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# THE ANNALS

*of The American Academy of Political  
and Social Science*

JANUARY  
1935



## Radio: The Fifth Estate

*An attempt to evaluate radio as a social and  
political force, in terms of the services it  
renders and the problems it has raised*



Book Reviews of new literature in the field of the  
social sciences

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# THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

3457 Walnut Street

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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| <p><b>Abuses of Medical Charity and of the Free Services of Physicians</b><br/> <b>NATHAN B. VAN ETTE, M.D.</b><br/> <i>New York City</i></p>   | <p><b>Change Comes to the Doctor</b><br/> <b>MICHAEL M. DAVIS, PH.D.</b><br/> <i>Director for Medical Services, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago</i></p>      |
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# THE ANNALS

*of the American Academy of Political  
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THORSTEN SELLIN

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR



## RADIO: THE FIFTH ESTATE

*Edited by*

HERMAN S. HETTINGER, Ph.D.

*Merchandising Department, University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

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Supplement:

The Present Crisis in the Balkans  
Far Eastern Questions

PHILADELPHIA

1935

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*Important Notice*

TO MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

*On April 5th and 6th 1935 the Academy*

*will hold its*

**THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING**

*at the*

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This meeting, like other annual meetings for many years past, will be devoted to a discussion of world problems with particular emphasis on the position of the United States in world affairs.

This year the announced topic is:

**SOCIALISM, FASCISM, AND DEMOCRACY**

The Annual Meetings of the Academy are widely known because of the prominence and ability of the speakers who participate. Delegates attend from scores of organizations and institutions in the United States and abroad. The proceedings of the meeting appear regularly as the July issue of *THE ANNALS*, sent to all members and available to others who may desire to purchase it separately.

If you are planning to attend, will you kindly let us know, in order that we may send you a program and card of admittance, well in advance of the meeting?

**ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON**  
*President*

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## FOREWORD

APPROXIMATELY five years ago *THE ANNALS* published its first volume on radio, as a supplement to the issue of March 1929. It was edited by Dr. Irwin Stewart, now a member of the Federal Communications Commission. This important volume embraced the whole field of radio, including point-to-point communication as well as broadcasting.

Unlike its predecessor, the present volume concerns itself only with radio broadcasting. During the intervening five years, the growth of radio as a means of mass communication has duplicated its phenomenal rise of the previous decade, and has achieved a status in society which merits separate attention. The point-to-point communication aspects, on the other hand, have remained the concern chiefly of the technician.

Since 1929, radio broadcasting may be said to have emerged from youth into adolescence, and now into the beginnings of maturity. Today, broadcasting, as a medium of entertainment, cultural and political enlightenment, and more formal educational training, extends its personal and all-pervasive influence into six out of every ten American homes. It has grown into the greatest medium of mass communication to be developed since the printing press.

The purpose of the current volume is to evaluate this new social force in terms of the services which it renders and the problems it has raised. This evaluation has been carried out principally in terms of the American scene, since our immediate problem is the best method of adapting the power of broadcasting to American conditions. In this task, the example of other countries is but of secondary assistance.

The discussion of radio broadcasting has been divided into several sections in the volume. The first one of these deals with the present status and organization of radio broadcasting throughout the world, describes briefly the principal systems in effect, and evaluates them from both the American and European viewpoints. The second section presents a critical discussion of the services rendered by broadcasting in the United States. The third and last section concerns itself with some of the more pertinent problems facing American broadcasting, and makes a brief excursion into the future.

In so new and dynamic a field it is but natural that extreme and contrasting points of view should be developed. An attempt has been made to present these diverse viewpoints in a constructive fashion, free from the heat and hyperbole which seems to be the almost inescapable concomitant of political controversy. It is hoped that the resulting discussions will be of service in presenting a fairly comprehensive picture of broadcasting.

HERMAN S. HETTINGER

**MATERIAL IN PREVIOUS ISSUES OF THE ANNALS RELATED TO TOPICS  
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# Broadcasting in the United States

By HERMAN S. HETTINGER

## 1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN BROADCASTING

Broadcasting may be defined as the transmission through space by means of any radio frequency, of signals intended to be received either audibly or visually by the public. Until television becomes technically and economically more practicable, broadcasting will continue to be concerned almost exclusively with the auditory field.

Radio broadcasting is a new field. The first station began operation in November 1920. The first radio advertising was broadcast early in 1923, and the first commercially sponsored program to be handled on a national basis was sent out over the air on New Year's Day 1925. The first permanent national network company was organized late in 1926. It was not until 1927 that legislative provision was made definitely for the regulation of American broadcasting. The first basic allocation of stations did not occur until November of the following year.

### FROM CHAOS TO ORDER

Prior to 1927, broadcasting presented the chaos of a new industry. Stations sprang up throughout the country. By 1922 there were 382 stations in operation. This number mounted to 573 in the following year and reached a peak total of 732 during the early months of 1927.

The early stations were small transmitters owned by local electrical stores, battery and radio shops, department stores, churches, chambers of commerce, and similar organizations seeking to capitalize upon the novelty of radio. In 1923 approximately half of

the stations were less than 100 watts in power and very few were more than 500 watts.<sup>1</sup> Station staffs were recruited from every walk of life and were without experience or precedent to guide them.

The public embraced radio with enthusiasm. In 1922 the estimated number of receiving sets in operation was 60,000. By the following year this number had grown to 1,500,000, and by 1927 to 6,500,000.<sup>2</sup> While listeners strained at ear-phones, prospective talent flocked to the studios. Veteran station executives cite numerous instances where well-known artists appeared incognito on station programs, performing gratis so that they might experience standing before the microphone. However, programs were of little importance. The public was more intent upon hearing the signals of distant points.

By 1925 American broadcasting began to take on more substantial form. Station power increased materially. Network service was widening in scope. Program service was improved. On the larger stations the volunteer talent was being supplanted by professional performers hired with specific program requirements in mind. The expense of operating more powerful transmitters on more ambitious program schedules began to drive out the "fly-by-night" broadcasters and to develop the professional station operator.

By 1927 the foundations of the so-called "American system" began to take form. Their development was

<sup>1</sup> *Commercial and Government Radio Stations of the United States*, Dept. of Commerce, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates by the McGraw-Hill Book Co., publishers of *Electronics and Radio Retailing*.

materially speeded by the passage of the Radio Act of that year and by the establishment of permanent national network service.

The Radio Act of 1927 gave Congressional sanction to the American privately owned system, and, in addition, set up the machinery for an orderly regulation of broadcasting in this country. By the close of the following year, classes of stations had been established, allocations to frequencies made, and hours of operation determined. Much of the confusion previously existing in American broadcasting had been eliminated. The 732 stations in operation prior to the Radio Act had been reduced to 606 by 1928,<sup>3</sup> of which few more than two-thirds were in simultaneous night-time operation.

The development of national network broadcasting made possible the furnishing of a high standard of program service on a nation-wide scale. In addition, it furnished an important impetus to radio advertising, by which the new industry sought to finance itself. National networks made available to stations throughout the country the talent which could be secured only in the leading metropolitan centers. Likewise they alone were in a position in 1927 to develop programs for the large national advertisers whose widespread markets and resources made them the logical pioneers in the use of the new medium. In 1927 national network advertising volume amounted to \$3,832,000, while by 1932 it had risen to \$39,106,000.<sup>4</sup>

In 1929 the development of electrical transcriptions, whereby programs could be especially recorded for broadcasting purposes and then distributed among stations, turned the attention of na-

tional and regional advertisers to the possibility of reaching their territories through the use of widely scattered individual stations rather than networks. The success of some companies in employing short announcements over groups of individual stations gave further impetus to this trend. This marked the rise of so-called "spot" broadcasting.

The establishment of regional networks serving limited territories gave further elasticity to the broadcasting structure, and afforded new advertising opportunities. With the rise of spot broadcasting, various types of middlemen arose to act as contact between the broadcasting stations and the advertisers or their agencies. The growing use of radio as an advertising medium by local business enterprises during this period completed the rise of the more important elements in the economic structure of American broadcasting.

#### IMPROVED SERVICE

During this period important developments also took place in broadcasting service. Increased station power, greatly improved technical equipment, better knowledge with regard to station location and construction, and similar factors added materially to the quality and strength of signal which was made available to the listener to be picked up through his greatly improved receiving set.

Program service likewise was extended. Leading symphony orchestras began to perform over the air. In 1929 the meteoric rise of "Amos 'n' Andy" called attention to the possibilities of the non-musical program. In 1930 the rebroadcasting of European and other foreign programs was established as a regular feature of American program service. More time was given to the broadcasting of public events,

<sup>3</sup> Second Annual Report, Federal Radio Commission, 1929.

<sup>4</sup> National Advertising Records.

the discussion of civic questions, and similar types of programs. Better and more pretentious entertainment was continually being offered.

The public responded to these developments by doubling the number of receiving sets in operation between 1927 and 1930, and by further increasing that number to approximately 17,000,000 by 1932.<sup>5</sup>

In that year broadcasting entered the third period of its development, wherein refinement and improvement of the foundations thus far laid was the dominant note. With its technical and economic structures fairly well established and its program service well developed in its principal features, the problem became one of perfection of detail rather than of the establishment of basic principle.

## 2. THE BASES OF AMERICAN BROADCASTING

The problems faced by radio broadcasting systems throughout the world are fundamentally similar in origin. They arise out of the basic physical and social characteristics of broadcasting. The system established by an individual nation is usually the reflection of the manner in which its national psychology has coped with these characteristics.

What are the fundamental characteristics of broadcasting? In the physical field there are two more important ones. The first of these is the fact that the supply of frequencies over which stations can operate is limited by nature. The second important characteristic is that radio waves, once set in motion, can be controlled only slightly in the direction and the distance which they travel. Under favorable conditions they may be received at odd points throughout the world, thousands of

miles from the originating station.

The social characteristics of broadcasting arise out of its potentialities as a medium of mass communication. It is probably the greatest agency of this type to have been developed since the printing press. In immediacy and universality of contact it is unexcelled. Potentially, in this country, it can bring together approximately 50,000,000 citizens<sup>6</sup> to listen to the voice of a speaker, or to a program. It is a dramatic medium, not only because of its immediacy and directness, but because it represents communication by the oldest means known—the human voice. It possesses all the emotional appeal and persuasiveness of the voice. This gives it a power which cold print cannot equal.

The social implications of these characteristics have far-reaching significance. Because of its power as a means of mass communication, broadcasting ranks high as a medium of entertainment and of the dissemination of culture in the broadest sense of that term. Because of its direct and dramatic contact with the masses, it is an agency of propaganda par excellence, to which recent world experience amply testifies. Since its signals respect no political boundaries, the problems which it raises are international in scope, both by virtue of the limited frequencies to be distributed among nations and because of the international implications of national program policies.

Since international regulation has been confined principally to the distribution of frequencies among nations, it is the development of broadcasting systems within nations that is of greatest interest. The objectives of a national broadcasting system are twofold: (1) the allocation of frequencies among

<sup>5</sup> Columbia Broadcasting System and McGraw-Hill estimates.

<sup>6</sup> Surveys indicate an average of three listeners to every set.

classes of stations in such a manner as to insure the best possible physical service to the public; and (2) the development of an operating system which will render program service most in keeping with the desires and the needs of the listeners.

#### NATIONAL SYSTEMS

A variety of systems has been utilized to achieve these goals. In Germany and Russia, broadcasting has been made the agency of the state for the indoctrination of the public with the philosophies and ideas which the state—that is, those controlling it—espouses. The innate British dislike for extremes has resulted in a quasi-governmental monopoly, thus avoiding the more obvious disadvantages of the pure state system. Canada has adopted a system patterned largely after that of Great Britain, but allows advertising if requested. In Australia, two systems, one private and one government-owned and operated, vie for listener interest.

In the United States the traditional American procedure has been followed. The fundamental features of the American system of broadcasting are as follows: (1) It is privately owned and competitively operated; (2) it is financed by the sale of time to advertisers; and (3) its operation is regulated by the Federal Government.

Private ownership of American broadcasting stations allows a wide variety of organizations to enter the broadcasting field. Individuals, business organizations, educational institutions, religious bodies, municipalities, states, and even the Federal Government may own and operate stations. The sole requirement is that the frequencies be available and that the applicant can convince the regulating body, now the Federal Communications Commission, that he is best

equipped to render general public service over them.

Combined with the type of advertising structure which has grown up in this country, private ownership and operation of stations has resulted in a highly competitive system of broadcasting. Networks compete with each other and with stations, including their own affiliates, for national business, while the rivalry between individual stations in given areas is of the keenest nature. The result has been a constant striving to win listener interest by stations and networks, with a consequent emphasis on the development of programs which will achieve this goal. Popular broadcasting accordingly has benefited.

#### FINANCING BY ADVERTISING

Advertising has proved the most practicable manner in which to finance this system. In this, broadcasting has followed the example of the press. By means of financing itself through functioning as an advertising medium, the press has achieved financial stability and a comparatively high degree of editorial freedom.

Complete and unrestricted freedom of speech, like complete freedom of action, is unattainable under any form of government. Certainly it exists no more in Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy, or even democratic England than it does in this country. Social regulation, the essence of government, implies restriction of personal freedom. This restriction is extended to the expression of individual opinions when these run too far counter to the group pattern. However, the impersonal and tolerant eye of the advertiser, interested principally in circulation, has been more lenient than other forms of journalistic financing. The freedom and impartiality of the press today is certainly a marked improvement over

the political pamphleteering of the late eighteenth century, when publishers were dependent almost completely for their revenues upon the contributions of politically ambitious men and their followers. American journalism, advertising-financed, is also infinitely more free than the government-inspired propaganda sheet prevalent in many parts of the world today.

The advantages secured by newspapers and magazines in this field have likewise accrued to American broadcasting. Indeed, it may be observed that unless American broadcasting retains this freedom, the freedom of the American press may mean little or nothing. The broad, almost instantaneous contact afforded by a government-owned radio system devoted to offsetting all criticisms of its policies would place a dissenting press in a most difficult position, if it would not completely nullify its effectiveness.

The financing of broadcasting by advertisers has also resulted in the development of a wide variety and a high standard of program service possible only through the expenditure of large sums. In 1931 stations and networks spent over \$20,000,000 for programs alone,<sup>7</sup> to which the individual advertisers added many more millions. It is estimated that a government-owned system providing commensurate service would entail an annual minimum cost of from \$70,000,000 to \$150,000,000, to be raised by taxation.<sup>8</sup> If the practice of some European countries of withholding a large portion of the radio tax for general government expenses were followed, the cost of such a system might be as much as doubled. As it is, this cost is met principally by

the diversion of advertising funds to radio from competing media.

#### GOVERNMENT REGULATION

Private ownership and operation of a broadcasting system presupposes government regulation. Under recent legislation the control of American broadcasting has been vested in the newly created Federal Communications Commission.

The underlying philosophy of American radio regulation has been clearly established in the various acts pertaining to that field and in court decisions. The salient features of this philosophy may be stated as follows:

All the people of the United States are entitled to adequate radio service. As a result, the available broadcasting facilities have been distributed among the various sections of the country in proportion with their population.

The air is the domain of the government. There can be no vested right to its use. Stations exist by virtue of government sanction as expressed in the issuance of a license. The maximum period for which a license may be issued under the present law is three years, though none has been given thus far for more than six months. Licenses are issued to stations upon the demonstration of their ability to fulfill the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." Financial responsibility, maintenance of specific standards of physical service and hours of operation, and the quality of the program service rendered, are among the principal features which have been considered in this respect.

Freedom of expression has been zealously guarded. Legislative provision has been made prohibiting the restriction of the freedom of speech or the vesting of the administrative authority with the power to censor programs. These features have been

<sup>7</sup> *Commercial Radio Advertising*, Federal Radio Commission, 1932, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Studies by the writer based upon data presented by the Federal Radio Commission in *Commercial Radio Advertising*.

further strengthened by additional provisions designed to insure equal treatment of all political candidates and to limit station censorship of speeches. Though there is some doubt as to the practicability of the specific provisions now in force, due to their seeming irreconcilability with the law of libel, nevertheless they are a definite indication of the philosophy which has motivated those who have shaped American radio legislation.

### 3. THE AMERICAN RADIO AUDIENCE

The audience served by the American broadcasting system at the present time comprises 18,500,000 families,<sup>9</sup> or a potential listening group of more than 50,000,000 people. Approximately 60 per cent of all homes in the country possess receiving sets. Sets in operation in this country comprise 43.2 per cent of the world total, the United States enjoying a higher per capita ownership than any other nation with the possible exception of Denmark.

This listening audience is not distributed equally throughout the country, nor even in accordance with the distribution of total population. There are three great listening areas. The first comprises the New England, Middle Atlantic, and North Central States and contains 75.3 per cent of the radio families and 60 per cent of the total population. The second area comprises the South Atlantic and South Central States, in which are situated 13.5 per cent of total radio families and 28.9 per cent of the population. The third area comprises the Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, containing 11.2 per cent of radio families and 11.1 per cent of total families.

There is a marked difference between rural and urban radio set ownership.

<sup>9</sup> Estimate of the Electrical Equipment Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

According to the radio census of 1930, 46.7 per cent of all urban families possessed radios, while 21 per cent of rural families did so. Only 5 per cent of the rural families in the South Atlantic and South Central States, in which reside approximately half of the rural families of the country, possessed radios, while 45.2 per cent of the rural families in the remainder of the country owned them. From 1930 to 1933 the proportion of urban radio families to total families increased, it is estimated, to 65.1 per cent, and of rural families to 29.9 per cent. No estimate of geographical variations in urban and rural audiences is available for 1933, though the proportion of total radio sets located in the Southern States is estimated to have increased from 11.9 per cent to 13.5 per cent during the same period.<sup>10</sup>

There is a marked difference in set ownership among various income groups. Between 80 and 90 per cent of all families with incomes of \$3,000 and over own radios; 72 per cent of the families in the \$2,000-\$3,000 group, and 57.8 per cent of those in the \$1,000-\$2,000 group own them.<sup>11</sup> Radio set ownership seems to be slightly more prevalent in the larger than in the smaller towns, with the metropolitan suburbs leading all other types of communities.

As far as can be determined by surveys, the average set owner listens to the radio from two to four hours a day. From two thirds to three quarters of the radio audience listen some time daily. The morning audience is approximately one half of the evening audience, and the afternoon audience slightly greater than the number of

<sup>10</sup> Based on surveys by the McGraw-Hill Book Co. and Columbia Broadcasting System.

<sup>11</sup> *A Vertical Study of Radio Ownership*, Columbia Broadcasting System (in cooperation with U. S. Bureau of the Census) 1933.

morning listeners. Approximately 90 per cent of the radio audience stays on the air during the summer, though the growing use of automobile radios and portable receiving sets undoubtedly has increased summer listening.

There are probably two to three listeners to the average set. A great deal of daytime listening is casual, but at night the radio seems to receive a surprisingly high degree of attention. Most set owners employ from two to three stations regularly, usually tuning in to local stations, or at least to those transmitters whose signals dominate the locality. The radio audience listens in part by stations, but can be attracted rapidly from one station to another within its circle of habitual listening by an outstanding program.

#### 4. THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN BROADCASTING

The broadcasting structure which serves the American listening public is comprised of 598 stations, operating on 90 channels located within the 550-1,500 kilocycle band. Of these stations 376 were in simultaneous night-time operation in 1933.<sup>12</sup> The remaining 222 stations were allowed on the air by virtue of time-sharing agreements or by limitation of broadcasting to daylight hours. It is estimated that these stations render satisfactory daylight service to 95 per cent and night service to 90 per cent of the population of the country.<sup>13</sup>

Stations are divided as follows, according to power: There are 232 local stations operating on six channels assigned to that class of transmitter, the night-time power of which is limited to 100 watts. Forty channels have been reserved for 265 low-powered re-

gional stations possessing a maximum night-time power of 1,000 watts. Eight high-powered regional stations, with a maximum night-time power of 5,000 watts, occupy four other channels. Finally, 40 channels have been reserved for high-powered clear-channel stations ranging from 5,000 to 50,000 watts in power, with one station—WLW, Cincinnati—employing 500,000 watts. At the present time 34 unlimited time stations and 59 part-time stations operate on these channels. The part-time stations operate either during daylight hours, or at night when the dominant station is silent. These part-time stations range from 50 watts upwards in power.

The theory underlying the preceding station allocation is that the local stations will serve the immediate areas of smaller communities; that the regional stations will serve larger communities and metropolitan areas; and that the clear-channel, high-powered stations will form the backbone of the rural and national service. There is some question as to whether or not the location of the large number of small part-time transmitters on clear channels has impaired this latter type of service. It should be noted that approximately 55 per cent of the low-powered regional stations and 47 per cent of the local stations are on part-time operation.

A modification of the present allocation exists in the provision of the Communications Act, recently passed, allowing the licensing of additional 100-watt stations irrespective of quota provisions, provided that they do not interfere with existing service. A second and even more important modification arises out of the recent ruling of the Commission establishing separate day and night quotas and allowing increased daytime power in certain classes of stations. These rulings may

<sup>12</sup> Seventh Annual Report, Federal Radio Commission, 1933.

<sup>13</sup> *Commercial Radio Advertising*, Federal Radio Commission, 1932, p. 13.

result in increased day service and more stations. This, however, remains to be seen.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF STATIONS

The stations of the country are distributed in accordance with the proportion of population residing in different sections, by means of dividing the country into five zones. The First Zone comprises New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Michigan constitute the Second Zone. All the South Atlantic and South Central States except those previously mentioned, make up the Third Zone. The North Central States other than Ohio and Michigan constitute the Fourth Zone. The Fifth Zone is made up of the Mountain and Pacific States.

Each of these zones contains approximately equal proportions of the population, with the exception of the Fifth Zone, whose tremendous area constitutes a special problem in allocation. Each zone likewise receives, theoretically, an equal share of the broadcasting facilities. In actual practice, the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Zones have received more than their share. It should also be noted that the zones, though approximately equal in population, are not at all equal in number of radio families. Of the total radio families, 30.6 per cent reside in the First Zone; 23.4 per cent in the Second Zone; 10.2 per cent in the Third Zone; 24.6 per cent in the Fourth Zone; and 11.2 per cent in the Fifth Zone.

#### NETWORK ORGANIZATION

The national network organization of the country comprises two<sup>14</sup> great net-

<sup>14</sup> Recently a third network, the American Broadcasting System, has been formed. It promises to assume what practically will amount to national status.

work companies, the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System. There are 184 American and 5 Canadian stations affiliated with these two networks. These comprise slightly over 30 per cent of the stations of the country and account for about 65 per cent of the broadcasting facilities, calculated on a quota unit basis. In 1932, network companies owned or had a financial interest in but 20 of these stations, and it is probable that this number is still relatively unchanged.

The National Broadcasting Company is organized into two so-called "basic" networks, the Red and the Blue, whose stations cover the New England, Middle Atlantic and North Central States, and into a number of sub-groups covering the remainder of the country. The Columbia Broadcasting System operates one basic network in the same territory as does its competitor, and in addition has connected with it a large number of affiliated stations which make possible national coverage, and also a more intense coverage of the basic area than the "basic" Columbia network of itself provides.

Affiliation with a national network takes place on the basis of network payment of specified sums to individual stations for the broadcasting of network commercial programs, and of station contribution in some manner to the expense of the network sustaining service. This contribution may take the form of the payment of line charges, the payment of a specified sum per hour of sustaining service used, the payment of a flat monthly fee, or the donation of a number of station hours for the broadcasting of commercial programs without payment from the network. Since in many instances stations can make more money from their own commercial programs than

from network ones (some larger stations carrying the latter at a definite loss), and since the networks command the best evening hours in most instances, the problem of a satisfactory scheme of network-station relations still remains to be solved.

In addition to the national networks, there are a number of regional networks, such as the Yankee Network which covers New England, and the Don Lee System on the Pacific Coast. In recent years a number of less formal regional networks, not maintaining permanent telephone line connections and complete program service throughout the day, have developed in many sections of the country.

#### SPOT BROADCASTING

Originally all broadcast advertising was either local in origin or a network program. With the development of electrical recordings of high quality, which the uninitiated find difficult to tell from a live talent performance when they are correctly played, advertisers came to see the possibility of using unrelated stations scattered throughout the country. In this way broadcasting could be better adapted to the specific seasonal and market requirements of a given company or product. Accordingly, in 1930 so-called spot broadcasting began to develop into an important factor in radio advertising.

Spot broadcasting in turn gave rise to a series of middlemen who acted as contacts between stations and the advertiser or his agency. Originally, middlemen in this field functioned principally as time brokers, similar to the space broker of early newspaper history. Where agencies were not equipped with program departments, they also functioned in the program field. In recent months the time broker has been almost completely

supplanted by the special station representative, who, like the newspaper representative, solicits business and represents a specific station or group of stations in a given territory.

Thus, the national network, the regional network, the individual station, the advertising agency, the transcription company, and the station representative constitute the chief elements in the commercial structure of broadcasting today.

A final feature of American broadcasting structure which bears mention is the tendency in recent years toward a specialization of stations with regard to program service and clientele. The development of foreign language stations catering to our foreign population, the rise of farm stations, the emergence of what might be called metropolitan stations similar to our great city dailies, and the concentration of certain of the small 100-watt transmitters upon specific classes in the community, usually the laboring group, are examples to point. The trend will probably continue.

#### ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The economic operation of the American broadcasting system requires brief attention. In 1931, probably the peak year for the industry, the total station expenditures, according to the Federal Radio Commission, exceeded total revenues by \$237,000.<sup>15</sup> During the same year the gross revenue of more than half of the stations of the country was less than \$3,000 per month.<sup>16</sup> Declining broadcast advertising volume during the ensuing two years further intensified the situation.

For the rank and file, broadcasting is therefore not a highly profitable ven-

<sup>15</sup> *Commercial Radio Advertising*, Federal Radio Commission, 1932.

<sup>16</sup> Data presented by broadcasting industry at code hearings, 1933.

ture. Location in an outstanding market or the possession of marked ability may yield high returns, more so indeed than the possession of a high-powered transmitter. The general financial level of the industry, however, must still be raised if economic stability is to be achieved. Heavy equipment and operation charges, high depreciation, the fact that as revenues decline expenses rise since operating schedules must be maintained, scarcity of credit because of the six-months license limitation, and similar factors introduce serious economic problems into broadcasting. Economically sounder regulation by the Government, and a growing managerial skill among stations should go far, however, to rectify the present situation during the next few years.

##### 5. AMERICAN BROADCAST ADVERTISING

The relation of advertising to American broadcasting has already been discussed. It therefore remains only to trace briefly the trend in advertising volume, its composition as to types of sponsors, and the portion of the broadcasting structure utilized.

In 1931, the industry's most prosperous year, gross receipts from the sale of time by stations and networks amounted to approximately \$70,000,000. In 1933, receipts of the industry were estimated at about \$57,000,000, or a decline of approximately 20 per cent. This decline from the peak year was considerably less than that experienced by the older advertising media. During the first half of 1934, gross time sales were slightly in excess of \$38,000,000.<sup>17</sup>

During the past several years national network advertising has comprised between 50 and 55 per cent of

<sup>17</sup> Figures in this section have been compiled by the Statistical Service of the National Association of Broadcasters.

total broadcast advertising volume. Permanent regional networks have accounted for approximately 1 per cent of total volume. During the 1933-1934 season, for which alone complete figures are available, national spot business amounted to about 18 per cent of station revenues, while local radio sponsorship accounted for slightly less than one quarter of total radio advertising volume.

Network and national spot advertising have recovered the most rapidly from the depression, networks accounting for almost 60 per cent of total revenue during the first six months of 1934, and national spot business for nearly 20 per cent of total volume.

Clear-channel and high-powered regional stations accounted for 48.4 per cent of total non-network business, regional stations for 39.2 per cent, and local stations for 12.4 per cent. During the same period, 67.5 per cent of non-network broadcast advertising expenditures were made in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and North Central States, 14.6 per cent in the South, and 17.5 per cent in the Pacific Coast and Mountain district. The varying network-station arrangements make a similar breakdown of network revenues impracticable.

The most important buyers of radio time are the distributors of convenience goods (small, low-priced articles with high repeat sales), those of larger specialty articles such as electrical appliances and automobiles, and retail establishments. The importance of these groups varies greatly with the portion of the broadcasting structure being considered.

In the case of national networks, convenience goods comprised over 80 per cent of total network volume during the period June 1933 to July 1934. Food, beverage, and confectionery advertising comprised one third of the

total, cosmetics approximately one fifth, gasoline and automotive accessories one eighth, and pharmaceuticals and tobacco products one tenth each. Since the upswing in business there has been a tendency for manufacturers of larger and more expensive articles to utilize network advertising, the automotive industry constituting the outstanding example to date.

Both national spot and regional network business tend to follow national network trends with respect to sponsorship. Pharmaceutical advertising is somewhat more important in the national spot than in the network field. Regional networks are more restricted as to variety of accounts than are national networks or national spot business.

Local broadcast advertising presents a decided contrast to the rest of the field. More than one quarter of local volume comes from an amazing variety of sponsoring businesses which defy classification into industrial groups. Approximately one fifth of local business is food advertising, one eighth clothing, and one tenth department and general store advertising. Between 35 and 40 per cent of all local advertising is of retail origin.

#### 6. AMERICAN PROGRAM SERVICE

The program service offered by American broadcasting is unusually complete. It is typically American, adapted to national conditions and psychology. It is a democratically controlled service, the broadcaster giving the public those programs which constant research and direct expression of opinion indicate to be most popular. It is necessary that he do this if he is to build station and network circulation with which to attract advertisers.

The democratic control of programs is by no means a perfect one, though there is probably no better method

available. It possesses all the strengths and the weaknesses of democracy operating in the social and political fields. Democratic control of programs implies control by the listening majority. It is not surprising, therefore, that the type of programs most in demand would be that of popular entertainment such as "Amos 'n' Andy," Will Rogers, and Eddie Cantor. Likewise it is only to be expected that the majority of listeners would rather be entertained than edified, and that educational programs would be able to compete successfully with lighter fare only when presented in a vital, interesting, and dramatic fashion.

It must not be assumed however, that broadcasting in this country caters only to what might facetiously be called "the great American Babbitry." Democratic control of programs implies more than strict conformance to the national stereotype. Democracy, no matter what its common manifestations, is not homogeneous. Rather, it is made up of a variety of more or less conflicting interest groups who are seeking to impose their viewpoint or program upon their fellows. The solutions of democracy therefore are the result either of victory on the part of some group, or more usually, of a compromise between contending interests.

This social pressure of contending interests materially affects the nature of American broadcasting programs. One need only observe intimately the workings of the average station or network office to realize the tenacity and ingenuity exhibited by the most amazing variety of such groups who desire to present their particular viewpoint over the air. Indeed, the balance achieved by American broadcasting in the face of such pressure is sometimes surprising.

More intimately connected with American programming are the less forcefully presented but more impor-

tant variations in religious, cultural, racial, and social outlook of various groups in the community, the differing tastes of various sections of the country, urban and rural differences of psychology, and similar considerations. Radio, by reason of the impossibility of indefinite expansion of its facilities, must be all things to all men. The program structure of stations and networks is largely a reflection of the varying tastes of different sections of the public, with those of the majority, of course, uppermost.

#### INTELLECTUAL LEVEL OF PROGRAMS

Nor does the democratic control of radio imply appealing principally to the lowest common denominator of public appreciation. Radio's main interest is in the middle class, for it is this group, surveys show, that constitutes the most important and profitable market for the majority of advertised and branded commodities. The cultural level of this group is by no means so low as loose thinking or intellectual snobbery would place it. There have been few half-truths more pernicious than that of the average fourteen-year-old intellectual level of the American public. One need merely contrast the offerings of national networks and the better stations with those of broadcasters interested principally in the lowest income groups to realize that the appeal of most broadcasting is directed moderately far up the economic and cultural ladder.

Since it is the average middle-class citizen to whom radio caters principally in this country, its service is colored by his desires. Entertainment is paramount, but it is a more polished entertainment than several years ago. Popular music constitutes an important part of the program service, but in recent years the music offered has possessed better melody and vastly

improved orchestration as compared to the jazz of early broadcasting. Comedy and drama are important, as is news and the discussion of public events. Outstanding artistic endeavors, such as symphony concerts by leading orchestras, win a large following. Showmanship is paramount to success, and even the most popular type of program will fall without it.

Some idea of the variety of American program service can be secured from the rather arbitrary classification, shown opposite, of material broadcast over national network key stations at typical periods in recent years.

In this series of programs there is sufficient of highest value to satisfy the most exacting listener if he will trouble to acquaint himself with what is being offered. During the 1933-1934 season the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the Rochester, Detroit, and Chicago orchestras were among the musical organizations to be heard regularly over the air.

In the field of education, the programs of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the Columbia School of the Air, and the NBC Musical Appreciation Hour were among those offered. In the international field, American broadcasting brought the public such diverse figures as Adolf Hitler, Chancellor Dollfuss, Eamon de Valera, Leon Trotsky, Pope Pius XI, George Bernard Shaw, King George V of England, Viscount Ishii, Selma Lagerlöf, André Siegfried, and Professor Einstein. The Aldershot Torchlight Tattoo, the Oberammergau Passion Play, and the Davis Cup tennis matches were among the other international offerings of the year.

The discussion of public events over the air included over twenty broad-

CLASSIFICATION OF PROGRAMS BROADCAST OVER KEY STATIONS OF NATIONAL NETWORKS DURING  
THE SECOND WEEK OF NOVEMBER 1931 AND 1932, AND CLOSING WEEK OF JANUARY 1934<sup>a</sup>  
(Percentage of Hours)

Type of Program <sup>b</sup>	1931	1932	1934
Classical music.....	7.7	4.9	7.5
Semi-classical music.....	12.0	10.6	11.2
Folk music and ballads.....	3.0	1.0	2.2
Variety music.....	4.2	2.0	5.9
Popular music.....	33.8	42.9	34.4
<b>Total music.....</b>	<b>60.7</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>61.2</b>
Children's programs.....	2.7	3.4	3.6
Comedy broadcasts.....	4.7	4.1	2.6
Other dramatic presentations.....	5.5	4.9	8.5
Adult educational programs.....	5.0	3.6	5.2
Children's educational programs.....	.7	.8	.8 <sup>c</sup>
Farm programs.....	1.7	1.9	1.7
International rebroadcasts.....	.1	.3	.5
News and market reports.....	1.4	1.5	1.5
Religious programs.....	1.9	.5	1.6
Sports broadcasts.....	2.7	2.6	...
Special features of public interest.....	.8	2.7	1.9
Women's feature programs.....	5.3	2.7	2.5
Variety programs.....	6.8	9.6	8.4
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<sup>a</sup> The source of the 1931 and 1932 figures is *A Decade of Radio Advertising*, by H. S. Hettinger; the present table is taken from *Advertising & Selling*, May 1934.

<sup>b</sup> Programs have been classified as to their dominant characteristics, it being recognized that few programs are absolutely pure types. This manner of classification still presents what seems to be a sound general picture of the program structure, especially from the listener's point of view. The majority of program classifications are self-explanatory. Variety music means a musical program where classical and popular melodies or similar combinations are interblended in about equal proportions. Variety programs include combinations of music and popular entertainers. Special features include broadcasts of events of civic importance and similar features.

<sup>c</sup> This does not include the Damrosch broadcasts, which have been classified as classical music because of their more than educational appeal. With these broadcasts the proportions would read 1.4 per cent for 1931 and 1.5 per cent for 1932 and 1934.

casts by President Roosevelt, and addresses by all the leaders of the New Deal and by most of its critics. Drama included among its presentations the works of deMaupassant, Washington Irving, Poe, Hawthorne, Stevenson, Cabell, and Conrad. Religious broadcasts included addresses by leading clerics and laymen of all faiths and creeds.

These are some of the specific offerings of American broadcasting. They

should be of interest to the so-called "class" audience as well as to the general listener. Indeed, the problem of radio seems not so much that of what it offers, as that of acquainting the listener with the available programs. In this respect the more intellectual listener, looking down on radio and not bothering to search for programs, has been at a particular disadvantage; however, a disadvantage principally of his own making.

### 7. THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN BROADCASTING

It seems safe to assume that the present system of broadcasting will continue to be maintained in the United States for some time to come. It seems well fitted to American conditions and it has definitely demonstrated its ability to satisfy the demands of the listening public. It has insured freedom of speech over the air, and its continued existence constitutes one of the strongest safeguards to freedom of the press.

It would be foolish, however, to consider the present American system in the light of a finished production. There is much which can be done in the way of further improvement and progress. New and sweeping technical developments are neither impossible nor improbable. The economic structure of broadcasting can be strengthened materially, and the conduct of broadcasting as a business can be increased in efficiency. Particularly, the economic and managerial level of the

smaller transmitters remains to be raised.

In the program field, new art forms, more ideally suited to the requirements of radio presentation, remain to be created. This is a challenge to agencies, stations, and networks alike. The desired result can be achieved only by patient experimentation. Moreover, the varied offerings of American broadcasting can be much better distributed throughout the day and the week, so that all classes of listeners may be given the most satisfactory service possible.

Advertising technique also can be markedly improved. The power of voice personality and informal presentation still remains to be utilized with full effectiveness. Radio is the invited guest in the listener's home, and the best way for the guest to recommend his product still remains to be worked out. Radio has progressed a long distance in a short time, but a good deal of the road still remains to be traveled. The future of American broadcasting is by no means confined, therefore, to a reiteration of its present.

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# Regulation of Broadcasting in the United States

By HAMPSON GARY

**R**ADIO, in its brief existence, has written an impressive chapter in American life. Of the various forms—wireless, telegraphy, photo-radio, television, and broadcasting—the last named, in the beginning a mere experiment in radiotelephony, has developed into one of our major industries. It is this branch of radio and its regulation in the United States to which I shall address myself.

There are many forms of business in the world where too many participants may make it difficult or even economically impossible for some of them to operate successfully, but radio communication is the only enterprise where too many participants make it physically impossible for any of them to do so. This is because the medium available for carrying on radio communication, variously referred to as “channels,” “frequencies,” or “wave lengths,” is severely limited by physical and scientific factors. With this in mind, it will not be difficult to see why early in the art a need for regulation arose.

Up to 1920, the principal use for radio was by stations on board ships and in other point-to-point communication. The general public at that time was conscious of, and accepted with little question, the transmission of messages by radio. This had been done as a regular thing for many years. The Titanic disaster gravely emphasized in the public mind the necessity for this new science. Nor was it news to the soldiers who had participated in the great World War.

In November 1920, a station at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, advertised

that Presidential election returns would be given by voice over its facilities. The public response was immediate. To sit in one's own home and receive election returns miles from the point of transmission! What a vista that opened to the American people! Here, indeed, was something to stir the imagination of the most phlegmatic.

However, comparatively few applications for broadcasting station licenses were made during 1920 and 1921, and these were all assigned to a single frequency selected by the Secretary of Commerce under the Act of 1912 entitled “An Act to Regulate Radio Communication.” This act required the obtaining of a Federal license before any one might engage in any form of interstate or foreign communication.

## DISCRETION OF THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Right after the passage of this act there arose a question as to whether the Secretary of Commerce could exercise any discretion in the issuing of licenses or whether he was under the mandatory duty of granting them to all applicants. A corporation organized under the laws of New York had applied for a license, but the Secretary of Commerce had reason to believe that it was in fact controlled by German capital. Since Germany did not permit similar American-owned corporations to operate in that country, the Secretary of Commerce requested an opinion of the Attorney General as to whether or not he might refuse to license the station on this ground.

The Attorney General replied that he could not; that no discretion was reposed in the Secretary of Commerce as to the granting of the license if the application came within the class to which licenses were authorized to be issued.

By 1923 there were several hundred stations in operation. In February of that year the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia rendered a decision in which it held that while the Secretary of Commerce had no right to refuse a license to an applicant under the 1912 Act, he did have power to exercise his discretion in the assignment of the particular wave length which each station might use.

It is thought this decision precipitated the calling of the First National Conference on Radio by the Secretary of Commerce in March 1923 to consider and examine the whole subject. The result of this Conference was the allocation of separate frequencies to each station in the band known as the "broadcast band," 550 kilocycles to 1,500 kilocycles. The basis for the present allocation of broadcasting was thus laid.

After 1923, interest in broadcasting was greatly accelerated. The American public enthusiastically began to buy receiving sets, and soon there developed a large listening audience. The Department of Commerce estimated the sale of radio receiving sets in the United States during 1923 to be 750,000; during 1924, 1,500,000; and for 1925, 2,000,000. Numerous interests throughout the United States were quick to see the splendid opportunities afforded by this new medium, and rushed forward to apply for available frequencies.

By 1926 there were more than five hundred broadcasting stations in operation. In that year a Chicago station became dissatisfied with its opera-

tion under the conditions set forth in its license, and "jumped" its assigned frequency. It also operated at times other than those authorized in its license. Proceedings were commenced by the United States in the Federal Court in Illinois to enforce the penalty provided in Section 1 of the 1912 Act for operation in violation of that section. The Court held that the statute in question could not be construed to cover the acts of the station upon which the prosecution was based. In other words, the holding of the Illinois Court was directly opposite to that of the Court of Appeals in 1923, in which the power of the Secretary of Commerce to assign frequencies was upheld. The Secretary thereafter ceased to assign frequencies, and stations used whatever frequencies they chose.

Pandemonium resulted. Literally thousands of letters were written by members of the listening public and others interested in radio communication all over the United States to Senators and Representatives demanding that something be done to "clear the air." Extensive hearings were held before the appropriate committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Draft after draft of a proposed law was prepared and considered, but, due largely to divergent views in the two branches of the Congress as to whether the Secretary of Commerce or a new commission should be charged with the duty of regulating radio communication, the proposals failed of passage.

#### RADIO ACT OF 1927

Finally, in February 1927, Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927, which established the Federal Radio Commission. The new law reiterated certain broad, general principles: The doctrine of free speech must be held inviolate, restrictions upon monopoly

were to be applied to the realm of radio communication, and many of our traditional theories, under the commerce clause of the Constitution, were adapted to the new instrumentality. Control in time of war of the potent agency of radio was lodged in the Executive. There was to be no vested right in the use of the ether waves by licensees, and all grants were to be conditioned on the waiver of any claims of proprietorship. The granting of broadcast privileges must be on the consideration of public interest, convenience, or necessity. These were some of the fundamentals that found expression in the new law.

In this Radio Act of 1927 the Commission was set up as a temporary body, its jurisdiction to revert to the Department of Commerce at the end of one year, and the Commission to become the immediate appellate or judiciary body in this field. However, at the end of the year it was continued in authority for another twelve months, with a definite directive contained in the so-called Davis Amendment to the Radio Act which set forth the method by which the radio facilities should be distributed among the various zones which had been designated in the original act, and among the several states within the zones. Pursuant to this amendment the Commission put into effect on November 11, 1928, the now famous General Order No. 40, and a general reallocation of stations was made in accordance with its provisions.

This allocation was made only after an extensive public hearing had been held by the Commission, at which testimony was adduced on all phases of the subject by many of the foremost radio engineers in the United States, and by other interested parties. Under its provisions all the facilities available for use in the United States

were divided into "local," stations of 100 watts power (or less); "regional," stations licensed to operate simultaneously with one or more assigned to the same frequency, and with an authorized power of not less than 250 watts, not more than 1,000 watts at night, and not more than 2,500 watts during daytime; and "clear channel stations," those licensed to operate with high power on frequencies cleared from interference at night. Numerous attacks upon General Order No. 40 have been made in the courts, but it has been upheld and remains today, after six years of challenge, the basis for assignments to radio broadcast stations throughout the United States.

In 1929 Congress continued the Radio Commission indefinitely. That body immediately set about to promulgate rules of practice and procedure before it, and issued regulations making more definite and certain its requirements under the Radio Act of 1927 as amended, in view of the existing state of the art. Particular consideration was given to the many improvements available in transmitting equipment. By the end of 1932 a large majority of the stations in the United States were equipped with efficient frequency control and other modern improvements essential to a high standard of public service.

#### FINANCING OF BROADCASTING

The United States is indebted to a number of other countries for valuable discoveries in radio. A study of regulation of radio by other countries reveals that, for the most part, each has worked out its problems to fit the particular needs of its people. So with us. From the very beginning, radio broadcasting in the United States has been fostered by the people. Our Government does not subsidize broadcast stations by taxing receiving sets,

as is the case in some other countries, and our licensees must provide their own subsistence. It is common knowledge that the operation and maintenance of a radio broadcast station is an expensive undertaking. Somebody has to foot the bill. This is true under *any* system.

The American system of broadcasting, as it exists today, depends on "sponsored programs" for its revenue—in other words, on advertising. The advertiser wants to sell his product and needs an audience. The listening public wants service, and its acceptance of the advertising may be said to be in effect its price of admission to the forum, the concert hall, or the theater of the air. When advertising is overdone or performed badly or falsely, it defeats itself, because then the price of admission is more than the traffic will bear, and the customers, with one turn of the dial, consign such vaporings to oblivion.

#### DISCRETION OF THE COMMISSION

While the Commission cannot approve or disapprove any program in advance of rendition, because the Act of 1927 expressly denies to it any power of censorship over the radio communications, nevertheless it can and does scrutinize carefully the past operation of any station seeking a renewal of license for its continued operation. This, the courts have held, is not censorship; for "by their fruits ye shall know them." The Commission in the past has refused to renew the licenses of several stations whose operation was found, after a public hearing, to be inimical to public interest. Its action in this regard has been sustained by the courts, and is a very real check upon station licensees and a protection to the listening public.

The Act expressly prohibits the use

of obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication, and a severe penalty is imposed for any violation.

While radio broadcasting is not a public utility in the sense that it must serve all comers equally, the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934 negating any such intention, the law imposes upon station licensees the burden of operating in the public interest. Thus, in fact, the licensee necessarily exercises the power of selection; that is, the power to determine in advance what shall or shall not be broadcast over its facilities. There is but one exception to this rule. Although licensees are not required by statute to permit the use of their facilities to qualified candidates for public office, if they permit one such candidate so to do, they must of course provide the equal use of their facilities to all other qualified candidates for the same office. Moreover, the licensee is expressly denied the power of censorship over the material so broadcast by such persons. The Supreme Court of the State of Nebraska, in interpreting this section, has held that it means "no censorship of words as to their *political* or *partisan* trend, but does not give a licensee any privilege to join and assist in the publication of a libel nor grant any immunity from the consequences of such action."

Except for a few prohibitions against specific acts already mentioned, the law furnishes no guide other than the standard "public interest, convenience or necessity." Nor is any explanation given of this legislative standard. The licensing authority, however, has to a limited extent made public statements of its application of this standard to particular cases where the question was whether or not applications for new stations

and renewals of existing station licenses should be granted.

#### RULINGS OF THE COMMISSION

Early in its existence the old Radio Commission determined that as between two broadcasting stations with otherwise equal claims for privileges, the station which had the longer record of continuous service had the superior rights; and this, of course, as between private individuals or corporations operating stations, and not as between either of them and the licensing authority, since the Radio Act of 1927 expressly negated any possible claim of vested rights by a licensee.

The Commission has also stated:

Where two contesting broadcasting stations do not have otherwise equal claims, the principle of priority loses its significance in proportion to the disparity between the claims. In a word, the principle does not mean that the situation in the broadcast band is "frozen" and that existing stations enjoying favorable assignments may not have to give way to others more recently established.

