventually see how all the different members of the organization react to these details. Thus it is essential that the entire case be read before its many diffuse parts form a clear picture.

WZZZ¹

A Case Study

In 1880, after carefully surveying the situation, George Graham decided Cranstown could support a local newspaper in addition to the dailies published in the nearby metropolitan area. His guess proved correct and the Courier thrived from the outset. Shortly thereafter another paper, The Sentinel, was started by interests of one of the large switch manufacturing companies in the area. For many years rivalry flourished between the two papers and finally the Graham interests bought out the Sentinel in 1923. In 1945, Eliot Graham who had taken over the business side of the paper in 1913 when his father died, heard about the possibilities of FM radio at a publishers' meeting. He decided that there was a definite opportunity to bring radio to Cranstown, and that the station would serve as long-run insurance against the advent of Facsimile-radio replacing newspapers. When the FM license was applied for, Mr. Graham found there was a frequency available for an AM station as well which would help offset a \$50,000 loss on first year's FM operation. When the standard station license was granted, Charles Graham, who had never had any experience in radio, was made manager. Mr. Graham, Sr., was now 76 and gave the station to his 32 year old son as a Christmas present in hopes he would gain training that would fit him to carry on the business. The station went on the air late in 1946.

The Courier had made over $\frac{1}{4}$ million in 1946, and it was in a strong enough financial position to carry any losses the station might incur. Balance sheets are given in Exhibit I.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CRANSTOWN

Cranstown was a declining midwest city known throughout the country for its electrical switches. This industry was the backbone of the area and employed 7000 of the town's 60,000 population. Most of the remaining jobs in the community were in service establishments. Every summer when these plants closed down for the vacation period all the shops closed "to protect themselves from the mobs on Main Street." In 1919 14,000 persons were employed in the electrical switch industry from Cranstown proper and 11,000 from the surrounding area. In 1946 only 7,000 were employed from Cranstown and 7,000 from the surrounding area. The city had not had the normal rate of population increase.

Cranstown had the highest rates of pay anywhere in the electrical switch industry. Many plants had moved from the area and many more were threatening to do so. Although a few hundred new plants had opened since the end of the war, only one small one had located in Cranstown. It was hard for workers to shift to other jobs because it was 20-40 miles to the nearest city and transportation facilities were poor.

Despite high hourly wages, a 40 hour week per worker had not been maintained for a number of years. In 1946 the number of average hours worked was only 35, and in 1947 it was down to 32. The factories were all on a line basis of production. However, when workers earned enough money to satisfy their needs for the week, they quit. Although companies had been able to

1. All names and places fictitious to avoid disclosure.

maintain quality, they could not get quantity production when lines were interrupted. The result was that products made in Cranstown were higher priced than those made in other areas. Competition was keen and a few cents in price made a real difference in getting business. There was a large independent union, but it was poorly organized and bargaining was extremely difficult.

Most of the money in the town was in the hands of older people, but a few of the younger businessmen were trying to awaken the community to the hazards facing its industry. A large sum of money had been allocated by these men for a survey of the town's needs in collaboration with the Committee for Economic Development.

General community welfare was adequate. There were many natural recreational facilities nearby and an active ministry made the churches vital social centers.

MR. CHARLES GRAHAM'S BACKGROUND AND GENERAL POLICIES

Although the station occupied temporary quarters in the same building as the Courier, young Mr. Graham was the only direct connection between the two. He made all of the operating decisions for the station but on any large expenditures had to consult his father. There was no functioning board of directors, but only the "paper board" required to meet corporate law. The newspaper owned the station; one "board" sufficed for both organizations.

Mr. Graham had worked for the Courier for several years before his appointment as station manager and admitted newspaper thinking sometimes might unconsciously creep into his decisions. Typical editorials and other pertinent information in the Cranstown Courier are given in Exhibit II. He felt newspapers and radio should swap, not squabble for "both are trying to do the same thing in different ways to reach eye and ear."

Mr. Graham's main policies were to try and give the public as much as possible; to try and present information fair and square, yet "always walk the white line down the middle." In making all his policy decisions Mr. Graham said he tried to go as much as possible according to what the public wants. Since a Hooper rating and other services were too expensive (approximately \$1000 per month), Mr. Graham ran a complete survey himself about three months after the station went on the air. The form of this survey is reproduced in Exhibit III. He didn't know if he's run another and had no immediate plans for one.

There was really only one reason for the station existing and that was to serve Cranstown. Mr. Graham pointed out there were eight other stations in the area and that was the only way they could justify their existence before the FCC. He had made out the license application based on his own intimate knowledge of what people in Cranstown wanted. Mr. Graham thought he had a good idea of the nature of his audience since he'd worked in Cranstown all his life.

He realized Cranstown had many needs, but didn't feel it was his job to "start the ball rolling." When the community had a project organized and recognized the need, then he felt it was the station's duty to help them along in their work. Mr. Graham felt he had too much to do to keep his hands in all Cranstown's needs. He didn't feel even a board of directors could look deeply

enough into these problems for him and wouldn't be effective in determining what the people want. Mr. Graham realized he couldn't investigate everything, so he waited for community to frame policies on needs, then relied on interested groups to do the investigational job for him, and decided on individual proposals as they occurred. As an example, Mr. Graham said if a group came to him that thought something should be done about juvenile delinquency he would have them check facts with the police department and then would get together with them to decide on matters. Mr. Graham didn't know what the CFD was and felt the group backing the survey had no chance of getting any results from their action for many elements in the town disagreed with its purpose. When the community got behind the project and came to him, Mr. Graham would be willing to have the station help them out.

Although Mr. Graham realized Cranstown had many pressing needs, -- that the dependence on one industry for livelihood was a threat to his own business -- he felt he should not editorialize about such matters, and that the FCC would not let him anyway. "Walk the middle of the road" was his motto.

Mr. Graham felt he was responsible for everything that went on the air but admitted that actually this was impossible, for due to certain intangible factors, some policy decisions were not made until after the events requiring them had occurred. As examples of this situation, Mr. Graham cited the following instances.

As part of a news program, a half hour description was given of an event in which a local doctor stayed up all night with a patient and saved his life. Later the townspeople started kidding the doctor about his "free advertising" on the radio. As talk increased, the doctor became afraid of losing his license and threatened to sue the station.

On another occasion at the weekly Rotary Club broadcast the speaker kept using the phrase "hell on a sleigh." The engineer monitoring the broadcast didn't know whether to cut the broadcast or not and called Mr. Graham for advice. Mr. Graham did not consider this offensive in the context it was used in and told the engineer not to cut. However, "I don't know what they'll say next week!"

At the present time the mayor of the city was furious at the station for something that was said over the air. However, no one in the station had the slightest idea about what was said that had offended him.

MR. GRAHAM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS REGULATION

Mr. Graham said that his relations with the FCC had been quite satisfactory except that they were awfully slow in functioning. He claimed the station would not be on the air now if he had not gone to Washington and bothered them personally. Mr. Graham thought it was all right for the FCC to have general policies to "keep it clean and allocate frequencies" but beyond that they should leave things alone: "It's none of the government's damn business what I do!" Mr. Graham felt it was perfectly all right for stations to load themselves up with commercials or anything else they please without the government interfering for he thought they would soon lose their audience if they engaged in such practices. Moreover, if the community does not like the station, they could get a

group together and apply for the frequency with evidence they could do a better job -- then all he would have left would be a mass of equipment to sell at a considerable loss.

"The New Deal's influence on government is still strongly with us" and Mr. Graham had been very wary of this in his relations with the FCC. Admitting he was a staunch Republican, he declared "the government would have taken over everything if Roosevelt had not died!"

As an example of what not to do Mr. Graham cited the instance of a committee of five ministers who were appearing before state legislature and wanted a law requiring that each program be licensed. He said he could not afford to delay by sending programs to anybody for approval and that administration of such a measure would be filled with graft.