The Commission has said many times that stations are licensed to serve the public, and not for the purpose of furthering private or selfish interests of individuals or groups of individuals.

An indispensable condition to good service by any station is, manifestly, modern, efficient apparatus. The Rules of the Commission provide a requirement for the announcement of call letters, and also that licensees must use at least two thirds of the time allotted to them under their licenses, this service to be continuous during hours when the public usually listens, and on schedules upon which the public may rely.

Furthermore, the service must be rendered without discrimination as to listeners. In a strictly physical sense,

a station cannot discriminate so as to furnish programs to one listener and not to another, but the protection in this respect is with reference to classes of the public. In other words, the entire listening public within the service area of a station is entitled to service from that station. If all the programs transmitted are intended for, or interesting or valuable to only a part of the public, the rest of the listeners are necessarily discriminated against. In the words of the Federal Radio Commission:

This does not mean that every individual is entitled to his exact preference in program items. It does mean . . . that the tastes, needs and desires of all substantial groups among the listening public should be met in some fair proportion by a well-rounded program in which entertainment consisting of music of both classical and lighter grades, religion, education and instruction, important public events, discussions of public questions, weather, market reports and news and matters of interest to all members of the family find a place.

#### COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

In the years following the first general legislation on the subject, radio grew so rapidly and assumed such importance as to place it on a par with older forms of communication, and the need became imperative for the centering of all public service of the kind in one major supervisory organization. So, in 1934, on the recommendation of President Roosevelt, who has a keen interest in and a thorough understanding of the subject, Congress passed the act creating the Federal Communications Commission, enlarging the field of regulation to embrace all communication facilities—telegraph, telephone, cable, and radio. To the board authorized thereunder, President Roosevelt appointed on June 30, 1934, the following: Eugene O. Sykes, named Chairman, Thad H. Brown, Paul A.

Walker, Norman S. Case, Irvin Stewart, George Henry Payne, and Hampson Gary. On July 11, 1934, all seven commissioners took the oath of office and assumed their duties.

Under the terms of the Communications Act of 1934 the Commission, in order more effectively to carry out its complex responsibilities, established three divisions—Broadcast, Telegraph, and Telephone. The important work of the two last named is not within the scope of this article, although certain of the radio services, such as police, amateurs, aviation, and commercial radio, were assigned to them. The Broadcast Division, for all practical purposes, has taken over the duties and responsibilities of the old Radio Commission so far as broadcasting is concerned.

In writing this new legislation, numerous changes in the radio sections of the statute were considered by the committees of Congress, and a few were finally added; but in the main, the Communications Act of 1934 follows closely the Radio Act of 1927 as amended. One addition directs the Commission to make it possible for experiments to be conducted along technical lines, and in other ways to take measures looking toward the larger and more effective employment of present facilities. Another provision opens an additional field of service to local stations operating with 100 watts power or less.

Although the amendment does not so specifically provide, it is a fair interpretation of the intent of Congress that stations of 100 watts power which were authorized to be exempt from the provisions of the Davis Amendment were intended for establishment and operation in communities which do not now have good radio service from existing stations.

The Communications Commission

at the same time made radical changes in the so-called quota system by which broadcast stations are evaluated and distributed among the five zones and the several states within the zones. The changes had the effect of increasing the number of units or stations which might be operated during the daytime. Less geographical distance between stations is required during daytime than at night for simultaneous operation on the same frequency. Another factor which was considered by the Commission and which is provided for in the amended quota system is the provision for increased operating power during daytime for existing stations.

The estimated result will be an average increase of approximately 40 per cent in the signal strength of such stations throughout their daytime service areas, and an appreciable increase in the areas served by them, thus giving a higher quality of service to the present audiences and adding literally thousands of American listeners to each station.

Also, following the precedent of the postal laws, a new section was adopted forbidding the advertising of lotteries, gift enterprises, and similar schemes over the air.

#### STUDIES LOOKING TO FUTURE LEGISLATION

As to the proposals for more general changes in the legislative plan, which have been agitated before Congress, the course finally adopted was to place upon the Commission the duty of undertaking analytical studies and reporting its findings to the next Congress, looking to the possibility of future legislation.

The radio needs of what have been termed "non-profit" agencies were the subject of extensive deliberation both in the House and in the Senate. That

it might be fully informed in this matter, Congress directed the Commission to study the general question of allocating fixed percentages of broadcasting facilities to non-profit programs or persons identified with non-profit activities, and to make a report giving Congress recommendations for appropriate legislation. Basically, such a study involves the fundamental issue: What plan for broadcasting shall we have in the United States?

With full comprehension of the importance of the matter, the Broadcast Division, by direction of the full Communications Commission, has undertaken an extensive public hearing in order that its report may reflect all points of view and schools of thought. This was scheduled for October 1, 1934, to continue daily until completed, and will include the testimony of many witnesses. Opportunity is also afforded for the filing of briefs and other data on the subject by all interested. All testimony and information submitted will be studied and analyzed carefully, preparatory to the report to be made to the Congress.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This article was written October 15, 1934.

#### GENERAL REGULATION

Apart from these studies, the Broadcast Division is of course under the necessity of dealing with the myriad questions that daily arise in the present broadcast set-up. Certain principles have been evolved in the course of time and have survived the test of experience, so that they are now safe guides in determining applications for grants of one kind or another, and the controversies that arise.

In broadcasting, as in all other endeavors, the law follows science. Here, the *reason* for regulation is the limitation science imposes on the art; hence the Commission must continue to concern itself with the technical structure of the art, for as it advances, regulation must keep pace.

The chapter already written on radio broadcasting in the Book of Time reads like a tale from *Arabian Nights*. The succeeding chapters cannot be foretold. But this I know: We must constantly seek for a closer understanding of the concerns of broadcasting, so that it may further enrich and benefit the lives of all our people.

*Honorable Hampson Gary is chairman of the Broadcast Division of the Federal Communications Commission. He served as Captain of United States Volunteers in the Spanish-American War; regent of the University of Texas; war-time envoy to Egypt; technical delegate to the Peace Conference at Paris; and United States Minister to Switzerland after the Armistice. He is a lawyer with offices in Washington and New York, having left his practice to become Federal Communications Commissioner.*

# Weak Spots in the American System of Broadcasting

By ARMSTRONG PERRY

**S**POKESMEN of the American radio broadcasting system often declare that it is the best in the world. Whether this is a matter of fact or a matter of habit could be determined only by a more exhaustive study of the many national systems and their adaptability to the populations concerned than has yet been made, but much information is available that has a bearing on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Every American listener knows that programs of superlative quality are available here in great variety. He is taught that they could not be made available under any other system; that all other countries, since they have different systems, have inferior programs. However, an attempt to force American types of programs into Europe through a large station in a small country led to the refusal of international sanction to that station. This indicates that there is a difference of opinion.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the con-

<sup>1</sup> "Radio Broadcasting in Europe," *Congressional Record*, Feb. 18, 1932; *Broadcasting Abroad*, New York: National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 1932; reports of United States consulates to the Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior; reports of foreign governments to Service Bureau, National Committee on Education by Radio, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of International Telecommunications Conference, Madrid, 1932, and European Radio Conference, 1933. The request of Luxembourg for a low frequency for its high-power station (operated by a private company) was referred by the International Conference to the European Conference, which denied it. Luxembourg, however, stood on its sovereign rights and continued operating the station without international sanction. It is reported that interference from stations in other countries, which is inevitable unless Luxembourg participates in international agreements, has reduced its service area.

sideration of certain weaknesses in the American system, as viewed by Americans, may be helpful in forming opinions.

## NUMBER OF STATIONS; SPLIT-SECOND SCHEDULES; FINANCIAL LOSSES

The United States has more broadcasting stations and more hours of programs than any other country. That much can be proved. Confidential statements of competent radio engineers, and the far-from-confidential complaints of listeners who object to being compelled to hear two or more programs simultaneously, if any, indicate that we have too many stations. An ideal engineering set-up was suggested after chaos began to threaten the sale of equipment and advertising, but modifications forced by the demands of station owners have left only about as much of it as there is of the original leather in the ancestral breeches of a Tyrolese peasant after three generations of hard service in the Alps.<sup>3</sup> Some listeners can hear thirty stations, with twenty-nine of them broadcasting the same types of programs and ten or more of them identical programs, while other listeners have no satisfactory program service. So much is known by any one who has talked with listeners in all parts of the country.

American stations operate on split-second schedules, which many foreign stations do not. That is a matter of great pride to the broadcasting industry. The fact that listeners may pre-

<sup>3</sup> This is a matter of common knowledge among radio engineers familiar with meetings held while the radio law of 1927 was under consideration, but the author is not informed as to the availability of records.

fer to hear the whole song or talk, even if it runs to 8:01:30 instead of 7:59:45½ is largely ignored. Another thing overlooked in split-second schedules is that superimposing the voice of an announcer over the final bars of a piece of music may be as distasteful to the listener as the shouting of an announcer on a concert stage, rending the music while it is rendered.

One test of the success of a broadcasting system is its financial results. The American system loses more money than any other. In 1931 a report issued by the Federal Radio Commission and based on sworn statements from broadcasting companies showed a loss of \$237,000 for the year.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Herman S. Hettinger of the University of Pennsylvania pointed out that in this document there was a duplication of \$7,000,000 in the revenue figures.<sup>5</sup> John W. Guider, counsel for the National Association of Broadcasters, in responding to the request of President Alfred J. McCosker to supplement his statement, testified in September 1933 at a hearing on the Code of the Radio Broadcasting Industry: "The only available statistics indicate that the industry as a whole has not yet operated at a profit."<sup>6</sup> The other national systems, with few exceptions, pay their running expenses, at least, out of operating income. Many of them, including Austria, Danzig, Finland, Germany, Norway, Poland, Rumania, and Sweden have paid the operating companies annual profits of from 5 per cent to 20 per cent (or similar percentages of income over expense in governmentally owned systems), even during the world-wide depression. Even in the Netherlands, where broadcasting in-

<sup>4</sup> "Commercial Radio Advertising," U. S. Senate Document No. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *A Decade of Radio Advertising*, Ch. VI.

<sup>6</sup> *NIRA Hearing on Code of Practices and Competition of the Radio Broadcasting Industry*, Sept. 27, 1933, p. 10.

come depends entirely on voluntary contributions, the receipts have more than covered the cost of the service.<sup>7</sup>

#### DISSATISFACTION MOST VOCAL IN THE UNITED STATES

Another test is the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the listeners. Studies made by the United States Office of Education<sup>8</sup> and the National Committee on Education by Radio have accumulated evidence indicating that there is more dissatisfaction in the United States than in any other country.<sup>9</sup> Listeners have steadily increased

<sup>7</sup> "Radio Broadcasting in Europe," *Congressional Record*, Feb. 18, 1932. Later reports are available in the office of the Service Bureau of the National Committee on Education by Radio, Washington, D. C. In 1931 the United States Office of Education conducted a survey by mail. The National Committee on Education by Radio supplemented this by sending an investigator to 35 countries to secure additional information concerning the control and financing of national systems. Reports of his interviews were checked by the radio officials and United States Consulates in the countries concerned. In 1933 these reports and all other available information concerning the national systems throughout the world were submitted to the countries concerned, with the request that the information be brought up to date.

Dr. Hettinger, the editor, raises the point that depreciation and general overhead are factors so important that they may materially affect the difference between profit and loss, and that therefore broadcasting must be measured in terms of its particular economics. He states that to his own knowledge one national system makes seemingly inadequate provision for depreciation, and he therefore voices skepticism as to the economic comparability of private and government broadcasting.

<sup>8</sup> The Senior Specialist on Radio in Education of the U. S. Office of Education calls attention to the fact that such evidence has not been collected during the last three years, and that any studies made or conclusions drawn antedate his incumbency.—H. S. H.

<sup>9</sup> Cartoon from *Life*, entitled "The Children's Hour"; Allen Raymond, "The Follies of Radio," *New Outlook*, Aug. 1933; "Radio Bulletin No. 15," *Ventura Free Press*, June 1933; Cline M. Koon, "The Herald's Horn," *School Life*, June 1933; James Rorty, "The Impending Radio

in almost all countries, including the United States. They all find something of interest in the programs. In no country except the United States have the press, educational groups, religious groups, and consumers' organizations expressed so much or such bitter criticism of their national broadcasting systems and programs.

The complaints concerning the American system include the following:

1. That the Federal licensing procedure is a grab-bag proposition and that the "big boys" grab most of the kilocycles, kilowatts, and hours.<sup>10</sup>

War," *Harper's*, Nov. 1931; Travis Hoke, "Radio Goes Educational," *Harper's*, Sept. 1932; "The Talk of the Town," *The New Yorker*, July 11, 1931; "How to Use the Radio to Advantage," *West Virginia Tablet*; "Should Radio Pay?" *The Authors' League Bulletin*, May 1931; H. V. Kaltenborn, "Radio: Dollars and Nonsense," *Scribner's Magazine*; Notes on "Education," *Time*, July 13, 1931; James Rorty, "Free Air," *The Nation*, March 9, 1932; Literary Digest Poll of Radio Listeners, *Literary Digest*, Dec. 16, 22, and 30, 1933; Chart of "Southern California Broadcasting," *Ventura Free Press*; Allen Raymond, "Static Ahead!," *New Outlook*, July 1933; Alice Keith, "Education by Radio," *Independent Woman*, Jan. 1934; Merrill Denison, "Why Isn't Radio Better?" *Harper's*, April 1934; Cyrus Fisher, "Clear the Air!" *Forum*, Jan. 1934; "Broadcasting Marches Onward," *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1932; "Local Radio Stations and Merchandise Auctions," *Columbus Better Business Bureau*, April 1933; "U. S. Broadcasts in Canada Stir Ire of Commons," *Advertising Age*, March 4, 1933; copies of letters from: F. J. Schlink of Consumers' Research, Inc., May 11, 1932; Margaret Mahoney, Secretary to Doctor Reik, Medical Society of New Jersey, August 1, 1932; Arthur J. Cramp, M.D., of the American Medical Association, May 14, 1934; Arthur J. Cramp, M.D., to Wm. J. Burns, Feb. 17, 1934.

The National Committee on Education by Radio has a correspondent in Europe who reads current radio literature in nine languages and whose contacts with a number of embassies bring unpublished information concerning national and international radio affairs. No evidence of dissatisfaction is found in other countries, comparable to that in the United States.

<sup>10</sup> "American Broadcasting Called Unsound"  
—"Federal Licensing Labelled 'Grab Bag Pro-

2. That the business of the commercial broadcaster is building audiences to sell to advertisers. The United States is unique among the well-developed nations of the world in turning tax-supported public channels over to private concerns to use in buying and selling audiences.

#### *Fraudulent advertising*

3. That radio advertising, like a good deal of other advertising, is of questionable honesty. How far this complaint is justified can be judged from available information.<sup>11</sup>

After ten years of radio advertising, the Federal Trade Commission has decided to examine it "in response to a general demand."<sup>12</sup> It gives notice to broadcasting companies that at a

cedure." Testimony of S. Howard Evans at the hearing called by the Federal Communications Commission, Oct. 2, 1934.

Many of the reports of the Federal Radio Commission and the Federal Communications Commission tend to support this point of view; for example, the reports concerning the so-called "high-power hearing" (Records of Federal Radio Commission Hearings, Sept. 15 to Oct. 16, 1930, *in re* applications of 24 broadcasting stations to operate with 50 kilowatts on clear channels) in which the award of high power to certain stations meant overwhelming competition against others.

<sup>11</sup> See Federal Radio Commission Release, Aug. 14, 1933, and reports of Federal Trade Commission concerning radio advertising found to be fraudulent. Also article "Warns of Abuses of Advertising," *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1934, in which C. B. Larrabee of *Printers Ink* is quoted as follows: "For the first time in the history of our country the consumer is intelligently skeptical toward advertising. . . . We must also face the rather unpleasant fact that a certain number of our advertisers are not ethically decent enough to conduct their advertising fairly and honestly."

<sup>12</sup> Federal Trade Commission Release of May 16, 1934: "This Commission has directed that hereafter more attention shall be given to the subject of commercial representation by radio broadcasts. This is in response to a general demand that the same rules for advertising be observed in radio broadcasts as those enforced by the Commission with respect to periodical advertising."

certain time they will be expected to submit advertising continuities to be broadcast within a certain future period. During the time that intervenes, the radio advertisers may broadcast anything permitted by the broadcasting companies, with little fear of intervention from the Commission. They may continue to broadcast the advertising after it is submitted to the Commission, up to the time when a "cease and desist" order is received. Even though the advertising may be fraudulent, the "cease and desist" order is the only punishment inflicted by the Government, and that may come long after the purpose of the advertising has been accomplished. In case a company receiving a "cease and desist" order does not comply, it may eventually be brought to trial by the United States Department of Justice. The trial may extend over a period of years. In the meantime the fraudulent advertising may continue to be broadcast.

Persons defrauded may, of course, take the matter to the courts if they have money enough to fight corporations having millions of dollars and the best legal talent that money can buy. The corporations can protect themselves by carrying products liability insurance. The Commission has found that a large percentage of radio advertising is within the law, but any percentage of fraudulent advertising is serious.

It is known that fraudulent advertising breaks down confidence in all advertising, no matter what proportion of it is honest. Miss Alice L. Edwards, Executive Secretary of the American Home Economics Association, testified at a NIRA hearing:

It is our belief that the broadcasting of such false or misleading advertising [concerning claims of higher quality than the products and their prices warrant, beauty preparations which contain ingredients in-

jurious to the users, false claims for the nutritional or curative values of foods and drugs and thus dangerous to health] is rapidly destroying the faith of the public in all radio advertising and this is doing the broadcasting industry more harm than good.<sup>12</sup>

But the dishonest advertiser has used radio persistently, as he has other media.

In Canada, radio advertising copy is examined before it goes on the air.<sup>13a</sup> The Canadian Government assumes the responsibility for eliminating fraudulent advertising before any one is defrauded. In many countries there is no advertising by radio, and therefore no complaints. In most countries where it is permitted, it is limited and segregated so as to interfere as little as possible with programs. Canada often leaves out the advertising when it broadcasts an American commercial program over its national system.

#### *Further complaints*

4. That radio advertising interrupts the programs so often as to destroy the pleasure of even the good features. To form an opinion as to the justice or the injustice of this common criticism, one has only to listen and learn.

5. That the general level of programs from commercial stations is low. One answer made to this criticism is that it would be difficult to discover enough good program material and talent to keep five hundred and fifty commercial stations going six to eight hours a day. However, broadcasting companies and the administration of the law keep all these stations

<sup>12</sup> NIRA Hearing on Code of Practices and Competition of the Radio Broadcasting Industry, Sept. 27, 1933, p. 163. Other statements in this record show how fraudulent advertising has destroyed public confidence.

<sup>13a</sup> Interim Report of Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, 1932.

on the air. Another reason given for the present general level of programs on commercial stations is that sustaining (non-advertising) programs are intended to be sold to commercial sponsors as soon as possible. They must therefore be kept on the level which the possible sponsors may believe to be best adapted to the desired audiences.

6. That commercial broadcasting has been developed, under the American system, like a medicine show, using amusements to attract attention in order to sell goods. The truth of this is obvious, and the United States is the only well-developed country in the world whose broadcasting system has any such basis. All others recognize broadcasting as too important and efficient an instrument of education and culture to be devoted primarily to amusement and advertising. This may account for the fact that their broadcasters make ample and assured profits, while American broadcasting loses money.

7. That the results of certain investigations have caused educators to lose confidence in the leadership of the broadcasting business.

8. That there are some misgivings caused by the publication of information, apparently released by broadcasting companies, concerning large sums paid to public officials for broadcasting talks.

9. That broadcasting stations owned and operated by states, exclusively for governmental purposes, are not adequately protected by the Federal Government but are left open to attacks from commercial concerns. Also that all other stations operated by non-profit, public welfare organizations are subjected to continual attacks. Between February 1, 1931, and September 26, 1934, there were reported by the Federal Radio Commission and its succes-

or, the Federal Communications Commission, 1,426 applications involving facilities used by such stations. Each station attacked was compelled to go to the expense of defending its right to continue its work or face the danger of losing its facilities, its audience, and its investment.<sup>14</sup>

10. That the license period for broadcasting stations, six months, is too short to permit the development of adequate policies or program service. This seems obvious. Stations must make their investments and develop their service in face of the fact that they are compelled to sign waivers denying any right to continue after the expiration of their licenses. Their legal battles cost them from half a million to a million dollars a year.<sup>15</sup> Their natural reaction to the situation is to attempt in some way to gain control of the officials who grant the licenses. In Europe contracts between governments and broadcasting companies are common, assuring the companies continuous operation, adequate income, and fair profits for periods of twenty to thirty years, and no lawsuits over radio channels have been reported.

11. That educational programs are given only the least desirable hours on commercial stations, and that these hours often are shifted so that it becomes impossible to build audiences. There is much evidence to support this complaint.<sup>16</sup> The attitude of the broadcasting business, as expressed by

<sup>14</sup> See daily reports of Federal Radio Commission and Federal Communications Commission available in their files and at the Service Bureau of the National Committee on Education by Radio.

<sup>15</sup> Estimates given verbally by Washington radio attorneys. The hearing on the 640-kilocycle channel, October 1934, compelled a number of stations to maintain attorneys and engineers in Washington for ten days or longer at from \$50 to \$250 a day each.

<sup>16</sup> For example: . . . "so much of the station's time had been sold to commercial concerns that the only available hour for the educational pro-

one of its leaders, is that when education goes on the air it enters the show business. Educators who do not accept this premise and adapt themselves to it have but an uncertain foothold in the American system.

#### ARGUMENTS FOR THE DEFENSE

Attempts are made to defend the American broadcasting system by the following statements, which are obviously untrue:

1. That there is freedom of speech on American stations, but government operation or control would bring censorship. The following from records of the Federal Radio Commission cites one of many instances disproving this claim:

The refusal to permit the last-mentioned broadcast, that is, the speech of Mr. Justice (Charles Evans) Hughes, resulted, as the record will show, in that speech never having been broadcast at all by WMCA which contracted so to do and accepted in advance thereof the sum of \$355.00 which the Bronx County Bar Association, the sponsor of said broadcast, had great difficulty in having returned to it—to such an extent in fact that it was finally compelled to sue this station to obtain the return of this money.—From brief submitted to the Federal Radio Commission in *re Knickerbocker Broadcasting Co., Inc.*, New York City (WMCA), Docket No. 1337, City of New York, Department of Plant and Structures, New York City (WNYC), Docket No. 1341, Eastern Broadcasters, Inc., New York City (WPCH), Docket No. 1416.<sup>16a</sup>

grams was 12 o'clock, noon.—From report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Education, in *Radio in Education*, second edition, p. 44.

“Commercial stations show a tendency to reduce educational programs to shorter and poorer periods as their time becomes more salable.”—From Report of the Advisory Committee on Education by Radio, appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, p. 37.

... “the University [Columbia] was faced with the problem of organizing a broadcasting program, the speaking in which was to occur at practically impossible times.”—*Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>16a</sup> The station changed hands later.

Censorship is inevitable in any broadcasting system, because there is never time enough for all the programs that might be broadcast.<sup>17</sup> Calling it by other names does not eliminate it. In America the censoring is done by the station management and by the Federal Trade Commission. In most other countries it is supervised by government officials, who are assumed to represent all the people instead of only special interests.

2. That the American system insures free and fair competition. The fact is, indisputably, that when the Government grants one company the privilege of operating a 50,000-watt station on a good channel with unlimited time, it eliminates the possibility of equal opportunity for competitors of that station who have only 1,000 watts, poor channels, and limited time.

3. That American listeners do not pay for program service. They have paid for it first by investing a billion dollars in receiving sets, while the broadcasting companies have invested only about fifty millions. Their taxes support the Federal Communications Commission, and the governmental expense of administering the system has been around \$320,000 a year in recent years. The ultimate consumer pays also for the radio advertising of the products.

4. That education is a class interest, and that the reservation of broadcasting channels for educational stations would wreck the American system. Education, on the contrary, is the concern and the right of every American citizen. Americans have invested over \$14,000,000,000 in educational institutions. The annual budget of Ameri-

<sup>17</sup> The proceedings of the Federal Communications Commission hearing which opened Oct. 1, 1934, contain other instances of censorship. The *New York Herald-Tribune* published a series of four articles, beginning June 18, 1934, in which instances of censorship were reported.

can education is about \$3,000,000,000.

From the engineering point of view, it makes no difference in the system who owns and operates a broadcasting station.<sup>18</sup> From the point of view of public policy, there are many who believe it would be a mistake to have all broadcasting channels in the control of commercial broadcasters, who constitute a small minority group, and to have all information broadcast subject to their censorship.

#### IMPROVEMENT, OR A NEW SYSTEM?

There are many who maintain that the American system should be continued, in spite of its weaknesses, and that the results can be improved. There are many others who believe that broadcasting is too important to be turned over to the "show business." To such people radio is one of the great influences which will make or break our civilization. They feel sure that no amount of reform can convert a business dedicated to the motives of

<sup>18</sup> A 1,000-watt station, for example, utilizes exactly the same percentage of facilities whether it is owned and operated by a state university or by a commercial company.

private profit into a satisfactory vehicle for the promotion of the public benefit. It cannot serve two masters.

Whatever the system may be, experience proves that business management in the executive offices, radio personality at the microphone, and educational ideals in the controlling agency are necessary if the results are to be satisfactory.

These are among the important questions for future experience to answer:

Can even the most able business management make a success of broadcasting when every increase in advertising talk tends to decrease the number of listeners?

Can the most attractive radio personality hold listeners for long when used to induce them to hear commercial advertising, which is the least popular of all program material?

Can educational ideals be made effective in a system where they are subordinated to commercial advertising?

Will America continue its system in spite of its weakness, or develop a better one?

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# Broadcasting Outside the United States

By ARTHUR R. BURROWS

THE unseen audiences of the world's radio stations are swelling appreciably. Exact figures cannot be given, but it would not be an exaggeration to estimate the annual growth at about twenty millions of persons. This figure is based on the assumption that in each home possessing a wireless receiving set there are, on an average, four persons interested in some degree in the broadcast programs.

At the end of 1933, returns received by the International Broadcasting Office at Geneva, from responsible sources, showed that there were distributed in homes throughout the world, not less than 45 million wireless receiving sets. This figure indicated a total audience of 180 million persons as compared with 160 million at the end of 1932.

For an indication of the further progress made in the first half of 1934, we are limited at the moment to figures from European countries and Japan. They have a special interest, however, as being official and not mere estimates. They represent the number of sets actually registered by the governments within their respective states. Japan, which had 1,627,836 homes equipped to listen to her broadcast programs on January 1, had no less than 1,780,453 homes similarly equipped on June 30. Twenty-five European countries which possessed in round figures 17,736,000 registered receivers at the beginning of this year had increased this total to 19,217,500 by June 30. The increase of licensed receiving sets in Great Britain alone during these six months was 400,000, in France 220,000, and in Germany 307,000. Each of these figures should be multiplied by four

when one is thinking in terms of audiences.

## COMPARATIVE INTENSITY OF INTEREST

The United States of America still leads the countries of the world in the number of listeners to broadcast programs. About this fact there is no question. But should any one set out to award relative positions for intensity of interest in the programs, he will find the task less simple. Other factors than mere numbers must be taken into account. In the United States the listener is free from any tax upon his radio set; in most other countries of the world the listener pays an annual tax. This annual payment conveys a legal right to listen to broadcasts. It also provides the broadcasters with the funds essential for the programs. He who would seek to measure relative intensity of interest in radio must estimate between the relative program enthusiasm, for example, of America's 147.9 per thousand *untaxed* listeners and Denmark's 150.1 per thousand, each of whom pays an annual tax of about \$2.75.

When we examine, continent by continent, the collective interest shown in broadcasting, we find that Europe follows closely upon North America. At the beginning of the year North America (the United States, Canada, and Mexico) possessed approximately 20,450,000 wireless receiving sets, or 81,800,000 listeners. Europe, exclusive of Russia, had 17,850,000 sets, or 71,400,000 listeners. Russia however must not be ignored. She has claimed about 12.5 million listeners; but these numbers include, it is understood, those who are accustomed to listen to

loud-speakers operated telephonically, in public buildings and other specially equipped places within the Soviet Union.

In Asia broadcasting develops patchily, but Asia can claim third place amongst the continents by reason of Japan's absorbing interest in the new service. It has already been shown that Japan has over 1.75 million licensed radio sets. These increase at about 23,000 per month.

At the moment of writing this review, official news comes to hand of definite steps to be taken at once by the Government of India to develop broadcasting in that highly populated and politically complex country.

Next comes Australasia. Australasia confirms, even in the Southern Hemisphere, the innate appreciation by the Anglo-Saxon peoples of the value of broadcasting to modern social life. At the end of June 1934, the Commonwealth of Australia, with its small and widely dispersed population of 6.5 millions, had 600,000 homes definitely equipped to receive her various broadcasts. New Zealand had not less than 120,000.

South America has fourth place amongst the continents in intensity of radio interest. The license system exists in only a few South American countries; consequently one has to rely upon estimates. The International Broadcasting Office, basing its estimate on reports received from a number of official sources, considers that South America has not less than 600,000 possessors of wireless sets.

The number of listening homes in Africa is probably not more than 150,000 of which 87,000 are in the Union of South Africa.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF BROADCASTING

No attempt will be made here to discuss the respective merits of the

various broadcasting systems. Regular broadcasting, as it is generally recognized, had its birth in North America, although definite demonstrations were given in Europe, notably in Belgium, before the Great War, of the possibility of diffusing speech and music over considerable areas. In 1920 the governments of the European countries lately engaged in warfare were still uneasy concerning the general political situation and the idea of private individuals "listening in" to whatever might be radiated through the ether. They had considerable war-time experience of the possibilities of propaganda by wireless, and had forbidden for four years the possession of wireless receivers by the citizens of their respective states. Some time was lost before the European peoples became aware of the rapid broadcasting developments in North America.

When, largely as the result of private enterprise, a reconsideration of the situation took place, the conditions under which broadcasting was allowed to develop were naturally framed according to the varying conceptions of the state and of control over public services. There consequently grew up in Europe, and a little later in other and distant parts of the world, broadcasting services which ranged from purely private enterprises, through a variety of semiofficial institutions, to frankly state services, conducted usually by the Department of Posts and Telegraphs.

The experience of years has led to changes in these services, the general tendency being towards an increased measure of government control. This tendency is naturally more marked where the spirit of nationalism is rife.

On the other hand, a growing appreciation by the broadcasting organizations (and equally on the part of those actually invited to the microphone) of

what is admissible and what inadmissible in a broadcast talk, has led to a relaxation of restraint both in respect to the subjects discussed in public, and to the language employed in their treatment.

The fact that broadcasting has taken an important place among the public services for the spreading of culture and, in some countries, as an instrument for the development of a national consciousness, has resulted in very special attention being paid to the efficiency of the transmitters. European broadcasters show a special interest in long-wave transmitters, as these have high daylight efficiency compared with the medium-wave transmitters. The demand for long wave lengths in Europe exceeds the number of such wave lengths available.

Ten years ago transmitting stations having a maximum power of under three kilowatts were accepted in Europe as "star" equipment, even by the most democratically inclined broadcasting organizations. These gave way to transmitters of 50 kilowatts, which in turn are already being replaced by one of 120-150 kilowatts. The electrical energy radiated over Europe by the broadcasters in the spring of 1925 totaled about 80 kilowatts. By April 1, 1934 this had risen to 4,250 kilowatts, not including short-wave stations. By Easter 1935 this total will certainly have been raised to 5,250 kilowatts. This figure takes into account the 500 kilowatts station of Moscow and some 100 kilowatts Russian stations west of the Urals.

This great growth in radiated power and in the number of stations has raised technical problems which are particularly acute in Europe. The problems have necessitated special Conferences of the European Administrations responsible for wave-length

allocation and many meetings of the technical Commission of the International Broadcasting Union. Directive aërials have been introduced in some cases to enable the effective field of radiated energy to coincide as far as possible with the outline of the area to be served. Studies are being made of new transmission systems permitting, it is hoped, a wider separation in frequencies between neighboring stations.

#### NATIONAL SITUATIONS IN EUROPE

As special chapters are to be devoted in this issue to detailed discussions by national authorities on the broadcasting services in their respective countries, the data here given of relations between broadcasters and the state will be kept as brief as possible. A rapid survey of the European broadcasting conditions shows that in each country except Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden, broadcasting rights have been granted to a single organization only. Even among these five exceptions, changes tending to centralize control have recently taken place or are contemplated.

In AUSTRIA a private organization exists known briefly as *Ravag*. The state is represented on the Council by one fifth of the total members. Profits may be earned, but no advertising is permitted. The revenue comes from the sales of a program periodical and listeners' license fees, of which there are five categories ranging from 24 Austrian schillings (\$4.54)<sup>1</sup> per year for the private individual to 240 schillings (\$45.36) for the dealers in and manufacturers of apparatus in the principal cities. There are seven transmitters, the national one at Bisamberg near Vienna being of 100 kilowatts aërial energy.

<sup>1</sup>All license fees are translated into United States currency according to foreign exchange rates as of Nov. 1, 1934.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

IN BELGIUM a National Institute operates the two principal stations—one for the Flemish, the other for the Walloon population. The Committee of Management of the Institute includes a representative of the Postmaster General, a president, three members chosen by the King, three by the Senate and three by the Chamber of Deputies. No advertisements may be broadcast by this Institute. The revenue is derived from license fees—60 francs (\$14) annually for the possession of a valve receiver; 30 francs (\$7) for a crystal detector. A number of small stations (not exceeding 50 watts each) also exist, but they receive no revenue from the license fees.

IN BULGARIA temporary licenses to broadcast have been granted to two groups with opposing policies. The one, *Bolgarsko Radio*, would retain radio as a private service; the other, the *Rodno Radio League*, is against private monopoly. The possessors of wireless receivers are taxed on a sliding scale of 300 Lev. (\$3.69) to 500 Lev. (\$6.15) annually according to the sensitivity of the apparatus, but none of the revenue reaches the broadcasters. They rely upon voluntary contributions and the broadcasting of advertisements for their existence. A change in this state of affairs appears certain when the economic situation permits, as the Bulgarian Government officially announced in 1933 its intention to construct a state transmitter of 50 kilowatts aërial energy.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA broadcasting is conducted by a private organization, *Radiojournal*, operating on a short-term concession (three years). The state holds 51 per cent of the capital and has four representatives on the governing body. Czechoslovakian broadcasting is of special interest inasmuch as *Radiojournal* caters linguistically and culturally not only to the

Czech and Slovak elements of the population but also to the German and Hungarian minorities. The revenue is derived exclusively from license fees, 10 Czech crowns (42 cents) per month, the broadcasting of advertisements being excluded by the terms of the concession. There are six transmitters, the principal one at Prague being of 120 kilowatts aërial energy.

IN THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG broadcasting is conducted by the Administration of Posts and Telegraphs with a station of 500 watts. Revenue again comes exclusively from license fees.

IN DENMARK, which possesses the highest percentage of listeners in the world relative to the population, broadcasting is a state affair under the joint control of the Ministries of Education and of Public Works. Contact with all the principal sections of Danish social life is maintained through an Advisory Council. The principal station (Kalundborg), which is operated technically by the Administration of Posts and Telegraphs, works on a long wave (1,261 meters) with 60 kilowatts aërial energy. Revenue comes exclusively from listeners' license fees, the fee being 10 Danish kroner (\$2.22) yearly.

IN ESTONIA the state has recently taken over the broadcasting service and has created what is known as the *Riigi Ringhaaling*. The principal station is at Tallinn, and the revenue for the service is derived exclusively from license fees, which vary according to the character of the receiving apparatus.

IN FINLAND the broadcasting service has undergone a change during 1934. A private society which had been in operation since 1926 has given place to a public service in which the state holds 90 per cent of the capital. The old company continues to provide the

program organization. The Council of Administration consists of eighteen persons representing different sections of public life. The principal station, at Lahti, which operates on a long wave (1,145 meters), is now being augmented in power from 50 to 150 kilowatts. The revenue comes exclusively from the license fees paid by listeners—100 Finnish marks (\$2.19) yearly.

Although in FRANCE there still remain a number of private stations, the principal development at the moment lies with a state group of stations which, under a scientific plan prepared by the late General Ferrié, are being constructed so as to cover practically the whole country. The stations will have powers of 60, 100, and 120 kilowatts aerial energy. The state stations are now maintained by a Government subsidy and revenue from license fees. The fees vary according to the nature of the licensed apparatus, the most common fee being 50 French francs (\$3.29) a year for a valve set. The private stations are dependent upon revenue from broadcast advertisements and local subsidies and subscriptions. Recently the most powerful private station (Radio-Paris) was purchased by the state. The state has recently issued decrees to assist in the systematic elimination of interference with the reception of broadcast programs. The French state broadcasting service radiates programs systematically to the French colonies by means of short-wave transmitters known as *Poste Colonial*.

In GERMANY the broadcasting service is now national in character and under the control of the Ministry of Propaganda. The various transmitters are operated technically by the Department of Posts and Telegraphs. The principal stations on middle-waves have powers varying between

100 and 120 kilowatts aerial energy, and there is in addition a long-wave transmitter at Zeesen (1,571 meters) the power of which is being raised to 150 kilowatts. A group of short-wave transmitters with directional aërials radiate special programs in German and English to other continents. The revenue is derived from license fees of two R.M. (80 cents) per month, which are collected by the postmen on their rounds from house to house.

In GREAT BRITAIN broadcasting is conducted by a chartered public utility organization, known as the British Broadcasting Corporation, which has enjoyed a monopoly (of ten years' duration) since 1927. The Corporation has five governors nominated by the Postmaster General and appointed for a period of five years. The Corporation builds and operates its own stations but must broadcast anything which the Government Departments may require to be broadcast. The transmitters belonging to the Corporation are distributed systematically throughout the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, and have an average power of 50 kilowatts aerial energy. There is one long-wave (National) transmitter at Droitwich, operating on 1,500 meters, with 150 kilowatts aerial energy, and a group of short-wave transmitters with directional aërials at Daventry, by means of which specially prepared programs are radiated day and night to the various British Dominions overseas. Programs are so arranged that listeners in each area have a choice between two contrasted schedules. The revenue is derived from listeners' license fees, each listener paying 10 shillings (\$2.49). The broadcasting of advertising is prohibited.

In GREECE there is at present no regular broadcasting service. The Government asked in 1923, however,

for the reservation of three wave lengths for Greek broadcasting, and it is understood that the construction of a high-power station is now contemplated.

The NETHERLANDS stands alone among European countries in its broadcasting system. There are five or six organizations having religious or political foundations, and these share two private and one Government transmitters according to a time-table officially determined. The listeners receive the programs either by the usual wireless means or telephonically, through what are known as "radio-centrales" (wireless exchanges). Their preferences in these methods of reception are about equally divided. The five broadcasting organizations meet together in a central committee and thereby avoid troubles which might exist through absolute independence. The broadcasting of advertising is not permitted, neither does there exist any license fee. The revenue is consequently obtained by voluntary subscriptions and subsidies on the part of religious and political bodies.

In HUNGARY a monopoly has been granted to an organization under the control of the Administration of Posts and Telegraphs, known as the *Magyar Telefon-Hirmondo és Radio*. The Ministry of Commerce nominates a program council. There exist one central high-power transmitter of 120 kilowatts and five or six small-power satellites. The funds essential for the services come from listeners' license fees, each listener paying pengo 2.04 (60 cents) monthly. The broadcasting of advertising is not permitted.

In the IRISH FREE STATE broadcasting is in the hands of a section of the State Administration of Posts and Telegraphs. There is a central station of 60 kilowatt aerial energy at Athlone and there are two local

stations. The essential funds come from three sources: a tax on imported wireless apparatus, the broadcasting of advertising, and listeners' license fees. Each possessor of a receiving apparatus pays a fee of 10 shillings (\$2.49) a year.

In ITALY the broadcasting service is in the hands of an organization known as the *Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche*, which has close contact with the state. A Supervisory Commission, chosen from among the leaders in Italian art, literature, politics, and science, has control over the program activities. This Supervisory Commission, in turn, is likely to be in close contact with a new ministry, created in September 1934, for the exercise of vigilance over all forms of Italian and foreign propaganda. The Italian broadcasting organization has recently developed a special interest in programs for schools and for rural areas. For the radiation of the programs there exist high-power stations at Rome and Milan and medium-power stations in other popular centers. A short-wave service is radiated to the Italian colonies. An important program of development is now in hand in connection with this service. The funds essential for Italian broadcasting come from annual taxes on listeners' receiving apparatus, taxes upon municipalities, and a restricted amount of radio publicity. It is stipulated that no publicity may be admitted to the programs which would in any way lower the artistic standard.

In LATVIA, the state has complete control of the broadcasting service. The staff is composed of post office officials. The funds are derived from license fees, and no advertising may be broadcast.

In LITHUANIA the service is also a state affair. The Administration of Posts and Telegraphs is responsible

for the technical operation of the transmitter, and the programs are in the hands of the Ministry of Education. The funds are derived from listeners' license fees, a Government subsidy, and a limited amount of wireless publicity.

In LUXEMBOURG a private organization with mostly foreign capital, known as the *Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Radiodiffusion*, has obtained the exclusive broadcasting rights. Two supervisory committees control the operations. The Luxembourg transmitter, which is of 150 kilowatt aerial energy, is working on a wave length of 1,304 meters. The revenue comes exclusively from wireless publicity, which is mostly for foreign business houses and institutions.

In NORWAY the broadcasting service is now a state affair. It is under the direction of a governing body of five who are nominated by the King. The program policy is set by a National Program Council of fifteen, of whom eleven are nominated by the King and four by Parliament. A similar inner body, which meets more frequently than the Program Council, occupies itself with the actual arrangement of the programs. Norway has one high-power station at Oslo, working upon 1,186 meters, a number of stations of smaller power in centers of population extending well into the Arctic Circle, and a short-wave station. The funds come from three sources: a license fee for the possession of a receiving set, a tax upon all sets sold, and a limited amount of broadcast advertising (which may only take place outside the most popular broadcasting hours).

In POLAND, broadcasting has been until now in the hands of a private dividend-paying organization, *Polskie Radjo*, in which the Government owns 40 per cent of the stock and has about 60 per cent of the voting power. An

Advisory Committee of five representatives of the Government and four of the company directs program policy. There is one high-power transmitter (120 kilowatt) working on a long wave length, and a small number of other stations of medium power in the most popular areas. The funds for broadcasting are derived from listeners' license fees of three zlotys (57 cents) per month, and the broadcasting of advertisements.

PORTUGAL is the latest European country to systematize broadcasting. She has recently created a state service which will eventually possess, in addition to the transmitters for home purposes, a short-wave station for the radiation of programs to the Portuguese colonies. The necessary funds will be derived from listeners' license fees.

In RUMANIA a joint stock company, known as the *Societatea de Difuziune Radiotelefonica din Romania*, has a monopoly. The state has a balance of financial interest in this company. The principal station is in the neighborhood of Bucharest. It works upon 1,875 meters and will shortly be raised in power to 150 kilowatts. The broadcasting revenue comes partly from listeners' license fees (which vary according to the nature of the sets and their uses) and partly from the broadcasting of advertisements.

In SPAIN licenses to broadcast have been granted in the past to private organizations, the principal one being Union-Radio. Recently, however, the Madrid Government has decided to erect a series of state-operated stations, the principal one, of 150 kilowatts, to be at Madrid and to work upon a long wave length. The Catalonian Government, at Barcelona, has also now independent authority over broadcasting stations in Catalonia, of which there are two. The revenue for the

broadcast programs in Spain comes from subventions, voluntary subscriptions from listeners, and the broadcasting of advertisements. A licensing system exists for wireless receivers, but until now there has not been a rigid enforcement of this system.

In SWEDEN the Government builds and operates the transmitting stations, but the programs are prepared by a private organization known as *Aktiebolaget Radiotjänst*. The Swedish Press has a considerable holding of the share capital. There are over thirty transmitting stations, each being connected with Stockholm by telephone lines. The highest-powered station is at present one of 50 kilowatts working at Stockholm on a middle wave, but in the near future the existing long-wave station at Motala (1,389 meters) will be raised to 150 kilowatt aerial energy. The Swedish broadcasting organization may pay a dividend not exceeding 6 per cent. Its funds come exclusively from listeners' license fees, no advertising being permitted.

In SWITZERLAND an exclusive license has been granted to a central organization known as the *Société Suisse de Radiodiffusion*, which controls the operation of three main program groups, one catering for the German-speaking population, the second for the French-speaking, and a third for the Italian-speaking population. The German-speaking main transmitter has a power of 100 kilowatts. Plans are in hand for raising the power of the principal French-speaking transmitter. The revenue is derived exclusively from license fees, the annual fee being 15 Swiss francs (\$4.89). As in the Netherlands, there is an ever growing interest in the reception of programs on telephone circuits, the system being known in Switzerland as "télédiffusion." Three such services exist, one operated by the State Department of

Telephones and two by private companies. All subscribers to these systems pay the usual listeners' license fee.

A private organization, the *Société Turque de Téléphonie sans Fil*, has a monopoly in TURKEY which will last for two more years. The Government is understood to have an indirect financial interest. There are two stations, one at Angora, the second at Constantinople. The revenue comes from taxes on imported sets, the broadcasting of advertisements in special hours, and annual license fees, which are heavy—10 Turkish pounds (\$8).

There are three distinct broadcasting organizations in YUGOSLAVIA—at Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. The revenue comes from license fees, which vary according to the nature and the use made of the apparatus. The usual fee is 300 dinars (\$6.86).

As a special chapter is also planned for the RUSSIAN broadcasting stations, only brief reference will here be made to Russia. Broadcasting in Russia is an instrument of the state which is being developed on a very considerable scale. It includes the first 500 kilowatt transmitter in the world, an ever increasing number of 100 kilowatt transmitters, and about 80 stations, besides a vast network of telephone circuits for the distribution of broadcast programs to listening centers specially equipped with loud-speakers. In March 1933 a system of license fees for private receiving stations was introduced, but the results of this development are not yet known to the public. A campaign for the enforcement of this fee was undertaken during 1934. The Russian stations are operated largely upon long wave lengths and in some cases on wave lengths between 600 and 1,000 meters, which have been reserved in other parts of the world for other services—it being

found that this can be done to a certain degree without causing harmful interference. A very considerable network of short-wave stations has been developed for long-distance relays between distant points in the Soviet Union, and for the radiation of programs overseas.

#### THE POSITION OUTSIDE EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

In JAPAN broadcasting is exclusively in the hands of the chartered corporation known as the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan. This corporation has close contact with the Departments of State. Its working headquarters is in Tokyo, but there are seven regional operating divisions. The board of directors is elected each two years by foundation members of the corporation, of which there are about six thousand. A peculiar and successful feature of Japanese broadcasting is the service which the corporation maintains for the upkeep and repair of listeners' receiving sets. The revenue is obtained exclusively from listeners' license fees, the broadcasting of advertisements not being permitted.

In AUSTRALIA there is a state broadcasting service operating a certain number of stations of relatively high power, and, in addition, a number of private (B) stations dependent upon their own resources. The programs for the state stations are prepared by a broadcasting commission with funds derived from listeners' license fees. No advertisements are broadcast by the state stations, but advertising is permitted in the case of the Class B stations. The license fee in Australia is peculiar in that it varies according to the distance of the listener from a state station. For instance, a listener within 250 miles of the state station pays 21 shillings (\$4.19) a year, whereas one outside that radius but within 400 miles pays only 15/- (\$2.99).