MR. GRAHAM'S PROGRAM POLICIES

Mr. Graham's general program policy was to give people something they could listen to all day long. He had read the Blue Book and tried to follow its standards. No double spotting, five minute commercials or (additional details are given in Exhibit IV where Standards of Practice are reproduced) foreign language programs were allowed. Mr. Graham said the FCC held him responsible for knowing at all times what is going over the air. He had a speaker in the office and listened to programs there and also when at home. Since he does not understand foreign languages, he has ruled them out completely. He also thinks they represent poor programming. In order to compensate the foreign portion of his audience, he puts on a Music of Foreign Lands program.

Mr. Graham had few other rules and generally made decisions as matters presented themselves. Often he said he "felt as though he was walking in darkness with one foot just ahead of the other." Following are illustrations of important decisions on programming made by Mr. Graham.

From the station's inception many groups had badgered Mr. Graham to sell them religious time. Mr. Graham refused to sell time for religious services because he felt churches are a public service and that the government wanted him to give free time for that sort of thing. Since not enough time was available to serve all groups, Mr. Graham had referred the problem of who could be heard to the ministers' union who made all decisions on religious broadcasts. Most ministers in Cranstown belonged to this union and Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths were represented. Although the Christian Scientists had frequently tried to buy time, Mr. Graham referred them to the ministers' union which as yet has not found time for them on the air. Some religious advertising has been shifted to the newspaper.

On another occasion a powerful community group was going to dedicate a monument for World War II dead of one particular ward and demanded Mr. Graham broadcast the venture. He refused because he was afraid similar requests would come from all the other wards and he could not afford to give away time to each ward. He also felt some people in surrounding towns would not be too interested in this.

When several murders occurred in the area the investigations and trials

were covered by direct line. Reporting was limited to information observed and recorded by staff members. Mr. Graham felt personal interviews with witnesses, crowd members, etc., was unwise in radio. He thought it was all right for people to say what they wanted, but they did not have the right to influence others who might be chosen as jurors. "Papers are in a different spot than radio here. Papers report facts on which you base your own conclusions whereas radio gives personal opinions of speakers."

Mr. Graham no longer permitted requests for blood donors without approval from a doctor or his hospital. One time a sick woman had called and demanded a request for blood donors which later went on the air. On checking up with the hospital it was found plenty of blood was already available. Mr. Graham thought such appeals would often be useless if their value was thus diminished.

The Red Cross, Community Fund, and similar organizations are carried on a sustaining basis. However, if they appeal for funds, they must pay for the time. Mr. Graham explained this as follows: "Every organization wants money. Why should people be flooded with these requests? However, what they are doing is in the public interest."

Often Mr. Graham had to make split second decisions. After a large storm, the police reported five people had been killed in an automobile accident. Mr. Graham had to decide whether the incident was of enough importance to warrant his breaking into a commercially sponsored program immediately or whether it could be relegated to a later news program.

Mr. Graham said he thought the survey showed things were going well along audience building lines. He said the FCC had congratulated the station on its program log and that he noticed the people of the town talk about "our station." When WZZZ was the only station covering the arrival of a famous army bomber, it was the talk of the town. Mr. Graham thought "people want a station that does something for them." He thought they liked the "homey touch" in preference to metropolitan views.

With regard to political broadcasts, although the FCC forbade censorship, the station made all candidates put their speeches in writing and submit them in advance for approval. Candidates were not allowed to deviate from prepared script on threat of being cut off the air. Mr. Graham did not know whether this was legal or not, but thought it was best for the station.

MR. GRAHAM'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER STAFF MEMBERS

Although Mr. Graham, Jr., was originally only station manager when his first program director proved unsatisfactory, he took over this function himself. Exhibit V is Mr. Graham's conception of the way his organization lines up. Mr. Graham's policy was to give all his subordinates complete freedom. He felt each person should know his own job. Sometimes some of the staff would ask Mr. Graham if their work was satisfactory and then Mr. Graham would laugh and say, "I haven't criticized you, have I? If you do anything wrong, I'll let you know -- you can be sure of that."

Mr. Graham definitely disliked his relation with Mr. Paul, the commercial manager. "He thinks he knows it all" was one criticism. The renewal rate

was also unsatisfactory to Mr. Graham. He felt many customers had been lost because of lack of proper follow up by Mr. Paul and that the latter was inclined to deal too much in personalities such as Mary Mirth. (Person who ran a daily women's program, see chart.) Mr. Graham thought Mr. Paul should try and sell some of the other sustaining features. Sales were down now and Mr. Graham felt that the personal touch was definitely needed. Mr. Graham thought Mr. Paul knew what went on in the big cities and networks, but that he did not really understand the local situation. Mr. Paul was paid a fixed salary plus commission and had made over \$10,000 last year. He was the only salesman except an announcer whom Mr. Graham had recently given permission to do some part time selling on his own. The station had no advertising agency as its representative. Occasionally, however, some of the metropolitan agencies would send in an account and were paid a 15% commission. Mr. Graham did not plan to invade the metropolitan markets even if he got increased power and thus had not actively solicited agencies. "The station is maintained for Cranstown and I intend to keep it that way."

Mr. Graham also had difficult relations with the technical consultant, Mr. Cane. He definitely considered this technical position to be comparable to that of the other department heads (such as Paul and Pine) on the chart. The many conflicts Mr. Cane caused in the organization were well known to Mr. Graham. For instance, Mr. Cane, who played the banjo, liked hillbilly, banjo and cowboy music and frequently ordered members of the program department not to play symphonies, operas, etc. Mr. Cane, in his engineering capacity, often marked records scratchy or "technically not usable" merely because he did not like them. Mr. Graham realized that operas, etc., may have spots that are too low to be heard, but he was willing to sacrifice this in order to put such works on. Mr. Cane frequently went over his head in interfering with personnel in such matters, but Mr. Graham said he kept things in line and backed up his men. Mr. Graham thought Mr. Cane was not nearly as bad as Mr. Paul for while he felt Mr. Cane was merely striving for perfection, he felt Mr. Paul believed he should be station manager. The latter point had been confirmed for Mr. Graham by a stream of comments from people he had met on the street.

Mr. Graham liked Mr. Pine a great deal and intended to promote him to program manager some day. He explained that in his present position as Production Manager Mr. Pine was responsible for the quality of the programs while he retained responsibility for program content. Although he considered Mr. Pine a good man, Mr. Graham thought he was overly fond of classical music and that he tended to lose the balanced structure that had been built up. Even if Mr. Pine were promoted Mr. Graham felt he would always have to keep his hand in his work to insure standards were maintained.

Although there used to be meetings with all department heads when the station went on the air, this practice had been abandoned by Mr. Graham because he never got a chance to say anything. "Each department head has his own idea of how the station should be run, and when you get them all together, nothing is accomplished." At present Mr. Graham preferred to deal with department heads individually. Occasionally he got together with two of them, but never more. He tried to explain the executive point of view to his men many times, but did not feel his efforts had been too successful.

Mr. Graham also had to battle his father's ideas. He had succeeded in putting one program off the air over Mr. Graham Sr.'s objections. Nevertheless the station still carried no quiz programs because Mr. Graham, Sr., did not like them.

Young Mr. Graham felt that in the last analysis he made his ideas dominantly control the station's standards because "after all, it's my station."

MR. GRAHAM'S BUSINESS PROBLEMS

No union people were employed in the station. Although the union had originally demanded higher pay than station employees were being paid, Mr. Graham had forced the union down to his level. However, since he did not want to fire his present employees, he used protective provisions of the Taft-Hartley law to keep the union out.