In NEW ZEALAND there is a state broadcasting board of recent origin which operates certain of its own stations and subsidizes a limited number of private broadcasting organizations in places where, for the moment, the state stations are not well heard. The board has an attractive program of expansion which is being vigorously pursued. The funds come from listeners' license fees, no advertising being permitted.

In CANADA broadcasting is under the control of a broadcasting commission appointed by Parliament, which commission has plans for a chain of its own stations but permits the continued activities of a number of private broadcasting stations. The funds for the state stations are derived from listeners' license fees, which are two Canadian dollars (\$2.05) yearly. The private stations are allowed to broadcast advertisements. The functioning of the broadcasting commission was the subject of a special inquiry during 1934.

In the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA a monopoly has been granted to a South African Broadcasting Company in which the principal South African entertainment organization has a considerable interest, the country being but sparsely populated by persons of European origin. South African broadcasting has been rich in problems. Definite development is now taking place. New stations of medium power are being constructed in the more highly populated centers. The funds for the broadcasting services come from listeners' license fees, which are relatively high, and, like the Australian fees, are graduated according to the distance of the listener from the nearest broadcasting station. A private listener within 100 miles pays £1.15.0 (\$8.71) annually; a boarding house in the same zone £3.5.0 (\$16.18); a hotel

£5.5.0 (\$26.13). The same three categories if existing beyond 250 miles from a station pay £1.0.0 (\$4.98), £2.15.0 (\$13.69), and £3.15.0 (\$18.67) respectively.

Generally speaking, in the SOUTH AMERICAN states broadcasting is conducted by private organizations authorized by the state, and the revenue is derived from the radiation of advertisements. In some countries the licensing system exists, but usually it is not rigidly enforced and it is therefore difficult to state with accuracy the number of receiving sets in existence.

#### POINTS OF CONTACT WITH LISTENERS

A question that will undoubtedly be asked when studying extra-American broadcasting organizations is: "By what means do these organizations keep contact with their listeners?" The methods vary. In most countries where the broadcasting is a state service or in close *liaison* with the state, there exist representative advisory committees for this purpose. In some others the directors of sections make periodic invitations through the microphone for constructive criticism. In Germany an effort was recently made to obtain objective opinions by inviting school children, without previous warning, to write an essay on what the family thought of the broadcast programs. Japan has just completed a methodical analysis of the responses to 1,200,000 carefully thought-out questionnaires distributed among the listeners. They have been published in a volume containing between 400 and 500 pages.

Denmark a few years ago made a national inquiry by means of a printed questionnaire attached to the annual license form, by which each listener was invited to say whether he was satisfied with, or would welcome more or less of thirty different program categories.

All the broadcasting organizations receive heavy mails from their listeners, but the common difficulty is to decide how far the person who posts to a transmitting station his comments on a broadcast program is really representative of the listeners as a whole.

Outside the field of pure entertainment, use is made in most countries of consultative committees of specialists. This is notably the case for broadcasts of a religious or educative character, and is a growing practice in respect to programs intended particularly for the instruction of rural populations.

The northern countries of Europe are also obtaining assistance in judging the desires of the masses (particularly at this moment when unemployment is general) through the medium of "listening groups." These are groups of listeners who meet regularly under trained leaders in public libraries, institutes, and so forth, to listen to broadcasts on social and political questions and to follow up the broadcasts with a debate. The leaders of these groups are trained at summer schools held in university cities or other suitable centers.

#### SPECIAL SERVICES

A special feature of an ever growing number of European countries is school broadcasting—that is, the systematic radiation to schools, during school hours, of talks by recognized experts, and of musical and dramatic performances directly associated with the educational courses. These talks are arranged several months in advance of their radiation (in Great Britain one year), after the closest possible collaboration with all the interested educational groups. The teachers in charge of classes taking these broadcasts are provided with specially prepared and profusely illustrated pamphlets to enable them to supplement the broadcast

material. No attempt is made to displace the existing educational machinery, but only to give to the children the stimulating experiences of experts, which naturally gain by first-hand presentation. It would appear from recent reports that certain technical difficulties in the reception of school broadcasts have not yet been entirely surmounted. Nevertheless there are tens of thousands of schools in Europe today where the broadcast programs are eagerly anticipated.

It is natural that where the broadcast services are under the direct control of the state or in close *liaison* with the state, these services should be at the disposal of state departments for the radiation of material which these departments consider to be in the interest of the citizens. As a matter of fact, the public-service character of broadcasting is so generally appreciated in Europe, Japan, and the British Dominions that even where the broadcasting organizations enjoy freedom from state control, the transmitters are usually at the disposal, free of charge, of state departments having urgent or important messages. Gale warnings to mariners, early news of epidemics among cattle or disease among crops, appeals to motorists to drive more cautiously in the public interest, and even to picnickers to observe tidiness in the country, are but examples of what may frequently be heard. Large sums are annually raised for charitable organizations, and in time of disaster, by microphone appeals, and valuable assistance is given to the police in the search for criminals and for missing relatives whose whereabouts are sought for some very special reason.

#### INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

European broadcasting has delicate problems which, if they are not en-

tirely peculiar to that continent, exist there in an intensified form. In Europe there are crowded together in a relatively small area between twenty-five and thirty nations, most of them possessing deep-rooted traditions and different languages; all of them jealous of their national honor. Among these countries are new nations created since the war, which are zealously working to establish definite national characteristics and traditions and are naturally ever alert against external interference or misrepresentation. Broadcast waves are heedless of national frontiers. An indiscreet remark made in a studio, or in a public building where a microphone has been installed, may instantly stir up in other countries feelings of a dangerous character. European broadcasters, alive to this fact, unofficially adopted a "gentlemen's agreement" for the avoidance of such dangers, nearly ten years ago.

Broadcasting in fact has produced new crops of international problems. One group concerns wave lengths. The assignment of wave bands for broadcasting purposes is in the hands of an International Telecommunications Conference composed of the representatives of national postal and telegraph administrations, which meets once in each five years. The postwar conferences of this order have been held at Washington in 1927 and Madrid in 1932. These conferences have fixed the wave bands to be set apart for the different wireless services, but have left untouched the assignment of wave lengths to individual stations. In 1925 it became apparent in Europe that while the administrations were issuing broadcasting wave lengths in conformity with a previous international agreement regarding wave bands available for new services, there was no form of international collaboration to insure that a wave

length issued in one country was sufficiently separated from a wave length issued (quite innocently) in another country, to avoid mutual interference.

### *International Broadcasting Union*

The European broadcasters who were beginning to suffer from such interferences met in London in 1925 and decided to form immediately a Union to study first the international wave length problem. The Union chose Geneva as its headquarters. It was soon discovered that the problems of broadcasters requiring solutions on an international basis were not limited to wave lengths, but extended even to artistic and legal matters.

The International Broadcasting Union, which is now in its tenth year of existence, has been studying systematically since 1925 all problems of an international character brought to its notice by its members or by the course of events elsewhere. The Union, which is entirely noncommercial in character, comprises, as full members, practically all the authorized broadcasting organizations in Europe; and as its associate members, the principal extra-European broadcasters, such as the two great American chains (Columbia Broadcasting System and National Broadcasting Company), the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, and the principal broadcasting organizations of Australia, New Zealand, South and North Africa, Cuba, and other countries.

The work of the International Broadcasting Union in the field of international relations has not been confined to preventive measures. It has constantly studied means by which the broadcast programs could be used to create better understanding between peoples, and has prepared programs and routines for putting these ideals

into effect. In its first days it established close and friendly relations with the state telephone administrations of Europe, which have resulted in the creation of an international network of telephone circuits specially fitted for the exchange of musical programs. With the development of overseas radiotelephony, advantage has also been taken to extend to other continents these exchanges of programs.

Many important studies in the technical field, outside the fundamental one of wave lengths, have been made by the International Broadcasting Union in recent years. The Union, which has as its President Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Carpendale, one of the Controllers of the British Broadcasting Corporation, has been recognized by the European administrations since 1929 as an official advisory body on European international technical broadcasting problems.

### *International Institute for Intellectual Coöperation*

Within recent years, a third international institution has shown an interest in broadcasting questions and has commenced official studies. This is the League of Nations. In 1931 the Assembly of the League instructed its organ for International Intellectual Coöperation to open an inquiry which should cover "all the international questions raised by the use of broadcasting in regard to good international relations." The International Institute for Intellectual Coöperation, which is the League's executive organ for this work, at once commenced a general examination of the possibilities of broadcasting as an instrument of peace.

The Institute has already drafted a project of an International Agreement (containing preventive and constructive clauses) for use of broadcasting in

the cause of peace. This draft was submitted in the spring of 1934 to the governments of the world for their various observations. A second draft is about to be prepared in the light of the comments received.

It will be seen that international broadcasting problems are being attacked from different but complementary angles. The governments are exploring the possibility of new international regulations in nontechnical fields; the broadcasters are making unofficial studies, and innovations, in the light of practical experience. Regional agreements are being sought from time to time. The recent formation of a South American Broadcasting

Union seems to be indicative of the line of progress. In fact, in the opinion of many who have made a study of these special questions, it is probable that the soundest structure for the world regulation of the peculiar international problem arising from the development of broadcasting will be one founded on regional or continental agreements.

This does not mean that the studies must always be localized. On the contrary, the rapid strides being made in short wave broadcasting, whereby programs can be relayed instantly and clearly to the most distant parts of the world, indicate the approaching necessity for an extension of present-day regional studies to others on a definitely world basis.

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# Broadcasting in Canada

By HECTOR CHARLESWORTH

THE national public service broadcasting system of Canada had its origin in broadcasting conditions obtaining at least as far back as 1928. Public dissatisfaction with the broadcasting situation had then become widespread and acute. Radio services available in Canada were distinctly not to the taste of Canadians. They were dissatisfied on three main scores, namely: poor Canadian programs, too much advertising, and the fact that most of the radio entertainment reaching them was from sources other than Canadian.

To this widespread dissatisfaction the Federal Government toward the end of 1928 responded by appointing a Royal Commission to investigate the situation and make recommendations as to a suitable system of radio broadcasting for Canada. Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was chairman of this Commission. The grounds of dissatisfaction just mentioned were those which the Commission found to obtain. In its report, made to the Government in the autumn of 1929, the Commission declared that however much diversity of opinion there might be regarding other phases of the matter, there was unanimity on one fundamental question—Canadians wanted Canadian broadcasting. What they were mainly getting was foreign broadcasting.

Canadian broadcasting at that time was conducted either for direct private profit or for purposes of publicity in connection with the broadcaster's business. This situation was forcing too much advertising on the listener, the Commission found, and was hav-

ing the further effect of creating a duplication of services in urban centers while leaving large, populated rural areas ineffectively served. With regard to the preponderance of radio entertainment from outside sources, the Commission suggested that, in the absence of any acceptable alternative source of programs, the continued reception of these foreign broadcasts tended to mold the minds of young people in the homes to ideals and opinions that were not Canadian. "In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship," said the Commission in its report. It stressed the potentialities of broadcasting as an instrument of education in the broad sense.

When they came to the point of examining possible solutions of the problem, Sir John Aird and his colleagues of the Royal Commission felt that primary and principal consideration was due the interests of the listening public and the interests of the nation. And they were impelled to the conclusion that "these interests can be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada."

## A NATIONAL COMPANY PROPOSED

Having examined the broadcasting systems in operation in the United States, Great Britain, and European countries, the Commission concluded that the most satisfactory agency for

establishing and operating a public service broadcasting system in Canada would be a government-owned and government-financed company which would set up stations of suitable power across Canada, and other broadcasting facilities, taking over for an interim service the best of the then existing commercial stations, and which would provide a national broadcasting service from Canadian sources in all parts of the country, and exchange high-class programs between Canada and other countries. It suggested that provincial authority should exercise control of programs broadcast by stations located within the boundaries of each province. The directors of the national company would represent the Federal Government and the governments of the nine provinces.

The company should be financed, the Commission recommended, from the revenue from a \$3 license fee on receiving sets, the revenue from the broadcasting of programs employing indirect advertising (programs giving the name of the sponsor and the nature of his business but making no direct selling appeal), and an annual subsidy from the Federal Government of \$1,000,000 for the first five or ten years at least. This recommendation was made in the halcyon days of 1929, when governments had no difficulty in balancing budgets, and people generally were flush. By the time the Parliament of Canada got around to dealing with the matter, economic conditions had radically altered, and the proposal which would have given the national system a substantial financial footing from the outset was regarded as impossible of entertainment.

In the meantime, however, the Province of Quebec, jealous of its rights and prerogatives, challenged the jurisdiction of the Federal authority over radio matters. This constitutional

issue was taken to the courts and finally to the ultimate tribunal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The decision was in favor of the Federal Government, and upon its delivery in 1932, the whole question of a solution of the Canadian broadcasting problem was brought before Parliament by the Federal Government.

In the interval between the presentation of the Aird Commission's report and action by Parliament, the radio situation was in suspense, new broadcasting licenses being withheld and commercial interests being discouraged from improving their plants. When the issue as between the setting up of a national system and the continuance of the commercial system came to be argued before the Parliamentary authorities, this restraint which had been imposed on the commercial broadcasters over a period of nearly three years was advanced by them as an excuse for the poor quality of Canadian radio entertainment and broadcast services generally. It is to be remembered, however, that popular dissatisfaction with the broadcasting situation, which dissatisfaction developed into the movement for a national public service system, had arisen before this restraint was imposed.

#### A SELF-SUSTAINING SYSTEM

In 1932 a parliamentary committee, at the instance of the Government, re-examined the Aird Commission's report and reviewed the whole situation independently. It arrived at much the same conclusions as the Aird Commission had reached three years before, and accordingly it recommended the establishment of a national broadcasting system. As previously indicated, however, changed economic conditions influenced the final decisions. The committee concluded that the system

must be self-sustaining, supported directly by those who received its services and by such revenues as it might derive from indirect broadcast advertising. A government subsidy even for original capital expenditure was regarded as out of the question. The system, the committee decided, would have to be built up gradually and slowly.

Parliament, with only one dissenting voice in the House of Commons, adopted the recommendations of the committee, and the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission—not a national company as proposed by the Aird report—was created by Act of Parliament for the purpose of establishing and operating a national broadcasting system and controlling all broadcasting in Canada. The committee's report envisioned the establishment of a chain of high-powered stations across the country with low-powered community stations to be left to private ownership and operation. But no provision was made for the financing of this set-up beyond an increase in the license fee on receiving sets from \$1 to \$2—not \$3 as recommended by the Aird Commission—and the sanctioning of the broadcasting of programs containing indirect advertising.

The number of registered receiving sets in Canada is between 750,000 and 800,000, so that the revenue from this source is approximately \$1,500,000; but out of this comes the cost of collections and an appropriation for a service for the suppression of reception interference conducted by another branch of the Government. All the proceeds from the license fees are paid into the consolidated revenue fund and have to be voted out by Parliament. For the first year of its operations, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission was voted \$1,000,000; for the

present fiscal year it was voted \$1,250,000.

Without something approaching a complete coverage of the country from stations operated by itself, the Commission is not, of course, in a position to add materially to its revenue through the broadcasting of commercially sponsored programs. In this situation the development of the national system is necessarily limited by its financial resources. Nevertheless, substantial progress has been made—a degree of progress that would seem to warrant the assertion that Canadians from coast to coast are enjoying a broadcasting service that is a vast improvement over anything they have had hitherto, and the firm conviction that national public service broadcasting is here to stay.

#### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF RADIO COMMISSION

The two principal functions of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission under the statute governing it are the provision of a national broadcasting service and the control of all broadcasting in Canada. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 gives the Commission power to determine the number, the location, and the power of broadcasting stations required for the country, and to allot channels for their use; to determine the time that is to be devoted by any station to national and local programs, and the proportion of advertising to be authorized; and to regulate the character of such advertising. The Act stipulates that the amount of advertising shall not exceed 5 per cent of any program period except by permission of the Commission. The Commission may recommend to the member of the Government to whom it is directly responsible the suspension or cancellation of private broadcasting

licenses, and the Minister may act on its recommendations in this connection. It may prescribe periods to be reserved by any station for national programs. It may prohibit the organization or operation of chains of privately operating stations. Subject to the approval of the Government, it has power to make arrangements with private stations for the broadcasting of national programs, to acquire private stations by lease or purchase, and to construct new stations. The Act also makes provisions for the taking over by the Commission of all broadcasting in Canada, but does not provide for the financing of such an undertaking.

#### RADIO FACILITIES

The Commission was appointed the first of November 1932, spent the early months of its existence in roughly charting its initial course and arranging for facilities for national broadcasting, such as transcontinental wire connections and broadcasting time on commercial stations, and in May 1933, began broadcasting on regular schedule. It acquired three broadcasting stations from the Canadian National Railways, leased a station, and subsequently leased a second. It now has under its own operation stations at Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver. Its program service, however, has outlets in all the cities of Canada, secured in those cities where it does not operate stations by the purchase of broadcasting time on commercial stations.

Station facilities in Canada are anything but adequate. All stations are of comparatively low power, there being only one or two stations of 10,000 watts and none of greater power. The Commission has built two new stations, is installing new equipment in some of the other stations it operates,

and, subject to the approval of the Government, is planning to spend some of its limited revenue on other new construction with a view to procuring an approximately complete coverage of all the populated areas of the country.

In order to make best use of the funds at its disposal, the Commission confines its broadcasting service to four and a half hours daily in the evening, during which period of the day most people look for radio entertainment. Exceptions to this are on occasions of events of special interest to the public, and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, when such programs of outstanding merit as the concerts of the New York Philharmonic Society and the performances of the Metropolitan Opera Company may be brought to Canadian listeners.

#### CANADIAN PROGRAMS PREFERRED

It has been pointed out that the Aird Commission in 1929 found that Canadians wanted Canadian broadcasting. This desire, it need hardly be argued, did not derive entirely from patriotic sentiment. What the Aird Commission meant, I think, was that the broadcasting that Canadians were hearing from outside sources did not quite suit their taste. The factor of national pride did, of course, enter, but I take it that a principal reason why Canadians wanted Canadian broadcasting was that they felt that Canadian broadcasting properly conducted could and should give them something more to their liking than that which apparently suited the tastes of people in other countries.

I am persuaded, and I believe most Canadians who have made any study of the question will agree with me, that, generally speaking, neither the type of broadcasting carried on in Great Britain by the nationally owned

British Broadcasting Corporation nor that provided for the people of the United States by the highly organized and efficient commercial broadcasting systems would quite satisfy Canadians. To some extent it is, perhaps, a matter of national taste. However that may be, Canadians undoubtedly have distinctive preferences in the matter of broadcast entertainment, and definite ideas as to how a broadcasting service should be conducted in order to meet their requirements; and it was largely because of this that the national system was set up, and it is because of it that it will endure.

Within the limits of its operations, the national system is endeavoring to conduct a broadcasting service in keeping with Canadian ideas, tastes, and sentiment. That the effort is understood and appreciated, there is ample evidence. Formerly, Canadians tuned their receiving sets most of the time to high-powered American stations. I think it is safe to say—at any rate I am constantly being assured it is a fact—that the great majority now leave their sets tuned to Canadian stations when the national service networks are in operation.

#### BROADCAST ADVERTISING

The policy of the national system in respect of broadcast advertising derives entirely from the national taste. Canadians decidedly do not like having their enjoyment of radio programs interrupted by sales talk. Indeed, it is a question whether such advertising, forced upon them in the manner alluded to, may not even have the effect of prejudicing them against the merchandise so advertised. At any rate, it has a disturbing effect on their tempers. Over commercial broadcasting and especially broadcasting from sources outside Canada, they have no control. In a national radio service

for which they pay directly, they would not tolerate this commercialization.

This is not to say that the national broadcasting service is intended to be free from all advertising. As it is, the service given by the Canadian Radio Commission of four and a half hours of entertainment daily is without any advertising, consisting of what are known to broadcasters in the United States as sustaining programs. But the Aird Commission of 1929 which presented the original proposal for a national system, and the Act of Parliament of 1932 under which such a system was set up, both contemplated the broadcasting of sponsored programs—in other words indirect advertising—as a necessary source of revenue for the system. Major Gladstone Murray of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which in its own broadcasting allows no advertising of any kind, coming to Canada to give our Commission some assistance in the early months of its existence, also regarded indirect advertising as unobjectionable and necessary from a revenue point of view. However, without a coverage of the country through stations of its own, the Commission could not at this time add much to its revenues by broadcasting sponsored programs.

A particularly objectionable class of broadcast advertising which, prior to the establishment of the Commission, was getting out of hand has been brought under strict regulation and control to the very general satisfaction of the Canadian public. Reference is to patent medicine advertising which so largely employed quackery and the "fear complex" as means for inducing the gullible to purchase and consume all manner of dangerous concoctions. In this connection the Canadian Radio Commission has the cooperation of the

Dominion Department of National Health, and all patent medicine broadcasts are submitted to the Department for approval and censorship. Other kinds of "ballyhoo" have been eliminated from the Canadian air in so far as they had their sources in Canada. Broadcasting by fanatical and crank organizations calculated to give offense to large sections of the community has also been subjected to control by the Commission.

#### SERVICES RENDERED

The national system seeks to provide listeners in all parts of the country with broadcast entertainment by the best Canadian talent. It considers it to be part of its duty to encourage and develop native talent. There has been in this country an inferiority complex in this respect. It was commonly said that whether through a commercial system or a public service one, Canada could not "compete" with the United States in the matter of radio programs. This complex is being dissipated. Naturally, of course, we cannot produce in this country programs such as are provided by the Metropolitan Opera Company or some of the great symphony orchestras of the United States. But it has been definitely established, greatly to the satisfaction of Canadians, that we have a wealth of high-class talent in this country.

It is recognized that something more than musical and variety entertainment is expected and required from a national broadcasting service. Our Commission allows for this in arranging its service. During the last fall and winter season we broadcast regularly addresses and talks by authoritative speakers on many diversified subjects of general interest. The national system was used by leaders in public life for reaching the people with

important messages and pronouncements in the national interest. The service included inter-university debates, book reviews, information and advice on such matters as horticulture and agriculture, commentaries on current events by leading editors, and so forth. When the resources and facilities of the system permit, this department of the national service will be further developed.

#### ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS

When he introduced in Parliament, in May 1932, the bill creating the national broadcasting system, the Prime Minister, The Right Honorable R. B. Bennett, submitted what he considered to be three essential requirements of radio broadcasting in Canada, which in his opinion could be fulfilled only by a national system. The first of these requirements was complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, without which control broadcasting could never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals and for fostering and sustaining national unity. While other and alternative systems might suit the requirements of other countries, in Canada the system which could be most profitably employed was one which responded most directly to the popular will and the national need. It was important that the fullest benefits of radio broadcasting be assured to the people as a whole.

A second requirement was equality of service for people of all classes in all parts of the country. Private ownership of broadcasting, depending on advertising revenue, necessarily discriminated between densely and sparsely populated areas. That was not a correctable fault in private ownership, but an inescapable and inherent de-

merit. Under public ownership such discrimination would be unnecessary, and equality of service to all would be assured.

The third requirement advanced by the Prime Minister was that of preserving the natural resource of the air for the benefit of all the people instead of turning it over for private exploitation at a time when its use in radio broadcasting was only in its infancy.

Reasons such as these influenced Parliament to set up the national system. The satisfactory operation of the system will insure its continuance. The fundamental aim of the system is to serve the interests of the listening public, and the national interests. It is being developed along lines laid down by the Aird Commission, the Parliamentary committee, and all those who were responsible for bringing it into being.

*Honorable Hector Charlesworth is chairman of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. He has spent most of his life in newspaper work in Toronto, having been engaged in all its branches, but particularly identified with musical and dramatic criticism. He was editor in chief of Toronto Saturday Night, the leading national weekly of Canada, until his connection with the Broadcasting Commission necessitated his removal to Ottawa. He is the author of several books.*

# Radio in Canada

By MERRILL DENISON

**I**T IS very questionable if sufficient time has yet elapsed to allow a fair judgment on the results of government control of radio in Canada. From the point of view of the listener, who is interested less in the source of his radio entertainment than in its ability to entertain, the accomplishments of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission do not seem greatly impressive, particularly when considered in the light of the glittering prophecies of more and better Canadian programs which preceded government control. But since many of these promises were impossible of realization anyway, and since the Commission cannot be held responsible for them in any case, criticism along this line is of little value. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to make any valid criticism of the Commission's efforts to date, so greatly has it been hampered by the pitifully inadequate funds at its disposal.

## CANADIAN EXPERIMENT INAPPLICABLE TO UNITED STATES

Furthermore, it is highly improbable that any developments applicable to broadcasting in the United States will come out of the Canadian experiment, so different are the conditions in the two countries. It is not at all likely that this will deter either the proponents or the opponents of the commercial ownership of broadcasting facilities from drawing morals to adorn their tales (as they have drawn in lavish variety on the British Broadcasting Corporation), but the fact remains that to date the Canadian experiment has proved nothing new. From the point of view of the informed but disinterested observer, it is neither a

success nor a failure, and only a person with passionate views on the virtues or the iniquities of government ownership could find many features either to approve or to condemn.

To attempt a comparison of American and Canadian programs is manifestly unfair. One might as well hope for definite conclusions to emerge from a debate on the relative merits of dinghy sailing and yacht racing. Not only is there not the money or talent in Canada, but talented Canadians are continually being wooed away from their own country to add their abilities to the American world of entertainment. Equally pointless, as far as American broadcasting is concerned, are any deductions drawn from the experiences of government management of radio across the border, whether it proves satisfactory to a majority of Canadian listeners or not. In spite of many similarities between the two countries, there are many fundamental differences; and there is no reason to believe that the Canadian experiment, whatever its eventual outcome, could find a parallel development in this country. If this point seems to be unduly stressed, it is because many unwarranted and inapplicable deductions based on the Canadian experiment will probably be made, pro and con, by those interested in influencing the control of radio in the United States. In other words, the Canadian radio situation can only be considered in terms of Canadian problems.

## FINANCING OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING

Any sincere desire to make a truthful estimate of Canadian broadcasting

after two years of government control is almost completely frustrated by the fact that the Commission has never had sufficient funds at its disposal to undertake the satisfactory discharge of all its functions. In principle, the Commission derives its revenues from a license fee of \$2 levied against individual radio sets, and from the sale of time on Commission-owned stations to commercial broadcasters. If all license fees were paid, the amount available from this source would be around \$1,500,000. So far, the sums received from commercial broadcasters have been negligible, largely because the Commission has been unable to offer efficient facilities in competition with the privately owned stations. Many privately owned stations, it should be noted, have been permitted to continue operation only because of the Commission's inability, through lack of funds, to provide satisfactory outlets.

But this picture of the Commission's financial background, unpromising though it sounds, remains in theory. In fact, all revenues from radio sources are merged in the consolidated fund. Here they remain until voted out by Parliament, when they are turned over to the Commission after some delay and with the greatest reluctance on the part of the Minister of Finance. The actual amounts voted for radio operations were \$1,000,000 for the first year and \$1,250,000 for the current year. Out of these sums, the Commission has been required to maintain marine radio services in no way connected with the business of program broadcasting, to pay for capital improvements, for costs of management, for office space outside of Ottawa, for the costs of collecting license fees, for station time in all cities except the five where it has outlets of its own, for line charges levied by telegraph and telephone companies, and for the talent essential to its programs.

While any or all of these expenditures may be of interest to the person who has paid a two-dollar license fee, it is only the last one that can effect him as a listener. Under the circumstances, it must seem a little miraculous that government management has been able to win any friends at all for that system.

During the current year the Commission hopes to be able to spend \$400,000 on talent. This pious hope may easily prove to be overly optimistic, but even if the whole \$400,000 should reach the Commission's hands and be actually spent on musicians, writers, directors, and artists, the demands upon this sum make it seem hopelessly insufficient. The broadcasting days in every year number 365, which makes the daily budget for talent a little under \$1,100. In order to spread its meager resources where they will do the most good in providing entertainment, the Canadian Commission only attempts network broadcasting during four and a half hours out of the twenty-four. This would make the sum to be divided among the talent on an hour's network program \$245 if the expenditures could be restricted to network programs. There are, however, regional program costs to be met in the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and the Pacific Coast, as well as the costs of local daytime programs broadcast from the Commission's own transmitters.

Without attempting any further breaking down of the budget, it is readily seen that the Canadian Radio Commission is not in a position to offer any one who may be dignified by the name "artist" a fee commensurate with his or her professional standing. How the Commission, in the face of this limitation, has been able to secure the services of many accomplished Canadian entertainers remains a mystery.

## APPEAL TO NATIONAL SENTIMENT

It must be evident from the foregoing that no one without a special axe to grind would care to base a judgment on the worth of government control on the results of its two-years trial in Canada. Because of the unwillingness of the Dominion Government to back up its faith in its own radio experiment by providing adequate funds for the Commission it has set up, that body has been able to demonstrate but few of the virtues that might be inherent in a system of public ownership of radio.

It should be noted that the reluctance on the part of members of the Canadian Parliament to vote appropriations for radio is due in some measure to the depression, but is also due to the lack of complete conviction regarding the virtues of government controlled and created broadcasting. How dissatisfied with private broadcasting were the majority of listeners in the more populous parts of Canada will never be accurately known. Government control was accomplished, as it probably will always be, through the activities of a small, interested, and semiprofessional lobby, fortified by the genuine dissatisfaction with radio conditions on the part of Canadians living in those areas so sparsely populated as to make commercial broadcasting unprofitable. While the arguments used to further government control were many, its accomplishment was due to a direct appeal to national pride and patriotic sentiment; but even at the height of the controversy, public interest in the matter was largely academic. For this reason many members of Parliament, although they voted for government control, have never regarded the venture as other than a tentative experiment which has yet to prove its value. Whether in agreement with the principle or not, one

must admit that government control in Canada has not yet had any proper opportunity to prove itself.

It would not seem unnatural, under the circumstances, for the members of the Commission and regional program directors to protest against the limited funds or to apologize for the quality of their programs. There is little tendency to do either, in public at least. On the contrary, the Commission seems to be more than well satisfied with itself in the rôle of entrepreneur, and is content to be judged by the record. If this attitude seems to contain elements of smugness it also contains elements of profound strategy, since the record is capable of an infinite number of interpretations, depending upon the individual tastes, the geographic location, and the patriotic sensibilities of the interpreter. Since the charm of any radio program depends entirely on personal taste, the Commission assumes an unassailable position simply by confessing a preference for its own programs, and, if this line of defense is miraculously penetrated, by falling back upon an appeal to national sentiment. From the point of view of those in charge, then, government control is an admitted success, with no apologies offered on any score.

## THE LISTENING PUBLIC

Whether this opinion agrees with that held by the average listener depends on what particular individual one chooses to label "average." There is, of course, no average listener, even in Canada. There are groups of listeners, not with similar tastes, but with similar attitudes induced largely by similar racial and geographic influences. Listeners in the remote parts of the Prairie Provinces, for example, are more likely to vote government control a success than listeners in the thickly populated portions of Ontario, for the

simple reason that few programs were heard on the remote parts of the prairies prior to the Commission broadcasts, while all major American programs have been available to set owners in the older province since broadcasting began. While it is easy to show that listeners living in the wilder wilds are enthusiastic in their approval of government control, it is almost impossible to determine what those listeners think who were long accustomed to listening to the cream of the world's radio entertainment.

To thousands of listeners in distant parts of Canada, government control has seemed like a gift from heaven, so greatly has it enriched their lives. To other thousands of listeners living within range of American network stations, government control means very little. If its program is interesting, they may listen. If it is not interesting, they have the output of the three American chains and many individual stations to tune in on their loudspeakers. To such listeners, the success or failure of government control is largely an academic matter. It cannot affect their enjoyment of radio in one way or another. In spite of this evident fact, however, the record would show more letters of praise than of criticism from listeners in the settled parts of the country. But this is not surprising. The tendency is always for those who like a program to tune it in and for those who dislike a program to tune it out. Thus, in the non-competitive fields the Commission program is supreme, and in competitive fields it automatically finds the audience most likely to approve.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE SYSTEM

A dispassionate but sympathetic estimate of the Canadian experiment to date would probably conclude that everything promised before its incep-

tion, both by friends and by enemies of the system, has come to pass. In one sense, then, the experiment has been an undoubted success. It has proved no one wrong. The enemies of public ownership can still point with pride to its defects, and its friends can still point with pride to its virtues. The Commission has certainly accomplished many of the things for which it was brought into being. Despite its depression budget, it has succeeded in bringing radio programs to vast areas of the Dominion which were previously without any broadcasting service whatever. This valuable public service would never have been attempted by private ownership without some kind of government subsidy.

One of the strongest reasons for establishing government control was too much advertising on the air. By a judicious interpretation of its 5 per cent rule, the Commission has been able to modify this abuse in Canada, and to influence to an appreciable degree the character and the extent of advertising on American network programs which use Canadian outlets. In connection with the 5 per cent rule, the attitude of the Commission has been in no way arbitrary but entirely "common-sensical." Prior to government control, the mendacious character of patent medicine advertising, particularly on smaller Canadian stations, had become nothing less than scandalous. By ruling that all such advertising continuity be approved by the Commission, this condition has been greatly improved, and one of the basic claims for government control has been completely demonstrated, namely, the ability to influence the character of radio programs in the public interest.

Government ownership, then, has made good on three important counts; but when they have been noted, the discussion of promises and deeds moves

on to less certain ground. Among the needs claimed for government ownership was that of providing Canadian listeners with more and better Canadian programs. Just how far the Commission has been able to go in this direction is difficult to say. It has certainly made more Canadian programs available to a greater number of Canadians, but whether more Canadian programs are heard by more Canadian listeners, and whether the Canadian programs heard are any better than they were, are debatable questions. Here again the decision must rest on personal opinion and often prejudice. Many Canadians will prefer an inferior native program to a superior foreign one, and do so quite honestly because of national pride. In fostering and developing Canadian talent, which was among the important promises for government control, the accomplishments of the Commission have not been too impressive or satisfactory, either to undeveloped or professional artists; but here again the efforts of the Commission have been beset by so many difficulties that criticism must be withheld.

In two other fields of broadcasting, those of education and politics, government control has neither made good its promises nor developed the evils predicted by opponents of the system. Its work in improving educational broadcasting or undertaking experiments in this relatively inexpensive field has been of less importance than would have been the case under a freely functioning system of competitive private ownership.

In the realm of politics, on the other hand, there is no evidence that the party in power has taken advantage of its position to influence public opinion. It is to be remembered, however, that privately owned stations are still in operation, and that the broad tolerance

of the Commission in permitting speakers of all shades of political opinion on the air, including radical critics of the present economic and social system, is somewhat offset by the fact that in Section 98 of the Criminal Code, Canada has in its statutes one of the most vicious reactionary laws to inhibit freedom of speech known in any Anglo-Saxon democracy. To permit the radical to speak freely when the exercise of this permission may easily win him a term in prison, seems nothing more than an empty gesture.

#### WEAKNESSES OF THE SYSTEM

To this more or less positive picture of the Canadian radio experiment must be added a few negative strokes. Nothing has happened to weaken any of the arguments used by the defenders of private ownership. Except in the matter of coverage, government control has accomplished nothing that could not have been better and more quickly done under the stimulus of competitive private ownership. Neither has the quality or the quantity of programs been improved, nor have any of the objectionable features of private ownership, outside of advertising, been modified. It has not been proved that an efficient, comprehensive broadcasting service can be supported by the revenues obtained through the levy of a modest license fee. From the point of view of the majority of listeners, uninterested in patriotic or nationalistic considerations and concerned only with the entertainment value of programs, the efforts of the Commission remain a disappointment, and an essential anticlimax to the fireworks which preceded the creation of the Commission.

It is, however, in its nationalistic phases that the Canadian radio situation presents the most interesting implications and ones which must

cause considerable embarrassment to those who favored government control on the grounds that only through such control could the corrupting American influences of programs emanating from across the border be combated. These influences seem to have turned out to be less vicious than was supposed, for much of the approval won by the Commission has been through making available, on a coast-to-coast Canadian network, programs of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System which previously had gone on the air only through outlets in Toronto and Montreal.

Thanks to the amiable cooperation and the consistent good will of the two privately owned American systems, the Canadian Commission has been enabled to transmit to its listeners programs of the highest quality and by the world's great artists without cost to itself. This arrangement, brought about by a system of exchange between the Commission and the American companies, and partly by the Commission's ownership of the two NBC outlets in Canada, is a most intelligent one, and is to the credit of all concerned. Through it, Canadian listeners are able to hear the best programs on the air, and the Commission is able to provide a service otherwise impossible with the funds at its disposal. But it is slightly disconcerting to hear adherents of the principle of government control, sometimes members of

the Commission itself, point with pride to these American programs, paid for by American private capital, to prove the superiority of Canadian public ownership. Just how the delicate nuances of nationalistic culture are to be reconciled under these circumstances remains a question: probably by allowing them to remain delicate nuances.

#### TENTATIVE NATURE OF THE SYSTEM

If the past and the present of government-owned broadcasting in Canada seem confusing, the future is none the less so. To date, the experiment remains an experiment. Certain facts have been established, among them the value of subsidizing, by whatever means, broadcasting service to areas which cannot interest the commercial broadcaster; but it has yet to be proved that some system of government supervision, coupled possibly with government ownership of facilities but with private management, might not satisfy more listeners and relieve the Government of a bothersome and controversial business for which it has shown no marked natural aptitude. The legislation creating government control is by no means permanent, and the present commission is operating on a year-to-year basis. That the system will be continued in its present form, particularly should there be a change of Government in Canada following the next election, is by no means guaranteed.

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# Broadcasting in Great Britain

By C. G. GRAVES

**B**BROADCASTING in Great Britain is under the control of the British Broadcasting Corporation, whose responsibility it is to provide a national service. This is a simple description of a complicated undertaking, for a national service necessarily involves the consideration of minority interests. Where broadcasting is carried out by individuals or private companies, the interests of the minority may perhaps be overlooked; but a national service must satisfy, within reason, the needs of the whole community.

From 1922 to the end of 1926 broadcasting in Great Britain was in the hands of the British Broadcasting Company, a limited liability company, licensed by the Postmaster General to provide a service to his "reasonable satisfaction," and restricted only in such matters as transmission of news, and limitation of profits. Certain powers were at the same time reserved by the state for use in times of emergency.

## UNIFIED CONTROL OF BROADCASTING

The successful development of broadcasting by the Company led to a general realization of the important part that wireless could play in national life, and that it ought to be placed under the control of a single organization, without financial responsibility towards shareholders, and with public service alone as its motive. A Government Committee, presided over by Lord Crawford, was therefore set up in 1925 to investigate the best type of constitution for broadcasting control in Great Britain, and as a result of its findings the British Broadcasting Corporation was established by Royal Charter in 1927.

The constitution of this Corporation is similar to that of a public utility service, and the corporation operates under License and Agreement from the Postmaster General. In Great Britain, sponsored programs are not a source of income, revenue being derived solely from a percentage of the annual license fee of ten shillings which all owners of receiving sets have to pay, and from proceeds from the sale of British Broadcasting Corporation publications.

In administrative matters the Corporation is autonomous, but by the terms of its license certain powers are granted to the Postmaster General, who acts as the representative of the Government. Parliament by this means reserves to itself the right in time of need to take over direct control of broadcasting. The license also provides the Government with authority to require the Corporation to broadcast, or refrain from broadcasting, anything which it wishes. These may seem extensive powers, but they are applicable only in cases of emergency; in point of fact they have never yet been exercised, and the Corporation has developed unfettered by external control. British broadcasting recently formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, and the result showed the confidence placed by Parliament in the existing organization. The vote of the House was almost unanimously in favor of the system of monopoly which has now been in force for over ten years.

## THE REGIONAL PLAN

Ninety-five thousand square miles constitute the territory of the British Isles; forty-six million people of dif-

ferent religious denominations, traditions, and tastes live in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, and all are justifiably convinced that their own country has something of value to contribute to a national service. This view deserves respect, since one person in every eight is the owner of a receiving set, and any outstanding items of general interest originating in regions outside London are therefore included in what is known as the National Program. It is important, however, that all sections of the community should at the same time be provided with a service which takes into account purely local interests. It is impossible to achieve this on the basis of a single program, for the knowledge that a Welshman's heart is rejoicing in the sound of his native tongue does not necessarily reconcile an Englishman to a broadcast in a language as foreign to him as Chinese or Russian. So a regional scheme of alternatives has been devised, by which programs of specialized appeal are directed to certain areas which the National Program is simultaneously covering. These "regional" programs include some relays from London, but are chiefly composed of material specifically produced for local transmission.

The number of wave lengths available to Europe is small in proportion to the many countries and the large population to be served, and of the eleven channels allotted to Great Britain, seven are shared with other European nations. The problem therefore is to make the most efficient and economical use of these facilities. For distribution purposes, Great Britain, excluding London, has been divided into five regions; Midland, North, Scottish, West, and Northern Ireland. Until recently each of the five main centers of population was

served by twin transmitters, each region providing its own program for radiation on a medium wave length, while the National Program was available from the second transmitter on another medium wave length. To serve parts of the country out of range of the local transmitters, the National Program was simultaneously broadcast from a 30 kilowatt long-wave station at Daventry.

Even then total coverage was not achieved, but a new system of distribution is now in operation, based on experience gained during the past few years, improvement in receiver design, and the possibility of using a power of 150 kilowatts on the longer waves. The new arrangements enable 90 per cent of the population to receive the National Program from a single high-power long-wave station, centrally situated at Droitwich, while single transmitters at the five regional stations supply the regional programs. For the benefit of listeners in certain districts which up to the present have been unsatisfactorily served, three additional high-power stations are to be built and will transmit on medium wave lengths. This development shows how a unified system of control can obtain the greatest possible coverage with a restricted number of wave lengths.

#### ADAPTATION OF PROGRAMS

Such an arrangement solves part of the problem of a national broadcasting service, but there is the further difficulty, common to all broadcasters, that what is one man's mental meat is another man's mental poison. The Corporation's work would be simplified if all listeners who enjoyed serious music lived in one region, and listeners who wished only to be enlivened or soothed by variety and the lighter forms of broadcasting, in another.

Programs could then be built and transmitted accordingly. As it is, the person who likes symphony concerts lives next door to the listener who writes to the Corporation in expostulation if a symphony concert is relayed in the programs which he receives. They both have to be served by the same programs, and it is therefore necessary to include some material that will please the one and some material that will please the other, but, conversely, something also that will displease both of them. The Corporation meets this difficulty by a careful balance of the regional and national programs, so that diversified types of material are available at any given time. When the National Program, for instance, is carrying a symphony concert, the regional programs are providing some form of lighter fare.

Consideration for the needs of the individual listener has led to the development of educational broadcasting to an extent possible only under a national service. In its special sense, "educational broadcasting" refers to broadcasts to schools and series of talks planned for adult students.

#### BROADCASTS TO SCHOOLS

Let it be said at the outset that broadcasts to schools were never intended to replace the individual teacher; they were instituted to illustrate and supplement existing school courses. The use of broadcasting in schools is entirely voluntary, and therefore the growth in the number of listening schools from year to year is unquestionable proof of its value in educational work.

To supply the expert assistance necessary, the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1923 created the National Education Advisory Committee, which in 1928 gave place to the Central Council for School Broadcasting, on

which the Central and Local Education Authorities and the teaching profession are represented. Schemes for broadcast courses are prepared by special subject subcommittees and submitted to the Council. Among its other activities, the Council edits the material for the illustrated pamphlets which accompany each course, deals with the Associations of Teachers, the local Education Authorities, and the Board of Education. It also organizes meetings of teachers, at which demonstrations of school broadcasting are given and discussions take place.

The teacher has considerable choice of broadcast courses from which to select two or three which will best fit in with the school curriculum. History, modern languages, singing and musical appreciation, English literature, illustrated by prose and poetry readings, travel talks, science, and current affairs are among the subjects covered in the syllabus of broadcasts to schools, all series being classified according to their suitability for certain ages of children. Experience has shown that dramatic interludes, dialogues, and running commentaries hold the attention better, and stimulate greater interest in a subject, than straight talks. More than four thousand schools in the British Isles now listen regularly to these broadcasts, and 200,000 copies of the illustrated pamphlets have been sold each term.

#### ADULT EDUCATION TALKS

The sphere of school broadcasting is sharply defined, but it is difficult to estimate the public which is served by the Adult Education courses. Eleven hundred discussion groups met regularly last winter to hear and discuss the special series of talks, but there are in addition many individual listeners, some of whom regularly follow certain

courses, and others who listen spasmodically. The size of this audience, the Corporation has no means of judging.

The Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education was established in 1928. In coöperation with the Corporation it has for the past few years been responsible for planning the series of broadcast Adult Education talks and for the development of organized listening. Much voluntary work has been undertaken by group leaders, and Area Councils have organized periodical meetings at which these leaders are able to meet Corporation officials and speakers and discuss with them various problems affecting the listening end. Summer schools have also been organized at which students chosen by Area Councils receive training for group leadership.

But the Corporation's work in Adult Education has now reached a stage when it is necessary to organize it on a more permanent basis. Area Councils, which hitherto covered only part of the country, are in process of reorganization. Their number will be increased and their influence extended so as to constitute a network over the whole of England, Scotland, and Wales. The elaborate advisory machinery of the Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education is being rationalized, and a National Advisory Committee of smaller proportions set up. To this will be appointed representatives of Area Councils and of national interests in Adult Education. In addition, a National Advisory Council is being formed, the interests of which will be coextensive with the work of the Corporation. This is an important body, whose function will be to review programs, give advice to the Corporation, and interpret the programs, the work, and the policy of the Corporation to listeners.

#### TOPICAL TALKS

As well as the specially planned educational series, many of the talks in the general program are of value to the adult student. There is today a growing interest in all kinds of broadcast talks, and many disciples of the respective schools of light and serious broadcasts meet on common ground in their appreciation of talks such as those given on foreign affairs. It is significant that public opinion has been responsible for the inclusion in the daily programs of more and more short topical talks. During recent months many of these have been given from foreign capitals when events of exceptional interest have taken place. The decision to provide such talks is generally taken as a result of sudden developments, and last-minute arrangements have therefore to be made. The willing coöperation of other broadcasters alone makes this possible, and the Corporation in its turn provides similar facilities whenever required. The friendly relationship existing between the British Broadcasting Corporation and broadcasting authorities abroad is a pleasant and helpful factor in the Corporation's foreign work, and has been productive of rapid increase in the number of overseas relays.

Topicality is now so generally regarded as one of the most important features of broadcasting that it is becoming difficult to separate into categories of their own the program items known as "running commentaries" and "outside broadcasts." All running commentaries and a large proportion of outside broadcasts have news value, and the development of this type of program has given thousands of people interests they would never otherwise have had, and has enabled countless others to share in great national ceremonies and outstanding

events of all kinds at which only a limited number can be present.

#### IMPARTIAL PRESENTATION

The Postmaster General's license originally placed a ban on the broadcasting of religious, political, and industrial controversy, but this was very soon lifted. The British listening public, in addition to being entertained, now expects to be kept informed on all current topics, and today every kind of controversial subject is discussed before the microphone, sometimes in the form of a debate between speakers holding strongly opposing views, and sometimes in the form of series of talks when people of different schools of thought are invited to broadcast in turn. Every effort is made to represent fairly all sides of a question, so that the listener may himself be the judge of the point at issue. Agriculture, housing, disarmament, the Treaty of Versailles, crime and its treatment, religion, spiritualism, and divorce are some of the topics discussed on the broadcast platform.

Manuscripts are submitted beforehand, for several reasons: first, so that speakers may if necessary be advised by the Corporation's staff of the special presentation required for broadcasting; second, to insure that speakers keep to their subject; third, to facilitate publication in the Corporation's journal, *The Listener*; and fourth, to enable the Corporation to make suggestions for emendations where, in an isolated talk which listeners have been given to understand will discuss a subject impartially, the speaker seems either to misconstrue the points of view of others, or—an unlikely occurrence—deliberately mislead the listener. In series of talks, where different opinions are represented, this last reason for the submission of manuscripts does not apply.

When big political questions are at issue, it is important that fair opportunity should be afforded all parties to express their views. Broadcasting gives a politician the chance of speaking to an audience greater than any he can address from an ordinary platform, and the value of access to the microphone is correspondingly appreciated. It is, of course, impossible to allow every small political group these facilities, and a Parliamentary committee has therefore been formed to give advice on the subject, other than at times of general elections. Speakers for the Government, for the Official Opposition, for Fascism and Communism, for the Independent Labor Party and the Independent Conservative Party have all, at one time or another, had the opportunity of explaining their views.

#### ENTERTAINMENT

This article, in considering what has been accomplished by the British Broadcasting Corporation, has concentrated on those subjects which to the interested student of broadcasting are regarded as major problems. It would be quite wrong to assume, however, that in the field of entertainment proper, less activity is displayed. There is constant research into the best methods of presenting radio drama, variety, and light entertainment of all kinds. Seventy per cent of broadcasting time in Great Britain is allotted to music, and the definite growth in musical appreciation in recent years have been due largely to the fact that broadcasting has placed within the reach of nearly every one the best music, both light and classical, played by highly trained musicians under competent conductors.

The Corporation's range of influence in this particular field extends beyond the immediate realms of broadcasting. The Corporation has created a first-

class national orchestra which combines public concerts with its normal broadcasting work, and has besides formed a number of other musical units for its own use. Parallel with this, it has given support to existing orchestras in London and in the provinces, which might not otherwise have survived the difficult years following the war. This is a further example of the experiments that are possible when there is continuity of policy and security of tenure.

Short-wave broadcasting to the British Empire—now in its second year—has successfully emerged from the experimental stage. Designed primarily for listeners out of reach of any local broadcasting organization, it has proved of value elsewhere; many relays from the Empire Station are included in local programs, and correspondence reaches the Corporation from all over the world. The territories of the British Empire are so scattered that it is difficult to provide a reliable service to all parts, but that is the end to which the Corporation is working on the basis of gradual development.

#### A FLEXIBLE SYSTEM

The British system of broadcasting has been evolved as a result of experi-

ence, a consideration of conditions obtaining in this country, and the interests of British listeners as a whole. It is a flexible system—one that allows of experiment in new forms of broadcasting, and (because no financial interests are involved) permits them to be carried on sufficiently long to give every chance of success; it is free to develop unhampered by government control, but as a national service it can be assured of the coöperation of other national organizations and bodies.

Broadcasting was intrusted to the British Broadcasting Corporation on the understanding that it should act as trustee for the national interest. The responsibility was accepted, and the service is operated and developed with this end always in view. But the scope of broadcasting is ever widening; it is only necessary to look back a few years to see how conditions have changed, and how quickly the up-to-date becomes obsolete. The best system is therefore one that within its framework allows for maximum expansion and development, and every country must determine for itself the type of service best suited to the national interest.

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# German Broadcasting

By HORST DRESSLER-ANDRESS

**B**EING given this opportunity by an American journal to talk about the essence and the organization of German broadcasting, I feel considerably relieved to find that the word "radio" signifies the same in almost all countries of the world. Radio today does not mean simply the technical side of broadcasting nor the mere coördinating of a given quantity of stations, of kilowatt figures, or of wave lengths. Radio does not merely signify the means by which music and words are being broadcast in a certain sequence. No, that would not encompass the wide meaning of broadcasting! Radio today is the representation of a state before all the world. If, therefore, America with all its great networks has, during the last two years, rebroadcast numerous political and cultural events which happened in Germany, this coöperation may be attributed to the desire to know the new Germany, to listen to "Germany's voice." For, as every microphone is the ear of a nation, so every loud-speaker sounds the character of a people.

America, according to the statistics of the last years, occupies first place among all the countries in the world in the reproduction of German broadcasts. What does that mean? Is it only the delight in a technical experiment? Is the enthusiasm in bridging the oceans of the world, the conquering of time and space, the reason for these exchange programs? That would be regarding broadcasting as a technical medium only. The development of radio, among other countries and in Germany especially, proves that broadcasting is and must be the means to an end. At the very moment they

occur, radio enables the American listener to participate in events which may be landmarks in the history of the world. Radio today brings the countries so close together that exchange programs from country to country are nothing less than dialogues between peoples—calls from man to man.

Before National Socialism seized the power in Germany, German broadcasting was an instrument for transmitting entertaining and educational programs. It thereby missed the essential, for long before January 1933 there developed in Germany, born of the National Socialistic Movement under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, a decisive reshaping of all phases of the life of the German Nation. While National Socialism summoned to collective effort all the creative forces, while daily and hourly new masses from all strata of the people flocked to the Swastika banner, the liberalistic broadcasting system of the past Germany did not take any notice of this, whatsoever. Its leaders boasted of being non-political. While in the political arena an event of the greatest historical—and therefore political—importance was in the making, German broadcasting remained neutral!

## A UNIFYING FORCE

It therefore was a matter of course that after our coming to power the entire German broadcasting system was subjected to a reorganization. The fact that until the year 1933 there was no unified broadcast in Germany, but only a Prussian, a Bavarian, a Saxon, and other regional broadcasting, made centralized organization our first task. The federal broadcasting (*Reichsrund-*

*funk*) was created. In this way the German broadcasting system, by its very organization, was itself an expression of the German unitarian state as created by National Socialism. The development progressed logically: broadcasting had to become a voice, the means of expression of this united state. But organization does not mean anything unless it is imbued with a certain spirit. The spirit which infused the organization of broadcasting was the idea of the National Socialist movement which had become the leading force in the state.

Liberalism which centers in the well-being of the individual was replaced in Germany by a social philosophy (*Weltanschauung*) which calls upon every individual to stand unreservedly behind the commonweal. This maxim is expressed in the impressive slogan, "The commonweal precedes the individual interest." This slogan had to become the life-rule for every German! The means of proclaiming it was the radio. It was an event of fundamental importance that National Socialism made the radio the all-embracing instrument for proclaiming its theses which were to be binding for everybody. The idea and the means of propagating these theses were thereby united in a unique system. In the new Germany, National Socialism and broadcasting have become one insoluble unit.

Radio in Germany has the advantage over all other means of forming public opinion, through its ability directly to impress the whole of the people. The German broadcasting system has proved this by its great broadcasts on state politics, by the speeches of our Leader Adolf Hitler, which were listened to by the entire German Nation assembled before the loud-speakers in gigantic community receptions on the streets and squares,

in the shops of the whole German Reich, in the factories, in the restaurants of the rural districts, and in the homes.

And the decisive point is this: The people not only listened to the words of the Leader, but in the subsequent elections proclaimed their solid will to follow him.

#### RESPONSE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

Perhaps the most impressive evidence of this National Socialistic unity of will was witnessed by the world on November 10, 1933. On that day the Leader Adolf Hitler spoke to the entire German Nation from a huge industrial plant in Berlin and called the people to a plebiscite. He wanted them to approve before all the world the decision by which he took Germany out of the League of Nations. On November 12 the plebiscite took place. The "No" to Geneva which the Leader had proclaimed to all the world found the enthusiastic approval of the people. How could the German people have become aware of the personality of their leader, of his intense and sincere devotion to the service for the commonweal, if there had been no radio to give them this direct communication of his personality!

What is the political significance for the state, of such a broadcast? Germany has a population of over 62 million, of whom over 5 million are in possession of radio receiving sets. It may be assumed that an average of three to four people sit before a loud-speaker to listen to a broadcast. Up to the year 1933 this did not mean anything but the assumption that at the most, 20 million people listened to a program. But the great political broadcasts, the speeches of the Leader, were listened to by over 90 per cent of the population — by 56 millions inside the German borders.

And what an enormous importance had these speeches in the field of foreign politics! One only has to realize the fact that a speech of the Leader before the German Parliament was re-broadcast by about 180 foreign stations, including about 150 American stations. One of the latest radio speeches by the Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, was broadcast by short wave in five different languages, and altogether was repeated eight times. Through the German short-wave radio it was possible in this way to reach all the listeners in North, Central, and South America. And, finally, is it not one of the most convincing proofs that radio has a political mission and is a means of bringing the nations together, that one of the speeches of the Leader was listened to by President Roosevelt and his assistants at Washington?

#### RADIO OPPORTUNITY

What is the purpose of the political broadcast sent out by the German radio? In the first place, it enables the Government to report at any time and in a direct way on its activities and its measures. In the second place, it serves the Government in a systematic campaign of explaining its plans and purposes, in the form of a direct talk by the Leader to every single member of the Nation. It has the further purpose of enabling all Germans in decisive hours to unite in a solid community of listeners; the farmer on his homestead in the farthest corner of Germany can take part in a meeting exactly like him who sits opposite the Leader in the big meeting hall. And finally, radio affords the opportunity to talk to every German at any time and at any place personally, and to imbue him again and again with the viewpoint of National Socialism.

All these reasons made it necessary, right after the taking over of power, to weld radio together into one unified organization, to make it the property of the state. This measure was greeted with enthusiasm by the German listeners. How was it received by foreign countries? Whoever studies the pages of broadcasting history in the European states will find that almost all the states of the Continent have made broadcasting a government function or at the present time are preparing to do so.

In the year 1933, radio had been in existence for ten years in Germany as well as in quite a number of European countries. With the year 1933 the governments began in an increasing degree to take over the broadcasting organizations, which proves that the German organization of radio as inaugurated by National Socialism was considered as timely and exemplary. Have not Hungary, Switzerland, and the Nordic countries constructed a *Volksempfänger* ("people's receiving set") after the German model, i.e., a receiving set which by its quality combined with its low price makes it possible for all strata of the people to become listeners? Have not numerous European states introduced a "National Hour," a daily program hour in which all the stations of the country participate so that all the listeners can combine into one community? And last but not least, has not America put its radio at the service of the Government? President Coolidge during his seven years in office spoke 27 times over the radio, and President Roosevelt in the year 1933 alone spoke 26 times.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENT OF AIM

Very often we hear the criticism from foreign countries that during the first year of the National Socialistic régime the German radio neglected its artistic

and cultural program for the sake of political propaganda, and that therefore little space was left for cultural life in the National Socialistic state.

We want to point out to these critics that after the seizure of power, the directing board of the National Socialistic radio purposely made the fulfilling of political aims its main task. We used the radio at that time for nothing else than the creation of a unified political will. We ignored all demands for purely æsthetic programs put to us by liberalistic intellectuals, because we had a more essential goal to attain: the construction of the German unified state. Therefore, the political fight was the first phase of National Socialistic radio activity.

The sole necessity and therefore the main political point was to win the German people for Adolf Hitler, to have the German people in overwhelming solidarity respond to the National Socialistic state and to its leadership. That has been done. The world pricked up its ears when the Leader within the space of one year twice called the Germans to the voting booths in order to ask them whether they approved his policies. Hundreds of foreign broadcasting stations re-broadcast the proclamations, and millions of foreign listeners had the opportunity to be convinced that the Leader of Germany does not have to rule with dictatorial means. He enjoys the confidence of his people. This is abundant proof of the political and propagandistic success of the National Socialistic radio activity.

How did it happen that listeners who for ten years had been influenced by a non-political, neutral broadcasting system, all at once in the year 1933 welcomed the political radio program? Furthermore, how was it possible that, in a tremendously increasing degree

and with the greatest speed, new masses of listeners could be won? (It must not be forgotten that in Germany, listening to a broadcast entails the paying of a fee; in other words, demands a financial sacrifice.)

The idea of radio for all the German people could be realized only by calling upon an organization which in long years of political fight had been thoroughly schooled. In some other countries, listeners, in order to popularize radio, are being trained as military radio-men; Germany used "political soldiers"—the radio functionaries of the NSDAP. These are party functionaries especially schooled in radio as well as in politics, and they were intrusted with the gigantic task of organizing community reception of the proclamations of our Leader.

If, therefore, in Germany the conviction of the political and philosophical necessity of radio gained ground among the people, if the political broadcast became a matter of positive interest to all the people, if the number of listeners increased in a rapid degree, the credit belongs above all to the politico-propagandistic activity of these functionaries. It was they who all over Germany organized the radio reception of the election speeches by our Leader, on squares and streets, in halls and restaurants.

#### CULTURAL PLAN

After the eleven big stations and fourteen smaller stations in Germany had been used, during the year 1933, principally for political propaganda, the second year of the National Socialistic régime could be devoted to the building up of a cultural and philosophical program. In order to put this plan into action the radio was carried to the people; i.e., it was installed at the places of labor, in the big industrial plants, in the

cities as well as in the rural districts.

This activity too was prepared in the most careful way. I myself have spoken for weeks in numberless industrial establishments, I have traveled from factory to factory, and in the rural communities I have gone from market to market in order to speak before thousands and tens of thousands about the new cultural aims of radio. In this way the working man was prepared and made receptive for our future work.

The success has amply repaid us for our efforts. The cultural broadcasts of the German radio, which in broadly planned cycles carry highly valuable cultural programs to wide groups of listeners in a popular way, have become a decisive factor of National Socialistic cultural work. In this way, by a systematic plan, a balance has

been established between political and cultural programs.

Granting the fact that the German radio in some details of its programs may not yet have accomplished the ultimate in perfection, still we know that it remained for National Socialism to give sense and direction to radio. National Socialism and its means of expression, the radio, are young and optimistic as they stand at the threshold of a new era. Both are filled with the determination to unite and keep the Leader and the people within the German area as an insoluble community. Out of the revolutionary renewal of the German Nation in the spirit of National Socialism has grown the New Germany of national self-consciousness. Its towering herald on this and the other side of the borders is the German radio.

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# Radio Broadcasting in the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>

By ROSE ZIGLIN

**T**HE great and continuously growing significance which radio broadcasting has attained in the cultural life of the Soviet Union brings forth problems closely bound up with the cultural and economic development of the country, which comprises the enormous area of 8,144,000 square miles with a population of 160,000,000, three fourths of whom were illiterate not long ago.

The immense growth of the cultural demands of the population since the Revolution makes the radio one of the most important instrumentalities of the cultural revolution. The radio holds an honored place in the transformation of the Soviet Union into a country of complete literacy and high culture. This is the basic aim behind all the activities of the Commission on Radiofication and Radio Broadcasting which is connected with the Council of Peoples Commissars.

This Commission is in charge of broadcasts conducted over the entire Soviet Union, including local stations, and is responsible for planning for the radiofication of the country. The Commission has a central broadcasting board which plans and conducts the so-called central broadcasts, having in view the general aim of elevating the cultural standard of the toiling masses and providing them with an agreeable, cultural recreation. Radio broadcasting brings the toilers closer to the social and political life of the country, and interests them in music, literature, art, and science.

## THE PROGRAMS

The largest proportion of programs in the general plan of broadcasts is

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Judah Zelitch, Esq.

devoted to music and literature. The musical programs occupy 60 per cent of the broadcasts and equal approximately 200,000 hours a year for all the stations of the Union. The task of familiarizing the radio listener with contemporary music of the Union as well as the classical music and the music of foreign composers is carried out by the Sector of the Arts through its department for musical broadcasting. This department also seeks to prepare the listener to appreciate music. The special talks which explain and translate operas, and the cycles of musical programs devoted to special themes, present to the listener the opportunity of going through a complete course of musical education over the radio.

The second place in the number of broadcasts is occupied by the literary programs. Excerpts from the best literary compositions of contemporary Soviet writers are sent over the air. The radio listener is likewise being widely acquainted with the classical literature. Great attention is paid to the works of foreign contemporary writers as well as foreign classics.

The attracting of writers to radio broadcasting was given great attention during 1934 by the literary and dramatic sector of the central broadcasting board. As a result, a considerable number of writers have been brought into radio work.

Another problem which is faced by those engaged in the broadcasting of literature is the selection of songs. In this branch of the work a marked success has been accomplished. A great number of songs broadcast have had an unquestionable success with

the listeners as being both interesting and "popular."

Besides these special radio songs, the better performances of the dramatic theater are being broadcast. But taking into consideration the difficulty of listening to such performances, which usually last from three and a half to four hours, those in charge of the literary-dramatic programs, in their search for new methods, have inaugurated the practice of transmitting condensed theatrical performances. These in reality consist of shortened plays. While preserving the basic plot and the principal characters, such condensation presents to the listener a theatrical play in a form suitable under the conditions of radio broadcasting.

In order to bring the theater closer to the listeners, broadcasts have been inaugurated in which the most celebrated directors (Meyerhold, Tairov, Nemerovich-Danchenko) demonstrate their work to the radio listeners.

In arranging their programs, both the central broadcasting board and the local boards very carefully consider the requirements of the various groups of the population, such as members of the *Kolkhoz*,<sup>2</sup> workers, clerks, members of the Red Army, those of school age, and those under school age, as well as the interests of the several nationalities that inhabit the Soviet Union. These different groups are given an opportunity to listen not only to general radio programs but also to special programs arranged for each particular group by corresponding sectors organized by the board of central broadcasting.

### *Kolkhoz programs*

Broadcasts for the *Kolkhoz* are conducted one hour daily. In addition,

<sup>2</sup> Although this word is the abbreviation of the two words "collective economy," it is employed to denote the collective farms which have been extensively organized in the past five years.—  
TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

special radio concerts are arranged on holidays. Naturally, this does not mean that these programs are designed exclusively for members of the *Kolkhoz*. The interest of the entire toiling population of the village is taken into consideration when these programs are prepared. These broadcasts are made up of literature, agrotechnical education, and current campaigns. To carry out the work of agrotechnical education, specialists in agriculture are invited.

Great consideration is given in these broadcasts to contemporary literature which deals with agriculture and the *Kolkhoz*. The authors of such writings often appear at the microphone. In order to acquaint the radio audience with the life of the Russian in the past, the programs contain excerpts from the works of the Russian classics such as Nekrasov, Saltykov-Schedrin, Uspenski, Gorki, and others.<sup>3</sup>

Those in charge of the radio programs for the *Kolkhoz* keep in close

<sup>3</sup> N. A. Nekrasov, 1821-1877, was a poet of great lyrical powers and was a typical representative of the Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century. While a son of a landlord and a member of the Old Russian nobility, he intensely despised slavery and the humiliation of the peasants; he taught the people to hate the oppression of the autocracy and to understand and sympathize with the common people. Besides poetry he wrote political satires, and stories condemning the peasants' suffering, with great compassion.

M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin, 1826-1889, was one of the greatest Russian satirists. He was a high government official prior to devoting himself to writing. He therefore had first-hand knowledge of the Russian bureaucracy, which he mocked and condemned with vehemence.

G. I. Uspenski, 1848-1902. His writing was a sort of blending of fiction and journalism, story and social study. Primarily he depicted people of the lower strata and peasants.

Maxim Gorki, 1868- is a Russian writer who is well known in America, as many of his works have been translated into English. He is living at present in Moscow and is the idol of Bolshevik Russia.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

touch with the writers and poets who hail from the *Kolkhoz*, and conduct a literary consultation bureau for their benefit.

Particular attention is given to the musical programs for these *Kolkhoz* broadcasts.

#### *Broadcasts for the young people*

Youth programs are broadcast four times a week, one hour each. They portray the habits of the new Soviet youth, its life, work, and study, devoting much attention to the problems of the new ethics and the new morality. Special programs are devoted to the works of the young poets, writers, dramatists, and so forth; i.e., those who have grown up under the new conditions of life in the Soviet land.

The programs for the young people contain the best excerpts of literature, contemporary, classic, and foreign, which have as their theme something that is near to the heart of contemporary youth.

In the musical programs for the young folks, the best compositions of the past and the present are offered. Such programs not only acquaint the rising generation with the highest artistic music, but they also serve to combat the vulgar song and the inartistic musical composition. In order to carry out this purpose, talks on musical themes are conducted.

In arranging the programs for the youth, purity of language is especially emphasized. This educational work is of major importance, and, judging from the letters received from the young listeners, brings great and positive results.

In order to strengthen the present group of the active radio audience, the directors of the programs for the young people send out to their listeners schedules for future broadcasts and invite them to the studio for the pur-

pose of discussing with them the programs listened to, as well as the plans for future programs.

#### *Red Army programs*

The programs for the Red Army audience, which are given one hour daily, are differentiated in their contents as are those intended for the *Kolkhoz* and the youth.

#### *Broadcasts for children*

Programs for children are conducted twice a day, one hour each. They aim to strengthen and supplement in an interesting and artistic way the knowledge which the children acquire in school or kindergarten. Instruction is not the purpose of these broadcasts. They are not intended to be a substitute for the school, but to assist the school to instill into the children, certain knowledge and habits, and primarily to organize the leisure and recreation of the children, develop their inventive interest, arouse their creative fancy, give them, without tiring them, a certain amount of historic and literary knowledge, and foster the appreciation of music.

In order to succeed fully in the aforementioned objects, the programs for children are carefully differentiated, taking into consideration the differences in age and the extent of the children's educational training.

The audience of children is served by special "brigades." There are eight such brigades. The most interesting of these are as follows:

"The radio reading room" for children is designed for older children, and tends to familiarize them with excerpts from Soviet and general literature.

"The club of curious-minded children" broadcasts programs in an interesting, clever form concerning technology, inventions, discoveries, travel,

and new constructions. Adventurous, historical, and scientific-fantastic literature, and particularly the novels of Wells, Jule Verne, and similar writers are widely utilized for these programs. These broadcasts are lively conferences of the curious-minded children under the leadership of "Prof. Brainteaser" who "knows it all," has been everywhere, and knows how to talk interestingly about everything. The broadcasts of the club of curious-minded children bring forth colossal activity among the child audience. They organize contests and incomplete programs (the end of which the children themselves must devise and send to the club), and special conferences are arranged with the young technicians and builders.

The open air theater is another of these brigades. It arranges attractive programs on the days of rest, when at the microphone appear the Moscow Children Theaters and the children's self-educational groups.

"The music for children" and the "Pioneer Bonfire" brigades are also extremely gratifying with the knowledge their programs contain.

For children between the ages of five and seven there is a journal called *The Youngster* which gives nine broadcasts a month, and *The Little October*<sup>4</sup> which arranges nine half-hour programs a month.

#### *Broadcasts for constituent nationalities*

In order to make the programs understandable and available to the people, local broadcasts are conducted in the native language of the particular locality. In the constituent republics,

broadcasts are conducted preferably in the national language. Thus, the All-Ukrainian Commission broadcasts 81 per cent of its programs in the Ukrainian language. The White Russian Radio Commission broadcasts all its programs in White Russian, Polish, Yiddish, and Russian. The Transcaucasion Commission broadcasts in the Georgian, Armenian, Turki, and Russian languages.

But the work of the radio commission is not restricted to broadcasts in the language of the particular nationality; the development of the creative forces of each nationality is given special attention by the All-Union Commission as well as by the local radio boards. The aim to familiarize the radio audiences with their own national<sup>5</sup> creation occupies a large place in the work of radio broadcasting.

During 1934 the radio commission began to make careful selection of highly qualified artists who thoughtfully labor in the realm of national culture. Cycles of national concerts are included in the programs of the central broadcasts. The group of performers who appear locally are also invited for appearances at Moscow. This exchange of creative material—reciprocal acquaintance of art—creates a new basis for cultural growth.

In order to present truly national art, the Institute of Qualified Consultants on questions of national music and literature has been organized as a part of the commission for radio broadcasting. A definite connection between the radio broadcasting authorities and the institutions of learning has been established for the purpose of securing a higher quality of repertoire and presenting correct illustrations of national culture. At present, the works of poets and writers such as

<sup>4</sup> "Little October" is the organization of young children who are being brought up in the tenets of Communism. The term "October" is derived from the month in which the Bolshevik Revolution was successfully accomplished.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

<sup>5</sup> The word "national" is employed here in the ethnographical sense.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Oiratski, Udmurski, and others are being revived and familiarized.

Radio broadcasting in the Soviet Union is carried on in sixty-two languages.

#### *In aid of self-education*

The board of central broadcasting has a special sector called "In Aid of Self-education." This sector broadcasts reports, lectures, and complete courses in various sciences, which affords an opportunity to the large radio audience to increase its knowledge and broaden its view. In the desire for education which is so strongly evident in the Soviet Union, the sector of self-education plays a very significant rôle.

We may state without exaggeration that in the Soviet Union every one is studying. This matter is not restricted to the establishment of universal school education. Hundreds of thousands of adults who have become literate are studying in schools of technology and taking innumerable courses at universities and other higher schools of learning. Hundreds of thousands are studying through correspondence courses.

The sector of self-education has created a consultation bureau for the various groups which are seeking education. Each broadcast is accompanied by a bibliography on the questions propounded. In addition, information about newly published books is given, with brief contents. This sector works in close contact with a number of scientific research institutions, one of which is the Moscow University.

The subjects of the educational broadcasts are: natural science, psychology, philosophy, history of art and literature, economic and political geography, historical cycles, religion and atheism, party and current politics,

mathematics, physics, travel over the countries of the world and the Soviet Union, the world of technology, calendar of famous dates, and reviews of new books. All these are given over the radio in more or less complete cycles.

Some of these cycles are broadcast in episodes. Others are given in fixed serials. But basically, these cycles are organized so that each individual broadcast contains in itself a complete lecture or review; i.e., a talk completely self-sustaining, independent of other lectures, containing a definite amount of knowledge. Taking into consideration the different educational levels of the radio listeners, some cycles are presented in two separate versions—the simpler version for those who are less trained, and the more serious one for those who have a better preparation or who have already listened to the simpler course.

The drawing in of the serious and qualified scientific forces for this work assures the high quality of the broadcasts in the realm of self-education.

#### ORGANIZATION OF BROADCASTING

As pointed out above, radio broadcasting in the Soviet Union is conducted by the All-Union Commission on Radiofication and Radio Broadcasting, which is connected with the Council of Peoples Commissars. This Commission is intrusted by the Government with the guidance of broadcasting throughout the entire Soviet Union, and the planning of the work for the innumerable branches of radiofication. The technical staff of the Peoples Commissariat of Communication is utilized, by special arrangement, in the field of broadcasting.

The structure of the All-Union Commission on Radiofication and Radio Broadcasting is coextensive with its functions. This Commission, for brev-

ity known as the VRK, is composed of a chairman and two associates who are appointed by the Soviet of Peoples Commissars, and is made up of three main boards: (1) the Board on Radiofication; (2) the Board on Central Broadcasting; and (3) the Board on Local Broadcasting.

The Board on Radiofication has the final word on plans for radiofication and the building of networks, and cooperates in the development of radio communications and the penetration of the radio technique in the most important branches of the Peoples Economy. It approves the plans for releasing radio apparatus, and fixes the types of apparatus to be used for mass reception. It also coördinates the plans of radiofication with the plans of commercial and research activity in the field of radio.

The Board on Central Broadcasting plans the central broadcasts with regard to their extent and contents, organizes the programs, and directly conducts the broadcasts in accordance with the directions given to it by the Commission.

The Board on Local Broadcasting carries out locally the directions of the Commission. At present there are sixty-seven local commissions on radiofication and radio broadcasting in the constituent republics and the autonomous republics and areas, and a number of representatives in the districts. The aims of the Board on Local Broadcasting are, among others, the training of radio performers and their assignment to the different local commissions, and the organization of an all-Union network of broadcasting as well as zone networks.

Besides these main boards, the All-Union Radio Commission has: (1) a governmental publication department on radio problems; (2) a department which is charged with supplying the

Commission and the radio networks with broadcasting material (literature, music, gramophone records, receiving and transmitting apparatus, and so forth); and (3) laboratories for the recording of sound and television.

#### TECHNICAL FEATURES

The transmission base in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of sixty-four radio stations with an average power of 15 kilowatts. Out of these, five stations have 100 kilowatts and one has 500. This transmission base is by far insufficient to accommodate the receiving network of two and a half million sets.

At this point it should be noted that in spite of the insignificant number of radio receiving sets, there is a radio audience of over ten million people, because of the predominant collective nature of radio listening in the Soviet Union (as radios are installed in clubs, reading rooms, "red corners,"<sup>6</sup> in the open field, and other public places.

The problem of strengthening the transmission and particularly the reception is given great attention.

The past ten years has also seen the growth of the number of radio performers. In one central station alone in Moscow one thousand persons are employed on the staff, not including the great number of visiting artists who appear by special arrangement. Under these conditions radio has already attained a tremendous importance in the cultural life of the toilers in the Soviet Union.

#### BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

The basic characteristics of radio broadcasting in the Soviet Union are its mass character and the fact that it is planned and directed for the purpose

<sup>6</sup> "Red corner" is a common name for self-educational groups organized in factories, mills, and other places.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

of serving the cultural needs of the toilers and establishing for them a pleasant, sensible recreation. The elements of unhealthy sensationalism are absent from the programs of broadcasting.

The most significant feature in all the work of Soviet radio broadcasting is its close relation with the radio listener. One central broadcasting station alone receives from twenty-five to thirty thousand letters a month. These letters and the conferences of radio listeners serve as the material from which the All-Union Radio Commission and the local commissions derive the information necessary for the improvement, the correction, and the direction of broadcasting in a manner which will more fully satisfy the interests and the requirements of

the broad masses of radio listeners. The same purpose is also accomplished by the "brigades" who visit the radio listeners at clubs, *Kolkhoz*, and dwellings.

The enormous growth of the social life and the cultural level of the toiling masses of the Soviet land places upon the radio more and higher demands. The close coöperation of the radio commission with the governmental organs on the one hand, and its close association with the masses of radio listeners on the other hand, aid the radio commissions in fulfilling their responsible duties in the cause of lifting the cultural standard of the toiling masses to a higher plane and educating the population of the Soviet Union in the spirit of conscious builders of a new, classless society.

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# An American View of European Broadcasting

By H. V. KALTENBORN

**T**O CONTRAST American and European broadcasting is difficult because neither system stands as a unified whole. On both sides of the Atlantic there are variations from country to country. For this reason, only general comparisons can be made unless we are considering specific conditions in particular countries.

In the United States there are some educational stations which carry no advertising and whose sole purpose is public service. These stations aim to raise the general cultural level, to educate rather than to entertain. They concentrate their efforts on the production of serious, worth-while program material. Perhaps that is why they find it difficult to maintain themselves against more light-minded competitors. In Europe there are some stations whose sole purpose is to make the largest possible amount of money for those who own them. They are sometimes located at strategic points from which they can broadcast advertising material to radio listeners who do not receive any kind of advertising material through their own stations. Similar marked differences in plan and policy become apparent to one who studies the types of control exercised by different European governments or the program policies of stations located in various world capitals.

It is evident, then, that there will be many exceptions from any general rule which may be stated. Granting this, we can agree that when we speak of the American system as contrasted with the European system, we have in mind the distinction between commercial and noncommercial broadcasting, between

broadcasting under government control and broadcasting under private control.

## STRONG POINTS OF EUROPEAN BROADCASTING

A careful survey of broadcasting in half a dozen European countries leads to the conclusion that the strong point of the European system is the absence of commercialism. This absence involves certain difficulties which will be discussed later. For the moment let us consider what advantages accrue to the average listener from a system which derives its income from license fees or taxes and which carries no paid advertising.

### *Absence of advertising*

The absence of commercial "ballyhoo" is an advantage in itself. Many people resent the constant intrusion of the commercial note into the presentation of news, entertainment, or educational material. Much depends on the way it is done, but the mere fact that it is done, no matter how skillfully, takes away something from the appeal of a radio program. The highest type of magazines and newspapers—not necessarily the most popular or the most widely circulated—exclude advertising altogether from certain pages and surround it with strict regulation on the rest. Public school systems are careful to resist the pleas of advertisers who offer material advantages in exchange for opportunities to present the merits of their wares to school children or their parents. If American listeners were polled on the question as to whether they like radio advertising, their response would be an almost

unanimous "No." Of course, if they were asked the more practical question as to whether they prefer a tax on radio sets or whether they are willing to forgo the interesting program features which advertisers present, there would be a sharp division of opinion.

#### *Higher cultural appeal*

Yet I believe it to be true that the absence of advertising from certain European programs makes possible the presentation of a higher average of cultural material. Most advertisers are interested in mass appeal. They are not interested in presenting programs which appeal to intelligent minorities. It is true that American radio stations are beginning to distinguish between the quality audience and the quantity audience, yet this is a comparatively recent development which has far to go before it will be effective.

Thus the first two strong points of European broadcasting are the absence of all advertising, good and bad, and the higher average of cultural appeal in radio programs. This does not mean that a cultural program is more interesting or equally entertaining. It does mean that it is more apt to raise than to debase popular taste.

#### *News events*

Another important advantage of the noncommercial station is its ability to broadcast news events whenever they occur. Only rarely do our large broadcasting stations permit news events to interfere with an advertising program. In their natural desire to obtain all available revenue, they permit advertisers to preempt certain periods. It is quite the usual thing to interrupt an address, a great event in sports, or some important ceremony with the announcement "We regret that other commitments oblige us to interrupt the proceedings at this point." During

the national tennis championships of 1934 one of the national networks broadcast a point-by-point description of the first four sets of the final match. Then, with the radio audience all a-tingle to follow the fifth and decisive set, it turned the air over to an indifferent advertising program.

This necessarily creates ill will. To avoid such a possibility the American networks frequently ignore altogether important public occasions which might collide with advertising programs. The entire American radio audience has been enthusiastically responsive to the public concerts given by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra on Sunday afternoons; yet none of the many evening concerts of this premier American musical organization is broadcast by any one of the many radio stations which could give this service. The same thing is true with respect to the evening performances of the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York.

Generally speaking, European stations do not break their programs into the quarter-hour periods which are almost universal in the United States. One- or two-hour programs are common, and the result is a more complete and enduring impression upon the mind of the listener. There is comparatively little cultural or educational value in a quick succession of fifteen-minute periods of even the best radio programs.

#### *Exchange of programs*

Absence of the commercial motive also makes European stations willing to exchange programs with one another. This is rarely done by American stations. They compete against each other and are naturally unwilling to help commercial rivals build up prestige or good will. Yet it would be a real service to the American listener

if outstanding programs on one station were made available to any other station. In Europe the regular exchange of outstanding programs has become almost universal, with the result of providing variety and of raising the average value of program material in each country which participates in the exchange. American networks do provide much excellent material from Europe, but for many months in the year these transatlantic programs are spoiled by atmospheric conditions. Europe's unified control also prevents duplication of programs by several stations in the same area, as when two networks insist on broadcasting the same football game.

#### *Transcriptions*

There is one other point in which the two leading American networks have been remiss as compared with European broadcasters. Both the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System have been reluctant about using electrical transcriptions. These have now been perfected to a point where it is impossible for any one not a technician to distinguish between an original broadcast and a recorded program. Various techniques for making these transcriptions have been developed. Smaller stations in America use phonograph records and electric recordings for a number of hours each day. The reaction of the audience is not unfavorable, even though the Federal Radio authorities require special announcement when records are employed. Transcriptions make it possible to reproduce a public address or an "on-the-spot" report of some current event during those evening hours when most listeners use their radios. They also give hundreds of individual stations without network affiliations access to the best network talent through the simple device of

having artists and orchestras do their recording under different names.

Many important European events which would be of tremendous interest to American listeners are ignored because they do not take place at a time when it is convenient to transmit them. If they were recorded as they occur, it would be simple to permit the American radio audience to share them a few hours later. The British Broadcasting Corporation frequently records features presented by American broadcasters in our evening programs, when English listeners are already asleep, and reproduces them as part of the British program on the following day. A large part of the excellent material which the Corporation transmits via short waves to the Empire at various hours of the night and day consists of transcriptions of those parts of the regular Corporation program which might appeal to Canada, South Africa, or Australia.

#### WEAK POINTS OF EUROPEAN BROADCASTING

But it is obvious that when an American is asked to present both the strong and the weak points of European broadcasting, he is expected to emphasize its handicaps rather than its merits, and these handicaps are serious indeed from the American point of view.

#### *Government control*

First and most important is the matter of government control. Obviously there are different types and degrees of control. What might be called the Scandinavian type approximates, although it does not parallel, the American system of regulation, by government authority, with comparatively little interference in the organization and development of radio programs. But even in those European

countries where broadcasting is not directly supervised by a political government, the control exercised over broadcasters is more complete and more rigid than in the United States.

Even in the case of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which is more nearly free in the organization and presentation of radio programs than any of the continental systems, there is a clause in its license which allows the politically minded Postmaster General to order the Corporation to do or not to do a specific thing. Sir John Reith, Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation, tells me that a friendly telephone conversation between himself and the Postmaster General has sufficed to clear every issue that has arisen. This may be so, but it is evident that the mere threat of government interference has made the Corporation a very conservative organization.

#### *In Russia*

From the mild form of control exercised in Great Britain, we go on to the extreme forms represented in Russia, Germany, and Italy. In Soviet Russia the Director of Broadcasting frankly admits that his dominant purpose is to teach Communism. He accomplishes this purpose by transmitting an enormous amount of propaganda material. Entertainment features are only incidental to the lectures, the news reports, the current events presentations, and the editorial comments which are intended to advance the purposes of the Soviet Union. As government policy changes, broadcasting changes. When it is necessary to stimulate the delivery of grain to the Government, all broadcasting stations throughout the land concentrate on stimulating grain deliveries. When Comrade Stalin wishes to emphasize national defense, everyone of Russia's seventy-five broadcast-

ing stations features defense programs. National and regional stations alike receive their orders from Moscow and obey them implicitly.

#### *In Germany*

In Germany the Hitler government has developed the use of radio for propaganda purposes with characteristic thoroughness. Shortly after he took office, the Director of the Radio Branch of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry explained his purpose to me as follows:

Our entire program must be rebuilt. Everything we do must be directed exclusively to the national purpose. We are eliminating the political divisions from all radio stations because politics in the old sense has disappeared. We have added a morning hour of gymnastics because we believe in body building. We have added the Daily Motto because we wish to emphasize a constructive National Socialist thought which will guide people during the day. We use phonograph records in broadcasting current events in order that we may first eliminate what we consider unsuitable. A current event should not necessarily be presented as it occurs. It may be necessary to concentrate it, to shorten it, to diversify it with music. What we seek to do is to present it as an artistically ordered radio drama, which will exercise the maximum effect upon the listener. We have added the National Hour to our evening program in order to promote national unity. All stations are compelled to broadcast this National Hour. We consider radio our most precious and potent instrument of popular enlightenment.

The director of the short-wave programs under the Hitler régime explained his intention to provide daily propaganda programs for the 30,000,000 Germans who live abroad and the 130,000,000 foreigners who speak German. A special short-wave program is broadcast to the United States from 1 to 3:15 A.M. every day.<sup>1</sup> The direc-

<sup>1</sup> German time.

tional antenna of Germany's short-wave station is also used to send to the United States selected portions of Germany's regular long-wave evening program. Thousands of appreciative letters from American listeners have already been received, and the number is increasing. This transmission of propaganda on short waves by European stations has assumed real importance now that practically all sets are equipped for short-wave reception.

The Director of Music of the National German station explained his policy as follows:

The purpose of our broadcasting is to serve German reconstruction and the ideals of the Hitler revolution. Whatever we broadcast must help to recreate the German and to mobilize his spirit. Radio should let the world know Germany's capacities. For the fourteen years following the war utopian internationalists fought to extinguish German pride in German culture. German radio must now accord a dominant place to German music. Our music was subordinated. It must be reestablished. Jazz music has no place in a radio program which represents Germanism. We are not dependent on foreigners for serious or for light music. We have it all in our own blood.

These quotations are intended to give an idea of the spirit which dominates broadcasting in a country where an absolute government controls radio facilities. Radio is the most potent weapon ever placed in the hands of a dictator. There is no more effective propaganda instrument. Skillfully used, it can play upon the mass emotion of an entire population in a single hour of a single day. It can transmit a clarion call to action in a way that stirs a people to its depths.

### *Censorship*

This brings us to the question of censorship. Every broadcasting sta-

tion anywhere exercises some kind of control over the material it presents. Here again we cannot establish clear distinctions between a so-called American system and a so-called European system. All we can say is that generally speaking, American broadcasters are much more at liberty than their European colleagues to present every kind of political and controversial material. This holds true even for the comparatively liberal British Broadcasting Corporation. Up to 1928 this Corporation banned all controversial material from the air. As the result of its unwillingness to promote discussion or appear to favor one side of a debate against the other, its political material was uniformly dull.

### *Political broadcasting*

The use of radio in political campaigns by two or more parties, which has been common in the United States since broadcasting began, is unknown to Europe. In America we have experienced an enormous growth of popular interest in government, thanks to radio. Listeners are not only interested in national and local government but are also well informed. The very people most cut off from opportunity for direct political contacts are those who have taken advantage of the manifold opportunities for political education which radio presents.

It is probably true, as has frequently been charged, that in the United States the government in office has a slight advantage over the opposition in the use of radio. It has that advantage because a certain prestige attaches to a President, to members of his Cabinet, and to others holding important public offices. It is quite natural that they should appear more frequently before the microphone than members of the party not in power. But this need not and does not involve exclusion from the

microphone of all voices which might disagree with government policies. During a campaign the enormous amount of political material on the air is almost equally balanced between the two leading parties.

In the British Isles and in certain Scandinavian countries, opposition parties are granted some representation on the air, but the speakers are so carefully hedged with restrictions that they are likely to be dull. In the United States, regulations require that opposition parties be permitted to buy radio time on the same basis as the party in power. The result is a high tide of political broadcasting for a month or more before each election. This enlightens the voters, not only as to issues but also as to personalities. The candidate's educational background, his temperament, the quality of his English, and his knowledge of facts are all revealed when he makes an extemporaneous speech over the air. The voter is much better able to judge the merits of a man and his argument when he sits quietly at home, detached from the excitement and mob appeal inherent in the usual political meeting.

#### *Indifference to public demand*

Government control of radio facilities is also apt to breed indifference to public demand. Because Sir John Reith happens to be a rather stiff-necked Scotch Presbyterian, the British Broadcasting Corporation's Sunday programs have been unusually dull for a good many years. Recently there has been some relaxation, but the weekend programs are still a long way from being sprightly.

In response to a question as to whether the Russian people like the programs they are getting from his radio station, the Moscow director replied, "Not altogether." Asked what they wanted that they were not

getting, he replied, "Popular music."

A few months after the Hitler régime came into power in Germany, thousands of radio set owners refused to renew their licenses. They complained that the programs had become too dull and monotonous to justify the continued expenditure of two marks a month. This brought about some changes in radio policy by the Propaganda Ministry and the addition of more entertainment material, but in the summer of 1934 there was still general complaint by radio set owners that the administration ignored popular wishes in organizing its broadcast programs.

All over Europe, much that the public would like to hear is excluded, and much that the public does not want to hear is included. The rule applied by the British Broadcasting Corporation is, "always try to give the public something a little better than what it thinks it wants."

Yet the chief defect of continental European broadcasting, from the American point of view, is the forced inclusion of a mass of propaganda material. At its best this involves broadcasting dull government reports, official decrees, and a mass of routine material not at all suited for broadcasting purposes. At its worst it involves the transmission of distorted news, material that inspires a hatred of other countries, emphasis on militarism, and untruths concerning the actions and the policies of the controlling government.

#### *International propaganda*

Radio has been widely used in Europe in such ways as to breed international ill will. For some years the Comintern (Communist International) Station in Moscow was the worst offender. It regularly broadcast Communist propaganda of the most offensive kind. It disparaged the leading personalities

and the governmental methods of other countries and directly appealed to the people of those countries to rise against their "oppressors." As a result of those broadcasts various governments developed protective measures. Ways were found to produce interference signals which prevented clear reception of the Russian broadcasts. In the summer of 1934 the Comintern Station seemed to embark upon a different policy. It still sends out every night short-wave broadcasts in several foreign languages, but the character of these broadcasts has changed. Today they consist largely in descriptions of various aspects of life in Soviet Russia and a rehearsal of the achievements of the Soviet régime. While this is still propaganda, it is similar in character to that in which many European governments indulge, and creates little resentment.

Much public attention has been focused on the radio addresses delivered from a Munich station by the German National Socialist, Theodor Habicht. These broadcasts attacked the Dollfuss government and promoted the illegal National Socialist movement throughout Austria. Official protests by the Austrian Government were filed in Berlin and with the League of Nations in Geneva. Pending action on these protests, the Austrian Government initiated its own system of actuated interference signals in every Austrian city in which the Munich broadcasts might be heard. The Dollfuss régime enlisted the services of radio amateurs scattered throughout the country. They organized the so-called "Interference Brigade," which at a signal from Vienna would project interference signals on the wave length used by the Munich station for propaganda talks.

While government ownership of radio stations would make it possible to use these stations to promote inter-

national friendship, there is little evidence that European governments have used their control of radio for this constructive purpose.

#### *Neglect of technical improvement*

The European governments have not done much to promote experiment and invention. In the United States some five hundred different stations are constantly trying out new artists, new broadcast techniques, and new mechanical devices. Radio broadcasting owes a large measure of its great progress to these manifold experiments. It is generally conceded that technically American broadcasting leads the world, and this is largely due to constant competitive enterprise.

Progress and invention thrive best under competitive conditions. One reads in a recent yearbook of the British Broadcasting Corporation that it is necessary to be careful in making experiments because "an experiment is liable to create a precedent." In the United States hundreds of broadcast stations are constantly creating precedents and they are not afraid of them. Much is tried that is not good enough to be retained, but out of the great mass of invention and initiative there has been developed a colorful variety of program material and a degree of technical perfection not duplicated elsewhere.

#### DANGERS OF CENTRALIZATION

Centralization always involves certain dangers. That is particularly true in such a field as radio broadcasting, where centralization has definite technical advantages. Many times, leading publicists have pointed out dangers inherent in the increasing uniformity and the more centralized control of the American press. The chain newspaper is gaining ground, and there is much justified apprehension that if it con-

tinues to crowd out the individualistic, provincial newspaper, we shall lose an institution that has been of great value in our development as a nation.

Radio is the fifth estate, as the press is the fourth. It promises to become even more powerful than the press in the development and control of our

public opinion. And public opinion, as the late Whitelaw Reid once said, is "the King of America." We believe, therefore, that it must continue to be free of governmental control, that commercial motives must not be permitted to exclude public service ideals, and that its competitive aspects must be retained.