Mr. Graham was proud of the fact that he had more equipment than most stations have in five years. His idea was to build a station such that competition would have a hard time meeting his quality level without spending as much for equipment and personnel. Since the station had an unusually large staff for its size, Mr. Graham was trying to decide whether he could increase sales or whether he would have to cut the staff.

Another pressing problem was the station's bid for a power increase from 250 to 1000 watts. This would increase the present coverage of 450 square miles containing 242,000 population to 893 square miles containing 830,000 population.

MR. CANE'S ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Cane was a retired colonel in the national guard. Colonel Cane's "demerit system" which recorded all the engineer's misdemeanors, was the talk of the station. Whenever it was known he was coming to the studio great efforts were made to get technical equipment in proper order for inspection. Mr. Cane frequently gave orders to members of the program staff which made them quite angry because they felt he had no right to interfere with their side of the business. Following is an example of such an incident:

Mr. Cane (sarcastically): "I see you've got my favorite piece on again."

Library Girl: "Yes, I have."

Mr. Cane: "Well, I thought I gave orders that you should not play it."

It so happened the piece concerned was "The Mumble Song", and both the library girl and Mr. Pine felt the colonel was especially sensitive to this piece because when he got angry he mumbled a great deal.

Mr. Cane considered himself co-director of the station on a par with young Mr. Graham. His title of consultant was merely for convenience because it enabled him to hold another job in the city while spending part-time at the station. Because he was paid by the newspaper rather than the station, Mr. Cane could freely consult Mr. Graham, Sr., whereas others could not. Mr. Cane

also had power to hire and fire his engineers and said he would not have taken the job on any other basis. When the unsatisfactory program director had to be fired, however, young Mr. Graham delegated the job to Mr. Cane.

Mr. Cane chose his engineers primarily on their ability to do maintenance work rather than past radio experience since he believed the latter could be easily learned and there was a great deal of maintenance work in a new station. In order to keep up on developments Mr. Cane spent \$50 a year on different radio journals. He spent a great deal of time digesting this material which he sometimes put into his formal "orders."

The order was Mr. Cane's principal administrative tool. Each instruction was numbered and a letter system designated priorities. When the engineer concerned had carried out the instructions, he initialed the order and it was returned to Mr. Cane's file.

Mr. Cane said he left all program matters up to Mr. Graham, but that he exercised complete control over all technical matters. He realized this caused some conflicts because the engineers had authority to cut any scratchy records off the air and use a filler. Mr. Cane said this situation had never actually arisen "because the threat of such action prevented it."

Although all of the station's purchases had been decided on over two years ago, some surplus equipment had to be purchased to get the station on the air when some equipment did not arrive. A typical result was that the station now had five extra microphones. Mr. Cane said the station needed a lot of equipment because they were competing with 8 big city stations and had to work on the same level. At present Mr. Cane had all the money available that he wanted. He had never heard of an expense ratio and got all his information about purchasing, etc., from engineers of other stations. In purchasing equipment Mr. Cane tried to keep the best interests of the station in mind which included programming. An example of this was the building of a \$1200 transcription console (\$2500 if bought on the outside) that would enable the station, which only had day time operation, to put on working people via transcription.

Mr. Cane was very happy in his job and in his relations with the Grahams, and often had lunch with them. He realized the announcers frequently talked about him behind his back, but it did not bother him. Insofar as the news editor was concerned, however, Mr. Cane thought he was "just a damn hick -- a fellow from a small, hick station."

MR. PAUL'S ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION

Unlike the rest of the staff, Harold Paul had been in radio for twenty years. Eight of these were spent as sales manager for a large station in New York. Recently he had been commercial manager for different small stations in nearby metropolitan areas and had left two jobs because he could not get along with the managers. Although Mr. Paul was spoken of as the commercial manager, management had not given him this formal title and the door of his office was merely labeled Radio Sales.

Mr. Paul wrote the program standards book and based it on NAB code because "the NAB represents the best thinking in the industry...." He felt

a great need for such a device that could replace management when they were not there personally and at the same time allow individuals great flexibility. Mr. Graham did not see the need for such a device, but Mr. Paul issued the booklet anyway and it was occasionally used by some of the staff. (See Exhibit IV)

Mr. Paul felt his primary responsibility was to bring in sales that would give the station a sufficient return on their operations to keep it running. To accomplish this job he had to work closely with traffic, production and continuity (see Exhibit V). All commercial continuity had to meet his approval. When the school committee was afraid of sponsoring the local football game, it was his job to assure them only an appropriate sponsor would be sold the series.

Mr. Paul was dissatisfied with his present job because he felt there was no assurance of reward in proportion to effort expended. He felt the reason for this was lack of knowledge and managerial ability on the part of Charles Graham. A faulty conception of profits was the heart of the difficulty. Mr. Paul felt the failure of management to reward properly was bad, for the very basis of all economics was the exchange of services for wages. Not only did Mr. Paul feel obligated to protect his family from this situation but he had to shield twenty years' reputation as well. Despite an unusually fine first year's work, the only recognition he had received, Mr. Paul said, was a box of candy at Christmas.

Even though unhappy, Mr. Paul felt obligated to do his job as well as possible and thought everyone else in the organization felt as he did about "loyalty to radio." He felt "it is like show business -- it has to go on -- it is not like a factory where when resentment wells up work slows down. It has to go on, no matter what happens."

Mr. Paul had appraised Cranstown's potential market at \$60,000,000 by taking a retail sales figure of 20 million from the census and adding 30% for price increases. He then set up the station's rate structure based on \$1 for every million of potential sales. The station's rate card is reproduced as Exhibit VI. From the Blue Book the figure .25% of retail sales was appropriate for estimating the total market for radio sales. Thus .25% x \$60,000,000 = \$150,000 total radio sales. Before the station went on the air Mr. Paul had sold \$40,000 worth of time, and first year sales were \$80,000. Modified income figures are given in Exhibit VII.

Mr. Paul was quite confident another full time station would be in operation in the city before long and analyzed the competitive positions as follows:

	$\frac{10}{28} = 37\%$	- WZZZ market
WZZZ	-	10 hrs. day of broadcasting
Competition	-	<u>18</u> hrs. day and night broadcasting
		28 hrs. total
37% X \$150,000 = \$45,000 remaining market for WZZZ		

Mr. Paul estimated next year's sales would be down to \$50,000 and believed it could drop way below that when the novelty wore off. The present renewal rate was only 19%. The main difficulty was the inability of the

production department to deliver programs that will sell goods, Mr. Paul thought. Mr. Paul said the rate structure was set high because there was no competition and the maximum potential market could be tapped. When competition came in he planned to lower rates because they would not be reaching the same audience. The new rate would be set by giving additional discounts rather than lowering base rates, however, because otherwise people would think the original rates were wrong. Mr. Paul thought the station's technical expenses were way out of line and that many extravagances were indulged in here on which no return was obtained. He cited the \$2500 cutter as an example.

Mr. Paul's relations with most of the staff were fairly good. He thought Mr. Cane was a damn good engineer and would have him build his station in view of the exceptionally fine signal the station was putting out in a highly competitive area. He did not think Mr. Cane should run things as though he was in the army, however.

Mr. Paul believed the relationship between buying power and community welfare was important and felt a strong need for an adequate survey of the station's audience and of general community needs. He believed Mr. Graham, Sr., was blocking the former. "What's best for the community is best for us" he declared. Mr. Paul served on the finance committee of his own community and was intimately acquainted with local government problems. He spent a great deal of his free time reading case material on business problems. In general he considered himself part of a democratic chain between community-city-state-and national government.

MR. PINE'S GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS STATION

Mr. Pine had worked in an army radio station sixteen hours a day for two years. Before that he had worked as a machinist because "it was tough to get into radio then." He said he was "on the wrong end of the army -- not like that tin can colonel." Mr. Pine was very discouraged about his present situation and thought someone was needed to analyze the station's troubles.