*H. V. Kattenborn was the first to edit the news over the radio. This is his fourteenth successive season as a radio commentator. He has been for the last six years news analyst for the Columbia Broadcasting System. He was formerly associate editor of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle. He is a platform lecturer on current history, and is author of "We Look at the World" and numerous articles on radio and world affairs.*

# A European View of American Radio Programs

By C. F. ATKINSON

**M**OST broadcasting organizations keep exact statistics of their allocations of program time to the different categories of output. But this is rather for purely professional reasons than because a formal philosophy can be expected to emerge therefrom. The marked similarity of the allocations made by very different organizations does indeed indicate the basic unity of broadcasting as a public need and a public activity, and the differences between one country's programs and another's certainly reflect differences of outlook. But the one fact throws no light, and the other comparatively little, on the subject here discussed. If one were to go by the similarities only, one would be tempted to conclude that the administrative system, the attitude of the state, and the financial background were factors of minor importance, which is very far from being the case. And small time-percentage differences are often due to reasons of the most humdrum routine, so that deductions therefrom cannot safely be pressed very far.

## EVOLUTIONARY STAGE OF RADIO

Added to all this, broadcasting (in spite of the fact that its basic unity declared itself and its typical programs took shape ten years ago, practically at the start) is still in a state of evolution. And this is true even if we consider sound alone and put aside the implications of television. An American publicity manager with great radio experience once remarked to the writer that while he was convinced that the American system of competitive commercial broadcasting would

eventually be established in Great Britain, yet the programs of that future time would bear very little resemblance either to the British or to the American programs of the present. I am not sure to this day what he meant—probably he himself could not have been more explicit as to the kind of thing in his mind—and since then the general trend of organization (as apart from the financial question of advertisement) has been rather away from than towards the “free competition” system. But the fact remains that to a man whose task was straight business—day-to-day selling—the necessity and possibility of evolution was just as evident as it was to an official of a public corporation which is supposedly free to do as it likes.

This half-seen evolution depends much less on technical advance (television still apart) than on more imponderable factors. It is, to say the least, not likely that radio will acquire anything like that freedom which the press has, of indefinitely multiplying its vehicles. Admittedly, too much *is* printed. The output of the presses could be cut down by half without any loss to the community of social, ethical, political, artistic, or any other values; and rationalization could happen (and may happen) in this as in other activities. But, even rationalized, the presses would put out ten times as much as radio is likely to find possible.

And here may be mentioned a special difficulty of radio program management, in that whereas the unit of journalistic production caters for one, two, or three hours of miscellaneous

reading, the unit of radio production has to provide sixteen or seventeen hours of similarly varied fare daily. The fact that a given listener uses the output for two or three hours only does not help the broadcaster in this respect, for it is his business to cater, not indeed for all men all the time, but for all men some of the time and for some men all the time.

Evolution, therefore, vaguely as we may see it now, is unlikely to be in the direction of further quantitative development, at least in countries like America, Great Britain, and Denmark, where already the greater part of the community listens, and technics has achieved nearly everything that is possible in terms of existing knowledge and political conjunctures. In the future, even more than at present, the trend of evolution will be qualitative.

In the many parallels and contrasts that have been drawn between American and British broadcasting, the issues have nearly always been more or less confused—inevitably and to an extent justifiably, for in broadcasting the programs, technics, state relations, public relations, and finance all hang together, little as the public on either side of the ocean may realize the fact. Usually, indeed, it is a sign of the vitality of issues that they *are* confused, and the very delicate task of the student of social science is to disentangle what dissection would kill.

In broadcasting, at any rate, there is no room for doctrinarism. Rightly, therefore, the scope of the discussion—which I am honored in sharing with my friend Mr. Kaltenborn—has been defined as the comparison of European and American *programs*. "By their fruits ye shall know them." It is at the microphone that the manifold threads of art and information, policy and finance, draw together into one bundle, and at the listener's receiving

set that all this web of effort gives whatever satisfaction it does, exercises whatever influence it does, rouses whatever reactions it does.

And the listener is evolving as well as the programs. The days of long-range station-getting are long past. As in a holiday game of cricket on the sands the parents, at first looking on smilingly, presently join in and take the game out of the youngsters' hands, so in radio the spectator attitude of the rest of the household towards the young "fan" has changed into that of the customer of a public utility enterprise, much less interested in the quantitative side (the size and scope of the business) than in the qualitative—what he personally is getting out of it. So much is true of every listener. But apart from this relation of the individual to the program, a great many listeners, in their capacity as citizens and "political animals," feel a very deep interest in the public utility itself—its structure, its powers, its policy, its freedom or the servitudes thereof—in relation to the social and political scheme of things under which he lives, and which he would like to maintain, modify, or scrap.

#### THE LISTENER AS THE DETERMINING FACTOR

An intelligent man, if asked offhand, would probably say, as between European and American broadcasting, that the former devoted most of its thoughts to the position and rôle of this public utility in the social scheme of things, while the latter devoted most of its thoughts to the direct broadcaster-listener relation. There is of course a large amount of truth in this summing up. Perhaps it is literally more than half true. But whatever the percentages may be, the broadcast program is ultimately what the listener wants, as affected by what

the citizen approves. More exactly, it is what the listener appears to want, as affected by what the citizen appears to approve. And the listener and the citizen are the same person under different aspects. Further, there are millions of him, with every conceivable shade of difference in taste qua listener and in opinions qua citizen. The "average" listener and the "average" citizen alike are abstractions, myths, or at any rate mere assumed datum-points from which one may try to cope with human phenomena with the least possible mean error.

Such a task, responsible and delicate, is that of a broadcasting organization. The day has gone by when a particular interest—be it a worthy cause, a fad, or a personal "ax to grind"—could claim the right to set up its broadcast transmitter as a self-evident consequence of the law of free speech. There is no analogy between radio, with its restricted technical facilities on the one hand and the nature of its contact on the other, and the privately printed book or sectional or sectarian journal.

The radio broadcasting organization is essentially a purveyor of most kinds of thought-expression that will satisfy most kinds of listeners under conditions that most kinds of citizens regard as acceptable. American broadcasting in particular cannot be understood save in some such terms as these. But even the British system, which Americans suppose to be diametrically opposed to their own, conforms to the same principle, the chief difference being that in democratic America listener influence may be more effective, while citizens influence is less effective, than in the conservative Old World. It is safe to say that the citizen opposition offered a few years ago to certain radio mergers was rather part of the general anti-trust tradition than the

result of any distinct fears of what might happen if the microphone came under the control of a few very powerful individuals.

From the time of Zeno of Elea onwards, paradox has been one of the principal implements of exact thinking; and (for a foreigner at any rate) it is as good an approach as any other to the understanding of American broadcasting to consider the implications of the paradox just mentioned.

#### CIVICS VERSUS CULTURE

But before passing on to this I might refer to another paradox, due to the incisive mind of William Hard, viz., that the European system of broadcasting promotes culture but not civics, while the American promotes civics but not culture. The challenge of this sentence is not easily to be met—by either side. A simple answer would be to plead in bar and say that until the words "culture" and "civics" are more closely defined, the phrase is meaningless. Another simple answer would be, for the American, that there can be no real culture save on the basis of sound civics; and for the European, that civics are the outgrowth of culture—both answers of course involving the definition of "culture," which might be taken as artistic and literary refinement, or as the ensemble of the social ethics, or as some constellation of both. The writer's own answer would be that in the long run a state or semi-state organization which had *really* succeeded in making its community cultured would by the same token have destroyed its own powers of influencing that community's civic outlook by the well-worn political arts.

But that is irrelevant in the present connection, save to reënforce the credit of the other paradox, as a paradox, and perhaps to suggest that the two fit together. For if American lis-

teners in general are satisfied with what is not promoting their culture but is promoting their civics, then their improved civics—so to put it—must result in their becoming dissatisfied with their cultural condition. And if the American citizen is at present indifferent to the civic aspect of broadcasting control, his listener education in civics must in due course lead him to becoming actively interested in its questions. And so, with the opposite signs, for the European also. It is Dr. Trapp and Dr. Browne over again:

“The King, observing with judicious eyes  
The state of both his Universities,  
To Oxford sent a regiment, and why?  
That learned body wanted loyalty.  
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning  
How much that loyal body wanted learning.”

“The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,  
For Tories own no argument but force;  
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,  
For Whigs allow no force but argument.”

It all depends, in fact, on how one looks at it, and when one paradox can be set against another, as here, the writer ventures to suggest that they make a not too difficult pair of simultaneous equations.

#### EMPHASIS ON PRESENTATION

The bed rock of the American radio program policy, then, is that everything is oriented towards the listener, as listener. The word “oriented” is used with intention. Whether, as so many critics of American broadcasting at home and abroad would assert, the content of the programs is chosen so as to gratify the “lowest common denominator” is another question. The point here is that the matter, whatever it may be, is taken in hand by the broadcasting organization and

oriented in every detail so that the appeal (again whatever it may be) shall have the maximum chance with the American audience.

This consistent, and sometimes insistent, effort towards “presentation” is undoubtedly the feature of American broadcasting that strikes the foreign broadcasting expert most forcibly. It has its virtues and its defects; on the one hand, high organization without sacrifice of vitality, and a high sense of the immediacy of the listener; and on the other, an often alienating slickness, and a dash across the bridges between items, that to a European is inartistic.

An interesting reflection occurs here: How far is this latter characteristic the consequence of (a) the selling of time as an exact quantity, and (b) the fear of the “customer” switching over to a competitor? And how far is it *natural* and right as between one alert (or tense) American and another? The question and the secondary questions raised by it are scarcely answerable by a foreigner, but the very posing of them has its usefulness in this discussion, as showing first the psychological intricacy of major broadcasting problems, and secondly the influence which the *system* exercises on what is apparently the simplest and most direct relation between a speaker and a listener.

It would be perfectly fair for the American, on his side, to criticize Europe for what he would regard as our comparative indifference to the presentation factor. (No broadcaster, of course, is or can be entirely indifferent to it.) Does the public-service system necessarily, by reason of the absence of the competitive stimulus, induce a superior, take-it-or-leave-it, unintimate type of announcing, a rather spiritless and just barely competent state management, a profes-

sorial air in the talker? Or these characteristics, in so far as they exist—which is not quite so far as the average American believes they exist—are they the reflection of Europe's *Wel-tanschauung*, its conservatism of manners and customs, its elderly unhurriedness?

It is possible, therefore, for the American and the European each to dislike much in the other's presentation methods, and on the other hand, for each to profit by them up to a point. That point is the point where the influence of system ceases and that of national outlook alone affects the procedure.

#### ENTERTAINMENT AS SUCH

The second consequence of the American broadcaster's sense of the listener's immediacy is the extreme stressing of entertainment values. The art of presentation is involved, as has been remarked already, whatever may be presented; but it is itself a derivative part of the entertainment idea. But in America, to a greater extent than in any other civilized country, the idea of entertainment, or rather the idea of *being entertained*, is something specific. It is different from pleasure and pleasure-loving, as it is different from taste and culture.

The sources of this idea lie in the history of the American people's life during the formative century. Throughout, though in different ways at different times and places, it was an extremely exacting life, and release, recuperation by some means, by any means, was a social necessity. And it is, to say the least, curious to note how the idea of entertainment as such, entertainment as distinct from pleasure and taste, has made its way into the Old World *pari passu* with the increasing stress of living. It is almost a platitude that what is called the

"right" use of leisure is one of the main social problems of the day, and one that will become more and more important as mechanization proceeds. But—a point which so many cultural movements almost tragically fail to realize—true leisure is not present to be used at all, rightly or otherwise, until the strains have been discharged.

Seventy-five years ago in the Old World, and in the enclave of the Old World that was Boston, the pressure of life was less exhausting, and its work content was itself more varied and stimulating than today. Consequently the passage from work interests to cultural and taste interests was relatively easy; a very little recuperation sufficed, and any tolerably resilient human being could change over from one interest to another. But America, first in time and still foremost in intensity, experienced and experiences the modern strain of living and demands its antidotes—"mere entertainment" broadcasting among others.

One wonders how many critics, either in Europe or in America, have sought to discover the fundamental causes of what broadcasting organizations and many other people regard as the pernicious practice of half-listening, of "keeping the set on?" Here, at any rate, the broadcasting system, whatever it may be, cannot be blamed, for the last thing that its executives and its artists desire is that people should pay no attention to them. The phenomenon—the total phenomenon and not merely this detail of it—is a social one.

#### SHALL A BROADCASTER LEAD OR FOLLOW?

But one broadcasting organization will have a very different idea from another's as to how far it is its job to follow social phenomena and how far

to lead and influence them. To a high degree in America, and to an increasing extent in Europe, entertainment is a necessity. But the dangers are, first that excessive straining for entertainment values merely substitutes artificial recuperation for natural; and secondly that, though entertainment and taste are different things, the entertainment effect cannot be obtained at all on a subject who is so far alienated on the side of taste that he prefers to yield to nature or to turn to some other specific for his recuperation.

In the long run, therefore, entertainment values perhaps depend even more on tact, on the way of doing things, than on the things done. But it is important in broadcasting to distinguish between the significance of "taste" and of "tastes." To feel for the listener's taste is artistry; to run after his tastes is crudity, besides being an almost hopeless business anyhow. American broadcasting, with its sense of the listener's immediacy, has almost more chance of getting into the right relation to his taste than European. With its commercial foundation, and the resultant quantitative measurement of success, it runs far greater risk of being forced off the true line of his art than the European.

There is nothing new in this. Years ago the more farseeing American observers realized it, and began to study and to write on the subject of "listener good will" as the basis of any advertising value that a program could have. Unfortunately, though many of those concerned (whether as broadcasting executives or as the radio experts of publicity houses) felt its existence they could not communicate this sense to third parties. The shoe manufacturer—to get away for once from the tiresome toothpaste *cliché*—did not sense the special quality of radio, any more than the professor or the plat-

form politician did so. Today, indeed, the politician and even the professor are learning to use the broadcast rightly; but one doubts if the manufacturer can ever do so, because his tests must inevitably be quantitative.

Sponsored radio does open up opportunities, like the ancient Athenian *Leitourgia*, for the public-spirited magnate to give cultural values without hope of direct payment, but this naturally does not happen very often. Even the *Leitourgia*, in that supposed paradise of the arts, was a compulsory levy on, and not a volunteered effort by, the outstanding citizen; while in the Rome of *panem et circenses*, the magnate's offering was exciting entertainment programs of unexampled crudity, with the expectation of returns in the form of popular votes. The broadcasting executive is not likely to degenerate so far (for it is he and not the sponsor at the back who is in personal touch with the listener) but it is a dangerous road that art travels in the chariot of business; a gradual and imperceptible change of direction, and we reach the Colosseum.

#### KEEN APPRECIATION OF THE LISTENER

Entertainment values, then, even in the narrower sense in which the word is used here, are highly complex; but two main constituents are disclosed even by so brief an analysis as these last half-dozen paragraphs, namely, the presentation values and the recuperation values. American broadcasting practice, with its sense of the immediacy of the listener, has and must have the keenest appreciation of both. Often the appreciation is so eager as to lead to overshooting the mark—even under the presentation aspect, as observed earlier in this article. But on a *les défauts de ses qualités*, and listener sense is a very precious asset. Might

a European add that European broadcasting also is not without it?

One of the distinctions between entertainment values and cultural and civic values is obviously this, that the purposes of the first are at once more immediate and less basic than those of the second. Now, of all methods of thought transmission, radio broadcasting is perhaps the most immediate; but this immediacy is one of time and mood. That which is basic is immediate also—deep calling to deep—but it is immediate in the philosophical and not in the factual sense; and from the beginnings of broadcasting, the spoken-word programs have presented many more difficulties than the musical, important as are the cultural values in the latter. This applies even to the categories of pure information, namely: news, charity appeals, police notices, weather forecasts, and prices; for, apart from the problems that lie altogether behind the scenes, such as newspaper rivalry, the selection and even the presentation of these informative matters involve purely professional questions.

As to the first, selection is an inherent necessity of broadcast program building, and the principles of selection are and must be based on the selector's idea of his relation to the citizen on the one hand and the listener on the other.

As to the second, good or bad presentation, in these categories as in the rest, means appropriate or inappropriate. Sometimes it will be a steady dictation-speed reading of *communiqués* that is called for; at other times, the lively *journal parlé* manner of the columnist. And there are three rocks, barely submerged, to be avoided—sommolent droning, tendencious inflection, and smart impudence.

And if there are difficulties in the comparatively simple field of straight

information, more difficulties are met in the more argumentative field of the radio talk. True, the responsibility for saying the right thing in the right way, which in neutral matter lies wholly with the broadcaster, passes over here, in part, to the speaker. But only in part, for before he becomes a speaker at all he has been invited to do so, i.e., he has been selected as the most suitable or available exponent of a selected subject; so that the major responsibility after all comes back to the program maker, and he will meet it in the same spirit as he meets the information problem, viz., according to his view of his duty to the listener and to the citizen.

#### DIFFERENCES COMPARATIVELY SMALL

In this view there are, unquestionably, differences between the American and the typical European (state or state-regulated) broadcasting organization. The effect of these differences must not be exaggerated. They have in themselves nothing to do with the dullness or the brightness of talks. The right man will make much of very unpromising material, and the wrong man will spoil the best. An energetic broadcasting organization will do its utmost to find the right men and the right subjects, and it is very doubtful if, for the generality of talks, they are affected at all by the constitution of the organization putting them on the air. The most that could be argued by adherents of the "free" principle would be that competition gives an extra stimulus to the search.

Even in the critical and delicate cases, which are relatively few, the best "free" broadcasting organizations have too much self-respect to seize such occasions for flaunting their freedom; and apart from those states in which Authority is very clear indeed as

to what it would like the citizen to think, the sovereign word is spoken to the state-run or concessionaire "monopolies" of Europe not nearly so often as America imagines it is.

In fine, the differences in question reside not in what is or can be explicit in the constitutional documents, but in what is implicit as their background. In other words, we are back at the original point, the relation of the broadcasting executive to the listener as affected by his relation to the citizen; only with this difference, that the second comes more definitely into the foreground over talks than it does in entertainment and art matters.

#### "EDITORIAL" FREEDOM

An American broadcasting executive, in conversation with the writer, recently said that in contrast with the European equivalent, his attitude was that of a newspaper editor. It is perhaps an exaggeration to make a contrast out of what is rather a comparison, but the phrase expresses as well as any other short form of words the salient feature of American "talks" policy as it appears to an outsider. But it must be taken with all its consequences.

First of all, it implies a freedom to choose what shall be said and who shall say it, that is limited only by the internal conditions and self-imposed restrictions of the business itself, and not by a public authority outside. Freedom of thought expression is one of the postulates of democracy, and, while even in America an ultimate control exists in the form of the short-term license and the "public interest, convenience or necessity" clause of the Radio Act, the decisions of the executive are open to challenge by way of an appeal of the broadcasting organization to judicial authority. At the same time the "internal conditions of

the business itself" may (therein again reminding one of the press) be dictated to a greater or less extent by the policy of an external corporation or person in whom the control really resides. In actual fact, the ultimate control of any broadcaster's "editorial" freedom nearly always lies outside the four walls of its system, and in pure theory the choice lies between state control and magnate control.

Which is the more acceptable to a given community depends on the historical background and the present texture and trend of that community. Here it will suffice to repeat that except in the authoritarian countries, state control is never very close or continuous. Similarly, magnate control, where and so far as it exists, is even more remote and general. Thus in practice the broadcasting executive is in the main quite as free as, if not more so than, the editor of a modern newspaper. In the main; but the critical cases, though few, are of vital civic import. Every nation will solve, or avoid solving, the problem according to its conditions and not according to any ideal picture of broadcasting organization. Broadcasting is far too closely interwoven with the social fabric for schematism. The only questions are whether or not the broadcasting practice is in harmony with the general picture, and in so far as it is not, what is necessary to harmonize it thereto.

Freedom has a negative aspect—freedom to refuse to do what one does not want to do, and a positive—freedom to do what one wants to do. In all broadcasting constitutions known to the writer the state reserves the right in emergencies to take over the system, i.e., to compel it to say what authority wishes it to say. In such cases, however, the difficulty (common to every form of broadcasting organi-

zation) is to make certain that the public—as listeners and as citizens—are clear as to the source and the responsibility. The temptation for administrative officials, in presence of a crisis, to use any and every means to deal with it, is enormous, and one of those means is the *listener good will* built up by the broadcasting organizations. In probably all countries that have experienced upheavals since the coming of radio (and they are many), the broadcasting organizations have had to deal with this problem as best they could. Solutions or burkings thereof have differed from country to country, which is more or less as it should be, and the point cannot usefully be discussed in theoretical terms.

#### THE COMMENTING AND INFLUENCING FUNCTION

More germane to the present article is freedom on its positive side, that is, freedom to comment, which is the second element in the comparison of broadcasting with the editorial function. Comment by the broadcasting organization itself, indeed, is absent in America as elsewhere, though for different reasons. But the great companies make systematic provision for comment on affairs by leading publicists (two outstanding personalities in this field have been mentioned); and such comment by regular contributors corresponds roughly to the leading article, unsigned but of well-known authorship, of the newspaper of a generation ago. That is, the organization *has* a standpoint—it cannot help having—and paradoxically enough, one of the strongest arguments in favor of the European or state-monopoly system is that (again, save under dictatorships) the organization is obliged by that very fact to be more neutral than any newspaper. No important organ of news is without its opinions, and the presenta-

tion of these opinions is expected of it by its readers.

A British socialist editor of distinction, Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, giving evidence before the 1925 Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, foreshadowed a time when the service of straight news would pass over to the radio, and the press would become the vehicle of opinion and comment pure and simple. But my American friend was certainly not thinking primarily of this aspect of the editorial function when he attributed the editorial outlook to American broadcasting policy.

And the interesting point for the student of tendencies is, *does* the editorial function, in present-day America, involve the commenting and influencing function? Mr. Karl Bickel, in his *New Empires*, says that it does not, and that the days are no more in which a Horace Greeley could sway a nation. If I understand that remarkable book aright, the head of the United Press considers that a newspaper dictatorship is no longer possible. Yet he himself adds: "This does not mean that an editorial policy cannot be made into a very great asset." And if this be so for the press, which in the conjuncture of the moment seems to him an organ of the past, is it not so for the organ of the future—radio? For America, with the competitive tradition impelling one way and the necessities of physics the other, I should be the last to hazard a guess. But it is not merely interesting but significant that in Europe neutrality is imposed by the state because otherwise there would be every likelihood that broadcasting would become—if the flippancy be excused—electromagnetism:

This neutrality in many European countries amounts simply to the exclusion of everything controversial. In Great Britain, where the Parliamentary Commission already mentioned

promoted its "inclusion under safeguards," it is active. To risk another paradox, America looks to obtaining a lively talks policy through abstention from "safeguards,"<sup>1</sup> and Great Britain through their creation. But both regard it as a necessary part of the social service of broadcasting.

#### THE WILL TO INTEREST

And so we come back to our old friend the listener as such, and the group of ideas connected with him—program value, entertainment, presentation—with the result that editorship takes on the aspect of an alert and restless will to interest. In this respect, at any rate, American broadcasting is as thoroughly "editorial" as anything could well be, as is only to be expected from its sense of the immediacy of the listener; and if, as Mr. Bickel says, American newspapers today are successful purely "in proportion to their success as collectors of news" (including of course topicalities) "of keenest interest to the people in the fields they choose to serve," then for a broadcasting organization above all other, which chooses to serve the maximum number of people, topicality is a prime necessity in America, even if the price has sometimes to be paid in coin of sensationalism.

But this will to interest must not be thought of only, or even chiefly, in connection with news topicality. It ap-

<sup>1</sup> The only such "safeguard" provided in the Radio Act is equal opportunities for the candidates in an actual and impending election.

plies to all spoken-word radio, whether the talk be one of incidental musings on life, or long-view political prognostications, or direct educational input.

An article already over-long cannot be further extended to include any discussion of radio drama qua drama—its special problems, its appeal as artistry and as entertainment—but it is significant in the present context that American program men have for years past concentrated on dramatizations rather than on drama. News proper ("March of Time"), national history ("Benedict Arnold"), national and local types ("Thompkins' Corner"), and even religious attitudes ("Seth Parker"), come within the field of this characteristically American method. And it can fairly be so styled. European countries, and above all Great Britain and Germany, have used this form freely and extensively, and are in fact using it more and more. But what makes it characteristically American is, in the writer's view at least, that it has its root in this sense of the immediacy of the listener. In the country of individualism the surest method of interesting a living individual is to introduce him to other living individuals.

This listener sense is a great thing, perhaps fully attainable only in America, though every broadcasting organization possesses it to a greater or less extent. To European eyes, America seems in various ways to pay a very high price for it. As to whether the price is too high, it is for Americans alone to say.

*Major C. F. Atkinson was formerly Director of the Foreign and Overseas Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation, London.*

# Music and the Radio

By WALTER DAMROSCH

THE importance of music as a cultural factor in the lives of the people needs no emphasis today. The ancient Greeks recognized it. Shakespeare stressed it. And we, when we wish to define the cultural status of a country, consider the importance not only of its poets, painters, and sculptors, but—perhaps most of all—of its musicians. For music, of all the arts, appeals most directly to those emotions with which we are endowed by Providence and which influence, for better or worse, the trend of our progress from the cradle to the grave.

The music to which I refer is, of course, that which has been given to us by the great master composers. Through such music our emotions are ennobled and spiritualized; and who shall deny that Bach and Beethoven often give us glimpses of the mysterious world beyond our everyday surroundings, and in that way connect us with the hereafter which religion holds out to us as a hope, if not a certainty.

Of such music the world can never have too much. Of such music the average man has in the past had far too little. It has been the prerogative of those who lived in or near the great cultural centers and who enjoyed the means to pay for admission to concert halls and opera houses. The great majority remained in ignorance of the music of the masters, untouched by its ennobling influence, barred from participation in its beauties—until the radio suddenly, as if by magic, swept away the barriers and admitted *all* the people to the charmed circle of music's devotees. Now, for the first time in history, those who live on farms and ranches, in small towns and villages,

in mining camps, lumber camps, and other remote places, may come into intimate personal contact with the music of Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner. A new world has been opened to them, and their response has been phenomenal.

Nobody knows how many listeners hear any broadcast program, but there is ample evidence that the audience for the finest symphonic and operatic programs numbers literally millions, and is rapidly growing. And this vast audience is not only appreciative, it is insatiable—a multitudinous Oliver Twist, demanding more and more of the nourishment which great music gives to the soul. The fare now offered by the radio is by no means frugal. Symphony concerts, choral concerts, chamber music, and vocal and instrumental recitals are available in abundance, with opera in season. But still the voracious public calls for more. And that is as it should be, for no gourmand has ever suffered from overindulgence in the music of the masters.

## TRANSMISSION OF FINE MUSIC

The broadcasting companies realize this, and are doing more and more towards meeting the ever growing demand for fine music. One need only examine the program schedules of today to be convinced that radio is mindful of its responsibility.

If further evidence were required, it could be found in the record of accomplishment of the radio engineers, who have labored with indefatigable energy and ingenuity to perfect the mechanical devices whereby music is transmitted through the air to the home of the listener. Eleven years ago, when I

first became actively engaged in broadcasting, the transmission of music by radio left much to be desired. The range of frequencies was so limited that much of the characteristic timbre of the various instruments and voices was lost. This made it virtually impossible to distinguish a flute from a clarinet or a trombone from a horn. Similarly, the restricted dynamic range made it necessary for the engineer at the controls to reduce all the fortes and amplify pianissimos, with the result that necessary contrasts were obliterated and tone quality often distorted. But gradually these difficulties have been overcome. Every step in the process of sound transmission—the microphone, the amplifier, the wire line, the transmitter, the loud-speaker—has been improved and refined to a remarkable degree. This has brought about a great expansion of the tonal and dynamic range of transmissible sound vibrations; so that today, if our loud-speaker be of recent design, we may sit in our home and hear symphonic music or grand opera reproduced with extraordinary fidelity and beauty of tone.

The program directors and engineers, however, are not the only ones who have helped to make possible better broadcasting of better music. There are also the administrators who have organized the far-flung networks that enable listeners in all parts of our country to hear simultaneously the great organizations and artists who, in the nature of things, must otherwise confine their activities and influence to the metropolitan centers. And it is these administrators who have found and developed a method of defraying the enormous costs of symphonic and operatic broadcasts without recourse to government subsidies or taxes on receiving sets.

In giving credit where credit is due, let us not forget those sponsors of com-

mercial broadcasts who have had the idealism to offer the public, along with their sales propaganda, music of the highest quality. They are not so numerous as we might wish, but there are a few who have made real contributions to the art of broadcasting fine music.

#### LIMITATIONS OF RADIO

Much has been claimed for the radio as an educational medium. The phrase "University of the Air" became current in the early days of broadcasting and instantly captivated the public fancy. But I am not aware that the University of the Air has yet become a reality. There have been numerous experiments in educational broadcasting, some of them successful; but the precise function of the radio as a disseminator of learning has yet to be determined. My own belief is that it has great possibilities along certain lines, but very definite limitations.

In the six years of my Music Appreciation Hour broadcasts to the schools and colleges of the country I have learned what I can and cannot do. I have found, for instance, that I can demonstrate the tone qualities of the various orchestral instruments and indicate the ways in which the master composers have used them. I have found that I can give my young listeners some perception of the expressive powers of music and a general idea of the evolution of the different musical forms. But, while I have imparted a great deal of technical information, my object has always been, not to teach the theory of music, but to create a love for it and an intelligent appreciation of it. I have established to my own satisfaction that instruction in the performance or creation of music cannot be satisfactorily accomplished by radio broadcast. Such teaching can be done only by an instructor who is in

constant personal relationship with his pupils, in order that he may frequently observe their progress and correct their faults.

There are also limits to what the radio can do in the field of entertainment. So far as concert music is concerned, these limits are extremely broad. The listener who hears a symphony or string quartet through his loud-speaker loses little that is essential. His impression of the work is nearly, if not quite, as vivid and complete as if he were seated in the concert hall. But when we consider opera, we find a very different state of affairs. Here the visible part of the proceedings is vastly more important. Operas cannot produce their intended effect upon the mind and the emotions of the listener unless he can see as well as hear. As yet radio can give us only the aural elements of that composite impression which we receive in the opera house; and if this is detrimental in the case of opera, which appeals to the ear through words *and* music, how much more so must it be in the case of drama, which relies upon words alone!

With each year that passes I am more and more convinced that if we are to utilize the radio to the best advantage we must be careful not to abuse it. We must recognize its limitations and, if we are wise enough, transform them into allies of our artistic purpose. The chief limitation is,

of course, that the listener cannot see; but this already has obvious advantages in certain situations. When we listen to a symphonic concert over the radio our attention is not diverted by the gestures of the conductor or the players or by the movements of other auditors. And even opera may profit to a certain extent by invisibility, for the radio audience, though it may miss the glamour of Rhadames' spectacular entry into the Egyptian court, is aware of no incongruity if Aida happens to be twice the size of her martial lover. We must discover other ways in which this radio blindness can be a help rather than a hindrance. We need not hesitate for fear the advent of television will nullify our efforts, for we shall have learned lessons in ear-appeal that would still be valuable even if we were endowed with as many eyes as Argus.

What does the future hold for the broadcasting of music? I am no seer, but it seems to me that we may confidently expect steady progress in the amount and the quality of fine music on the air. The public demand for it is increasing, the broadcasting companies are exerting themselves to supply it, and more and more of the commercial sponsors are awakening to the fact that not jazz, not crooners, not the cheap and tawdry emanations from Tin Pan Alley, but the music of the masters is "what the public wants."

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# Radio and the Humanities

By WILLIAM S. PALEY

FAR back in history we may note the coexistence of two divergent concepts of cultural education. Most ancient is the idea that culture is essentially the thought-product of a small class in society, to be handed on in turn to the inheritors of this group's responsibilities and privileges. This concept still molds today's educational systems in most of the nations of modern Europe, to no less degree than it was operative in ancient Alexandria and Athens and Rome. Over wide areas, entrée to the higher culture is still regarded as the privilege of a limited ruling class who alone are equipped to understand, utilize, and conserve it; and this minority is usually empowered to decree the extent and the nature of the education which the less privileged classes are to receive.

It is the American development of democratic government, over an enormously extended and populous area, that has been largely responsible for propagating widely the contrasting concept—which we may well call the democratic concept—of mass culture and education.

Obviously, in a society which the masses govern, order can be preserved and social progress assured only if the masses receive the necessary education to bear their heavy responsibilities. Our Nation has at most epochs seen this quite clearly, ever since its origin. This accounts, of course, for our educational expenditures, which often seem fabulous in comparison with equivalent European outlays, as well as for marked differences in educational evaluations and objectives which the European often does not understand. And it accounts to no less degree for

much of the structure of the American system of radio broadcasting and its program direction, both of which differ greatly from the systems in general use abroad.

## MASS EDUCATION THROUGH RADIO

It is not the purpose of this paper to offer another defense for the American educational concept, which even today has its attackers; but rather to examine a single one of its numerous implications: its actual application to radio programs. It is difficult, however, to forgo in passing the satisfaction of one observation: The American form of government, rooted in democratic culture and education, has shown during the world's recent troublous years a stability, a resourcefulness under changing circumstance, and an immunity to shock of hysteria, which to many other nations has seemed remarkable.

The radio has of course been playing a very large social rôle during this period, in all the civilized countries of the world. It is noteworthy that the United States is the one important nation in which broadcasting has not been made a government monopoly. Here, radio has been from the beginning not an instrument made by government, but rather an instrument for the making of government.

Nor do I refer here solely to radio's great usefulness, during recent political campaigns, for carrying the various issues to the people; nor to its apt service, during such dark periods as the financial crisis of 1933, in bringing the President's reassuring voice within the walls of the people's homes. I am thinking of the fact that our Nation's economic and political thought is connected very

closely with the very personal concepts of each individual concerning those things which he considers related to his welfare. Man's desires concerning very small and personal things often determine the courses of whole societies. And it is these very personal desires, and their direction, which are determined by the cultural level, and which are often so importantly re-directed by adequate cultural education. It is exactly here, I think, that radio is playing such a very important rôle in the fluxing American life of today.

#### COMMERCIAL VERSUS EDUCATIONAL STATIONS

It is an interesting paradox that the so-called commercial broadcasters, as represented by the major nation-wide networks, have in recent years been a far more important factor in the creation of programs of a broad cultural and educational interest than have been those special stations originally licensed by Congress to undertake specific educational activities. Today the broadcast time sold commercially by the major networks averages little more than 30 per cent of their broadcast hours; and an overwhelming proportion of the remaining part of the average day's broadcasts—all of which are supported by revenues derived from the limited commercial sales—consists of material of definite cultural values.<sup>1</sup> It would of course be obvious to include under this head such broadcasts as Columbia's 534 programs of music in 1933 that could definitely be classified as serious, ranging from the two-hour programs of the New York Philharmonic Symphony to the less formal presentations of the Columbia Symphony Orchestra composed of Columbia's own artists. But such a listing would

<sup>1</sup> See *16 Hours a Day*, a study published by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

equally well include programs devoted to home economics and cooking, which are among our most important if unheralded arts; no less than broadcasts of news events, of social, political, and scientific information, and of worthy dramatic literature.

Why so many of the exclusively educational stations, originally assigned special wave lengths, have abandoned the major part of their educational activities, either by selling a large part of their time commercially or by leasing their entire facilities to commercial broadcasters; and why, even when they maintained a certain flow of educational broadcasts, they failed to attract large audiences or financial support adequate for the type of program required to build and hold such audiences—all of this is a subject worthy of a special study, which it should some day receive at the proper hands.

#### THE AMERICAN AUDIENCE

It is possible, however, that the failure of the educational stations to achieve the results that had been hoped for grows out of the essential difference in the techniques of radio education and classroom education. The school, because it is necessarily rooted in tradition, develops and adopts changes in teaching technique slowly; and the leading educators have themselves been among the first to realize that the usual classroom methods are not applicable to the new demands of radio. A very brief experience with broadcasting is quite sufficient to prove that if radio is to teach at all, it must first master the problem of attracting and holding its audience—an audience not confined in a classroom, not deferential to an instructor's authority, and not indisposed to ramble all over the air waves if one turn of the dial provides a voice that bores.

We cannot hand the critical and often

restive American audience some brand of bright encyclopedic facts and expect it to listen enthralled as might an astonished European peasant who had grown up without benefit of school or newspaper. Nor can we prescribe for it our own particular brand of culture and expect it to drink deep, appreciative drafts. Just as, in a land where propaganda has been so plentiful—and often effective—we have a public perhaps more suspicious of propaganda than any other nation in the world; so here, where the sources of cultural education and enjoyment are so freely numerous, our people are perhaps more critical of well-meaning campaigns to improve their minds than in almost any other country.

All this is a high tribute to the American intelligence, which it is indeed dangerous to underestimate, or talk down to. If in the American audience we have perhaps the highest common denominator of cultural appreciation in the world—thanks to our democratic school system—we also have perhaps the most critical audience, and one most independent in establishing its own standards of appreciation and judgment. As a commercial broadcaster, the greatest sin one can commit is to bore it, for this sin carries its own penalty: a loss of steady audience, which promptly results in a loss of revenues just as soon as advertisers discover the decline.

Experience has soon taught us that one of the quickest ways to bore the American audience is to deal with art for art's sake, or to deify culture and education merely because they are worthy gods. Learning for the sake of pure learning is indeed the leitmotif of the old aristocratic educational system, but it seems very lightly esteemed in the boundaries of our forty-eight states. Interest of the general American audience in the arts, the sciences,

the humanities in general, goes only hand in hand with a passionate interest in the direct application of all of these to living what has been called the full and more abundant life as our people currently conceive of it.

All this has a very important bearing on any estimate of the work of the American broadcasters in those fields called cultural, for lack of a better word. It is wholly understandable, for instance, that the foreign bred scholar, tutored to believe that one of the goals of education should be the writing of verse in Latin, would be mildly shocked to learn that we even went so far as to classify a broadcast of the World's Fair opening as an educational program. Yet such a broadcast was undoubtedly useful, informative, and hence educative in our own American sense, to hundreds of thousands of listeners. It is worth noting, in passing, that all broadcasts which tend to develop in our Nation a unity of national sense and feeling may be considered to have important educational value, whatever their subject.

#### CREATION OF PROGRAMS

It is needless to say that radio broadcasting devours material with break-neck speed. A play which might run on Broadway for a year will be exhausted, for radio purposes, in an hour. This necessitates a constant quest for dramatic scripts of merit. Radio demands, for maximum effectiveness, exactly the seventh sense of showmanship, the clever gift for emotional appeal, which the dramatic writer at his best possesses. The usual author of ordinary prose does not have it. Many clever lecturers do not have it. In particular, writers of school textbooks often do not have it. The result is that we have discovered at least one shortage of workers during these years of unemployment—a paucity of avail-

able talent endowed with those special gifts of temperament and training required to create the radio script. At Columbia we have indeed attracted to our ranks a few such authors as Stribling, who has been experimenting with us during the last year in a series of novel dramatizations. But we require many Striblings to create programs for a single day.

If the writing problem looms so large, the associated problem of developing directors gifted in the origination of program ideas is equally great. Here again a great sense of showmanship is needed; but with it there must be associated a fine discrimination, together with a very valuable ability to sense the combined likes and dislikes of a national audience of as many as 60,000,000 people, and a talent for coordinating the activities of many large groups.

No one in the broadcasting industry ever sat down and concentrated until a solution to these heavy problems was born, all ripe and perfect to apply to the need. We have necessarily had only a goal in mind, and have had to approach it through the age-old trial-and-error process.

#### BROADCASTS FOR SCHOOLS

The history of Columbia's American School of the Air will serve, perhaps, as an example. We had for some time been eager to develop a series of educational programs which would serve as a supplement to the usual classroom work in primary and secondary schools throughout the country. We believed such a series of radio broadcasts would be useful alike to teachers struggling with the problem of breathing life into textbooks, and to many adults deprived of full educational opportunities in their earlier years. It was our hope to make these broadcasts truly dramatic in their appeal. In them, characters

of history should live again. Science would be discussed not as a series of abstract phenomena, but as an answer to the daily needs of man in his struggle with environment. We wished to present classic literature as a living expression of today's thought in yesterday's imagery. Geography was to be not a mere description but rather an actual experience of the world. In short, we wanted to make every listener so aware of the direct application of this material to his own life that he would listen as avidly as to sheer entertainment.

Such was the ideal. The method of attaining it was the real problem. For six months we issued inquiries to educational institutions throughout the country, with a standing offer to give all our broadcast facilities free to any established and qualified educational group which could present a well-conceived series of broadcasts of this nature.

The offer was not accepted. Obviously, the technique required was one which the traditional educational methods of the classroom did not comprise. We had to begin again.

We assembled some of the widely used textbooks of the primary and secondary schools. We placed them before an imaginative program director and a few carefully selected writers. Simultaneously, we created an advisory faculty of thirty-two members, in addition to a nation-wide coöperative and consultative committee of thirty-three well-known educators.

The result was a series of three weekly educational programs, which were broadcast in 1930 over a period of fifteen weeks. The success of the broadcasts was immediate, and reassuring beyond our expectations. Teachers in all the radio-equipped schools in the area reached by the forty-five stations carrying the program were di-

rectly informed of the undertaking. Their enthusiastic response encouraged Columbia to expand the network carrying the school's programs to seventy-eight stations, at the end of the initial period in 1930.

The technique of program creation which we developed in the beginning has been followed in later years, with some elaborations. Broadcasts are now carefully graded, in cooperation with our advisory faculty, for four different audience ages: Primary, Intermediate, Upper Grades, and High School. In addition, we go to large effort and expense to supply teachers directly with important supplementary material for classroom use. In advance of every school year, for instance, we publish a *Teacher's Manual and Classroom Guide*, amply illustrated, listing the programs for the coming year, and suggesting illustrative material, such as the Copley Prints, which the average instructor can easily obtain to visualize the subject in the classroom. Sources of supplementary reading, and suggestions for student activities which will dramatize the lesson, are also indicated.

Fifty thousand copies of this manual are distributed annually, free to all institutions and teachers requesting it. There is evidence to indicate that these broadcasts have been no less valuable to instructors in the richly equipped city schools than to teachers in the small communities where educational appropriations, particularly in recent years, have been pitifully small.

#### INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTS

Such a technique of program creation, by which the trained radio specialist cooperates closely with the leaders in a given cultural field to produce programs satisfying to both, has come to seem a very practicable solution to problems that seemed so oppressive in

the beginning. We have followed it in numerous directions. As the technical facilities of radio developed, for instance, and we were able to bring to the American public broadcasts from foreign countries all over the world, another problem arose: the type of foreign broadcast most acceptable and useful to our national audience. To furnish ourselves with adequate guidance and counsel whenever this seemed needed, we created a Public Affairs Institute Committee on International Broadcasting. Serving as members on the American Committee, under Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as chairman, are such representative men as Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Allen Welsh Dulles, Henry P. Fletcher, Thomas W. Lamont, John L. Merrill, and Frank L. Polk.

We regard the international broadcast as an extremely vital part of radio's humanitarian activities. No task facing responsible authorities today is more immediate than the pressing need to educate peoples to understand the essentially human friendliness motivating the individuals of neighbor nations. The hate and suspicion that is breathed between so many governments contrasts bewilderingly with the fact that their citizens can individually form close and understanding bonds whenever they meet and fraternize. It may not, in these difficult times, seem always possible to make governments understood to one another; but radio can achieve greatly in educating its listeners to the knowledge that the hopes and aspirations and quiet dreams of the average man are the same all over the world, and that national hatreds are largely based on artificial barriers which have no foundation in the lives of the people.

Thus, broadcasts of simple events in foreign nations, such as a Christmas

festival in an old market place, the music from a café, or a boat race, are just as great a service to the cause of the humanities as those other broadcasts of the voice of foreign leaders and statesmen, broadcasts which have included such personages as Pope Pius XI, the King of England, Mahatma Gandhi, Viscount Ishii, Bernard Shaw, Leon Trotsky, the King of Siam, Professor Einstein, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In connection with the American committee on international broadcasts, Columbia is fortunate in having been able to create an International Committee on which serves a distinguished representative in most of the important countries of the world.<sup>2</sup> Members of this committee have rendered invaluable services in assisting with arrangements permitting the American broadcasting of events as various as the funeral of King Albert in Brussels, the International Boy Scout Jamboree in Budapest, the Passion Play at Oberammergau, Hitler's assembling of the Reichstag in Berlin, the Torchlight Tattoo at Aldershot, and the Parliamentary address of King George in London. Such international broadcasts have numbered as high as one hundred in a year on the Columbia Broadcasting System alone. In return broadcasts of American events are often relayed to foreign stations for broadcasting to their national audiences.

<sup>2</sup> On Columbia's International Committee, Paul Dengler serves for Austria; Max Leo Gerard for Belgium; Sir Robert A. Falconer for Canada; Loy Chang for China; Jan B. Kozak for Czechoslovakia; Aage Friis for Denmark; The Marquis of Lothian and Sir Evelyn Wrench for England; Henri Bonnet for France; William Rappard for Geneva; Julius Curtius for Germany; Bernard C. Loder for the Netherlands; Count Paul Teleki for Hungary; Emilio Bodrero for Italy; Viscount Kikujiro Ishii for Japan; Christian L. Lange for Norway; Rafael Altamira for Spain; and Gustav Cassel for Sweden.

### RELIGIOUS BROADCASTS

Programs for the Church of the Air presented the same creative problem as our school and international broadcasts—somewhat more complicated, indeed, by our desire to give to every major faith a voice in our counsels regarding religious broadcasts. Here again an advisory committee of priests and clergymen has been of invaluable assistance in giving our staff the benefits of their consultation and guidance. The ideal behind our two weekly Church of the Air services has been, from the beginning, not alone to broadcast unusually important services from certain congregations, but also to present speakers holding high offices in their individual churches; and likewise occasionally to bring to the microphone leaders of progressive and distinguished religious thought, just as many churches occasionally invite an eminent layman to speak from their pulpits. These speakers are invited only after Columbia's consultation with members of its religious advisory committee, on which there serve leaders in the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, and Christian Science faiths.

### ADULT EDUCATION

In the field of adult education, as distinguished from our supplementary programs for children in school, it has seemed less practicable to compose a standing committee than to have our program directors work in very close cooperation with a very large number of responsible and distinguished leaders in the various professions. Each year, for instance, we present several different series of educational and cultural programs under the auspices of as many representative groups.

In 1933, under the auspices of the National Student Federation, with its two hundred university associations,

we broadcast twenty-nine programs devoted to problems of national and international import. In cooperation with the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, fifteen members of the American Bar Association devoted as many periods to discussions of problems concerning "The Lawyer and the Public." There were fifty-one regular weekly addresses by individual members of the New York Academy of Medicine. Scientists of the American Museum of Natural History sponsored twelve programs; while in cooperation with Science Service, we were able to broadcast forty-seven addresses by American scientists distinguished in many different fields of research. In the field of *belles lettres* our program directors received the cooperation of distinguished workers in much the same way, so that in our broadcast series entitled "America's Grub Street" we were able to bring to the microphone thirty-seven prominent authors and writers, speaking on subjects pertaining to their individual work. Again, in cooperation with men of note in the newspaper world, we were able to present thirty-two broadcasts devoted to problems of modern news publishing as various as those pertaining to style in news writing, the question of libel, and the part played by the news editor in directing and molding the Nation's life.

Logically included in any grouping of radio's humanitarian interests would be the informative broadcasts devoted to the sufferings of the needy, whether those stricken by earthquake and flood in Japan or China, or the many who in recent years have been distressed through events in our own country. The American radio, in fairness to organizations and public alike, has not permitted its audiences to be subjected to reiterated appeals for funds, but continually makes its facilities available to

the truly worthy undertaking of educating listeners to the needs of the suffering. Once again, this program is accomplished in cooperation with established groups of public-spirited citizens representing the entire community, such as the American Red Cross, the Mobilization for Human Needs, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, the School Relief Funds, the Free Milk Funds for Babies, the Visiting Nurse Services, and the religious charities and family welfare agencies.

The work of American radio in dramatizing the operations of government—the almost daily economic and political broadcasts which make every shade of democratic opinion vocal, the elaborate technical arrangements which bring the voices of Congressmen and Cabinet members and the President himself into homes throughout the continent—all this is too well known to need more than passing mention. But it is a vital part of radio's contribution to democratic education and national unity.

#### FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

Enough has been said, perhaps, to indicate the very great degree to which radio broadcasting, under our American system, seeks carefully to guard its democratic regimen from prescription or dictation of any character. No voice, whether belonging to the field of education, labor, agriculture, government, industry, science, or the fine arts, fails to receive a welcome in our studios if it has something of recognized merit and real public interest to say. And we have sought at all times to encourage the utmost freedom of discussion on all topics (within the bounds of the few recognized proprieties) by every speaker of recognized standing we have been able to bring before the microphone.

It is our considered conviction that this use of broadcasting as the sounding board for the voices of our national leaders in all the fields of thought is one of the greatest contributions which radio can make to the nourishment of the humanities in America. The interests of our vast population are multifarious; and indeed, only a few years ago, the problem of planning programs which could be heard simultaneously by fifty or sixty million people had never even been envisaged. No one radio program can ordinarily interest all of them at any one time; but the effort must be constant to offer programs at various times designed to hold and serve the interests of the great majorities and the intelligent and worthy minorities alike.

Censorship of idea can naturally have no place in such an undertaking but equally obvious is the fact that it can have no need so long as American radio does not depart from its democratic ideal.

#### NOVELTY VERSUS QUALITY

For a relatively short period after radio broadcasting was born, the sheer novelty of radio itself was sufficient to assure the attention of listeners, and people sat spellbound by their receiving sets for little other reason than that there was something to be heard at all. Shortly thereafter dawned the period in which broadcasters struggled fiercely to create novelty of programs—something sufficiently new, different, and previously unheard of to enthrall by its very uniqueness. In this period many fine things indeed were brought to the microphone; and if novelty contests devoted to hog-calling and husband-calling have been amplified into living rooms all over the Nation, there have been recompenses in the other broadcasts during which celebrities have spoken to the American public

from all over the world; almost every important symphony orchestra in the world's chief cities has played for the American audience; and events occurring as far apart as Oslo and Java have been broadcast direct to our people.

Today we are rapidly coming into a third era, in which emphasis can be placed far less often on the sheer novelty of the program, and much more frequently on its essential merit.

Perhaps a single example will suffice to explain what I mean. Not many years ago, one often heard complaints about the paucity of new music. It seemed that popular music was played so frequently on radio broadcasts that a new song was worn out before it was a month old. Musical directors were constantly engaged in frantic search for "novelties." Today we are still not having a much larger output of this sort of musical invention; yet the complaints of underproduction have largely ceased. The reason seems to exist in the vastly larger amount of really serious music to which the public is willing to listen today; and no great part of this new public which is now discovering the masters seems to feel that Chopin and Tschaikowsky and Beethoven can be worn out, regardless of the number of renditions. It is worth recording here that until the days of radio broadcasting, there were perhaps millions of this public to whom Beethoven and Wagner were scarcely more than names remembered from references in school. Today the names stand for something very definite to the great majority, and the audience for so-called classical music is still growing. The process is typical alike of the radio's work as an essential educational force in the community and of the eagerness of broadcasting direction to improve the merit of program content as rapidly as audience support allows.

It will always be necessary to regard

novelty as one very useful component of broadcast technique; for novelty, among other things, is news interest. The essential point, however, is that we have reached the time when a broadcast of a string quartet from Honolulu can no longer win an audience just because it is a transoceanic broadcast arranged by the broadcaster at huge expense. It also has to be a very good quartet, playing very good music. If, on another wave length, there is available better music from a trio in a nearby town, most listeners will today choose the trio.

#### EVENING PROGRAMS

No radio executive can today be unaware of certain critics, eager for the educational welfare of the masses, who complain that when they compose themselves for an evening in their comfortable armchairs, they can find nothing on the air waves but light commercial entertainments.

From our vantage point we know that this is far from true. Many of the evening programs are indeed commercial, for it is the evening commercial program that makes possible so many of radio's other activities. But a surprisingly large number of them are at the same time highly serious in content and purpose. In the last few years there has been evident a rapidly growing tendency among commercial sponsors to offer evening programs of a really high order of educational and cultural merit.

Take, for instance, the lectures of Angelo Patri, on child welfare and child psychology; here is one of our outstanding educators in this field, appearing regularly on evening programs under commercial sponsorship. William Lyon Phelps, another famous educator, has recently been a friendly evening visitor in countless American homes through his "Voice of America"; and

he has been introduced there by an advertiser. The Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra and the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra have both presented extensive series of evening broadcasts under commercial sponsorship, in recent months.

In the field of news presentation, with comment and explanation of the causative background—a highly necessary part of any educational schedule—Edwin C. Hill and Boake Carter have both been doing important work on evening programs of commercial origination. In the drama, a series of commercially sponsored dramatizations of life during the Civil War period, called "Roses and Drums," has provided one of our most interesting experiments in radio teaching of history. In the same category stands another extremely popular commercial program which offers the radio audience a course in Indian legends, folklore, and music.

The well-known commercial series called the "March of Time" should also receive classification, perhaps, as an extraordinarily successful attempt to use the drama for underlining the significant aspects of news which is social history in the making. In science, the second exploratory expedition of Admiral Byrd to the South Pole—financed by a commercial sponsor seeking interesting material for weekly broadcasts of nation-wide interest—is another really unique experiment in the developing of popular programs of high cultural value.

The listing of such programs could be greatly expanded; but it would only duplicate evidence of serious program merit abundantly available to any one who will take the trouble to judge radio by its whole content, and not by what he hears in any one fifteen-minute or hour period. There is more than an educational leaven in these evening

programs. They indicate a serious and increasingly successful progress in adapting radio to a conception of education in keeping with present-day ideas of education in its broader reaches.

### THE PUBLIC TASTE

It is quite true, of course, that many commercial sponsors do offer a form of light entertainment; quite evident that millions of people prefer this form of broadcast, especially in the relaxing evening hours when even the most serious-minded souls among us like gay plays and music and books; and quite proper that it should be made frequently available in such periods. No radio executive would maintain that these broadcasts are of cultural merit to any greater degree than a very good vaudeville show. Nor indeed are they intended to uplift anything but the good spirits of the listeners to whom they are attuned. If they fail to perform this function, the well-meaning advertiser soon learns about it. The radio listeners want such programs; and they particularly want them in the evenings; and if the vast majority did not approve, the advertiser would very quickly find them unprofitable.

Meanwhile, radio has undoubtedly developed a much larger audience interest for the broadcast of serious educational and cultural merit than existed even five years ago; and the program schedules of today reflect this, in evening and daytime hours alike.

### DAYTIME PROGRAMS

In this connection some comment on the value of the daytime hours for educational broadcasts is pertinent. Recent surveys, in our own organization, of radios actually turned on during daylight hours, show an average daylight coverage in homes and public buildings alike amounting to as much as 73 per

cent of the total evening audience. During these hours the only person in the average family who does not enjoy radio access is usually the employed family head. The housewife, the children at home, and in late years even the children at school—all of them vastly important social entities—are listening to daytime radio programs regularly.

For a number of years there was a tendency, among commercial sponsors and educators alike, to deprecate the value of the daytime hours for broadcasting purposes. In the last two or three years the commercial sponsors have suddenly evinced a very large increase in demand for daylight program time; they have discovered its value by exhaustive listener-interest tests. We in the industry have long previously known the value of these daylight hours, particularly for programs requiring more or less serious listener attention. Many of our most serious educational programs have been scheduled during the day, not merely—as some educators have claimed—because this time was unsold commercially, but also because of our very important belief that this was the time of the day when they were most acceptable to the audience. And we still believe so. Few are the family heads who come home at night from their jobs with a desire to be educated and instructed. Few are those in the evening audience who will listen to any educational program whatever, unless it is made so vitally alive and important that it borders on entertainment. We know this from exhaustive surveys.

The result is that programs devoted to educational and cultural interests, when scheduled for the evening hours, require even greater genius and effort in their effective presentation than such programs offered during the day. That this problem is being boldly faced

by the commercial sponsor during evening time is already evident from the record of commercially sponsored educational programs recently offered. And a study of the most successful programs of this nature shows definitely that between entertainment *per se* and the program of effective education, it is often practically impossible to draw a line.

A happy discovery was made by some of our more famous showmen of earlier years: that entertainment which is educational in its method of exciting wonder and then satisfying curiosity is one of the surest methods of attracting and holding an audience. This sales device for attracting multitudes to entertainment is a principle working equally well in reverse when the goal is to offer cultural instruction. The program of education which is most eagerly received and attended is the one so designed that its entertainment values are dominant. That radio is today making this clear is perhaps one of its greatest possible contributions to the cause of extending mass appreciation of the arts and sciences.

#### EFFORT TOWARD IMPROVEMENT

We have much to learn in the development and the application of this technique; radio broadcasting in its present scope is indeed not much older than ten years. We are continually working to widen not merely our concepts of an instrument for education,

which seems to have no limits of future usefulness, but to improve the instrument itself.

The recent invention of the lapel microphone, for instance, which carries the great broadcasting system direct to the Senator seated at his desk in Congress, and enables the Nation to hear the words of a street-corner speaker or an army officer directing his troops, is an illustration of this constant advance in mechanical technique. The creation of an entire broadcasting station in the icy wilderness near the South Pole in order to keep the voices of the Byrd expedition in constant hearing of the whole Nation, is another possible illustration of the radio's stride toward mechanical conquests. The steady improvement of vacuum tubes, of control room instruments and antennæ alike are already well known. We have high dreams of many greater achievements and perfections before we shall be satisfied with our ability to transport our audience to all parts of the world at the touch of a switch.

Already, however, radio has learned that there is no field of the humanities which is foreign to radio's range. It is not too much to hope that our quest alike for better instruments and for techniques of presenting this material with dramatic effectiveness will be continually fruitful. The goal is a bold one. But we are ever in search of the most skillful minds in the world that we can attract to the task.

*Mr. William S. Paley is president of the Columbia Broadcasting System.*

# Radio and Public Opinion

By WILLIAM HARD

**R**ADIO can have any one of several relationships to public opinion. In the first place, it can be used for the direct and unabashed "manufacture" of public opinion. It is especially suited to that sort of social deviltry. It enters the home as an amusing guest. It brings with it primarily that most charming of all offerings—music. It adds to music the thrill of the dramatic sketch and the laugh of the comic sketch. Throughout these enticements it is addressing its hosts at their hearthside, not with the impersonal appeal of printed characters but with the living voices of individual performers who seem in time to become intimate friends. It then, having established itself as entertainment, can pass smoothly and almost imperceptibly into propaganda, and, by means of carefully edited "news" and carefully contrived "talks," can do more than any other known agency to convey palatable doses of truth—or of untruth—to the public.

If in any country the selection of these doses is intrusted to any one monopolistic group of doctors, it is obvious—I mean, it ought to be—that they will select them according to their own group-interest. I realize that there are liberals who imagine that a governmental broadcasting monopoly will magnanimously open its air to all the winds that might blow the opposition into office. I realize also that there are conservatives who imagine that a private broadcasting monopoly will somehow or other have no private economic ties and no private mental preferences, and will therefore pick its talkers on its air for the sole purpose of discharg-

ing the duties of a totally disinterested, neutral "trusteeship."

I beg to be excused from such ingenuous demonstrations of confidence in human nature. There is perhaps nobody more dangerous in public policy than the exceptionally good man who proceeds to imagine that his goodness is a characteristic of the race. The history of broadcasting is plain proof that competition between broadcasting organizations is essential to the elucidation of the competitive aspects of that difficult and dubious totality which we call truth.

## BIASED BROADCASTS .

I dare say that not even the most liberal believer in the disinterestedness of governments in their own retention of office will fail to admit that the dictatorships of Europe employ radio for the express purpose of promoting all facts and ideas favorable to them, and of concealing or perverting and blackening all facts and ideas of the opposite variety. Nor can it be denied, even by the most credulous and infantile of governmentalizers, that this employment of radio in the countries in question is an outstanding contribution to the great and growing cause of mental darkness and political servitude in this world—and also a direct menace to peace.

Day by day and evening by evening the radio systems of European dictatorships instill into their listeners the conviction that the international policies of the hated foreigners are on all points wrong. I remember that I once endeavored to persuade the radio managements of two contending European

governments to put on some broadcasts of a scientific tone by private organizations of scholarly researchers regarding a point at issue between them. My suggestion gained for me an instant reputation as an elaborate humorist.

I subsequently enlarged this reputation by suggesting to the monopolistic broadcasters of a totally free and democratic European country the glamorous notion of a series of debate-broadcasts questioning one of the principal policies of that country toward the United States. I aroused great laughter, and was then seriously asked if I thought that radio "authorities" ought to "mold" public opinion in a political direction possibly disadvantageous to their governmental "authorities."

I had been actuated, of course, by recollections of broadcasts in the United States from such institutions as the Foreign Policy Association. In those broadcasts and in numerous similar broadcasts from numerous similar sources in this country, the United States Government—so far as my experience as a listener goes—is much oftener wrong than right. No such flood of adverse criticism of the home government exists anywhere in Europe—not even in the countries still enjoying a régime of political liberty.

#### FUNCTION OF BROADCASTERS

But why does such criticism exist here? It exists here precisely because our competitive broadcasting system is burdened by no monopolistic responsibility for directing the course of public opinion. One may provocatively—and yet absolutely accurately—say that the central public merit of the American broadcasting system is precisely its public irresponsibility. The private broadcaster in the United States does not take it upon himself to decide what the public shall think. His highest duty under our system is

to admit all schools of thought to his studios and to permit them to convey their orthodoxies or heresies to the listeners, who will themselves decide what they think.

This is, I believe, as it should be. The operator of a broadcasting station should not be, in my judgment, a manufacturer or even a molder of public opinion. He should be only a funnel through which the streams of current public opinion flow toward forming the incalculable seas of the public opinion of the future. The curse of radio abroad, whether in dictatorships or democracies, is that broadcasters there are generally in a high degree convinced that it is for them to say—it is for their little segregated fortuitous mentalities to say—just what the configuration and chemistry of those seas of coming thought shall be. That is the inevitable accompaniment of their customarily monopolistic position.

#### EUROPEAN VIEW OF AMERICAN SYSTEM

I once attended a dinner of broadcasting dignitaries in one of the greatest and freest of European countries. I was treated to numerous criticisms of our American broadcasting methods. I was told—not to my surprise—that some of our advertisers were rather blatant in their advocacy of their products. I was told that much of our music was cheap. I was told that our announcers were too impudent in the intruding of their own names into their accounts of the performances which they were introducing and describing. A European announcer, I gathered, would be too gentlemanly—or too subordinated—to mention himself.

I ventured to say in reply that the alleged vulgarity of our advertisers and of our music and of our announcers was a matter to which at some other time

I would willingly address myself, but that I wished at the moment to emphasize the one great ultimate social product of the American competitive broadcasting system: namely, a very high degree of free expression of opinion on the air. I instanced the case of a radical United States Senator who, upon running for reelection, could get his arguments for himself inserted into very few newspapers in his state. He seemed doomed to defeat. At any rate, the forces opposing him thought so. He, however, had the good sense to walk into the offices of local radio stations and ask for time. Being a Senator and being a candidate, he instantly got it. Using it in fifteen-minute periods on successive days, he transmitted his message successfully to the radio listeners in his state and was reelected by a quite decisive majority.

I finished my little story and was about to say, as a codicil to it, that the Senator's opponents of course also talked on the air, when I was interrupted by a distressed voice at my elbow. It came from an admirable personage, a gentleman who has conscientiously devoted his whole life to the national and international service of his country, and who was at that moment a member of its broadcasting board of governors. The words that were flung at me, in a tone of genuine alarm and concern, were:

"Do you really mean to tell me, Mr. Hard, that in your country it is possible for any irresponsible demagogue in public office to have access to the air?"

I unblushingly answered: "Almost invariably yes."

I was simply telling the truth, but my foreign friend was amazed that I could tell it without shame.

#### THE MONOPOLISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Returning to my hotel, I meditated upon the mental and moral inflation

produced by monopoly. European monopolistic broadcasting organizations fall into two classes, from the point of view of the student of the development of public opinion. The first class consists of organizations outrightly engaged in producing broadcasts designed to serve solely the interests of the party in power. The other class consists of organizations which seek political safety by positively trying to avoid propaganda, and which thereupon reduce their broadcasting of political controversy to a minimum—and a very low minimum. The objective of the first class is political victory through the manufacture of public opinion. The objective of the second class is impeccable political colorlessness through a stringently selective presentation of public opinion.

If the reader will imagine himself a member of the board of governors of a monopolistic broadcasting organization in even the most democratic country conceivable, he will at once see exactly what I mean by the pressure within it toward political colorlessness. The member of such a board is bound, consciously or unconsciously, to say to himself:

"I and my colleagues have been entrusted by the government with a total guardianship of the air. We are responsible to the government for the character of the talks which we permit. Every talk on our air carries with it the implied consent of the government. How can we put the government into the position of seeming to sanction the dissemination of ideas repugnant to the vast majority of the people? We must be very careful therefore in admitting minorities to the air. We must be very careful in extending our hospitality to objectionable elements. We represent the government and the totality of the people, and therefore every word on our air—so far as possible—

must correspond to philosophies which enjoy a considerable governmental or popular acceptance. We cannot turn our air into a beer garden of promiscuous disputation. We have standards to maintain. We are accountable—we four or five men are severally and jointly accountable—for every breath on our country's ether. We must see to it that the public gets good thoughts. We must protect it, so far as possible, against bad thoughts. We must accordingly see to it that our political broadcasts come from respectable sources and propound respectable views. So let us be cautious and, in sum, let us take no chances. All politics tends to be muddy and slimy. The less therefore that we have of it on our air, the better!"

#### CONTRASTING USES OF RADIO

Such is the line of argument followed almost invariably by monopolistic broadcasting agencies in European democratic countries. In enslaved European countries, radio is an arm of governmental policy. In free European countries, it is generally a respectable narrow-meshed sieve which permits only occasional accents of acute political controversy to filter through the transmitters into the listeners' receiving sets.

By contrast, radio in the United States is a crude, tumultuous, wide-open public forum. Nicholas Murray Butler talks on the air. Huey Long talks on the air. Father Coughlin talks on the air. John W. Davis talks on the air. The cotton textile manufacturers talk on the air. The cotton textile strikers talk on the air. The spokesmen of the League for Industrial Democracy—more radical than Father Coughlin—talk on the air. The spokesmen of the Sentinels of the Republic—more conservative than Mr. Davis—talk on the air. And the lead-

ers of all factions of the Federal Senate and of the Federal House of Representatives are almost incessantly on the air of our two competitive nationwide broadcasting companies.

#### VALUE OF COMPETITION

I again emphasize the word "competitive." If those two nation-wide broadcasting companies were merged into one monopolistic company, the managers of the combination, in my judgment, would at once begin to exhibit a monopolistic sense of responsibility as to what the listeners should and should not hear. The public advantage of the American broadcasting system is not simply that it is privately owned. It is additionally and decisively that it is privately highly competitively owned. The search of the American broadcaster is not to guard and guide the political tendencies of the country. It is to get broadcasts.

This effort is conducted through two major nation-wide network companies, through several minor regional network companies, and through a multitude of individual stations. Only a relatively few stations are owned by the network companies. Almost all the other stations are in separate individual or corporate ownerships. In many cases these separately owned stations are in direct local or regional competition with other separately owned stations. The whole industry is permeated with the competitive spirit.

This spirit profoundly influences its whole procedure both in entertainment and in the expression of public opinion. Each station looks busily for local entertainment talent. Each station is under strong pressure to give service and grant time to local organizations of a civic character. Each station knows very well that when it applies to the Federal Communica-

tions Commission—at the end of each six-months' period—for a renewal of its broadcasting license, it may have to depend very largely upon local organizations for testimony as to its having served "the public interest, convenience, or necessity."

It follows that each station, except in so far as it may fall into the hands of an exceptionally stupid or stubborn person, is keenly aware of the crucial relationship between its service to local civic groups on the one hand and its own perpetuation as a business enterprise on the other. But these local groups vary greatly among themselves. They represent different points of view and different ideals. Each station manager therefore tends to become perfectly accustomed to the presentation of varieties and differences of public sentiment.

#### THE LOCAL ASPECT

In a monopolistic organization of radio, this wealth of local expressiveness does not and cannot obtain. The control of a monopolistic organization is centralized in the national capital. It is remote in space and in spirit from local feelings and local needs, and also from local talent and personality. Accordingly, it necessarily gives relatively little time to local performances and local views. On the contrary, the foundational element in the American broadcasting structure is precisely local ownership, local independence, local responsibility, and service to local institutions with all their divergent interests and thoughts.

It is from this soil that the competitive activities of the nation-wide network companies arise. Those companies are primarily only producers of programs. They are merely incidentally operators of stations. Their main task is the origination of programs to be offered to stations for transmis-

sion. There is thus developed a double competition. Stations are competing among themselves in the matter of local programs, and network companies are offering them competitive nation-wide programs.

#### COMPETITION MAKES FOR FREE SPEECH

The outcome of all this competition—if I may put it brutally—is that most American broadcasters look upon contending political parties, contending statesmen, contending social philosophies, and contending civic organizations as just so much more competitive program material which, in order to prove their service to "the public convenience, interest, and necessity," they must somehow in some considerable degree insert into their daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly broadcasting performance. I am not attributing to our broadcasters any excessive personal passion for the cause of free speech. I am asserting positively that the competitive storm in which they live drives them of its own force into a larger and livelier expression of free speech and a larger and livelier transmission of public opinion than is to be found in broadcasting anywhere else in the world.

In proof of this assertion I need only ask the reader to consult the program announcements of any foreign broadcasting organization and to compare the number and the variety of their presentations of public men and of eminent private citizens with the number and the variety of the corresponding presentations in the United States. The contrast will carry conviction to even the most determined admirer of governmentally administered radio.

#### FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION IN UNITED STATES

We come then to the problem of estimating the consequences of the

American method of radio discussion of public issues. I should say that the consequences probably defy analysis except on one point. Our immense volume of radio orations by candidates seeking office and by office-holders seeking applause for their magnificent achievements and by representatives of civic groups pleading special causes and advocating special reforms must presumably accelerate the pace at which public opinion develops. The lines which that development will follow, however, must obviously depend upon the relative degrees of persuasiveness exhibited by the speakers.

That persuasiveness is extremely difficult to calculate. Some radio talkers attract an enormous following, only to discover that they have irritated and repelled a horde of listeners almost equally enormous. Other talkers may have smaller audiences and yet make more conversions. The studies to date of listener reactions to radio presentations of public issues have shed little light, I think, on any part of this extremely large and extremely complicated field of inquiry.

I dare say that nobody knows just what effect was produced upon listeners by the speeches regarding the great textile strike of 1934. That strike was discussed and debated on the air by leading spokesmen for the strikers and for the employers. Time was almost exactly equally divided between the two sides on each of the major nationwide networks. The impression left upon me, as a listener, was that the strikers were more skillful and more convincing than the employers in their accounts of their policies and actions. A directly contrary impression may have been left upon other listeners. I doubt if any survey of the reactions of the listening audience to the arguments of the textile manufacturers and of the textile unionists could ever be compre-

hensive enough or detailed enough to yield really scientific weighable results.

Nor in fact can I see any great good that any such survey, even if successful, would accomplish. Our American theory of government is simply that full free speech shall exist, and that thereupon the subsequent behavior of the public, whatever it may be, is a behavior which the public has an unquestioned and unquestionable right to pursue. The true object, therefore, of an inquiry regarding radio in a democracy is not what the listeners do after they have listened to the speakers, but what is done to insure the access of the speakers to the facilities of the air.

#### PRESS AND RADIO CONTRASTED

This desideratum exists regarding a radio station as it does not exist regarding a printed publication. The editor of a publication is under no binding moral compulsion to open his pages to the arguments on all sides of an issue. He is compelled indeed by conscience, if he has it, to report the news accurately. He is not compelled to present issues neutrally. He may have an editorial policy. His readers indeed often demand that he shall have an editorial policy. They want him to speak out boldly and fearlessly on the crises of the moment. He thereupon writes burning editorial articles; and also, in many cases, he chooses his non-editorial articles with an eye solely to the promotion of the ideals which his editorials propound. Readers who do not like his one-sided periodical can then shift over to reading some other periodical perhaps equally one-sided in the opposite sense.

There is no limit to the number of periodicals of opinion except the number of trees for wood-pulp and the number of zealots interested in propaganda. The competition between periodicals suffices in itself to box the

compass of thought and to provide readers with a chart of substantially all important points of view.

A radio station is quite differently circumstanced. It ought to be, I maintain, competitive with other radio stations; but it has a duty over and above competition. Unlike the periodical, it has a quasi-public duty. It operates as a tenant of a part of a public domain called the radio spectrum. It is assigned to that part of that domain by public authorities representing the people. It thereupon owes the people the duty of permitting their thoughts to circulate on its air with no editorial bias and with no editorial commendation or condemnation, but with impartial and total hospitality.

This is especially so because in no locality can there be a sufficient number of radio stations to represent all conflicting political and economic parties and factions and subfactions. For free speech in periodicals, we can depend upon the totality of periodicals. For free speech in radio, it is necessary that we require each and every radio station—unless it most exceptionally happens to be assigned to some specialized service—to become, in and of itself, a reasonably complete epitome of the whole battle of social contentions in the audience that it serves.

#### ACHIEVEMENT OF GREATER FREEDOM OF SPEECH

I have said that competition between radio stations tends strongly toward achieving this end. I have observed that it achieves it here in the United States to a degree unknown in countries dedicated to monopolistic broadcasting. I acknowledge, however, that in many instances here it does not achieve it totally. In such instances, how can the desired total achievement of free speech be enforced? That is the ultimate question

in any consideration of radio and public opinion in this country. It is a question that cannot be answered, I think, by any arbitrary allocations of time on the air of licensed broadcasting stations by order of the Federal Communications Commission. This solution has been advocated in the recent hearings on educational broadcasting before the Federal Communications Commission in Washington. It has been suggested to the Commission that every licensed broadcasting station should be obliged, as a condition of its license, to concede a certain quantity of time daily to civic discussion groups, and that these groups, in conference among themselves, should divide that time to their mutual satisfaction.

But what would be the outcome of such a method? Inevitably the civic groups with the largest memberships would be able to out-vote the others and monopolize the time. The small minority groups which are often the most interesting and the most vital would be crowded off the air by numerical voting pressure. Moreover, the moral responsibility of the broadcasting station for the maintenance of free speech would be superseded by an irresponsible gathering of contending aspirants for propagandist opportunities.

I think it much better that the manager of the broadcasting station remain clothed with his full present legal duty to consult the "public interest, convenience, or necessity" in his distribution of the totality of his station's time on the air. He should remain, I think, the allocator of all portions of that time. Only thus can responsibility be focused and success or failure determined.

#### DUTY OF CIVIC GROUPS

The civic groups, however, would thereupon have their duty, also. It

would be, and indeed already is, their duty to hold the manager of the broadcasting station to a strict accountability before the Federal Communications Commission for his policies and practices in serving the needs and expressing the thoughts of his community.

Civic groups do not yet realize, I think, their potential power in this respect. They often seem to imagine that a broadcasting station is private property in the full sense in which a newspaper is private property. They should understand that a broadcasting station under the American system is private property charged with a public social function through license from government. It is a system which mingles private management with obligatory social service, and it can be best operated, I think, through negotiations which should continue to be as flexible and as unfrozen as possible.

This is a land of a bewildering multitude of civic groups representing the interests of veterans of wars, industrialists, traders, single-taxers, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, protectors of the Constitution, introducers of the Coöperative Commonwealth, population boosters, labor organizers, open-shoppers, educators, women as women, adolescents as adolescents, and so on and so on, almost *ad infinitum*. To surrender to them any fixed quantity of broadcasting time for partition among themselves would seem to me to be less a solution of the problem than an increased confusion of it. In every system of broadcasting, as has been so well emphasized by Sir John Reith, Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the making and producing of programs, if the programs are to be good, must lie in the hands of the professional broadcasters. In this country, however, the check on the broadcasters by the public is peculiarly and uniquely prompt. That

is, it would be prompt if aggrieved civic groups would only grasp it and use it.

One firm letter to the Federal Communications Commission from a civic group able to show that it has a reasonably important message to deliver to the public and able to show that the broadcasters have prevented the transmission of it, will cause the broadcasters more anguish and anxiety than the promiscuous critics of broadcasting seem to be capable of imagining. The difficulty in Washington has been that the criticisms leveled against the broadcasters have indeed been promiscuous and general and vague rather than detailed and instant and specific. We need fewer diatribes against broadcasters as a class and more proofs of poor and inadequate performance by particular broadcasting stations.

In other words, if the American system of broadcasting is to work at its best, the civic groups in each American locality must begin to regard the local broadcasting stations as community institutions for the perfecting of which they must exert themselves in coöperation with the station managers and in coöperation also with the public Federal authorities. In the course of this coöperation the more energetic civic groups, the more earnest ones, the ones bearing the most vigorous messages, will be the ones that will reap the largest rewards of opportunity for expression. The air will go not to allocated rigidities but to changing and developing vitalities.

#### FLUIDITY OF METHOD DESIRABLE

I am convinced that the problem of an arrival at what is called "total free expression" on the air of the United States can be advancingly facilitated if the methods toward that end are left fluid. We must remember that we have yet to determine just what is

actually meant by "total free expression." Does it include the right to insult another citizen's religion? Does it include the right to advocate practices regarded by an overwhelming majority of listeners as outright immoralities? We know that it does not include any right to profanity or any right to libel. The precise definition of free speech on the air is yet to be found. I am inclined to think that it will not be found for a long time. I

think all the more, accordingly, that the surest and safest approach to the problem is along the avenue of tentative and yet active collaboration between: (a) private broadcasters licensed for only short periods; (b) vigilant civic groups; and (c) a Federal Communications Commission diligently expanding and applying the full social meaning of those extremely comprehensive words, "the public interest, convenience, or necessity."

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# Broadcasting in the Public Interest

By MERLIN H. AYLESWORTH

**I**T has often been considered that there are just two kinds of people that make up this world in which we live—those who oppose progress, and those who utilize it, striving to make it benefit their own individual situations and likewise serve the public good. Those who oppose progress have been called at various times reactionaries; those who utilize it, progressives.

I think it is utterly fallacious to proceed on the foregoing division of our people. When we do, we completely fail to recognize a great group of people who, while not opposing progress, are quite reluctant to take up any new method, any new scheme of approach, without first being assured that the new scheme promises to be much better than the old. Abraham Lincoln recognized this when he said:

I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is, that if we supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so on evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand.

In the United States, therefore, we must deal with all three of these viewpoints.

When radio broadcasting is being criticized (as it has been in all countries in the last few years) for failing to carry out completely its greatest function—that of public enlightenment—it seems to me the protagonists of such criticism have entirely failed

to investigate the program experiments which have been and are constantly being conducted to find ways and means of further utilizing this great agency for the welfare of humankind.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the American program, let us first take into consideration the mechanical factors in radio broadcasting, then the human factors involved, and finally the good which can come from the combination of these factors in actual broadcast performance.

## MECHANICAL FACTORS

In the first place, radio broadcasting is simply a means of communication. It is not point-to-point communication, like the wireless telephone, but rather point-to-group or mass communication, like nothing else which the world has ever witnessed. It is not yet perfect, even as a means of mass communication. It is necessary, for purposes of fair use in the various countries wishing to utilize it, to set aside, by means of International Accord and Agreement, certain channels for the individual use of the various countries of the civilized world.

The United States has its share. Recognizing the need for again dividing this share, the United States Government has set up controls and powers vested in the Federal Communications Commission. The Commission virtually becomes traffic policemen who see to it that radio stations and companies do not interfere with the service of one another, and that those radio stations operating under Government permit ren-

der a public service which warrants their place in American radio broadcasting. We have some six hundred local broadcasting stations in our country, of which fewer than one third are affiliated with national chains, carrying programs of a national interest character.

The National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System are set up to carry programs of a national interest character. They are corporations organized for gain, in the same fashion as any American business. As an American business, too, they are entitled only to the profit which accompanies any real form of public service. In their set-up, they are similar to newspapers and magazines, which perform a public service and at the same time derive maintenance and profit from advertising.

Such a policy of control, then, is characteristic of American methods of thinking, and therefore it is naturally expressed in the Federal laws governing a great American industry.

Herein also lies the fundamental problem of radio broadcasting—that of harnessing the human factor of operation to the mechanical factor of “limitations” which are imposed upon us by the intrinsic character of radio waves themselves. For instance, radio broadcasting cannot be strictly divided into a service set up either for the National Government or for any one of the forty-eight states, because it does not fall entirely within national or state lines. If anything, it is more directly international in character, because it has the ability to penetrate far beyond the confines of any one country or group of countries to the entire civilized world.

These mechanical limitations are in reality not limitations at all in the strictest sense of the word; because, though they definitely limit the num-

ber of channels to be utilized from the sending end, at the same time they present the ability, when arranged as a network or frequently individually (as in short wave), to cover the widest possible range of territory on the receiving end. In this manner, radio broadcasting becomes potentially the greatest agency for the carrying of human expression, be it words, music, or sound in any one of its other phases, to all parts of the world or to any section of it. The extensive research carried on by Guglielmo Marconi abroad, and here in the United States by the Radio Corporation of America, among others, has made it possible to accomplish as a fact what a few years ago was only a dream.

#### HUMAN FACTORS

The other day, “Babe” Ruth spoke to the United States from Tokyo, Japan, where he and his all-American baseball team happened to be playing on their tour of the Far East. He told how enthusiastically the Japanese public had received them with “Banzais” and many other expressions of joy and good will. The following morning came the familiar “Hello, America, this is Moscow calling. We present a special program of Russian chamber music for your appreciation and delight.” This immediately followed a program put on from the National Broadcasting Company’s Radio City Studios by Paul Whiteman and sent by short wave to Russia. Here the strains of Gershwin’s American Rhapsody in Blue had just preceded that of the familiar Russian Volga Boat Song, coming to us from Russia.

Good will and understanding are being built up every day of the year by just such occurrences as I have cited. On this foundation rests the peace and security of the civilized world. What is public enlightenment

if it is not just this? What method has been used to bring it about? The entertainment method—and it is this that I should like to stress at this point.

Let us consider the human being we are dealing with on the receiving end of broadcasting—the listener. Practical broadcasters know that in the last analysis he is to be the final judge of their performance. He is like the good wife—your closest friend and sternest critic. He is not the “Man in the Street”; he is the “Man in the Home” and the “Woman in the Home” and the “Child in the Home—or in the Schoolroom.”

Let us look at this man for a moment. In what is he interested? What does he do in his leisure time? How tired and exhausted is he at the end of a busy day in shop or office? Does he want more definitely taxing brain work at that time, or does he want diversion—a bit of let-up after the strain? Well, let us be frank with ourselves. Over ten million men have been out of work. Presumably they have joined the host of day-time listeners as well. Day-time listeners now represent about 50 per cent of the evening audience. What kind of radio fare would you present to an audience wishing primarily to be entertained and at the same time informed and therefore enlightened?

#### EDUCATIONAL PRESENTATION

President Ernest Hopkins, in speaking about the purposes of education at the opening of Dartmouth College in 1934, said:

It [the College] offers the opportunity of increasing one's store of knowledge, (2) it strives to develop one's intelligence by creating a habit of reflective thought as to how knowledge should be utilized, (3) it prescribes that study shall be made in some one field of knowledge beyond its elemen-

tary stages so that some acquaintanceship shall be had with the methods and results of scholarly accomplishment.

Dr. Hopkins went on to say that there may be perfectly justifiable differences of opinion as to whether the world is most benefited over a long period of time by the contribution of amateur or professional scholars. But as society is constituted at the present day, the general intelligence made pervasive of amateur scholarship is indispensable.

I venture to say there are a good many amateur scholars who have been at Dartmouth and Harvard and Penn and Yale and Princeton and Columbia. Let me say, too, that they have been developed by men like the late Charles Lingley of Dartmouth, who taught history as living, breathing biography; like Charles Townsend Copeland of Harvard, who made literature vibrate with human ambitions, disappointments, and triumphs; like Simon Patten of the University of Pennsylvania, who made economics a dominantly personal subject; like George Pierce Baker of Yale, whose dramatic “Workshop” gave the stimulus to our great American drama; like Donald Clive Stuart of Princeton, whose lectures have been a delight to generations of Princeton men; like John Erskine of Columbia, whose background in the arts has been the inspiration of many a Columbia man. I have mentioned only a few, but surely enough to point out that the great abiding heritage in any educational process is what happens to us after we have contacted such sources of inspiration.

Now put the microphone between such men and the public. The picture does not materially change. Though the listener is deprived of seeing the gesture, the facial expression, the characteristic stride before the class, a sin-

cere voice carries conviction and personality; the subject matter provides the interest; the mind and heart give the ability to present a wide variety of appeal. This is showmanship, wherever you meet it. It is also, I believe, good teaching.

Entertainment has a vast number of angles; it is as varied as taste itself. It is not always farce or comedy. It may be tragedy, pathos, or the agony of despair. But it is always something. It is never colorless, dull, uninteresting, or beyond our comprehension. It is always at the level of the listener.

#### VARIOUS FIELDS COVERED

It has frequently been said that in this country, on the radio, we give the public what it wants. We do; but we go much farther. We give the public, in addition, much that we hope it will learn to want. How can one account otherwise for the tremendous growth of interest in opera, symphonic music, chamber music, fine plays, non-fiction books, and subjects of study such as our government, economics, popular science, psychology, world affairs, public health, and child welfare? Many other agencies, to be sure, are helping to bring these subjects of interest to the attention of the public; but those who work daily in these mediums of education will tell you that in no other way do they so effectively reach a public waiting to receive their message.

In the field of religion, with at least half our great population possessing no church affiliation whatsoever, radio has, from the testimony of all qualified observers, been the greatest factor in modern times in inducing a fine tolerance for the religious aspirations and opinion of others. It has given a spiritual message of comfort to millions during the dark days of economic

stress, now happily passing, and a means of worship to hundreds of thousands in remote places who have no opportunity to go to the churches of their persuasion.

In the field of news, both the frequent news bulletins of the Press-Radio Bureau—a coöperative venture of the three great news-gathering agencies, the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service with Radio—and the news commentators, like Will Rogers, John B. Kennedy, Lowell Thomas, George R. Holmes, Floyd Gibbons, William Hard, and many others, have kept the public constantly informed of spot news events and their significance. No world event or national occurrence of importance escapes this great network of news agencies.

In the field of entertainment, the greatest talent of the stage, the concert hall, the opera house, the vaudeville, and the motion picture screen are all available to the American public to be brought into the home as guests. In this manner they become intimately known to the members of the household and are friends of millions of American families. Who would care to miss a thrilling adventure with "Amos 'n' Andy," where life may be lived vicariously, with those great comedians of the American scene pointing out to us our human aspirations, our petty foibles, our frequent mistakes in judgment and, as well, the live-and-let-live attitude of fairness in human relations, so characteristic of America.

Then, as a business, radio has demonstrated its ability to pay for itself by rendering a remarkable advertising service calculated to maintain the American standard of living in a land of plenty, and at the same time entertain, inform, and educate a vast number of listeners.

## THE MAJOR CONSIDERATION

There is a small minority to whom radio offers little. It is made up of only a few persons. The recluse, the intellectually superior person who voluntarily separates himself from the living, breathing, moving America in which he lives, is one of these persons. The complete reactionary of whom I spoke in the beginning of this article is also one. The complete radical who is "agin the government" no matter what it does, is perhaps also numbered among this minority. But these folk really do not belong to the great, vibrant mass and soul of America. Public opinion rules, and thanks to radio its force is felt immediately, simultaneously in every part of our country.

An interesting comparison was made by Raymond Gram Swing recently in *Harper's Magazine* which illustrates the temper and the tempo of the two great English-speaking nations. He says:

Where the British have differed from America in interfering with "natural" forces is first of all in their lack of effusiveness. When America has a program it becomes the lively concern of everybody. The Nation paraded for the NRA. It debates each new policy in countless periodicals and over every radio station. Washington correspondents dramatize events and personify their news in a way impos-

sible in England. Every figure in the New Deal belongs intimately to the whole country. But Prime Minister MacDonald is as great a genius in concealing his thoughts from newspaper men as President Roosevelt is in revealing them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is as hard to interrogate as the Grand Lama of Tibet. The British Treasury believes in secrecy almost as much as gold. Public opinion in Britain is canalized in orderly channels. It flows from the cottage to the House of Commons through local meetings and the local and national press, in a leisurely and recognizable stream. In America, public opinion has the force and body of a flood.

So, in America, radio may be likened to the proverbial gold fish in a transparent fish bowl. The pitiless light of publicity constantly shines upon it. It is contrived to please the listener—to entertain, and, while entertaining, to inform and instruct those who come to it seeking diversion and enlightenment.

The American people are to be the judges of radio's performance. Uppermost in the minds of those who guide this industry, therefore, there is but one major consideration. It is at the very foundation of American broadcast policy and procedure. It is expressed daily in the manifold variety and content of its programs. It is exemplified in the character of its national and international considerations and contacts.

It is the public interest.

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# Radio as an Educational Force

By GLENN FRANK

I HAVE long been convinced that the invention of radio, the talking film, and television is destined to affect the process and scope of education with quite as revolutionary results as followed in the wake of the invention of the printing press. Some day, when we have really adapted these new instrumentalities of instruction to the enterprise of education, we may find that they have enabled us to reduce the cost and raise the quality of education at the same time. There is at least one commodity of which we suffer a shortage rather than a surplus. That commodity is genius in general, and teaching genius in particular.

## SPHERE OF GENIUS WIDENED

To just what uses these new instrumentalities can be put in the routines of education is still in the lap of the experimenters. I shall not tempt fate with prophecy in this field that is entirely too extensive to explore in one brief paper. But already we know at least this much: Radio, the talking film, and television can warm, illumine, and fertilize the routines of education by bringing to them, as spur and supplement, the supreme teaching geniuses of the generation. The printing press has been able to spread the fruits of scattered genius the world around. But through radio, the talking film, and television it has become possible for the first time in human history actually to syndicate living genius itself. The color, the vibrancy, the contagion of the great teaching geniuses can at last be brought into the smallest classroom on the outer rim of the world.

## COMPETITORS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

But these new instrumentalities of instruction need not, indeed may not, restrict their direct educational activity to the classrooms of the traditional school system. Already, education is being marketed commercially by hundreds of organizations outside the regular school systems. The schools, colleges, and universities have been able thus far to ignore this competition because they have the advantages of traditional prestige, the human relation with living teachers, an atmosphere of culture, and the presence on their staffs of the world's most distinguished scholars.

But these advantages may not be eternal. The modern world turns with disturbing if intelligent facility to new methods of meeting old needs. When the printing press was invented, I have no doubt that many educators sniffed at the idea that the printed word would ever be more than a very minor supplement to the spoken word of the ancient teacher, just as today many educators sniff at the shoddy methods of many commercially promoted educational agencies that operate outside our school systems, refusing to consider them serious competitors of the regular schools. But can we be sure that our traditional schools will forever retain their near-monopoly of education, when to the printing press have been added such agencies of visualization and communication as radio, the talking film, and television?

The ghosts of the great inventors

who gave us the technical foundations of radio, the talking film, and television are looking wistfully down at us wondering whether we shall make full use of these new tools of civilization which they have given us. I hope that we shall be able to bring to the educational use of these new tools in our classrooms an insight equal to the inventiveness that created them.

#### POLITICAL EDUCATION

But quite apart from the professional use to which these instrumentalities may be put in the schools, and quite apart from the specifically educational programs sent out over publicly and privately operated radio stations, the radio is indirectly exerting a profound and productive educational influence on American life. The mechanism of radio itself, entirely aside from any deliberate policy on the part of its administrators, will tend in time to give us a new kind of statesman and a new kind of voter. And I know of no educational achievement more worth the winning.

The microphone is the deadly enemy of the demagogue—a ruthless revealer of “hokum.” Two thirds of the appeal of the old-fashioned political oratory and the mob-stirring of the rabble-rouser lay in the hundred-and-one tricks of posture and voice that catch on when the crowd is massed and the speaker looks it in the eye. But what was rousing in the old mass meetings may become ridiculous when it comes through the radio to the single listener. The radio will increasingly tend to put the rhetorician to rout and exalt the realist. Even the most average of average Americans is a more critical listener when he is not part of a mass meeting. The slightest trickery of phrase or voice shows up on the radio. A new type of statesman is demanded by the radio. When the statesman

steps to the microphone, his ideas must stand on their own feet without benefit of the crutch of emotionalized crowd reaction. He must master the art of simplicity and clarity, as even a Republican must admit that Franklin D. Roosevelt has done. Long and involved sentences must go. The realization that millions may be listening in puts the statesman on his mettle. He has an added compulsion to accuracy. When he thoughtlessly resorts to demagogic tricks over the radio, there is likely to drift back to him the chastening suspicion that here and there and yonder in quiet rooms throughout the Nation, thousands of intelligent Americans may be laughing derisively.

It may be that radio will in time effect a needed reform in our national party conventions. Today they are overgrown and outmoded institutions. They contain intelligent and statesmanlike minds. But nine times out of ten they crumble at the touch of a really critical issue. Our national conventions have become so large that mob psychology finds a fertile field in them. Large conventions give rise to an interlocking insanity and a compound irresponsibility. But now that the radio has made it possible for the whole Nation to eavesdrop even the whispers of national conventions, it may prove possible to exclude the public from the actual sessions, restricting attendance to accredited delegates, alternates, officials, and working representatives of the press. This would enable parties to hold their conventions in halls small enough to make sessions more nearly manageable. This would eliminate the distracting influence of the mob-minded gallery that so often destroys the possibility of truly deliberate action.

I think that, with no gallery to play to, a realization that hearers were

safely away, listening quietly to the voices and votes of the convention, would make for less street carnivalism and more statesmanship in these assemblies. Heretofore, press reports have not been able to carry enough of the inanities and inefficiencies of the conventions to give the people at large a full sense of their actual operation. The politicians who have captured the headlines have remained to the masses Olympian figures; but now, millions of voters, as they turn the knobs of their radios, are gaining a sense of the chaos and confusion of conventions even more vivid than the impression made on the men and women actually in attendance. If no man remains a hero to his valet, certainly conventions that do not rid themselves of "hokum" and "hooliganism" cannot remain statesmanlike assemblies to listeners at the radio.

#### A UNIFYING INFLUENCE

And, finally, if it be one of the major functions of education to enable us to function as an intelligent and integrated nation, one of the profoundest educational effects of radio will be its increasing influence for national unity. This vast Nation, with its 125,000,000 people, faces a dilemma. It must not iron itself out into a dull sameness. It must resist the forces that seek to impose an extreme standardization upon its thought and life. It must, at all costs, maintain the color, the character, the charm, and the creativeness of its varied regions. But it must at the same time play for national unity. There are some things it must do with a solid front. This is one of the lessons we are learning as we face the baffling enterprise of economic recovery and social reconstruction. There is a minimum unification of the mind and interests of the Nation that is imperative.