"We are doing everything we are here for. We present everything the FCC Blue Book would like to have on the air. Yet it's a question of whether we're doing what could and should be done. I thought the C.E.D should be given air time, but the boss didn't think so. He ought to grasp what's going on in the community more quickly. There are no meetings with the boss any more -- yet how can any one man know the community? The wire recorder should be allowed to go outside the studio every day and really put the community on the air. The extra expenses for an announcer and engineer would be a good program investment."

"I want to know how many people listen at what time. I don't think the survey was representative of our audience. We have many more listeners now. People are listening to the station, but they aren't buying. Somewhere there's no impact, no indication of large returns. There's some simultaneous advertising with the newspaper, but no accurate measurement of who did what."

"The Cranstown Trust¹ just canceled out. They felt they weren't getting any return. We should make a new survey and lower our rates. We should give more commercial time for the same price. This increase wouldn't lower our standards because we've many hours of open time. We've done well because people were trying radio the first year. Now we may be going down hill. We're getting new listeners by accident only. I want listeners, because I put on the programs."

MR. PINE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MR. GRAHAM, JR.

"I don't actually have very much leeway. My title would be program director if he gave us free rein. In a way, this is a one-man outfit just like the Courier where everyone has beaten their heads against the wall for so long that they've given up. The boss's aims are good. He read the Blue Book. He's trying to give best radio possible -- the program schedule indicates this. This doesn't mean he knows the right way to go about it. Women's clubs programs, etc. are O.K. on the Public Service Schedule, but it's horrible! Sometimes I go home and wonder how anyone could listen to the stuff we put on. Of course there's no reason for us to be here except for Cranstown since there are eight other stations in the city. Sometimes I think this justifies all our community affairs even if it means lower than average quality."

"I want a formal chart saying this is where you begin and this is where you end. Things are aimless now -- too much freedom -- no definite job. I have to ask permission even to buy a pencil. The boss hasn't had as much experience in radio as anyone under him and just doesn't have a radio head. He's overloaded with details. He has general responsibility for seeing what goes over the air, but should delegate some authority. The boss got burned once (by previous program director). Now he's more cautious."

"The boss suffers from all the old local fears -- he's afraid to do something people will object to. Many ideas haven't been carried through because of fear. Fear of change, fear of doing anything new and different. Cranstown is rotten with convention. We need more enterprise. The only reason we function as well as we do is because we've got the right people working here."

MR. PINE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MR. CANE

"I think he's too dictatorial. He runs his engineering staff just like the army. There's no flexibility allowed the engineers. They have to go according to a fixed set of rules. Cane thinks engineering is the most important thing in a station and that announcers are pretty incompetent people. It's the only station I know where the engineering force has such a dominating influence. You can't cross Cane either, because he works closely with Mr. Graham, Sr. He continually sells the boss on gadgets and equipment, which is just

1. Fictitious name.

another example of non-radio heads running things.

"Actually there's never been any trouble about cutting people off the air, but it's more the presence of an attitude. The engineers themselves are O.K., but they take on Cane's view when they're pressured from above. We just have to do the best we can when talking into their equipment."

THE NATURE OF MR. PINE'S JOB

Although the production director was responsible for everything that went on the air, Mr. Pine admitted this was impossible. "I can't control everything. It's physically impossible to check each thing that goes out in a small station." Mr. Pine's main job was editing material to see that proper content and form were maintained. The news editor was considered responsible for news, but others, such as announcers and rewrite girl, also handled this function. The continuity man was free to use his own judgment on copy for the commercial part of the program, but consulted with Mr. Pine if he was in doubt about some matter. An example of such an instance was whether the phrase "high-mold stockings" was allowable. This term was cut out of the script. Announcers also were supposed to check with Mr. Pine if there was something questionable in the script.

Mr. Pine said his editorial function was limited because frequently there was not time to prepare scripts and many times announcers and regular features like "The Hillbillies" ad libed a great deal. Another difficulty in screening programs was highlighted by the following incident: during Christmas week the library girl who put recorded shows together followed some Christmas carols by a jazzed up version of There is a Tavern in the Town which caused a certain amount of community reaction. Mr. Pine said he did not think Mr. Graham realized the importance of this function and was not surprised he left the librarian off his sketch of the station's organization chart. This kind of situation became especially acute under pressure where each person's selective ability became more limited.

A difficult decision Mr. Pine had to make occurred during the Hadassah broadcast of a local Jewish organization. They wanted to play some musical songs of the Palestine underground that were in Yiddish. Mr. Pine didn't understand Yiddish, but decided he would take the women's word that the records were O.K. rather than risk offending them.

An occasion which illustrated the difficulty caused by the area's conservatism occurred after Mr. Paul had finally gotten the school committee to allow a suitable sponsor to broadcast the games. When the attendance was off at the games, they immediately blamed the station. Mr. Pine said that all the evidence from other stations showed that radio had never kept people away from games. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the station had offered a scholarship to the school, broadcasts of next year's games were in doubt.

Another difficulty was caused by the fact that the station was dependent on the paper for local news. However, the paper did not cooperate well with the station, even though in the same building, because the newspaper guild was not willing that employees of the newspaper have connections with non-union

affiliates. Mr. Pine said the report on a devastating local snow storm did not come down till eleven o'clock one morning when they should have had it by eight.

Mr. Pine thought that discovering how to do a better job was a real difficulty. "Everyone feels we should be doing a better job. Yet when I ask the announcers for ideas on what to do, they have none. Finding out what people want and also giving them what they need is the problem."

Still other matters that come daily to Mr. Pine's attention were seeing local names were put in correctly, that local drunkenness charges were not played up so anyone would be offended, etc.

MR. PINE'S VIEW OF THE REST OF THE STAFF

Mr. Pine was quite disturbed that Mr. Graham, Mr. Cane, and Mr. Paul had offices but he had none. Even in the plans for the new studio, no office had been provided for him, though "Mr. Cane is getting a plush suite." He thought most everyone except the librarian and Mr. Paul were unhappy. "Mr. Paul made 15% on \$80,000 last year. He likes it here." He thought that despite their unhappiness, everyone feels a responsibility "because it is radio. Radio is like a public utility. You have to keep news, etc., flowing." Nevertheless, Mr. Paul had noted a great deal of slackness recently. "Everybody used to work hard -- nobody works hard anymore."

NEWS EDITOR PHIL SMITH'S VIEWS ON THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Smith had come to the station because his mother was sick and he had to return to the city. He was only getting \$270 monthly compared with \$375 at his previous job.

Because many more news items come over the wire and from the paper than could possibly be put on the air, Mr. Smith's job was primarily one of selection and rewriting to good radio form. He exercised complete control over this process except on his days off when announcers or rewrite girl take over his function. Occasionally difficult situations arose as the result of this. For instance, it was his policy to eliminate all facts about the driver in giving a preliminary report of an auto accident. One time in his absence one of the announcers in reporting an accident included the fact that the driver was dead. Actually the driver was not dead, so the hospital complained to the station and he in turn was remanded by Mr. Graham.

Mr. Smith said that pressure of time made it impossible for him to screen all news. Reliance on the paper for part of news also caused difficulty. For example, an incident was reported as occurring on Christmas which Mr. Smith knew really occurred the day before. However, in order not to offend the paper and make their cooperation any worse than it was already, he had to read the report as actually written.

Mr. Smith thought it was necessary to give people what they need as well as what they want. "If we don't lift them, who will?" Because Mr. Graham, Sr., was not interested in international events, it was the station's policy to

start with local events and fan out as time allowed. Thus to exercise his own philosophy within the set policy Mr. Smith stressed information on domestic commodities, CIO switch union activities and tax problems. He felt quite strongly that people were not interested in international events since the boys came home and made some efforts along this line although he had to soft-pedal in view of the general Graham policy. Mr. Smith felt there was a real need for the station to take a stand on labor and the switch industry. In order to awaken people to the problem he thought more of the facts of the CED survey should have been presented. To him the danger of all plants moving to lower wage areas was very real.