This is a difficult order for so vast a territory and so varied a population. All history shows that far-flung empires have sooner or later failed because they could not maintain the necessary unity of mind and purpose. They fell apart because they lacked the binding cement of a common vision of their problems and their possibilities. The Greek republics began to slip when they grew beyond the city-state stage in which the whole population could at once have access to the councils in which public policy was being shaped. The Athenians, gathering en masse at the Acropolis, had an ideal agency of unification. They could all listen at once to their peerless leader, Pericles.

Until radio was invented, America lacked an Acropolis. Her Pericles, when she was lucky enough to have one, had to make the swing around the circle if he wanted to speak to the people of America. And even then he could touch only the strategic centers. The masses had to hear him at second hand as they scanned the reports of his speeches in the next day's press. With radio, an American Pericles can have his Acropolis and speak to all America at once. The radio is an agency of national unification whose development and freedom we must guard with jealous care.

#### INTELLIGENT USE OF RADIO

I have tried to indicate that the very nature of radio as a technical medium of communication has profound and productive educational implications for the national future, in rationalizing our public life by compelling the development of a new type of statesman and a new type of voter, and in giving unifying ideas quick access to the mind of the entire Nation.

Let me end with the earnest hope that we shall not be content with these

automatic by-products of radio as a mechanism, but that we shall use this mechanism with the utmost of intelligence and moral responsibility. "You think your souls are saved," Mahatma Gandhi once said to a Westerner, "because you can invent radio, but of what elevation to man is a method of broadcasting if you have only drivel to send out?" Radio deserves the best the national mind can

bring to its microphones, in content and in presentation. Quality must learn to sing. Education may "get away" with dullness if it is dealing with prisoners in a classroom. It cannot when men are free to turn from dull quality to interesting frivolity by a simple twist of the dial.

Radio has given education a new medium. Education must invest radio with meaning.

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# Radio and the Child

By SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG

**L**OOKING backward, radio appears as but the latest of cultural emergents to invade the putative privacy of the home. Each such invasion finds the parents unprepared, frightened, resentful, and helpless. Within comparatively short memory, the "movie," the automobile, the telephone, the sensational newspaper or magazine, the "funnies," and the cheap paper-back book have had similar effects upon the apprehensions and solitudes of parents.

A new instrument or medium always brings difficulties that cannot be solved on the basis of earlier experiences or earlier criteria of conduct. Many literary masterpieces, such as Mark Twain's classics of child life, at first aroused the hostility of adults, only to become "required reading" in the public schools. Similarly, the "movies" brought protests that made no discriminations among the crude slapsticks, the impossible "Westerns," and the new creations of Charlie Chaplin. It took time to reveal that some of the performances which were at first offensive to parents were not only better adapted to children's tastes and needs, but also psychologically and educationally more sound than those which parents preferred.

To point out that we have gradually assimilated these other "invaders," and to expect, therefore, that we shall before long find for the radio its proper place, is not to belittle either the validity of the parental anxieties or the dangers of the instrument itself as a potential agent for harm; nor is it to minimize the difficulties it presents. The parallel is intended merely to sug-

gest that some perspective may be helpful in considering the problem of the radio and the child. We must not overlook, however, the important fact that in some respects the radio finds the parents more helpless than the "movies" or the "funnies"; for no locks will keep this intruder out, nor can parents shut their children away from it.

## THE FACTS IN THE CASE

No comprehensive research has been undertaken in the field of radio for children comparable to the Payne Fund Study of motion pictures. Yet parents' organizations in many kinds of communities and in every part of the country have been recording the types of programs their children prefer, the amount of time they give to listening, the seeming effects upon the children, and their own feelings, as parents, regarding these programs.

From these rather informal studies we now know that a very large proportion of children between the ages of six and thirteen devote an imposing total of hours to the radio. There is evidence of a sustained interest from the age of six on, rising to a peak at about ten to twelve years. In samples checked up, forty children out of a hundred listen in for half an hour or more daily, following certain programs with passionate interest. About twelve or thirteen in a hundred are reported to be radio "fans," although this classification depends more upon the mother's point of view than upon the total amount of time that the child spends with the radio; for many children not so classified actually give

more time to listening than do those called "fans."

Children preponderantly show enthusiasm for a kind of program which parents as a whole view unfavorably with about the same unanimity. The thriller, the mystery, comedy (not so high), the melodramatic adventure series—all these are seized on by the children with an avidity that leaves the parents aghast. Finally, there is no carry-over of likes and dislikes from parents to their children. This we should perhaps have known from common observation, although parents generally are inclined to assume that their own tastes and discernments are assimilated by their children early in life.

The specific problems of the radio are those that have to do, on the one hand, with the home—adjusting time, choice of program, mutual consideration among the members of the family, conflict with other activities; and on the other hand, with the quality and character of the broadcasting as it affects the growing personalities of eventual citizens.

#### AS TO DOMESTIC RELATIONS

When several pairs of ears are eager to enjoy one radio at any given time, there is always the possibility of conflict. Yet, as between the children themselves, much less is reported than we might have expected, and apparently less than was common when the radio was still a novelty and the struggle was for each to get to it ahead of the others. Indeed, many parents report that the radio establishes a bond of common interest, and a quarter of the mothers questioned think that it actually prevents quarrels and "gives children of different ages a pleasure which they can happily share."

When the interests of children and adults clash, the decision as to the pro-

gram to be tuned in must be determined either by compromise or by fiat. The music or the political talk that older members of the family prefer has to be accepted or ignored by the children, or it has to give way out of consideration for the children's preferences. The choice between the children's demand for radio at breakfast and the father's desire to read his newspaper in peace may have to be decided arbitrarily in favor of the father. But in each case the parents must be aware of just what is involved in the issue.

As a matter of fact, the radio seems to cause less conflict between children and adults than it did some years ago, although children do often resent adult supervision and restrictions in their free choice of programs. One mother also spoke of her six-year-old's resentment against the radio as an adult preoccupation which deprived her of the companionship of adults. "She cried bitterly during the President's address."

Related to questions of parental judgment are the strains reported in many cases as resulting from the efforts of adults to regulate the child's use of the radio by arbitrary rules. "I ordered my twelve-year-old boy not to turn the radio on before dinner, but I found that he had been listening to the radio and shutting it off just before I got home." This suggests, however, that in many homes the radio is not itself the problem it appears to be, but merely the precipitant for deep-seated tensions in the family situation. In this case, for example, we cannot suppose that the boy's disregard of his mother's wishes was confined to the radio.

The most serious and most common complaint against the radio as part of the home equipment is its frequent interference with other interests and activities. Family conversation is the

greatest sufferer, with reading and music practice close seconds. The other losses mentioned are group games, creative play, crafts, singing, and so on. This is perhaps a competition which we must learn to accept as legitimate—and as a challenge to the more time-honored activities to justify their continuance as family diversions.

The intruder is not, however, uniformly condemned. Not only does the radio often serve to unify the members of the family by furnishing a variety of common experiences, but it sometimes furthers the parents' purposes. Thus, one family feels that the radio "is valuable as an adjunct to the education and entertainment of the household." Another parent writes, "I feel that my children's great interest in music has been encouraged by radio. . . . With so much to choose from, they can afford to be discriminating."

These and other examples suggest that the problem of managing the radio in the home is part of the larger problem of living together in a household made up of individuals of different ages and tastes. Many parents are aware that setting up rules designed to work automatically and permanently is less constructive than the continuous need for working *with* children. Thus one writes, "It takes some guiding to keep from adding too many programs and so curtailing reading, outdoors, and social contacts. But appeal of reason has so far worked and the balance has been maintained. Hence the influence to date has been positive rather than negative."

#### THE PROGRAM ITSELF

The most vociferous complaints about the radio have come from parents and teachers and ministers who have raised questions as to the merits of the programs to which children are exposed, and as to the probable effects

upon the minds and characters of the listeners. A particularly excited mother brings all the objections together in one sweep:

Many of us with children from seven on are perfectly frantic over the effect of the radio on children. The programs are sensational nonsense and children are made nervous and develop fears they never had before—fear of the dark, fear of gruff voices. One mother says her children have developed a feeling of evil in the world.

It is not easy to distinguish clearly between what parents think of the quality of a particular broadcast, and what they think of the effects of radio in general upon their children. A mother who dislikes a certain program is quite sure that it is bad for her child; but when we ask her what is objectionable about it, she tells us in effect that it is objectionable because she does not like it.

At one meeting somebody criticized "Buck Rogers." One of the boys present asked, "What's the matter with 'Buck Rogers'?" A teacher observed that the narratives were "inaccurate." But what is the meaning of "inaccurate" in connection with an imaginary projection into the twenty-fifth century? What harm has come to the past generation from reading the inaccuracies of Jules Verne or the romances of H. G. Wells?

Neither adults nor children can convey clearly and convincingly the "reasons" for their preferences or dislikes, and when challenged, both will try to justify their tastes on the basis of generally accepted principles. It is beyond dispute, however, that many of the programs are objectionable because they convey false ideals or misleading sentimentalities, or because they "murder the King's English" or play too recklessly with elemental fears and horrors. In their admonitions and

exhortations, offered ostensibly to help parents in the training of their children, many are too crude and psychologically unsound. Parents may rightfully object to the kind of advice sometimes offered children on the management of their problems and on the conduct of life generally. And no excuse can be found for impressing children with their obligation to promote the sales of the merchandise advertised by the sponsors of the programs which they like.

The worries of parents in regard to radio are serious, and their grievances for the most part warranted; but there is so much of the hysterical among the criticisms that we have to be particularly careful to envisage the situation in its entirety.

#### SOMETHING NEEDS TO BE DONE

In considering possible lines of action, we must in the first place eliminate all disputations as to taste, since it was discovered some centuries ago that such disputations lead nowhere. A current example of this truism is the preference expressed by a father who comments on his personal experiences and observations in a recent magazine article.<sup>1</sup> He feels that Baby Rose Marie warbling "adult hotsy-totsy songs" is preferable to adventure programs, since "at least there was no life-risking predicament with which to drag the listener to the loud-speaker for the next broadcast." There are many equally qualified adults—psychologists and parents, to say nothing of music lovers—who would question his assurance that the new program is better for children than its predecessor. It is a telling commentary on our adult confusion on this whole question of taste when we offer children only such sorry alternatives.

<sup>1</sup> Mann, Arthur, "Children's Crime Programs: 1934," *Scribner's Magazine*, Oct. 1934.

A second fundamental consideration is the fact that the differences between the preferences of adults and those of children are in large part due to differences in maturity. Children have to grow into finer discriminations, and they have to be helped; but not by privations and preachments—and not by having to choose between Baby Rose Marie and crime adventures.

In the third place, we have to ask ourselves what it is that gives children so much satisfaction in some of the things most disapproved by their elders, and so common in the radio programs. From wide and intensive psychological studies, as well as from the insight of competent observers, we are coming to recognize that the exciting adventures, and even the terrifying episodes, which leave children trembling and yet demanding more, satisfy something corresponding to the child's stage of development, to his personal or temperamental make-up, or to the gaps in his experience. Like reading itself, which we value and encourage, like the best in drama, these disapproved excitements are forms of vicarious adventure, substitute expansions of experience that fulfill an inner need which the child can neither express nor disregard. In extreme cases of excessive addiction to the radio or to particular types of programs, the parents may well consider the child's behavior as symptomatic of a condition that may need closer and more discerning study, rather than harsher penalties and restrictions.

The individual differences in the unconscious demands of children are illustrated by two boys, of eight and five years, in an intellectual and pacifist home. They had been taken to see the sound film "Treasure Island," and were asked what they liked best in the picture. The older boy, in a dreamy voice, said, "I loved the way the ships

pulled out, when it was getting dark, and the clouds." The younger boy, with an angel face, said, "I liked the shooting best. Oh, boy, oh, boy! Was that some shooting!"

However satisfactory the first, or shocking the second reaction may seem to adults, they can draw from them no conclusions whatever as to either the personalities into which these children are to grow, or the background in which they are developing. They can be confident only that the experience was for both children of genuine value.

In the most extensive study yet made of children's reactions to radio,<sup>2</sup> the outspoken statements of children themselves indicate a deep appreciation of the thrills, the fascinations exercised by some of the broadcasts. In children's written descriptions of "The Radio Program I Like Best," secured for this study, typical favorites are reproduced with bated breath.

Here is what one boy says of "Buck Rogers":

There is silence on the air. Suddenly we hear the sound of rocket motors and a voice says, "Buck Rogers in the Twenty-fifth Century." . . . [Buck sees] things that weren't dreamed of in the twentieth century such as rocket ships, disintegrators, paralysis guns, rocket pistols, thermic radiation projectors and many others. I like "Buck Rogers" best because it is the most exciting, breathe-taking and fast-moving radio program on the air.

Another says: "The program I like best is 'Skippy.' It is a venture's drama. I sit like in a daze on my chair near the radio and listen to this wonderful thrill."

Even those who choose more serious programs seem to have an eye—or rather an ear—mainly for the thrills.

<sup>2</sup> Eisenberg, I. L., *Children's Preferences and Reactions in Radio Programs*. A study for a doctor's dissertation. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

One girl, for instance, selects "Twenty Thousand Years in Sing-Sing," "because," as she says, "it is not at all silly, and because it is quite mysterious. Also I like it because it tells of the experiences of people, that when stealing are caught and brought to prison. In that way it helps me not to do such things." One cannot forbear pointing out how this child unconsciously rationalizes her interest in the sensational, and throws in a moralistic comment as a sop to adult standards.

#### CENSORSHIP

There can be no question, then, as to the needs of children for a great variety of substitute experiences and adventures; and these needs cannot be ignored in any concerted efforts to improve the radio fare offered children. For when groups of parents, having become self-conscious and indignant, undertake to "clean up" matters by using their united powers in an attack on the radio or on special programs of which they disapprove, there is grave danger of defeating their own ends. Such drives are just as objectionable as the thing they are intended to remedy; for the imposition upon the public of a hard-and-fast partisan or other special view or preference is hardly an improvement upon the present situation which these very groups so deeply deplore. We gain nothing from such a censorship by any group that has the power to exert special pressure. The negative approach is in the long run unproductive, although it is understandable as a manifestation of outraged feelings.

To be sure, broadcasters and advertisers have been compelled to take notice because of the many protests. They are perhaps particularly sensitive to criticism because, in a field so new that there are no established criteria, the producers are naturally just as be-

wildered as the public, and are groping just as blindly for improvement. Moreover, the broadcasting companies make the counter complaint that alarm is always more articulate than approval. When parents disapprove, they become very vocal. But, so the broadcasters report, if they occasionally remove a feature that has been generally understood to be acceptable to parents, its disappearance from the air causes not a ripple of visible regret.

#### TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES

Positive efforts are likely to be more effective, if they extend only to the replacing of "black lists" with "white lists."

On the initiative of the American Library Association there was formed early in 1933 a joint committee representing that organization, the Progressive Education Association, and the Child Study Association, with the writer as chairman, to work out possible methods of coöperation.

After considering various plans, the committee believes that the establishment of a central clearing house would best serve this purpose. Such a central agency would act as a *liaison* between the interested public, as represented by parents' groups, educational organizations, and others concerned with furthering child welfare and education, and the commercial interests, including the broadcasting companies,

the advertising agencies, and the program sponsors. The chief functions of such a clearing house would be: to evaluate what we now know about children's radio programs and make this information available; to set in motion inquiries and researches for the study of questions which are yet unanswered, and such additional questions as are bound to arise; and finally, to develop and sponsor experimental programs built on the very best available knowledge and presented with as much skill as possible.

The committee believes that it is not a question of some of us telling the rest what should be done; it is a question of all who care giving their thought, their insight, and their sympathy.

We have in the past century brought the public school system in America to the point where we are able to carry it forward in spite of great divergence of views as to what it should try to do and how it should perform its services. Boards of lay people, representing essentially the parents, working with an increasing number and variety of experts, are steadily developing an education that approximates the paradox of serving each and at the same time serving all. The community must learn to work together with the same flexibility in managing this new instrument for amusement, recreation, and a broader education.

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# Radio and Social Welfare

By LOUIS E. KIRSTEIN

**T**AKING social welfare in its broadest sense—that is, the well-being of man in society—the radio stands forth today as potentially one of the most useful instruments at the service of the human family. It is the latest in a series of marvelous inventions which have shrunk the earth, facilitated instant communication, and brought the wonders of modern culture to the remotest outpost of civilization. The frontiersman as well as the urbanite, the poor as well as the rich, can now enjoy the symphony or the opera, hear the President announce his latest national policy, and follow the adventures of discoverers and explorers. Perhaps more than any other instrument devised by science, the radio has the potentiality for enriching the cultural resources of all society.

I speak of its potentiality rather than its accomplishment, because, like so many of the material achievements of modern society, we have not yet learned how to control and exploit the radio to the fullest extent for the benefit of the entire community. But making allowances for all its shortcomings and for all the drivel we are forced to listen to, it must still be admitted that the radio stands out as one of the most useful means of enhancing the welfare of all groups in modern society. Let us remember, too, that both in its mechanical development and in its social control, the radio is still in its infancy. Too many of us are inclined to forget that the first broadcast to the public was made in the autumn of 1920, less than fifteen years ago!

## COPING WITH MALADJUSTMENT

But social welfare has come to have a more restricted meaning—the organization of the community to ameliorate the problems in maladjustment created by modern industrial society; and it is the services of radio in this narrower field that I wish here particularly to discuss. What can radio accomplish and what has it accomplished in our effort to ease the burdens inflicted upon our people by social and physical misfortunes generally outside their individual control? To what extent has it been of use in the battle against unemployment and distress, against poverty, sickness, and bad environmental influences with their threat to the health and the character of youth? How effective has radio proved in this effort? What problems have been uncovered in the course of its use? As the attention of the Nation comes to concentrate more and more intently upon just these problems of unemployment, destitution, undernourishment, preventable disease, and impairment in morale, such questions on our experience to date with radio as an instrument for advancing social welfare take on increasing relevance.

And seldom has any instrument of communication received more dramatic trial than the past four years of world depression have given radio. When we realize that for the first time in history this instrument has been available for use in a major depression, we must realize that we have truly been breaking paths in a new way of education and of securing participation

and consent in the democratic process of devising new ways for handling the social problems of the times. As in all pioneering effort, we cannot feel that we have found the best answers as to methods and procedures in using radio to help meet a great human crisis. But we have made beginnings, and these beginnings set milestones which are well worth our reading.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S USE OF RADIO

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the potentialities of radio in national programs of social welfare has been given to us by the National Administration in Washington under the leadership of President Roosevelt. However critical many of us may be of the New Deal either in its entirety or in some of its parts, we must admit that an effective and skillful job has been done in utilizing the radio as a means of communication.

And how effectively Mr. Roosevelt used the radio in bringing his program for recovery to the people, no one who has passed through the last year and a half in America need be told. His radio addresses immediately after the banking holiday became truly a first line of national defense against an impersonal but very real foe. They brought renewed confidence and courage into the very homes of our people; they carried reassurance to business men, bankers, farmers, and workers, who only a few weeks before had faced in bewilderment and often despair what seemed the collapse of all their familiar social arrangements. When he spoke, the national chains cleared to carry his message; men and women waited eagerly for it; newspapers announced its coming and published in full its contents. This tense expectancy dissipated the national attack of "nerves" from which it grew.

The radio served, too, as an instru-

ment of information—to tell the people just what Mr. Roosevelt and his Administration purposed to do about it. The banking holiday was explained—and thus accepted with relief. The continuing problems of mass unemployment and destitution were held before the country until a previous conviction that local and private giving sufficed, disappeared before wide agreement that only rounded national responsibility could be adequate. The need for increased minimum wages and shorter hours to reign in the sweatshop and start industry going again was broadcast. Farm relief, monetary policy, the reëmployment agreements, public works, the Tennessee Valley project—one measure after another traveled along the air waves from the Capitol to the loneliest hamlet and the busiest city of our continental country.

As the various agencies were established to carry out these policies, more voices were added to Mr. Roosevelt's in explanation of the recovery program. From Cabinet members and other responsible officials, unemployed workers and the country learned of new employment opportunities and new sources of relief through the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration, the Emergency Relief Administration, and the Civil Works Administration.

#### A UNIFYING FORCE

Through these very services of reassurance and information, the radio emerged an instrument of participating democracy. Since the days when the township and the locality made democracy a matter of direct individual participation, men had lost their sense of continuous personal share in the democratic process through the very size and complexity of modern government. The radio once again brought policymaking to the home and the groups

around the stove in the general store, through issues of social welfare most directly affecting them. Once again intimacy was restored between leader and people by the voice that told all about it (from the Capitol microphone instead of the Town Hall platform). The thousands of letters and telegrams that poured into the White House after each address showed how real this new contact can be.

Thus, although actual participation on the part of listeners was not possible (and who knows whether the near future may not make even this a reality?), at least the radio afforded an opportunity to secure consent and approval. In contrast, the depression had shown in certain countries of Europe what a potent instrument the radio can become in destroying democracy by channelizing mass despair behind another type of "Führer." In South America, as a leading columnist's conversation shows us, the same lesson was being learned. "I was talking the other day to a South American revolutionist who seized power in his native land," he tells us, "but was unable to hold it. 'I made a mistake,' he admitted. 'I got the arsenals, all right, but I forgot to grab the radio!'" After Mr. Roosevelt's demonstration, we can feel sure that democracy as well as dictatorship can use the radio effectively to handle threatening emergency situations with programs of wide social welfare. It enjoys this advantage, too: It does not need to get the arsenals; the radio suffices.

Because this program of social welfare by definition included states and localities in our total responsibility for handling the crisis, the radio served in state and local efforts too. The attack upon unemployment and distress, the proposals for raising money, creating jobs, and administering national and local projects, all found in radio what

the national effort had found in it, too: an instrument of assurance, explanation, and participation. Speakers were drawn from government, business, farm, labor, and welfare organizations. Opportunities and procedures necessary to take advantage of various measures for relief—unemployment, financing of various types, farm aids, and the rest—as they existed in the various states and localities, were described over the air. As time went on, the radio became, too, an opportunity in itself for various unemployed groups. Choruses, bands, orchestras, even opera, financed from public relief funds, appeared on the radio programs.

#### PERMANENT POSSIBILITIES

How much of the present radio techniques can be transferred from their existing emergency basis to the permanent program for promoting social welfare by public agencies? We may expect Mr. Roosevelt and other officials to use the radio to explain whatever program for security by social insurance may develop from expert studies now under way in Washington. But why should not radio continue beyond that an important tool in promoting, explaining, and winning democratic consent in permanent policies of employment, relief, and other welfare needs?

Encouragement for such an extension of radio technique may be found in the many "non-crisis" uses to which government is already putting the radio in the name of social welfare. We have now under expert public auspices regular talks on health, safety, food and dietetics, prison reform and problems of crime, housing and community planning, and vocational guidance, and education programs. We have the radio used as an instrument of treatment in hospitals, institutions, and prisons. Its skillful use during the depression

crisis by the Roosevelt Administration thus merely indicates, I believe, a widening scope of permanent welfare service for it.

#### USE BY PRIVATE AGENCIES

It goes without saying that social welfare agencies under private auspices have found the radio similarly valuable in arousing interest, support, and understanding of their work. Indeed, experience with its use during the past few years has followed a pattern closely parallel to that traced in our public welfare efforts; that is, the challenge of the depression emergency has extended and strengthened the services to which radio had already been put in furthering normal social work programs.

The annual Mobilization for Human Needs initiated in 1932 presented a dramatic platform from which our voluntary agencies for social welfare could be presented to the country. As the depression deepened, social workers, only too aware from daily contact with their hard-hit clients of what distress was abroad among our people, pressed persistently for a national program of relief. Through their efforts as much as any single factor, more and more money was coming from public treasuries for the purpose. This very spread of public responsibility, however, was endangering the private agencies and their characteristic American structure of welfare procedures supported by voluntary efforts. For people generally were becoming relief-minded (as social workers themselves spread the facts of mass destitution); and the increase of public relief funds, more stringent taxes, and the impairment of individual wealth were threatening the support of private social work.

Forward-looking national leaders soon saw the danger of this development. Any permanent sacrifice of private social agencies through emergency

demands would entail serious national loss. Though public agencies may be expected increasingly to take over mass unemployment relief, private agencies must fulfill the important continuing functions of experimentation, individualized treatment, supplementation where the public effort is inadequate, and upholding adequate standards of administration of public social work. In the immediate crisis, moreover, their emphasis on maintaining morale and the forces for child welfare and character building was highly essential. In recognition of these facts, leading citizens of the country organized themselves through Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and other national social work agencies, to bring the case of private social work effectively before the country.

#### BROADCASTS OF MOBILIZATIONS

Each of the annual Mobilizations thus far has done just this, very effectively. The meetings of chest executives and board members at Washington in the early fall of each year focuses national as well as local attention on the community chest and emergency campaigns which are about to be launched in the individual communities of the country. The President speaks before the meeting; the First Lady heads the women's division. Newspapers report the proceedings. Then for five successive Sundays the radio carries the message to every corner of the Nation. Such people as Mr. Newton D. Baker, who has acted as chairman of three successive Mobilizations, Walter Lippmann, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, explain how important are the maintenance of morale, the individualized treatment, and the experimental approaches characteristic of private social work.

These explanations constitute real

and necessary public education in this important field. National insistence on the importance of continued and adequate support for the private agencies integrates the local efforts into a unified program. The contribution of radio time by the two great national broadcasting chains brings outstanding radio and theatrical talent to the service of the cause. To the stage benefit is thus added the radio benefit as a medium for spreading information and winning support for social welfare.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the use and the value of radio in the national Mobilization program, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. writes as follows (Sept. 20, 1934):

"In 1931 the Owen D. Young committee sponsored a series of nation-wide radio programs. . . .

"In 1932 the Welfare and Relief Mobilization secured a donation of six radio periods from National and Columbia Broadcasting systems. Five of these six were broadcast over coast-to-coast networks of both National and Columbia. The sixth was handled on a nation-wide hook-up by the National Broadcasting Co. only. This latter broadcast was for half an hour, from 7 to 7:30 P.M., the evening of November 20. Four of the remaining five were 45-minute broadcasts from 10:30 to 11:15, and the first was from 6:30 to 7 P.M. These broadcasts were held on successive Sunday evenings from October 16 to November 20 inclusive.

"In 1933 National Broadcasting Co. and Columbia Broadcasting System cooperated by making available five Sunday evening periods from October 15 to November 12 inclusive, said programs being for 30 minutes each, from 10:45 to 11:15 P.M. . . .

"In all of the above the National and Columbia systems have been very cooperative. We have not figured the commercial value of the time which was donated in the last year or two, but in one of the earlier years we did figure that it amounted to over \$125,000. Of course that figure did not include any costs for talent or special services. . . .

"We have no idea of the volume of radio time which is donated by local stations to local community chests. However, we should judge from conversations which we have had with many chest executives on the subject that radio has played an increasingly important part in campaign publicity efforts during the past few years. There is no doubt whatever that this medium, both from a national and local standpoint is

Thus it is that the emergency of the depression has enabled social workers to do with the radio on a national scale what they had already been doing locally. Community chest campaigns had for some time been sending their message over the air through local leaders, dramatic skits, and entertainment programs. Individual agencies had been setting forth in various ways just what they were trying to do with children, families, the provision of recreation, the building of character, and the maintaining of morale. In this field too we may hope, then, that the passing of the emergency will reveal the radio established securely as the instrument of information, education, and promotion that it has been steadily showing itself.

#### MEASUREMENT OF EFFECTIVENESS

Exactly how effective an instrument we shall have in it for our social welfare purposes, however, it is still impossible to say in anything like definite quantitative terms. Advertisers have made various studies to test the efficacy of radio for their own particular ends. Similar tests could hardly be made in the case of social welfare. For social welfare, unlike tooth paste or laundry soap or cosmetics, is not a single product whose sales appeal under different forms of advertising can be accurately measured. Such few tests as have been conducted to discover the efficacy of radio in a social welfare program have hardly been conclusive one way or the other.

For the past year the Massachusetts Department of Health has been at-

proving of substantial value to local chests in getting across their message.

"We should say without any question that radio cooperation has been very valuable indeed to the Mobilization. As a matter of fact we know that many of our local executives feel that our national programs are one of the most important and effective parts of the Mobilization program."

tempting to obtain some measure of the value of its weekly radio programs. By allocating to newspaper readers or radio listeners questions it received in its health forums, and requests for literature, it found the radio decidedly the more important source in both cases. By most conservative computations, it estimates a total of twelve thousand regular listeners over the state to one or more of its weekly broadcasts. The Jefferson County Board of Health in Birmingham, Alabama, sponsored a survey made by ninety Civil Works Administration canvassers visiting 51,681 families, of whom 38.5 per cent had radios. The survey showed an average weekly audience of 4,800 listeners for the Department's health talk.

But however inconclusive the meager quantitative evidence may thus far be, it seems obvious that radio offers an instrument of great potential usefulness to social welfare. What is needed to realize this usefulness is a larger allocation of good time on the part of broadcasting companies for educational and welfare purposes, and a more skillful use of this time on the part of the agencies sponsoring the programs.

Obviously, speakers with nationally renowned names possess pulling power for social welfare work programs as for

all others. The drama of the emergency and our national effort to meet it gave messages sent over the radio on welfare problems an exceptional propulsion that carried them into literally millions of homes. Who shall say how much of the response was due to the persuasive radio personality of the President, the simultaneous reports in the newspapers, the increased popular interest in political and economic problems, or the peculiar appeal of the radio itself?

But after all the qualifications have been made, the radio remains one of the most effective instruments of forming public opinion and public interest in social welfare as in all current concerns. Social workers are constantly seeking, therefore, the most promising type of program for continuously presenting welfare policies and aims over the air. Thus the Social Work Publicity Council has published a special bulletin advising social agencies on the most skillful way of using radio time. The Council also devotes a section to radio in its monthly bulletins, reviewing broadcast techniques as actually applied in welfare broadcasts and aiming to cull from actual experience the best ways and means of interesting, through radio, the public at large in this vital phase of our national life.

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# Radio and Religion

By SPENCER MILLER, JR.

**T**HERE is a familiar passage in the First Book of Kings on the appearance of God to the prophet Elijah, which may serve as a text for this essay:

And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake:

And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.

This concept of God as a "still small voice"—"The Voice in the Silence"—is a recurrent theme throughout the Bible, to which religionists and poets have given inspired expression.

Can the radio, which brings us reports and faithful representations of wind and earthquake and fire, bring us also the "still small voice" of God? Can this most modern of devices help man to satisfy one of the most ancient hungers of the human soul—the hunger for the word of God? Can the voice which is transmitted so mysteriously through the ether become the interpretation of the "Voice in the Silence"? The fact must serve as the answer to these questions.

## THE FIRST CHURCH BROADCAST

It is now nearly fourteen years since the Reverend Edwin J. Van Etten, Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, broadcast on Sunday evening, January 2, 1921, the vesper service from his church through the facilities of Station KDKA of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company. It was an event of

surpassing historic significance! Here, for the first time anywhere in the world, a church service had been broadcast by radiotelephony. Little did Dr. Van Etten himself realize how vast a power for the extension of the religious community he had set in motion. He writes:

The whole thing was an experiment and I remember distinctly my own feeling that after all no harm would be done! It never occurred to me that the little black box was really going to carry out the service to the outside world. I knew there was such a thing as wireless, but somehow I thought there would be some fluke in the connection and that the whole thing would be a fizzle! The opportunity had come to us rather suddenly, and in this dazed sort of mood we did not prepare any special service or sermon for the occasion. As a matter of fact, receiving sets in those days were comparatively few and far between. It is a very different thing broadcasting a service now.

Yet by this historic broadcast an ancient quest of the human spirit had in fact been linked with the most modern and most amazing of man's instruments of communication!

No special preparation had been made for this sermon, but the effect of sending forth both sermon and service was to bring back for the "shut-ins" as well as for the unchurched the message of the gospel. Among the early letters received by Dr. Van Etten from his invisible audience was one from a woman in a Massachusetts village four hundred miles from Pittsburgh, which was counted a great distance in those days:

Last night for the first time in twenty years, I heard a full church service. My son recently became interested in wireless,

with the result that he installed a radio receiving set. I had no idea of ever using the apparatus, but when he told me that Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company had a test station at East Liberty and that they were going to transmit services of Calvary Church, I was anxious to hear them. Everything in the house had been prepared to await the start of the service that night. My son had placed on my head the 'phones through which he said I would hear the service. I could scarcely believe my ears when the organ music and choir sounded distinctly. Then afterwards the voice of the pastor thrilled me as few things have in the long suffering years. I kept the 'phones on all through the service and at the end felt at peace with the world, "the peace that passeth all understanding."

The text of this history-making sermon was taken from the account of David's battle in the Wood of Ephraim in the Second Book of Samuel, "And the wood devoured more people that day than the sword devoured." Dr. Van Etten sought to make explicit the idea that men's dangers are like the underbrush and darkness of the woods in which we lose our way, but that in the open, one can find one's path more easily. With a homely parable he closed his sermon, saying: "When you are lost in the woods, follow the rule of the road—choose the better road at every fork."

#### RAPID GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING

What began fourteen years ago as a small trickle has today become a mighty flood! Not only has "radio religion" become a fact, but the radio has become one of the most significant mediums by which the leaders of the various communions have not only multiplied their voices but also vastly increased their congregations. There still remains the task of transforming these congregations into a church! Furthermore, by the law of compen-

sation the radio came just at a time when two other modern inventions—the automobile and the motion picture—had become important factors in diminishing the congregations in both churches and synagogues all over the land. This new scientific discovery came also at a time when men everywhere were seeking a way of recapturing some of the lost radiance of religious experience, in an age when science was presenting new challenges to the old orthodoxy. Science, which in an earlier age had been regarded as the great enemy of faith, has become in this latter day, through the radio, one of its most important helpers.

After this historic beginning at Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, of the broadcasting of religious services, changes were rapidly made in the method of presentation of religious ideals. Among the first to follow Dr. Van Etten was the nationally known Brooklyn pastor, the Reverend S. Parkes Cadman—a worthy successor of the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher—who began over ten years ago the Sunday afternoon religious forum at the Bedford Branch of the Brooklyn Young Men's Christian Association. The success of this venture led to the creation of the National Religious Radio Committee, constituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

#### POLICY OF NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

With the creation of the National Broadcasting Company in 1927, an important step was taken in giving a distinctive character and dignity to the radio by the formation of an Advisory Committee to guide in the development of programs in such fields as education, labor, agriculture, women's activities, and religion. Religious broadcasting was thus given specific

consideration. A standing committee consisting of the Honorable Morgan J. O'Brien, Mr. Julius Rosenwald, and the Reverend Charles S. Macfarland, Chairman, was formed to provide for the national broadcasting of the three great religious communions of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. In conformity with this general purpose, a fivefold statement of principles was adopted, which was incorporated by the National Broadcasting Company into its policy:

1. The National Broadcasting Company will serve only the central or national agencies of great religious faiths, as, for example, the Roman Catholics, the Protestants, and the Jews, as distinguished from individual churches or small group movements where the national membership is comparatively small.

2. The religious message broadcast should be nonsectarian and nondenominational in appeal.

3. The religious message broadcast should be of the widest appeal; presenting the broad claims of religion, which not only aid in building up the personal and social life of the individual but also aid in popularizing religion and the church.

4. The religious message broadcast should interpret religion at its highest and best so that as an educational factor it will bring the individual listener to realize his responsibility to the organized church and to society.

5. The national religious messages should only be broadcast by the recognized outstanding leaders of the several faiths as determined by the best counsel and advice available.

#### POLICY OF COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

The Columbia Broadcasting System, on the other hand, which enjoys the distinction of being the first network to provide a program of education directly supplementing the work of the schools, through its American School of the Air, developed a some-

what different policy of religious broadcasting with the establishment of its Church of the Air.

In the first place, the Columbia System made a determined effort to get representatives from the major faiths of the religious community. Each Sunday morning and afternoon a half-hour period was set aside for Protestant, Jewish, Catholic, Christian Science, Mormon, and Dutch Reformed faiths. The services themselves as broadcast were made to conform as nearly as possible to the regular morning and afternoon services held in the churches; it was something more than a studio presentation. By a rotation of such religious denominations in the Church of the Air, an opportunity was provided for the listener to hear the leading representatives of thirteen communions on different Sundays. While there are numerous other religious groups not included among the major faiths, the policy of the Columbia System is not one of discrimination against any one of them, but is based primarily upon "a consideration of the public interest and necessary limitation upon available time."

In the second place, Columbia has made it a policy not to sell any time for programs of a religious nature, and has been enabled thereby to lay down the principle that all programs must be of a constructive character; that no time shall be allotted for attacks on the clergy or lay members of any denomination.

In the third place, the Columbia System has made it a practice to seek outstanding religious leaders in foreign countries as well as in the various sections of our own country, and provide a medium for the transmission of their messages. During Lent and Holy Week a special series of broadcasts has been arranged from the great cathedrals of Europe, with all the unifying

influence of such world-wide witness to the faith. During the past two years the network has presented such voices in the religious community as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Winchester and London, His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, and a number of Cardinals of the Roman communion from such countries as Italy, Ireland, and Germany, as well as the leaders of the evangelical communions in a number of these countries.

#### PARTICIPATION OF ALL COMMUNIONS

In this record of the vast expansion of radio religion, the Federal Council of Churches, in coöperation with the Greater New York Federation of Churches, developed a program of interdenominational church services, a young people's conference, and a men's conference, with daily morning devotions. The religious service, conducted under the leadership of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, soon became a national institution. So, too, the vesper services broadcast from St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York became an equally important part of this whole program.

The radio industry early recognized that in addition to these regular Sunday and week-day religious services, the great festivals of the Christian year, such as Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and Easter morning, witnessed a great outpouring of religious expression from all over the civilized world. Similarly, the religious festivals of the Jews were great nodal points in the religious life of Israel. Special facilities were early made available for the observance of these days. Yet so rapidly has this development progressed that it is difficult to realize that the first such festivals in the church year were broadcast but seven years ago!

At the outset, it was the leadership

of the Protestant churches that recognized the special value of such broadcasts. In 1928, however, a Jewish program was broadcast through the Women's League of the United Synagogues of America on Wednesday evenings under the leadership of a rabbi, with music by a cantor accompanied by a stringed instrument. In addition, there were Sunday broadcasts by Rabbi Dr. Stephen S. Wise. For a period of five years a regular Jewish program was broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company's network. Since then the religious life of Israel has been broadcast through appropriate services.

By 1930, arrangements were completed for holding a Catholic Hour through the National Council of Catholic Men of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Under the leadership of this group a distinguished company of priests of the Catholic Church have interpreted Catholic doctrine to Catholics and non-Catholics throughout the land. In addition, the Paulist Choristers and the Medievalists, under the direction of the Reverend William J. Finn, have presented a particularly beautiful musical program for these broadcasts.

It is but four years ago that all the religious communions began to take full advantage of the new medium. Today, religious broadcasts over the two national chains, in addition to countless local stations, have been such as to make it possible for the average listener to hear some of the most distinguished leaders in the religious community of America—leaders like the Reverend Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the Reverend Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, the Rabbi Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the Reverend Dr. Edward Van Etten, the Reverend Dr. Fulton J. Sheen, the Reverend James M. Gillis, the Reverend Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, the Rev-

erend Dr. Daniel A. Poling, the Reverend Dr. Karl Reiland, and the Reverend Dr. Nathan Krass, to mention but a few.

#### WHERE WE STAND NOW

As an indication of the remarkable extension of this whole program in the years since the initial broadcasts were made, there was held in May 1933 a tenth anniversary of radio religion. It was a meeting as far-reaching as it was significant of the importance of this great development—truly a “wedding of science and religion.” The Radio Commission of the Federal Council of Churches in January 1934 passed a resolution of appreciation to the National Broadcasting Company for granting the facilities of the company for the nation-wide broadcasting of religion. The resolution reads:

As individual members of the Commission, sharing in the use of the inestimable privilege of the Broadcasting Company's facilities, we express our own deep personal appreciation of the Broadcasting Company's generous action, and the indebtedness of the religious forces of the entire Nation therefor. We enter a second decade with the profound conviction that the stabilizing influence of religious radio, through the National Broadcasting Company, is essential to the highest interests of the Church and the Nation.

In the annual report of the Advisory Council of the National Broadcasting Company for 1933 there were seven pages devoted to the report of the Committee on Religious Activities under the chairmanship of the Honorable Morgan J. O'Brien.

During the year 1933 the reports of the religious programs of the Columbia and National chains disclose a range and variety of program which is as notable as it is far-reaching. The Radio Pulpit, the National Youth Conference, National Vespers, Week

Day Devotions, the Catholic Hour, the Jewish Program, the programs of the Mormon and Christian Science faiths, in addition to the broadcasts of religious services from some of the cathedrals of the Old World, have been a part of this extraordinary story. Laymen as well as clergy have shared in these broadcasts, which have reached quite literally to the uttermost parts of the earth through the medium of this most modern of evangels.

Within the past few years, also, Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower, who began to preach religio-economic sermons to the faithful in an obscure parish on the outskirts of Detroit, has evoked such widespread response that he has built both a church and a radio station, and each Sunday afternoon during nine months of the year he delivers his sermons over his own network.

With 18,500,000 radio-equipped homes in America today, it is reasonable to conjecture that the message of the religious community has gone not only to those who are “shut-ins” and those who are inmates of our institutions, but to countless millions who are a part of the great unchurched population of our land. What a change from the first religious broadcast in 1921 with but a few hundred listeners!

#### EFFECT ON NATIONAL SPIRITUAL LIFE

To appraise fully the significance of radio religion to the spiritual life of America would be difficult; its results will be shown in the future. Dr. Van Etten, the pioneer of religious broadcasters, observed more than eleven years ago in a sermon on radio religion that “radio religion is not a substitute for public worship,” and that to be most useful it must become active and not passive. With this, religious leaders would generally agree. But this fact remains true: During all the days

of the depression and economic adversity, men have turned, as in the past, to religion for solace. They have also turned to the radio as one of the instruments of spreading religion. In the years of the depression alone, the number of radio sets in use has more than doubled. As the distress of the unemployed has been widespread, so too has been the medium of their solace. It is not too much to say that the radio has proved to be an instrument not only for building morale, but also for sustaining moral values.

It is said that after the first Morse telegraph wires were stretched between Washington and Baltimore the first message which was sent read, "What hath God wrought!" No record preserves for us the first words over the radio. Yet how often have all of us,

sitting within the shelter of our own homes and listening to the witness of the enduring principles of spiritual truth, been impelled to exclaim in the words of the Psalmist:

What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?

For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.

Radio religion is here to stay—a part of the matrix of our complex civilization. To those who are distressed at the decline of the power of the Church and religion in our day, it may very well be that out of this "marriage of science and religion" a new quickening of the spiritual life of America will emerge.

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# Radio and the Farmer

By MORSE SALISBURY

**T**HE effects of radio broadcasting upon farmers as members of society probably differ in degree, but not in kind, from the social effects of radio on members of other culture and occupational groups in the United States.

Perhaps farm people having access to radio receiving facilities at first experienced a greater impact than city people upon their habits of thought and their actions as members of society. One may conjecture this because farm families had not previously been so continuously exposed as city people to the other agencies of mass communication. Hence, the change in culture pattern of the radio-equipped farm family may be greater than the change in the culture pattern of the radio-equipped city family, but it is a change in the same direction.

Six or seven years ago and earlier, broadcasters all over the country received many a commendatory letter from members of the older generation of farm people. These letters gave some evidence of the impact of broadcasting upon the thought of farm people who grew up in days when the farm was still the isolated unit described a quarter-century ago in the report of President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission. I have preserved some letters written by older farm people who had had only a few months' experience as radio listeners. The following letter written in 1925 by an Illinois farmer indicates how radio broadcasts had stirred him:

The radio has placed the world at our command, with its varied programs. It has shortened the long winter evenings. It has made it possible for the farmer to

retire right out on his farm where he reared his family by dispelling loneliness and by giving the farm advantages equal to the town. It has given us opportunities to study our own farm problems. It keeps us posted on the weather, the market situation, and the current events of the world. It keeps the young people home at nights. It gives us the most talented services of the city churches and even an occasional talk with our President.

The thrill of radio to that man breathes in every line of his letter. We get very few such letters now. Radio has become a commonplace to farm and city people.

## RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF FARM AND CITY SET OWNERS

However, probably a smaller proportion of farm people than of city people have come under the social influence of radio, because of the smaller proportion of farm families than of city families owning radio sets. There are two reasons for this situation. One is that radio manufacturers, following the introduction of the alternating current set, stampeded into that field, and for five years almost completely neglected to provide acceptable new receivers using energy from batteries. The other reason is that, even though a good battery receiver had been available to farmers during the depression years, its relatively high price and heavy upkeep cost would have prevented farmers from buying it in as wholesale a fashion as they would have bought alternating current midgets if they had had central power service.

During the whole decade of the twenties the buying power of farmers was lower than that of other economic

groups. In the early years of the thirties the disparity increased. According to the estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture, from 1924 to 1929 inclusive, farmers, after paying their operating expenses, had available for family living, investment, recreation, and so on, from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 billion dollars each year. In 1930 the cash available for those purposes fell to a little above 3 billion dollars; in 1931, to a little above 2 billion; in 1932, to less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  billion. In 1933 it advanced to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  billion, and there will be some further advance in 1934. Obviously, even in 1934, there will be little surplus to put into new home equipment such as radio receivers.

However, it seems that radio receivers may stand high on the list of goods to be bought by farm families that have any surplus above living expenses, for to the farmer, the radio receiver ranks as both business and recreation equipment. Radio trade magazines are reporting a minor surge of demand for improved battery sets in areas where farmers' incomes are highest. It is reasonable to expect that if and when farm buying power and expendable cash increases, the farm homes in the areas not supplied with central power will be equipped for radio reception in at least as large proportion as homes in the city groups of comparable income, even though the sets available to most farmers cost more originally and in operating expense than do any but the most elaborate of the socket-power receivers.

This conclusion does not seem rash in the light of the fact that in the areas where farm families had the greatest amount of expendable cash in the twenties, the proportion of radio-equipped farms most closely approached the proportion of radio-equipped city homes. In one Western Corn Belt State—Iowa—the census of 1930 reports a larger

proportion (51 per cent) of farm families than of city families (50 per cent) owning radio receiving sets. This also is true of one New England State, New Hampshire. Of her farmers, 46.3 per cent reported owning radio sets, while of her city dwellers, 44.9 per cent owned radios.

However, for the United States as a whole, the 1930 census reported 21 per cent of farm families owning radio receiving sets, as against 50 per cent of urban families. The increase in set ownership since that time presumably has been in approximately those proportions in each group, although there are no conclusive data on this point.

#### INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF RADIO

In assessing the social influence of the radio on farmers, it must be remembered that the data on set ownership by families do not necessarily indicate the numbers of people who can be influenced by radio broadcasting. Especially in the South, many farmers not owning radio receiving equipment gather in central places of the community, such as the store or the cotton gin, to listen to farm and other broadcasts. Furthermore, in the South, where the farm—and urban—distribution of sets is least dense, the persons who do own sets are usually in a position to exert strong leadership within their communities, and broadcasts affecting them also affect strongly, even though indirectly, the rest of the community.