Mr. Charles Graham was interested in quantity, not quality, Mr. Smith claimed. He felt young Mr. Graham never had much opportunity with overly dominant parents and too much money. Mr. Smith felt the Grahams still bought what they wanted instead of working for it just as they had when they bought out the Sentinel. He had tried to get Mr. Graham, Jr., to see the light on several issues, but with little success.

Mr. Smith felt Mr. Graham's wife was also influential in running the station and was responsible for some people being fired. He claimed one day she came barging in claiming sugar was going up 5¢ a pound, that she would have to hoard, and that he ought to broadcast something about this. Mr. Smith refused and told her at most it was going up $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ a pound.

Mr. Smith had had numerous run-ins with the technical adviser. He felt the way the engineering department dictated that everyone must keep eighteen inches from microphones when speaking was very unjust. He thought Mr. Cane had done a terrible job designing the studios and that he was a poor engineer. The fact that the news department was least financed and engineering most financed seemed unreasonable to Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith said his lack of office was a real handicap. He had to fight for eight months to get an assistant and still needed another to do a complete job.

REWRITE GIRL JANET FINNEY'S ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION

Janet Finney was 25 years old and had recently graduated from a college of journalism. Like Mr. Smith, her job consisted of rewriting and selecting. She said she had no rules to guide herself, but merely a "feel" for the situation. The only policies she knew of was to limit international news in accordance with the Graham policy. No one had ever told her about this, but "it's in the air."

Miss Finney admitted she had made a few unforeseen mistakes and cited the instance of when she included the name of a big city station, which had just had a newsworthy event, in a script. After it had gone on the air Mr. Graham informed her it was not station policy to boost other stations' stock.

Miss Finney tried to write for the person who was going to read the news and was quite depressed when she had to write up Alfred North Whitehead's death and could not find anyone who knew who he was.

CONTINUITY WRITER WILSON'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Wilson had majored in advertising at college and had been a free lance script writer for a year before coming to the station. He spent most of his time writing commercial copy for Mr. Paul. Contact with sponsors was necessary, but because there were too many to enable him to see all of them, most of his contacts were by phone. In some cases stores wrote their own material for it was impossible for him to see them every day. For instance, the drug store daily sent over a list of items to be advertised.

Mr. Wilson tried to lean over backward not to offend, but generally had to rely on his own judgment and good taste. He was familiar with FTC requirements and felt the medium had an obligation for truthfulness. He frequently used the program standards book. Nevertheless he sometimes slipped because there was not time to read over everything with extreme care. As an example he cited his failure to remove the item bedpan from the drug store list because he just did not notice it when glancing through the list. Nevertheless, it was noticed when it went on the air.

Mr. Wilson complained there was lack of incentive in his job. He said some organizations paid a percentage of gross billings, but he did not know if that would be better. He also claimed there was no appraisal of his performance. "Bad or good, it is just the same to them. There is more criticism from outside than from within. Mr. Paul only has time for general criticism. There's no specific criticism. Nothing novel or unique is allowed, and thus many times sponsors don't get full value." Mr. Wilson also thought the station's rates were too high.

Mr. Paul, announcers, sponsors -- all could criticize the way copy read. Thus Mr. Wilson felt he was buffeted from all directions.

TRAFFIC DIRECTOR O'BRIEN'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Miss O'Brien thought the titles at the station were a big joke because "no one knows what they're supposed to do." She thought there was a real need for some job exposition. "Things could be more pleasant. I have to wait for decisions and there's no need of it. My boss can't make decisions so I have to wait until he checks. He should think in terms of people as they are. People have to have authority."

Waiting caused real difficulties for Miss O'Brien because she had to type out all the schedules a day in advance for production and engineering departments. To get the information for this schedule she kept the beginning and end of all program series in a note book, and cross-checked her entries on her calendar pad. A series was initiated when she received a time order from Mr. Paul. When she had noted the series in her book, the order was sent on to the billing secretary. Miss O'Brien also kept a large control board up to date which was used to designate times available for sponsorship. Miss O'Brien had only made one mistake in 27,500 listings.

MISS CLAY'S GENERAL VIEW OF THE SITUATION

Miss Clay thought everyone was very happy and that they were much better off than most places where she had worked. Before coming to the station Miss Clay had been a night operator for the telephone company. She thought Mr. Pine made too many general statements and that Mr. Cane and the engineers sometimes did some disagreeable things. She felt Mr. Cane had some justification for his actions for his wife and told her he was supposed to be a co-director with Mr. Graham.

Miss Clay said she did not understand her job too well and often made mistakes. Sometimes she did not know of her errors until after a program got on the air and someone recognized something wrong. She had never seen the program standards book.

MISS FREDERICK'S ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION

Miss Frederick was a former free lance actress. She felt she had complete freedom and was responsible only to Mr. Graham. She liked her job and had only been spoken to once by Mr. Graham when she included the title of a national magazine in her script. Generally she put on whatever her listeners wrote in for and did not have to consult Mr. Graham about any of these things. Recently she had had a full five minute commercial in one of her scripts and Mr. Paul had kidded her a great deal about this.

Miss Frederick had read the program standards book quite thoroughly and frequently looked things up in it.

MR. HARTSHORN'S ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Hartshorn had been to radio school and had previously worked at another station in a nearby city. He felt lack of definition of responsibility ran throughout the station. Mr. Hartshorn liked to work with Mr. Pine, but actually was quite independent of him. Just recently he had initiated an opera program and had not bothered to consult Mr. Pine at all. No one had ever told him there was a program standards book.

Since no formats were used for programs, each announcer made an individual decision about his program and had quite a bit of freedom in doing this. Mr. Hartshorn felt a responsibility to do a good job because he was measured in terms of it. To guide his decisions Mr. Hartshorn always remembered "The Announcers' Creed," which he could recite freely. This creed is reproduced as Exhibit VIII. Mr. Hartshorn had presented the creed at one of Mr. Pine's announcers' meetings and everyone had been so impressed that they had sent it in to Mr. Graham in hopes he would have it framed and placed in a conspicuous place in the station. After three months Mr. Graham still had not done anything about it.

Mr. Hartshorn felt clashes with engineering were not unusual and were found in many stations. Mr. Cane and one of the engineers did not like classical

music and tried to get him to take all the music off the air by constantly telling him that orchestras like the Boston Symphony played too loud or complaining about scratchy records. One day Mr. Cane threatened to fire him. He put his coat on but Mr. Pine held him back. Mr. Graham backed up Mr. Pine and told Mr. Cane that programs were not under his direction and that Mr. Hartshorn was going to stay.

Mr. Cane would not allow the announcers to have cough filters. Although he had told announcers they could not be tied into stations control board, Mr. Hartshorn knew it was technically possible and felt the real reason was that this device would temporarily take "button control" away from the control room. Mr. Hartshorn did not think Mr. Cane was a good engineer and had heard that the hams laughed at him whenever he spoke at their meetings.

Mr. Hartshorn edited the news on Sundays and was bothered by having to present local before international news because he had never done it before. He felt more incentive for his commercial shows because he was paid ten dollars each over base pay as talent. He was also paid 20¢ extra fee for each newscast.

Mr. Hartshorn liked the meetings Mr. Pine held but felt they too often turned into gripe sessions. In an effort to improve station morale, he had tried to push the idea of a bowling league at one of these meetings, but no one had reacted very favorably.

MR. LOGAN'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Logan was very disappointed in the management of the station. He thought there was a real opportunity for a new station in the area and had worked very hard when the station first went on the air because he believed the station offered a great opportunity for him. Although Mr. Cane had set the engineers' salaries 10% above the announcers', since sales were high for first year, they did just as well because they made up the difference on talent fees. Now that sales were down, however, he felt there was an unjust discrepancy. He said Mr. Cane was a smooth operator and was on the board of directors of both of the two other companies that were competing for the one remaining frequency in Crans-town.¹ He said he could not help but feel bitter when he looked at his own pay check and then saw Mr. Cane leaving with a "C" note every week.

Mr. Logan also had had trouble with Mr. Paul. Mr. Graham did not tell Mr. Paul when he gave Mr. Logan permission to do some part-time selling -- thus he had to break the news himself and Mr. Paul blew up. Mr. Logan felt Mr. Paul was too high pressure for the merchants in the areas because "he really beats them over the head." He thought the rate structure was much too high for the sort of programs they were giving, though he did not know whether lack of impact would prevent a sales increase even with lowered rates.

Mr. Logan felt the main reason that titles were so confused around the station was that the management did not want to pay for proper titles.

Mr. Logan felt he was 90% under Mr. Pine, but that he could go to Mr. Graham whenever he pleased. He felt he had great freedom to make decisions about

1. Checks with the FCC and newspaper items confirmed this fact.

programs and cited many instances of where he had changed copy in order to make it read better.

MR. HEATH'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Mr. Heath had been in radio less than a year and did not feel qualified to comment on the station. He was annoyed by the many petty conflicts, however.

MARY MIRTH'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Miss Mirth worked closely with Mr. Paul and often visited merchants with him. She also did advertising work for a national magazine. Miss Mirth felt she had complete control over her daily program and offered to put the writer of this report on the air. "You can say whatever you feel like!" she said.

HELEN PAINE'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

Miss Paine liked working for Mr. Graham and said she would not work for anyone else. She prepared bills from the time order form or program log. She also handled the switchboard and kept all the accounts. No budgets were prepared for individual departments, but charges were broken down by individual departments.

ENGINEERING STAFF'S VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION

All of the engineers liked working for the station. While they thought Mr. Cane was occasionally a little strict, this didn't bother them. From their viewpoint any conflicts that occurred were merely the result of following orders, and since Mr. Cane wrote all the orders, they didn't feel personally involved in the problems that were sometimes created, but were merely "doing their duty".

ANALYSIS OF THE MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS OF STATION WZZZ

Because Mr. Graham is trying to run a one man show, his organization is filled with difficulties that prevent its functioning in a constructive and efficient manner. Sales are off, morale is low, and competition threatens a severe cut in the potential market. The whole success of this organization depends on its ability to select ideas and information from all spheres of life and on its capacity to present the selected material so that it fills a need of some segment of the community and at the same time serves advertisers sufficiently well to warrant their continued support of the station. It is the nature of this selective process that brings out the heart of the managerial problems which Mr. Graham must face.

Timing is important in this selective process for many decisions have to be made very rapidly, and continuity of operation often requires the immediate replacement of the functions of several different kinds of personnel. The former is illustrated by Mr. Graham's decision to interrupt a program to report the auto accident. The announcer's frequent replacing of the editing functions of Mr. Pine and Mr. Smith is an example of the latter. The effect of delayed timing on the organization is revealed by the traffic director's difficulties.

Another more important aspect of this selective process is that almost all individuals in the organization necessarily have the power to make an extremely wide range of decisions which can have just as great an effect on what the organization produces as those of top management. The librarian's handling of the Christmas carols and the announcer's false report of the auto driver's death are two examples of this. Still others are Mr. Pine's decision to put on the Yiddish songs, Miss Frederick's five minute commercial, Mr. Smith's emphasis on labor matters, Mr. Wilson's failure to eliminate "bedpan", etc.

This point raises an extremely difficult problem for management for most of the individuals concerned are compelled to think in terms of unique social values rather than in terms of some technical or economic standard. The Announcer's Creed and Program Standards Book represent attempts to define some of these social values but each person is still behaving to a great extent according to his own opinion as to what the right values are. The problem posed for management control is that the different conceptions of Cranstown's wants and needs on the part of such people as Mr. Graham, Mr. Pine, Mr. Smith, and the announcers can never be compared against any absolute standard.

The facts needed for such a standard are too often intangible or unknown. The impact of all programs on different types of people in the community, the relative importance to the community of certain local and international events, the educational needs of the community, etc. --- all are facts needed before Mr. Graham could really set any absolute standard and which, at best, he could only get in a limited way. The range of material is so great that even an informed group of people, such as an active board of directors, would find it difficult to obtain all the information required for setting exact standards. This means that the degree of control Mr. Graham can exert over his staff is inherently limited and no number of rules, no amount of personal interference could ever control all their decisions along any particular line. Mr. Graham's problem thus becomes one of understanding the many individual decisions of his staff, making them aware of the importance of each other's decisions for the whole organization, and supplying each individual with as much pertinent objective information as he can so that the best possible decisions are made.

Thus Mr. Graham's attempt to run everything in terms of his own standard, as evidenced by his attitude toward Mr. Pine, his feeling that it's his station, etc. is the basis of his organization's many troubles. Because of this he fails to delegate authority and to define responsibility, to see the need for giving strong incentives to each of his workers, and to provide them with the proper tools for the job. This leads to conflicts between the technical and non-technical groups, between the radio-experienced and non-radio-experienced groups, and among all the falsely titled functions. In addition to the basic need for earning a living, there is another powerful force involved in the worker's motivation. Because of an extraordinary allegiance to radio - to something bigger than themselves - despite the fact they are all unhappy, the workers still perform. Nevertheless the community loses, for they can't carry out their

selective functions to best advantage.

By his influence on the organization's morale, "Colonel" cane is exerting an influence on what the community hears that is all out of proportion to his ability and to the responsibility he can be charged with by the licensing authority or management. This is a good example of how some fairly well hidden influences can play an important role in the exercise of a ubiquitous form of power. Management thus has the responsibility to see that all members of their organization realize the significance of their activity in radiobroadcasting if they are to control this power in the best interests of the community.

Mr. Graham's sales problem is closely related to his administrative problem. Unwise as it may have been to hire a big time operator like Mr. Paul, if Mr. Graham had taken full advantage of his staff's ingenuity and let them contribute some of their ideas on production, they might have produced some shows for him that would have yielded a much higher renewal rate.

Moreover, the station's rate structure does not seem out of line at all. Sandage¹ gives a rate of \$15 per quarter hour for this class of station. It is also interesting to note that according to the FCC² all stations of this class had high sales and made a profit last year. It is hard to appraise Mr. Paul's work in the light of production difficulties, etc., but it doesn't appear that his method of selling could work for the best long run interests of the station. A proper approach to the problem would have involved a detailed study of retailer's needs in Cranstown, and then selection of sales and production staffs equipped to serve those needs. If extensive followup is required, certainly one high price man like Mr. Paul isn't suitable for the job. In addition, Mr. Graham must see that his staff is equipped to produce programs that will be effective for advertisers or no kind of salesman will be of use. This means getting his program and technical expenses into line with the realization that the former represent the most important aspect of his business. Hence if some professional help is needed in surveying the audience, Mr. Graham must spend some money here if his staff is to have the necessary tools for the job. The fallaciousness of Mr. Graham's survey - which at best might be representative of readers of the Courier but is certainly not representative of WZZZ's total audience - is another instance of his trying to do everything himself without going "outside" for help.

RELATION OF THE STUDY TO GENERAL PROBLEMS OF THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY

While it may be argued that this situation is too unique to make any generalizations from it valid, I believe it can be used to illustrate certain difficulties which will be found in all stations. Inasmuch as there are now 194 similar stations in operation according to the latest FCC report³, this type of operation now represents about 10% of the total number stations. This part of the total industry picture may be especially significant at this time when such a large new crop of small stations is being grown.

1. Sandage, C.H. "Radio Advertising for Retailers" p. 215
2. U.S. F.C.C. "An Economic Study of Broadcasting" October '47 (1945) p. 46
3. p. 14 op.cit.

Only problems which come out of the case at hand have been drawn on and as such only represent a segment of the managerial problem. Other important aspects, such as management's relation with advertising agencies and the influence of this relationship on their organizations decisions must await further case studies. It is interesting to note in this connection, however, that lack of agency or sponsor domination scarcely begins to solve management's basic problem of how to best serve the community. WZZZ clearly shows this, for despite freedom from the usual "commercial" influences and financial fears, the community on which WZZZ must depend for its future support, is losing its principal means of livelihood. 1947 by any standard was an extremely prosperous year — certainly in the era of reduced prices and lessened business activity that is bound to eventually follow, Cranstown and WZZZ face some troubled times unless some constructive action is taken quickly.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR GOVERNMENT

One thing that seems to be clear is the impossibility of controlling program standards. There are simply too many forces at work in the situation, and the unique factors of each community adds to the constellation. Certainly no statistical analysis such as that envisioned by the FCC Blue Book¹ or frequently used by social scientists within and without the industry could possibly give a picture of the kind of job a station like WZZZ is doing. The number and variety of people who are making important decisions is too great to warrant reporting the results of their efforts by some sort of numerical scheme.

"News" at station WZZZ is not comparable in terms of public service to "news" on some other station because the decisions about what should be included in the "news" have been made in each case by people working with different sets of values which are colored in terms of their own experience and the unique environment in which they are working. Similarly, the fact that the station is newspaper-owned cannot be compared with facts about other stations until the organizational relationship between the paper and the station are fully explained in each case. Religious programs on WZZZ are the product of the Cranstown Minister's Council and can't be justly compared with religious programs of other stations until that element is taken into account. Almost all other items in the program structure present similar difficulties.

Government can no more produce a set of absolute standards for stations to conform to than Mr. Graham could produce a set for his staff to conform to. Again the difficulty goes back to lack of information on which to base standards which can be meaningful to all who must make decisions. It seems unlikely that government could ever get close enough to the situation to acquire the necessary information unless they made detailed studies of almost every station in the country. The practical difficulties and political implications of

1. See the "Procedural Proposals" pp. 56-59 of Blue Book. Sec. 326 of pending White Bill (S.1333) gives support to this approach by its provision that "nothing in the measure shall limit the FCC's right to consider past station performances in connection with license renewals."

"snooping" would certainly invalidate or seriously impair such an effort. Thus in its present attempt to regulate such standards the government may be moving beyond an effective degree of centralized control. We have, indeed, arrived at a crucial point in the regulatory history of this enterprise.

* * * * *

EXHIBIT I

Balance Sheets of the "Cranstown Courier"
Before and After Purchase of Radio Station

December 31, 1945: (Before Purchase)		December 31, 1946: (After Purchase)
Assets:		
Cash	\$ 86,012	\$ 46,633
Accts. Receivable	67,566	70,326
Supplies	5,000	10,000
Securities	173,734	174,546
Real Estate	148,438	145,320
Machinery	73,445	37,089
Truck	2,007	1,391
Equipment & Tools	3,060	82,869
Furniture & Fixtures	330	-----
Good Will	25,000	25,000
Treasury Stock	100	100
TOTAL	\$ 584,696 *	\$ 652,477 *
Liabilities:		
Accts. Payable	\$ 11,546	\$ 32,749
Notes Payable		25,000
Taxes Accrued	88,687	54,334
Capital Stock	49,500	49,500
Surplus	384,962	440,894
TOTAL	\$ 584,696 *	\$ 653,477 *

* All figures rounded to nearest dollar.

EXHIBIT II

Selected Editorials and Other Pertinent Information
on the Cranstown Currier

Content Analysis by Pages: Typical Daily edition (comes out ea. da. at one)

Page 1 - Local and International News	Page 9 - Society News
Page 2 - Obituaries $\frac{1}{2}$ p., News $\frac{1}{2}$ p.	Page 10 - Local Sports
Page 3 - Local Area News (by townships)	Page 11 - Radio, Comics, Health
Page 4 - Editorials and Features	Page 12 - Local Area News (by townships)
Page 5 - Church and Area News	Page 13 - Amusement Ads
Page 6 - Society News	Page 14 - Want Ads
Page 7 - Society News	Page 15 - " "
Page 8 - Society News	Page 16 - Miscellaneous features: Dog notes, Strange As it Seems, etc.

Editorial: CRANSTOWN'S PROGRESS IN 1947

(Written as part of a daily "Comments on the News" column.)

The busy bantam that is Cranstown has had a good year. Despite floods, fires, shortages, slumps, and the blizzard as a parting token from 1947, little Cranstown, workshop of the nation, has produced more than any other area in the country of comparable size.

Its area would fill but a corner of Texas, with 265,000 square miles, but though you hear much of the bigness and marvelous growth of Texas, little Cranstown steps up front when the chips are down.

The switch industry, one of many that supports this whole area, isn't going to equal the high production figures of 1946 this year.

But in quality and workmanship Cranstown Switches lead the parade -- best for the money, no matter what the price. Leading all, as usual, Cranstown Switches are still tops.

Everywhere industry is producing heartily. There's nothing the matter with Cranstown, despite the slowdown of the past few months.

Editorial: "MANY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS GIVEN FAULTY EDUCATION"

(Written as part of a daily "Comments on the News" column.)

"Dr. John W. STUDEBAKER, Federal Commissioner of Education, who heads a nine-man committee on "life adjustment education for youth", hopes to put through a drastic reorganization of the nation's high school system. He believes two-thirds of all high school pupils are getting an inadequate education because the present system is based on college-entrance and vocational training while only one-third of the pupils go to college or into professional vocations.

EXHIBIT II (Continued)

HE WANTS TO CLOSE two-thirds of all present high schools in the country, build up the remaining one-third into great institutions, and have the government supply the transportation necessary to enable the present total enrolment of pupils to continue their studies. That certainly is an idea drastic enough to interest the most advanced thinkers.

THE KIND OF AN EDUCATION system he wants to develop is one which will give a personally specialized course for each individual student, and he believes such a curriculum can be developed which will be "attractive, significant, and challenging."

IN NEW YORK CITY, the Public Education Association had published a report, after two years of study, declaring the children of the city get poorer education than children in comparable cities, and asking for the expenditure of \$140,000,000 to reorganize the school program, hire 10,000 more teachers, with additional field personnel and administrative assistants, build 9000 new classrooms, buy huge quantities of new textbooks, equipment and supplies, employ 125 more dental hygienists, 200 more nurses, 228 more doctors, 410 more librarians, and erect 816 more shops and 500 more gymnasiums.

NO DOUBT THE NATION would profit by a more liberal investment in public school facilities but the basic weakness of our public school system cannot be eliminated simply by more and better facilities.

THE FAILURE of our public school system is due, not to lack of facilities, but rather to our elimination of the basic fundamentals of education and the adoption of the whimsical fancies of modernistic pedagogy based on the false theory of freedom of self expression.

WE CAN SPEND MILLIONS and even billions of dollars on new buildings and new equipment but we shall not turn out graduates properly prepared for life and good citizenship until we go back to teaching discipline, obedience, self-restraint, personal and individual responsibility, and the obligations of assigned duties through rigorous grounding in reading, writing, spelling, grammar and arithmetic.

THERE IS NO EASY, care-free and painless way to succeed in the coldly competitive workaday world, and until we teach that fact in school our future will be insecure.

EXHIBIT III

Mr. Graham's Survey

The following was run as a half page notice in the Cranstown Courier:

RADIO STATION

WZZZ

WANTS TO PLEASE ITS LISTENERS!!!

By filling in this questionnaire,

WZZZ will be able to bring you better programs.

(continued)

Please fill in and give to newsboy or mail to WZZZ.

Do You Own a Radio?
No ___ Yes ___

Do You Listen to WZZZ?
Yes ___ No ___

Would You Like WZZZ to
Have -

How Many? _____

Number Preferences:

WHAT STATIONS DO
YOU LISTEN TO?

WHAT ARE YOUR
FAVORITE WZZZ
PROGRAMS?

HOW MANY LIS-
TENERS IN YOUR
FAMILY?

___ Popular & Dance Music

___ Classical Music

STA.A ___ WZZZ ___

1. _____

Men _____

___ Light Familiar Music

STA.B ___ STA.E ___

2. _____

Women _____

___ Children's Programs

STA.C ___ STA.F ___

3. _____

Children _____

___ News

STA.D ___ STA.G ___

WHAT ARE YOUR
WZZZ 'PET
PEEVES'?

WHEN DO THEY
LISTEN?

___ Comedy

___ Drama

AT WHAT TIME?

1. _____

Men _____

___ Farm Programs

DAY _____

2. _____

Women _____

___ Religious Programs

NIGHT _____

3. _____

Children _____

___ Quiz

___ Sports

___ Forum-Discussion

___ Homemaking Programs

___ Serials

PLEASE CHECK TIME AND PROGRAM YOU LISTEN TO (All programs from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M.
were listed)

6:30 - Sunrise Serenade
etc.

Yes No
___ ___

1:05 Novatime
etc.

Yes No
___ ___

PLEASE GIVE TO NEWSBOY OR MAIL TO WZZZ, CRANSTOWN.

(newsboys were paid a cent a piece for questionnaires, and \$1.00 for 100% return.)

EXHIBIT IV

Extracts from WZZZ "Program Standards Book"

Kinds of Information Provided:

1. Religious, moral, and social considerations - religion; race, color, nationality; marriage and the family; sex; crime and punishment; physical and mental afflictions; alcoholism and narcotic addiction; profanity and obscenity.
2. Legal, ethical, and other considerations - Impersonations, reference to living persons; simulation of news; fact and fiction, fictional call letters; legislation and litigation, court atmosphere; false and confusing sound effects; legal and medical advice; point to point communication; qualification of speakers; special standards.
3. Standards of procedure for sponsored programs - General procedure: Previews, deadlines, contests, etc.
4. Standards of procedure for Commercial Copy: for all sponsored program misleading statements, derogatory statements, length of commercial time, claims concerning value and price, acceptability of advertiser, testimonials, etc.
5. Medical Advertising - Acceptability of product, testimonials, etc.
6. Other types of products or services - Financial advertising, professional advertising, alcoholic beverage accounts, unacceptable types of advertising.
7. Special Program classification: Children's Programs - Special Advertising standards, clubs and codes, contests, etc.
8. News Programs - Definitions; qualifications of commentators; program content; commercial announcements; length of commercial time.
9. Political Broadcasts: Continuity requirements.
10. Religious Programs - Program content, Scheduling and length of Program.
11. Controversial subjects.

Extract from section one (1.) on Religion:

"The subject of religion must invariably be treated with respect. Reverence shall mark any mention of the name of God, His attributes or powers.

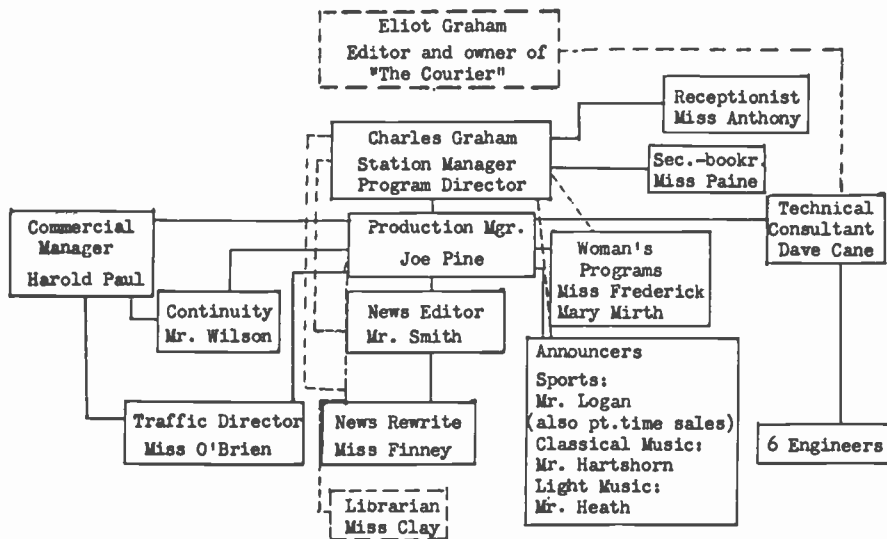
Reference to religious faiths, tenets, or customs must be respectful and in good taste, free of bias and ridicule.

Religious rites - baptism, marriage, burial, and other sacraments - must be portrayed with accuracy.

A priest or minister, when shown in his calling, must be vested with the dignity of his office."

EXHIBIT V

Organization Chart *



* As drawn by Mr. Graham (dotted lines indicate functions left out or true relationship)

EXHIBIT V-a

Years in commercial Radio of Staff Members

Mr. Graham	0
Mr. Paul	20
Mr. Cane	0
Mr. Pine	2
Mr. Smith	5
Mr. Hartshorn	5
Mr. Logan	4
Mr. Heath	1

EXHIBIT VI

WZZZ Rate Card

	1 Time	26 Times	52 Times	104 Times	156 Times	208 Times	260 Times
1 Hr.	\$60.00	\$58.50	\$57.00	\$55.50	\$54.00	\$52.50	\$51.00
3/4 hr.	\$48.00	\$46.80	\$45.60	\$44.40	\$43.20	\$42.00	\$40.80
1/2 hr.	\$36.00	\$35.10	\$34.20	\$33.30	\$32.40	\$31.50	\$30.60
1/4 hr.	\$24.00	\$23.40	\$22.80	\$22.20	\$21.60	\$21.00	\$20.40
10 min.	\$18.00	\$17.55	\$17.10	\$16.65	\$16.20	\$15.75	\$15.30
5 min.	\$12.00	\$11.70	\$11.40	\$11.10	\$10.80	\$10.50	\$10.20
1 min.							
or less	\$ 6.00	\$ 5.85	\$ 5.70	\$ 5.55	\$ 5.40	\$ 5.25	\$ 5.10

EXHIBIT VII

Operating Statements: WZZZ and Average Station

	WZZZ*	Average Station**
Gross Revenue Dollar	1.00	1.00
Total Broadcast Expenses	.71	.64
Technical Expenses	.22	.11
Program Expenses	.19	.23
Sales Expenses	.09	.21
Gen'l and Admin. Expenses	.21	.21
Broadcast Income (Before Tax)	.29	.36

*Source: Estimates of Mr. Graham and Mr. Paul

**Source: FCC "Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees" - Economic Aspects: Table 4

EXHIBIT VIII

"THE ANNOUNCER'S CREED"

Vagabond voice of the skies, visiting mansion and hut, I am the unseen guest of the nation. Mindful of this, May I not affront any race or creed.

Young and old welcome me to their fireside ... my speech must be wholesome.

I pledge to speak clearly, concisely, accurately; to be alert, to put vitality, enthusiasm and sincerity into my announcing; be it symphony, jazz or time signal ... I am a word showman, an invisible salesman.

May I not love my voice, nor suffer other alienating conceit, but keep striving for perfection.

May good judgment spur me to build a good vocabulary, review grammar, read widely, and listen to able contemporaries.

May I be continuously proud of my work, and ever conscious of my responsibilities.

I am the voice of the station ... by my work the station is judged.

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