Two examples from my experience will point these observations. One comes from Arkansas. In that State but 2.4 per cent of the farmers reported radio set ownership in the 1930 census. Nevertheless, radio broadcasting was heavily relied on to acquaint Arkansas farmers with the reasons for the cotton adjustment program of 1934, and the sign-up of adjustment contracts was as

heavy in proportion to total cotton acreage in Arkansas as elsewhere.

Dean Gray of the Arkansas College of Agriculture told the Federal radio extension specialist that the county agents had reported the farmers gathering at central points to hear each daily broadcast on the adjustment program. The *Extension Service Review* for August 1934 made this report concerning usefulness of radio in informing Arkansas farmers:

The special radio service . . . was a very important factor in reaching certain groups of cotton growers who could not be contacted with other media.

[Dean] Gray . . . in a field trip into eastern Arkansas found that the radio had been the principal source of information for many tenants. He discovered numbers of landowners who were puzzled over their tenants' profound understanding of the program, not realizing that the radios in the plantation or community, stores, and garages were the noonday daily centers of interest when the Arkansas cotton news digest went on the air from seven stations in the State.

"We are thoroughly satisfied that had it not been for these daily news broadcasts we would not have reached certain definite groups with complete information on the program—groups which are untouched with the farm journal or local newspaper," was the comment of [Extension Editor] K. B. Roy.

Here was one instance in which radio played a very influential part in determining social and economic action of a group, even though few members of the group themselves owned radio receiving equipment.

As an example of the indirect influence of radio broadcasting upon communities, especially in the South, I recall an educational effort planned for three typical Mississippi counties. The aim was to enlist the aid of farmers and business men to bring about the planting of a larger acreage of food

and feed crops and a smaller acreage of cash crops. An elaborate analysis showing the deficiencies in foods and feeds raised within the county was prepared. The Southern States extension specialist of the Department brought it to my office and proposed that we do a special series of radio broadcasts to go into these counties from Mississippi stations. He felt that the broadcasts would be of great assistance in the campaign. I pointed out to him that only 1.3 per cent of the farm families of Mississippi reported owning radio sets in 1930, and probably the proportion had not increased much since then. But he insisted that fact would not prevent radio broadcasts from exerting a wide and deep influence in a campaign of education among farmers. Here was the reason he gave:

The men who *do* own radio sets are unquestionably the community leaders; convince them, and move them to action, and you will have set the whole community in motion. By radio you can reach these men and at least get them interested in the program; perhaps it will take personal conference and community meetings to move them to action, but you can set the whole train of influences going with radio broadcasts.

#### IMPORTANCE OF RADIO TO FARMERS

But though these two and other instances indicate that radio can influence thought and action of farm families even though few of them own sets, the fact still remains that radio will be more influential with farm families as more of them own receiving equipment. If the buying power of farm families had not burned low all through the twenties and almost flickered out in the early thirties, it might very well be that farm families would lead all other groups in possession of radio equipment at present, for farm families

constitute the only large class of people in the United States who receive from broadcasting both business service and entertainment and inspiration.

A considerable amount of broadcasting time is devoted to giving market and weather reports, and the results of scientific and economic research on problems of the farm and the home carried on by Government. This special service to the farm family was one of the reasons for the existence of radio broadcasting in its early development. The first stations carried market and weather reports from the United States Department of Agriculture to the farm people in their listening range.

The first surge of radio set building in 1920 and 1921 carried many a farm youngster along with it, and equipped enough farm homes to make an audience for the agricultural authorities of the state colleges. Several of these colleges seized upon this new avenue of approach to the men and women on the land who are the consumers of the research results of the colleges. At the same time, some larger units of corporate business undertook special farm service broadcasting as a means of building good will for their institutions. Notable in this category were the Sears-Roebuck Agricultural Foundation, which operated one station and leased three others; and the Westinghouse Electric Company, which placed heavy emphasis upon farm broadcasting at its Pittsburgh, Springfield, Boston, and Chicago stations, and for a time operated a so-called "superpower" station (in those days 10 thousand watts was "superpower") at Hastings, Nebraska, solely for the benefit of farmers in the Great Plains area.

In later years, these commercial tries at good-will building among the farm population by means of service broadcasting gradually became less extensive. Meanwhile, the Federal Department

of Agriculture enlarged its broadcasting effort in 1926—when the farm ownership of radio sets passed one-half million—with the creation of a Radio Service to carry on informational broadcasting in coöperation with educational and commercial stations. The aim was to reach every part of the United States that could be reached by radio with the information rising from the Department's research, regulatory, and service work. There was also expansion in the broadcasting of the agricultural colleges through their own and commercial stations all through this period of rapid growth in the farm radio audience.

#### AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND OTHER OUTLETS

Since the turn of the decade a few of the weaker agricultural college stations have gone off the air. There is dispute as to the reason. One group alleges that they perished because they were given inadequate financial support to produce and transmit programs that would hold the audience; another group, that they were forced off the air by continued attacks of commercial stations seeking to obtain grants of their broadcasting frequencies. Both factors undoubtedly played a part.

Whatever the reason why college-owned stations were abandoned, the fact remains that fewer stations at institutions with agricultural colleges were abandoned than were stations owned by colleges and universities not having an obligation to take information to farmers and homemakers. And the agricultural colleges, whether or not they own stations, are making continually greater use of the facilities of commercial broadcasting stations serving the people of their states.

At present, 19 of the agricultural colleges operate their own broadcasting stations; 13 broadcast from their cam-

pusés through facilities of commercial stations; the extension services of 37 states and the Department of Agriculture jointly enjoy the coöperation of 221 stations in broadcasting technical information to farmers and homemakers; in the other eleven states, the Department alone coöperates with 36 broadcasting stations; 146 stations both educational and commercial cooperate with the Department in broadcasting market news; every station in the country probably broadcasts the weather forecasts provided by the Department; and 60 stations affiliated with the National Broadcasting Company, linked in two networks, afford the Department and its coöperating agencies a daily opportunity to speak direct from Washington and San Francisco to farmers through the National Farm and Home Hour (12:30-1:30 P.M., Eastern Standard Time, Department broadcast from Washington) and the Western Farm and Home Hour (12:15-1:00 P.M., Pacific Standard Time, Department broadcast from San Francisco).

Neither the Department nor the coöperating official agencies pay for time on commercial stations. The stations contribute the time, the official agencies the programs.

Of course, these all are outlets for official communication with farm people. It is worth noting that none of the farm pressure or opinion groups has set up any radio broadcasting equipment of its own, or made arrangements for extensive broadcasting service through existing stations. Each of the three largest national farm organizations enjoys the use of a network of sixty-three radio stations once each month. However, there has not arisen any leader who uses the radio as his primary implement in the field of creating opinion and impelling the action of farmers.

#### MOLDING OPINION AND ACTION

That does not mean that radio has not had a profound effect upon the opinions and actions of farmers. Here we enter a field where evidence is fragmentary, and we have to depend upon common-sense conclusions to reach some rough idea of the possible influence of radio. Thus my conclusions must be understood to be of that sort—not based on evaluation of data, but upon judgment, as objective as possible, of what I know about the situation.

My judgment is that the influence of radio upon farmers as members of society has been strongest at the points where radio broadcasting has brought them into mental contact with the economic activities of their fellow farmers in this country and throughout the world. Twelve years of market news broadcasting and seven years of broadcasting of regular economic analysis of present markets and future prospects preceded the Agricultural Adjustment programs of 1933-1934. In all this broadcasting the fact was time and again borne in upon the producer that he lived in an age when his income was affected by what his neighbor planted and reaped, what the man four states away planted and reaped, and what the man in the Antipodes sowed and harvested. American farmers had to understand that, before they could put themselves in a frame of mind to work together in adjusting production, farm by farm.

It has not been many years since the farmer was mainly on a subsistence basis. I recall hearing Dean-emeritus Davenport of the Illinois College of Agriculture tell of the day, in his boyhood, when the rumor ran through his rural Michigan community that you could actually sell hogs *for cash* over there at Chicago. It takes time to get away from the thinking that animated

such a community as Dean Davenport lived in; time and the impact, many times repeated, of the new ideas that must prevail in the minds of men if they are to work together in coping effectively with the new situation. I believe that the constant reiteration in the Department of Agriculture network broadcasts, in the economic analysis broadcasts of the Department and the state extension services through individual stations—the constant reiteration by radio of the necessity for group action to regulate the production of this crop and that crop has helped as much as anything to prepare the mind of the American farmer for coöperation in the Agricultural Adjustment program. It made farmers think of themselves as members of larger groups.

This broadcasting, since it reaches city homes as well as farm homes—in fact more city homes than farm homes—has had another important effect. For the first time in history it has given city people some comprehension of the economic problems of the farmer, and some understanding of the fact that permanent city prosperity cannot be founded on farm poverty. Crosley, Inc., surveys made in the summer of 1934 indicated that the Farm and Home Hour was the most popular day-

time sustaining radio program. The Crosley surveys are made in cities only. Their 1934 reports mean that during the period when the problems of agricultural adjustment were undergoing the most thorough discussion in this radio program, the city audience was listening in large numbers. Evidence that they learned was contained in hundreds of letters to the Department from city listeners commenting that they were glad to know about the reasons for the Agricultural Adjustment program.

Our extension surveys have given evidence of the power of broadcasts to impel action of those who listen. Sixteen such surveys have been conducted. One in each five farmers or farmers' wives interviewed who reported having heard broadcasts recommending specific improved practices had adopted the recommended practice as a result of the broadcast.

So I conclude that radio broadcasting played an important part in giving both farm and city people the information, and setting their attitudes toward the process of action which goes now by the designation of agricultural adjustment. It also has brought about a better understanding of the interrelationship among economic groups of farm and city.

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# The Future of Radio Advertising in the United States

By ROY S. DURSTINE

THE miracle of turning a knob on the front of a box and hearing, virtually at the instant it is produced, a sound originating many thousands of miles away is still an experience new to the human race. Yet so swiftly do people condition themselves to the miraculous, once it is absorbed into their lives, that the tendency is to toss off appraisals of radio with about as much thought as is used in flipping a cigarette end into a fireplace.

"I hate radio," announces a sweet young thing, "except the dance bands."

"Radio!" exclaims the Great Executive. "I never bother with it—unless the President talks, or something like that."

"Shut that thing off!" commands the bridge player, trembling on the brink of an original two-bid. "I hate talk on the radio."

Those whose lives always have been crowded with books and the theater and concerts and interesting friends are no more typical of the American owners of eighteen million radio sets than Catherine of Russia was typical of the average peasant of her time.

The simple fact is that never before in the history of the world have five or ten or fifty million people listened to the same sound at the same time. Never has there been a means of communication so widespread and so vital. As a force to reach and influence vast numbers of people, it is so overwhelmingly effective that to do more than speculate about radio's future tentatively and with humility is like trying to measure the planets with a pair of field glasses.

So a look ahead must be concerned with things as they are, with comment on the trends which may seem to call for adjustment, and only a little with conjecture toward the future. Who shall pay the bill for broadcasting in the United States? And what shall be broadcast? Those are perhaps the two most pertinent questions, and under them the comments which follow will be divided.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF BRITISH BROADCASTING

An advertising man from London recently visited New York. The purpose of his trip was to study American advertising methods. There have been many visitors of this sort in the last fifteen years, but this man was different in one important respect. The first questions he asked were about broadcasting as an advertising medium.

"Why should you be interested in that?" he was asked.

"Even now," he answered, "we have to know something about it, and it may not be long before we shall have to know a good deal more."

He explained that from Normandy, from Luxembourg, from the Irish Free State, and from Paris, commercial programs are sending their advertising messages into Great Britain. So many programs in English are originating from the Paris station that the French people are complaining that too much of the time of their favorite station is being devoted to the English language.

"More than that," he added, "the license of the British Broadcasting Corporation comes up for renewal in

about a year and there is a possibility, though not a very big one, that the present system of noncommercial programs may be changed."

The crux of the future of radio broadcasting in the United States or in any other country is whether it is controlled by the government or whether it is in the hands of private enterprise. When it is in the hands of the government, as in England, the public gets what those who control radio programs think that it ought to have. When it is in the hands of private enterprise, the public gets what those who control radio programs think that it wants.

An official of the British Broadcasting Corporation was asked a year or so ago how many responses his programs had received from the listening British public. There were ninety-two thousand in twelve months. When it was pointed out to him that one three-minute announcement on an American network—not a record-breaking announcement, but typical of many—had brought in more replies than the year's British total, he replied: "That doesn't interest us. We are not concerned with what people like or dislike. We give them what we know they should have."

At eight o'clock one Saturday evening, a period in the week which American broadcasters regard as extremely valuable, the British public listened to a forty-five-minute musical fantasy in which the characters included several flowers, an old oak tree, a lovelorn girl, a romantic boy, and several summer breezes. A pleasant chat about books or a mild recital on the 'cello or a debate on colonial policy—any of these may occur at periods when the greatest number of people are inclined to listen.

It is all very gentle and unforced and not very punctual, and is appar-

ently suited to the British temperament. "The trouble with British broadcasting," said an Englishman, "is that there are too many talks on how to raise butterflies."

#### MERITS OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL

The other side of the picture is that with no commercial sponsors to please and with no pressing thought of whether the public will tune in or out, a producer of a British radio program can take his time and follow his own desires in planning, casting, and rehearsing. With the low scale of wages for musicians and actors, he can rehearse a production until it suits him. He can use a multiple-studio technique, with actors and brass bands and sound effects and pipe organs scattered all over the building. He can bring them into his program with lights which flash his signals. He can blend the various elements into one effective whole. He can repeat a good performance without fear of having people wonder why he is not creating an entirely new show for each broadcast. If he produces something that pleases him, he can give it three or four or half a dozen performances. Especially in dramatic programs, the results are on a high plane.

And let it be said in all fairness that whether the British public writes in or not, the number of listeners has steadily increased from 2,269,595 licensees paying ten shillings each annually in 1927, to 5,973,759 on January 1, 1934. And these figures do not include the "pirates" who accept the programs without paying for them.

In the United States the number of radio sets increased from 7,500,000 in 1927 to 17,948,162 on January 1, 1934. In those same years advertisers bought time on the air on the networks in steadily increasing amounts rising from \$3,832,500 in 1927 to \$31,516,298

in 1933 and \$29,241,390 up to the end of September 1934. These figures do not include the amount paid for time bought locally on individual stations.

So each in its own way apparently has been a success.

Britons will have to decide what the future of their broadcasting will be. In the last analysis the public of the United States will decide what will be the future of American broadcasting. The sponsors, or at least a generous share of them, seem to be happy about the present arrangement. The public's present state of mind runs all the way from bristling unrest to complete satisfaction.

#### CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

There is a direct conflict between the desires of the listeners and the sponsors. The listeners are not interested in advertising. The sponsors are interested in entertainment only as it provides a vehicle for the advertising message. This seems an extreme feeling on the part of the sponsors, and perhaps would not be readily admitted. But it is proved by what they do in other forms of advertising. At times in their printed advertising they use all-type messages in which the only concession to "entertainment" is that they employ certain æsthetic values to make the message attractively presented and easily read. The entertainment factor increases when paintings or drawings by artists of ability are employed to illustrate the message—to attract the eye and to carry a part of the story. But the essence of the advertisement—its theme or message—is what he really pays for, and is his only real reason for advertising at all.

All advertising is an intrusion in the last analysis. Its justification must rest upon other grounds than its entertainment value. The present dis-

cussion is not the place to justify it as an economic force which has made possible the growth of mass production and which may very easily offer one solution to our national ills by producing mass consumption.

In effect, the advertiser finds himself in the curious position of trying to decide upon the proper balance between his entertainment and his advertising. In this connection an interesting fact has been discovered. It is that many radio programs which carry the most relentless and insistent advertising are the most successful. This is a discouraging discovery to the advertising man who feels that taste and restraint should have their own rewards. It is annoying to the listener who suggests that it would be more successful "if it just mentioned the name of the product once or twice."

A short time ago a certain manufacturer was freely complimented upon the almost total absence of advertising in one of his radio programs. Meanwhile, people were inquiring about the mechanical inventions of his competitor's product. The first man got the compliments and the competitor got the sales.

There is nothing in the constant surveys which are being made, to prove that there is any relation between the popularity of a radio program and the good taste—or lack of it—in its commercial announcements.

#### PUBLIC APATHY

The difficulty seems to be that those who object do not take the trouble to write in to the sponsors. By the same token, those who appreciate the good things on the air are not the type to take the trouble to write in. How often a person deplors the standards of radio entertainment, and in the next breath boasts that he would never think of writing to a sponsor! Yet

letters are read, records are kept, and the ideas expressed are weighed with the utmost care.

With fear and trembling one of the networks only a few years ago accepted a radio program for a laxative. To its great surprise it has had almost no protest of any kind. The result is that today there are a great many programs describing in the most intimate detail various ailments of the human body—details which cause an embarrassed silence to drop upon any group of people who may be listening together. Why are there not more protests? Meanwhile, sales are increasing. Who is to blame?

One explanation for the evident commercial success of such programs is that usually the radio audience is composed of only one or two people in a family, and if there is any degree of embarrassment it is not sufficient to cause a written protest. Added to this is the fact that when there are as many as eighteen million radio sets in a country, it is clear that the great mass of radio listeners are certainly no higher than the average motion-picture audiences in intelligence and purchasing power. The confusing fact to most nice people is that they and their friends are in no sense typical of radio's audience.

The typical listening audience for a radio program is a tired, bored, middle-aged man and woman whose lives are empty and who have exhausted their sources of outside amusement when they have taken a quick look at an evening paper. They are utterly unlike those who are most vocal in their criticisms of radio programs—people with full lives, with books to read, with parties to attend, with theaters to visit, with friends whose conversational powers are stimulating. Radio provides a vast source of delight and entertainment for the barren

lives of the millions. It is small wonder that the millions do not complain, and that the unhappiness and sensitiveness about over-commercialism and other objectionable features is confined to the top layer.

This top layer, however, may in time make itself felt. If it does, its protest will be leveled against the overly frank commercials of certain proprietary articles; against the over-insistent and repetitive pounding of trade names; against the sugar-coating of the dramatized commercials and all others which promise remedies or transformations which cannot be delivered.

Radio reflects a phase through which much of advertising is passing—a glamorous land of make-believe in which forlorn maidens are told that they will win a husband by the use of a certain soap or face powder; in which young men will succeed in life by avoiding bad breath or by having their hair combed neatly; in which the lures of beauty and success are held out to a public that does not accept them whole-heartedly but wants to try them anyway, just in case they might work. It fattens upon a certain state of mind comparable to the way in which most people approach a fortune teller or a reader of horoscopes. They don't quite believe it but they aren't quite willing to disbelieve it.

#### ADVERTISING AGENCIES AND RADIO

Much of the responsibility for the good or the bad in radio programs must rest upon the advertising agencies.

There is naturally a good deal of confusion in the public's mind about the way in which radio programs are planned and produced in the United States. When individual stations came into existence in the early 1920's, the station managers and their assistants put on the first programs and usually

took an active part themselves. Then as time was sold to advertisers, the station people worked with the advertiser and with his advertising agency which was already responsible for preparing his printed advertising.

Gradually the agencies realized that they must master the technique of this new medium just as they had already learned to prepare material for magazines, newspapers, billboards, and other media. Departments of specialists have been created in most of the leading advertising agencies. Meanwhile the individual radio stations had been brought together into networks, and from their simple beginnings they have developed large and skillful departments whose business it is to produce radio programs both for advertisers who come to them for help (because their advertising agencies are not equipped for radio) and for "sustaining programs" which fill the time not sold to advertisers.

The place which the advertising agency fills is that of general advertising counsel to an advertiser, and in the preparation of its plans it impartially considers all media. In preparing its recommendations it is not predisposed in favor of radio or any other medium, and uses it only when it seems to be indicated. Moreover, the agency is in the best possible position to coordinate all the various forms of advertising employed by a manufacturer and to devise a type of program which best suits the central selling theme of the advertiser. If it takes the time and the trouble to learn the technique of broadcasting and to assemble specialists in music, dramatic writing, and program direction, it is in a particularly favorable position to decide whether an advertiser should use broadcasting, and, if so, to create the type of program best suited to his needs.

In the end, the decision for accept-

ing, revising, or rejecting a commercial program rests with the advertiser who pays the bill. The weight carried by his agency's opinions depends upon his confidence in the judgment and experience of its members.

#### DANGER OF BUREAUCRACY

Recently, well-advised advertising agencies have been pointing out to their clients that extremely vocal groups have come into existence to protest against offensiveness and horror and cheapness on the radio. They can and will make themselves felt if once they are sufficiently organized and properly led. The danger is that they may not be able to stop at reformation. They may find that through their legislators, always eager to cock an ear for a popular issue, they will have taken broadcasting out of its present hands and rested it in bureaucracy. It would seem that that would be the end of the higher level to which much of radio has climbed.

Only industrial competition could have laid before the public every one of the finest voices in existence, every one of the greatest musical organizations, and most of the popular stars of the stage and the motion pictures. If the pendulum swings in the other direction, there will be little incentive to the greatest personalities in the field of entertainment to permit themselves to be beguiled to the air. Only a commercial sponsor will pay the high-priced piper. The cost, like that of all advertising, means only the tiniest fraction of a cent per package when it is spread over the mass sales of a national advertiser. But what political appointee would risk having it known that out of public funds he was paying a great artist several thousands of dollars for a few songs?

Moreover, for planning and directing programs, broadcasting's high re-

wards have attracted people who know their showmanship as it appeals to the millions. The head of one of the networks recently pointed out that the educational interests of the country are not entitled to any further time on the air until they have learned something about showmanship. Most educational efforts in radio have succeeded in being so dull that their value was only a fraction of what it might have been. In bureaucratic hands, directed by those who insist upon programs of high caliber but have never learned the knack of being interesting, it is not difficult to foresee the result in this country. The American public's appetite is whetted for novelty and skill in showmanship. It will not be interested in anything that is worth while unless it is also entertaining.

#### SELF-RESTRAINT NEEDED

The better solution for the future of radio would be for it to reform itself from within, as all advertising must do. In the scramble to sell time on the air, the networks must not fail to exclude many products, just as today liquor advertising is excluded. That much would be easy. The real difficulty lies with the advertiser, who individually should realize that while a cheap or over-commercialized program may pay today, a better balance of restraint will in the end build a larger audience and insure a continuance of the present American system. The trouble is that there are always some who will not abide by the rules.

Those who are familiar with American broadcasting remember the exact time when commercial announcements became annoying. It happened about five years ago. Up to that time all advertisers felt that they must woo the public, and that their advertising must be lightly applied and sparsely scattered through their programs.

Then one advertiser broke away. He coached his announcers to pound home his selling points repetitively and aggressively. On every hand people who discussed radio were loud in their damnation of this particular program. And its sponsor's sales went up! The reason was simple. He gave a good show, and he was the first to take advantage of all the other sponsors. He was trading upon a receptive state of mind which they had created.

Then the floodgates opened. Each advertiser said to himself that there was no reason for him to prepare a listening audience for this one advertiser to address so emphatically and directly. All commercial announcements grew longer and more insistent.

It would be a misfortune if, merely for the restriction of those who refuse to restrain themselves, a set of definite regulations were to be imposed upon those who want broadcasting to be effective. Better far would be the elimination of some of the things which are not in the interests of the listener and cannot ultimately profit the sponsor or radio itself.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

The suggestions which follow are advanced as only a start in the right direction:

1. Exclude all programs advertising products such as laxatives, cures for skin diseases, and other bodily disorders unsuited to dinner-table conversation.

2. Continue to keep hard liquor off the air.

3. Eliminate fake testimonials.

4. Give preference in desirable time to those who keep their commercials brief, interesting, nonrepetitive. (A little more spine in the networks and the agencies would accomplish this.)

5. Encourage announcers who have a simple, direct, and sincere manner

of speaking. Their salaries are too low.

6. Let the broadcasting companies employ more and better judges for auditions to give new talent a better chance.

7. Let the broadcasting companies use their sustaining periods (those not sold to advertisers) for constructive experimenting instead of filling so much time with the same old orchestras and soloists—always making the same sounds under different names and song titles.

8. Import more British dramatic directors and give them time and money for long rehearsals. Give American directors the same chance. Network profits would easily permit both.

9. Encourage the best writers and composers to realize that radio is a new medium which they must study as earnestly as they had to study sound pictures. Each has a technique which differs from the legitimate stage.

10. Keep popular songs from committing suicide, by restricting them

from being played every night in the week on every station, if not on every program.

11. Let famous conductors realize that they are best developing a taste for good music by arranging their programs to interest a groping public rather than to impress other conductors or to satisfy themselves.

12. Put big names on the air only when and as long as they can do big things with good material.

13. Remove from the air all the horror programs which send children to bed frightened.

14. Let those who like good programs write in about it, and those who do not like bad programs do so too.

15. Let the newspapers stop fighting and virtually ignoring radio (as they do except in the time-tables which their readers demand), and start training intelligent critics who can give full and adult accounts of programs, with constructive suggestions (as a few do now privately) instead of smart remarks and trivial gossip.

*Roy S. Durstine, A.B., is vice-president and general manager of the national advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., New York City. He was president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1925-1926. As a pioneer in radio advertising, he has created and produced radio programs since 1925. He is the author of "Making Advertisements and Making Them Pay" (1920), "This Advertising Business" (1929), and "Red Thunder" (1934).*

# Regulation of Radio Advertising

By EWIN L. DAVIS

**R**ADIO broadcasting has become a very important factor in our social, political, and economic life. It takes into the remotest homes throughout the land the voices of the great leaders of thought, and a wide variety of music and other forms of entertainment. On occasions a large portion of our population are brought into a single radio audience.

In England and other countries the cost of radio programs is met by charges to the owners of receiving sets. In the United States most programs are paid for by advertising sponsors. I am advised that for the twelve months ending last June the radio advertising bill of the United States exceeded \$65,000,000. Yet the radio art and the radio industry are still in their infancy, and their potentialities are scarcely explored. I mention this to emphasize the importance of the subject.

Before specifically discussing the subject of radio advertising, I wish to call attention to the authority and the duty of the Federal Trade Commission under the law, as well as to outline what the Commission has done to regulate and improve the character of other forms of advertising.

The Federal Trade Commission Act of September 26, 1914, declares "unfair methods of competition in commerce" to be unlawful, and empowers and directs the Federal Trade Commission to prevent such methods.

The courts have uniformly held that false or misleading advertising constitutes such unfair methods within the meaning of this act.

## RESTRAINT OF MISLEADING ADVERTISING

From the time the Commission was organized, it has waged war against advertisers who resort to false or misleading representation to sell their products.

The Commission has published sixteen volumes of its orders. These cover a period from its organization, early in 1915, to July 1932. In these sixteen volumes, 2,781 cases are reported in full, giving the facts found and the orders issued. Of these 2,781 cases, 1,993 related to false and misleading advertising. The remainder, 788, related to commercial bribery, restraint of competition, price fixing, and various other offenses under the Federal Trade Commission Act or the Clayton Act. Of the 1,993 cases relating to false advertising, 456 involved food, drugs, or cosmetics, and 1,537 related to other articles of commerce such as household goods, furniture, lumber, forest products, seeds, clothing, fabrics of all kinds, and so forth.

These reported decisions represent a comparatively small percentage of the cases handled by the Commission. An overwhelming percentage of all advertising cases have been settled amicably, usually by stipulation, without the issuance of formal complaint.

It should be clearly understood that the Federal Trade Commission neither claims the authority to censor advertising, nor has any desire to do so. Its sole purpose is to curb unlawful abuses of the freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution. To put it

tersely, the Commission does not dictate what an advertiser shall say, but may indicate what he shall not say.

The processes of the Commission are not punitive, but injunctive. How successful this procedure has been is indicated by the fact that during the nearly twenty years since the Commission was established, it has seldom had to appeal to the courts to discipline respondents for disregarding its cease and desist orders.

A few years ago the Commission began a more intensive drive against false advertising. When this campaign was begun, estimates were made that false and misleading advertising was costing the American public \$500,000,000 annually.

#### **PUBLISHERS SUPPORT FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION**

Upon request of the publishers, a trade-practice conference was held under the auspices of the Federal Trade Commission in New York, November 12, 1928, with approximately six thousand publishers present. These assembled publishers pledged their support to the Commission in its efforts to eliminate false and misleading advertising.

All the reputable newspapers and magazines have given their hearty cooperation to the Commission in its efforts to prevent false advertising in their publications, and associations of advertisers, advertising agents, and publishers have adopted resolutions in recent years including 1934, condemning false advertising, in line with the position of the Federal Trade Commission. However, there is always a percentage of the people who will not observe fair methods of competition unless forced to do so by the strong arm of the law. Because of this, the Commission must continually exercise its authority against advertisers who resort to false advertising, advertising

agents who write, encourage, and place for publication such advertising, and publishers who continue to publish advertising copy containing false or misleading representations, and such broadcasting stations as permit such violations.

Ethical advertisers—and they include the great majority—require little or no regulation. Their own self-respect and regard for the proprieties prompt them to tell the truth. However, among our vast population, there will probably always be some unscrupulous advertisers, and unless curbed by some authority, they are likely to trespass upon truth and decency.

Not a small part of the mischief lies in the fact that unrestrained, dishonest advertisers have in times past set a pace of gross exaggeration, if not outright falsification, which the advertising agents of more ethical houses felt necessary to follow to some degree, at least, in order to get, or hold, business.

The result of regulation of printed advertising has been that accurate claims are now the rule, not the exception. Readers of reputable publications have come to understand that generally they can safely rely upon what they read.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, Section 3 (b) provides:

After the President shall have approved any such code, the provisions of such code shall be the standards of fair competition for such trade or industry or subdivision thereof. Any violation of such standards in any transaction in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce shall be deemed an unfair method of competition in commerce within the meaning of the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended; but nothing in this title shall be construed to impair the powers of the Federal Trade Commission under such Act, as amended.

Numerous NRA codes contain provisions against false and misleading advertising.

### PROVISIONS OF RADIO BROADCASTING CODE

A code of fair competition for the radio broadcasting industry was approved by the President November 27, 1933. Among other things this code provides against "the broadcasting of any advertisement of, or information concerning any lottery, gift enterprise, or similar scheme," and so forth.

While the statute directing the Federal Trade Commission to prevent unfair methods of competition in commerce, including false and misleading advertising, applies equally to all forms of misrepresentation, yet until recently the Commission has generally dealt with printed advertising and has had only an occasional radio case. This was due to the fact that radio advertising is a comparatively new development, and also that it was more difficult and expensive to scrutinize and deal with it.

As a matter of fact, the Federal Government is under a higher duty to keep radio broadcasts free from unlawful advertising than to regulate any other form of advertising. No broadcasting station can operate without a license from the Federal Government to do so. Aside from the fact that such licensees are given, without cost, very valuable and much-sought privileges, the Government certainly cannot afford to be placed in the attitude of licensing stations to violate the law or permit others to do so.

The statutory basis for granting a broadcasting license is "public interest, convenience or necessity." In other words, the station is authorized to render a service in the public interest. The primary function of radio is not to sell goods. There is no justification for the Federal Government's maintaining an instrumentality for the benefit of advertisers. The only justification for

radio advertising is that the station or the system may be maintained financially for the purpose of rendering a greater public service. If a station lends its facilities to the dissemination of false, fraudulent, or misleading advertising, it grossly violates the public trust.

When a member of Congress, the writer took occasion to express his views with respect to the quality and the volume of radio advertising, as well as the character of radio programs generally. However, this article deals only with the problem as it relates to advertising continuities which violate the laws under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.

### SCRUTINY OF RADIO ADVERTISING

Last spring, the Federal Trade Commission definitely determined to take steps looking to a closer scrutiny and more rigid regulation of the large volume of radio advertising. Conferences were held with leading executives in the industry, who displayed a fine spirit of helpful coöperation. As a result of various conferences and a careful study of the problem, it was decided by the Commission to request the networks, the transcription companies, and the individual broadcasting stations to file with the Commission copies of their advertising continuities. The first call for these advertising continuities was issued on May 16, 1934, the request being made for such continuities to be filed commencing July 1 and until further notice.

In response to the Commission's request, all of the 10 networks and all of the 596 broadcasting stations complied. All of the transcription companies except a few small and unimportant ones responded. The Commission has listed 49 stations as non-commercial, that is, stations which do not accept compensation for broadcasting

continuities. These are operated principally by educational or religious institutions, and state or municipal agencies.

On July 30 the Commission advised those stations which had complied that they might discontinue forwarding continuities until further notice, although the network and transcription companies will continue sending their continuities. Further calls will be made upon the individual stations from time to time as the Commission is able to handle the continuities.

The Commission received 183,877 separate advertising continuities under this initial call. By October 1 the Commission's staff had completed a preliminary detailed examination of all such continuities, of which 161,466 were found unobjectionable and filed without further action. A total of 22,411 were referred to the Special Board for further study and possible investigation. However, it is probable that only a small percentage of this number will prove to be unlawful.

This scrutiny of radio advertising is being conducted with a minimum of expense to the Government as well as to the industry, by reason of the coöperation of members of the industry and the method of procedure worked out. The broadcasters simply require their advertising patrons to file with them two copies of their continuities, the additional copy being for use of the Commission.

#### PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION

Reverting to the examination of these continuities, if they appear unobjectionable from a legal standpoint, they are filed without action. If it appears that the advertising is objectionable or of a doubtful character, questionnaires may be forwarded to such advertisers requesting information to aid the Commission in reaching

a conclusion. Generally such questionnaire calls for formula, sample, and follow-up literature. The formulæ and the samples may be submitted by the Commission to other proper agencies of the Government for tests and reports. These follow-up letters and literature frequently contain false or misleading claims not contained in the contact advertisement or announcement.

These radio continuities are being handled primarily by our Special Board of Investigation.

A cease and desist order against an advertiser is entered by the Commission only after the respondent has had full opportunity to justify his claims, and if not able to do so, then to agree in writing to modify his copy to conform with the truth. Otherwise, if the Commission has reason to believe that the advertiser has violated the law, it issues a formal complaint against such advertiser, who has twenty days within which to file an answer, after which proof is taken before a trial examiner; briefs are filed by both sides, and the case heard by the Commission and oral argument granted, if requested. The decision of the Commission is subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals and finally the Supreme Court of the United States. However, a large majority of cases are settled by stipulation, and only a few are ever appealed from the Commission to the courts.

Publishers, radio broadcasting companies, and the advertising agencies involved may, and almost invariably do, avoid being made joint respondents with the advertiser by agreeing in writing that they will observe the terms of any cease and desist order entered by the Commission or any stipulation made by the advertiser in such case. This has become an established procedure with the publishers of news-

papers and periodicals, and such broadcasting companies as have been cited have followed it as a matter of course.

The Commission has been very much gratified by the splendid spirit of coöperation shown by those engaged in the radio broadcasting industry. It is refreshing that such an overwhelming percentage of the industry are so deeply interested and so fully appreciative of the importance of permitting only truthful and honest advertising over the radio—thus not only preventing the violation of the law through that medium, but also preventing advertisers from defrauding the public and thereby causing a loss of listener confidence in radio advertising.

#### SUPPORT FROM NAB

The writer addressed the Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters, September 18, 1934, on "Radio Advertising and the Federal Trade Commission," and his explanation of the efforts of the Commission to eliminate false and misleading advertising from radio met a most sympathetic response and the strongest assurances of coöperation. In fact,

the convention adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, that the NAB hereby pledges its full coöperation to the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to safeguard the people of the United States against all forms of fraudulent, untruthful or willfully misleading advertising, and urges upon every broadcaster the necessity for maintaining a standard of advertising truthfulness which will justify and strengthen the faith of the public in the dependability of radio advertising.

The Federal Communications Commission has shown a fine spirit of helpful coöperation.

The Federal Trade Commission's success in its effort to stamp out false and misleading advertising, having as it does the support and coöperation of advertisers, the press, and broadcasters generally, affords an example of what may be done by the Government to protect legitimate business and the public without recourse to drastic punishment, penalties, and forfeitures. It is largely a case of self-government made effective by the aid of the Federal Government in restraining the comparative few who are unwilling to play the game fairly.

*Honorable Ewin L. Davis is chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. He was judge of the Seventh Judicial Circuit of Tennessee from 1910 to 1918; Representative in the 66th to 72nd Congresses, 1919 to 1933; and chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries during the 72nd Congress. During his service in Congress he actively participated in the drafting and enactment of all radio legislation, including the Davis Radio Equalization Amendment, requiring an equitable allocation of radio broadcasting facilities.*

# Commercial Copy

By CHARLES F. GANNON

**W**E'VE lost interest in radio!" Such is the song of the minority, and it is the reasons behind this complaint and the merits of these reasons with which this article is concerned. It is not an unimpressive minority, either in quality or in numbers. On the other hand, the great rank and file of listeners consume their daily radio schedules gratefully and zestfully. These assertions are susceptible of reasonable proof. Tons of fan letters in every mail express unrestrained enthusiasm for their writers' idols, while a few thousand, perhaps, chime in with some pretty acid comments about the way radio is run.

This minority, however, includes several highly vocal gentlemen whose protestations are echoed in the chambers of the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the United States Senate, and very often, indeed, in the columns of our daily press. Many drawing-room conversations receive abundant nourishment from this topic. Here are two schools of opinion, and from their battering and healing influences will be shaped the patterns of a future time.

That room for complaint exists is certain. That complaint thus far bears the hall-mark of self-interest and unconstructiveness is growingly apparent. Perhaps an abbreviated recital of broadcasting's headway and a little consideration of the criticisms leveled at it will provide a fair background against which to define the true center of complaint.

## ACHIEVEMENT OF RADIO

The miracle of radio is of credit to only a few engineers. How the mir-

acle has been used has depended upon station operators fortunate enough to possess a franchise, advertising counsel, advertising sponsors, governmental supervisory agents, and others, all paid to do a job. By many standards, American broadcasting under the commercial system has developed faster and extended farther than that of any other nation. It has made a consequent industry of radio receivers. It has given a new and undeniably effective advertising voice to business in general. It has furnished abundant quantities of rich entertainment without regard to cost. It has served with fine equity our political welfare. It has laboriously searched to ascertain and meet public taste. It has achieved superb mechanical power and quality.

There is glory in this record, and it is the common share of many minds. The station and network executives have fashioned sensible principles of operation, broad and flexible enough to stand the shocks of high speed; the engineers have met great challenges; the Government has shown wisdom by forbearance and caution; and advertisers have shown courage by their support of an unproved medium. The beehives of better programs have been the national advertising agencies, out of which have come both the conception and the execution of most Grade A programs. Research has begun to lay its steadying hand upon radio science.

The fabric of radio is well knitted, but there are seams, and the seamy side is the outside. Broadcasting's sins, however, are not those charged by its professional critics. Let us see who are parties to the indictments.

## GROUPS OF CRITICS

One group is a handful of educators who charge that radio in its present form is restrictive of cultural programs and that more time should be allocated to educational and religious institutions. Foremost and loudest in this handful are a few men who are seeking wave lengths for themselves, and whose charges therefore have at least the suspicion of selfish interest. This sub-group has kept a fairly active lobby in Washington. It has circulated quantities of rancorous criticism to legislators, colleges, newspapers, and so forth, and it has probably been the fusing action behind the current Federal investigation of radio.

The next complainant, who also has a personal stake, is the American newspaper. Not since the first advertising was broadcast have the magazines and newspapers overlooked an opportunity to smear this new competitor. Newspapers generally have assumed a resentful attitude toward the new advertising medium, as much as to say that "no industry impressed with the character of a public service should be allowed to set up competition for established private enterprise"—meaning themselves.

So much for these counts. There are other objections less characterized by private interest.

I believe the majority of educational leaders, if approached tomorrow, would state their honest convictions that broadcasting is deficient in cultural offerings. These opinions are scrupulously sincere, and I think pitifully inept. They are the accumulation of scattered impressions harking back to tinny reception, unremitting static, and later close-ups of "hot-cha" bands, bedtime stories, and the like.

However the impressions have been formed, it is safe to say that impartial,

businesslike analysis has had no part in such formation, and that of all groups most logically interested in radio as an instrument of public influence, educators have contributed least to the development of the art. Nearly any station director will affirm that broadcast time placed at the disposal of schools and universities has been handled as a general rule with magnificent incompetence and complete ignorance of the public appetite for knowledge by radio. Except in a few instances, no noteworthy efforts have been made to establish a radio curriculum separating lecture subjects from laboratory subjects, measuring absorptive capacities of listeners, and scientifically determining the effectiveness of decentralized education. Instead, precious time generously provided by stations has been consumed with fatuous, dry disquisitions, any old voice reciting them, with no regard whatever for the authority of dramatic technique. What the educators need most is not more time, but more method.

I am not sure that radio will ever be useful for the dissemination of certain lengthy and detailed subjects heretofore dependent upon intimate relationship between teacher and student; but that radio's inherent dramatic force can add new luster to such topics as history and philosophy, no one doubts. Languages are certainly impartible by radio, but so far, only sporadic efforts toward this end, usually inspired by station directors, have been made.

Nearly all the conspicuous programs of true cultural value have been sponsored programs prepared by advertisers, or sustaining programs prepared by the networks without any aid from educators. I have in mind such presentations as the Cook's Tours program, "The March of Time," and *Liberty Magazine's* Forum of Liberty. These mentioned are largely spoken-

word programs; and certainly no one will contend that classical music in all its traditional glory has not been served up by the ton by commercial advertisers. No! the condemnations of educators come with very bad grace. The educators have treated broadcasting as unimaginatively as they treated teaching up to a few years ago.

#### POOR ADVERTISING TECHNIQUE

But what of another group of complainants—that group having no specific obligation to the cause of culture, but instinctively resentful of the crass technique common to so many programs? This group is our class minority. It is potent, original, and influential. Its members do not care for a large part of commercial broadcasting today, and they have ground for just complaint. This ground is largely commercial copy, badly conceived, badly projected, obtrusive, inharmonious, braying of wares, deficient in grace, and as unproductive as it is unnecessary. This description does not fit all commercial copy, of course, but it fits a sufficient percentage to make a most offensive impression.

Magazine advertising is frequently thumbed for interest in copy and layout. I have yet to find a listener who tunes in for the commercials. There is this difference, perhaps, that he finds the radio commercials far less escapable than the printed advertising. He can easily ignore publication advertising and still read the editorial content. His powers of disassociation are not so great in sound. The human eye can be exposed to many images and still concentrate on only one. The ear is less endowed; and as the listener is heeding a program for entertainment, he finds it inconvenient to avoid the commercial announcement parenthetically inserted. Hence, deficiency in radio copy is more glaring than elsewhere.

No particular person or group is entirely responsible for bad commercial copy. It is an awkward age of broadcasting, and we lack a proper sense of its awkwardness, just as we lacked a proper reaction to the hideous proportions of the Victorian age. Present radio copy originators seem to have too little appreciation of white space, in the sense of proportion of copy to the whole layout. Just as many early publication advertisers calculated that so much space could stand so many words, so today many radio commercials are designed for clock space rather than consumer effect.

#### THE REMEDY

Some of the more objectionable aspects of commercial programs seem to me so easy of correction as to inspire wonder why nothing is done about it. No advertiser would think of going into a friend's living room and shouting over and over again that "Uncle Henry's corn cure restores latent energy, relieves pain, dispels gloom, and delays old age!" But that is no exaggeration of what takes place on any number of radio programs. How infinitely less offensive and more effective if in the manner of good taste the announcer would quietly suggest that "Uncle Henry's corn cure is a time-tested remedy compounded of reliable ingredients and offered as a safe, helpful application in the treatment of ordinary foot ailments."

The medicine man who came to the crossroads, raised his umbrella, and chanted the praises of snake oil is a figure of the past. By force of personal magnetism and in an unenlightened age, he was able, it is true, to sell his wares. But times have changed. The radio is crowded with "medicine men," selling not only medicine but everything on earth. There is no longer any fascination in the technique

of noisy, boastful claims. Even the majority radio listener instinctively reacts better to the more modest and unobtrusive approach, and although the same listener may have been moved by blustering shouts a few years back, it would appear that the din of it all has worn him out and that today he much approves the gentler method.

Advertisers sensitive to the crudity of commercial announcements are adopting softer tactics slowly but certainly. Evidence of their efforts may be found in such forms as dramatized copy, although here again there is much to be desired. A frequent infringement of good taste and simple psychology is the well-enacted commercial dramatization followed immediately by the announcer's extended explanation of the same thing. Instead of emphasizing, however, he negatives the advantage gained, and offends the listener by robbing him of the satisfaction of discovering for himself the implications of the drama.

Inherent in just such errors as these,

in just such flagging recognition of public wants, are the roots of much of the strife raging about the broadcasting industry. The offended radio listeners have been apathetic in registering their distress; they have not taken time actually to understand and define their own complaints, but they are conscious indeed of an inner aversion to much that they hear. Commercial copy in its style and technique is the true storm center, resented particularly by a discriminative minority.

I do not say that entertainment by radio has achieved perfection, but I do say that it has progressed as quickly as good creative minds can work, and that by any other standard, American broadcasting affords a pretty luxurious diet. Happily, the refinement of advertising by radio seems imminent, more imminent than many have believed. The reason lies in the fact that the form of commercial copy most agreeable to the discriminative minority promises to be the most resultful form in the case of the majority.

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# Radio and the Press

By E. H. HARRIS

**T**WELVE years ago the laboratories of industry developed the art of radio broadcasting to the point where it could be classified as a potential medium of mass communication. Just as aviation has found its place in the field of transportation, so radio must find its true sphere in our social structure. Many refinements have been made in the technique of broadcasting, but no country as yet has presented a practical solution of the problem of how radio may be made to function for the benefit of society. Since ether is the medium through which sound is transported instantaneously by means of radio impulses, it may be classified as one of the world's great natural resources, the utilization of which must be conserved, directed, or controlled if society is to be benefited.

Radio broadcasting is simply a means of converting sound waves into another form of energy that can be transmitted instantaneously over almost limitless areas. It has speeded up the transmission of the human voice so that it can be transported as fast as light waves travel. This new art can be utilized as a powerful influence for the promotion of social progress or social decay. If the use of the ether for the purpose of transporting sound is properly directed or controlled, it constitutes a valuable means for the advancement of civilization; improperly directed, its influence may be equally detrimental, because it invades the family circle with a potential emotional appeal that cannot be conveyed by the printed word. Radio broadcasting, therefore, has become a factor which

has a direct and important bearing on our social order. The application of an intelligent control over this medium of communication is receiving serious consideration from those who are interested in the advancement of civilization.

## GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF RADIO

The fundamental problem that remains unsolved is whether radio as a free agency can exist in a democratic form of government, or whether the control which must be applied by government will destroy or impair it as a medium for the presentation of facts and for the free expression of thought. All European countries exercise strict government control or censorship over radio broadcasting because they realize that this medium of communication opens avenues for encouragement of peace or war and for enlightenment or deception of the citizenry.

In the United States, Congress has gradually tightened its control over radio by grants of authority to the Federal bureaus which empower them to establish censorship over broadcasting should the Government decide to exercise such prerogative and the Supreme Court uphold the Government's right to assume this authority. In 1927 Congress passed the Federal Radio Law, which delegated rather indefinite powers to the Radio Commission. The last Congress enacted the Communications Commission Act, which definitely delegated to that body full authority to establish complete control over radio broadcasting, including even control over the nature of the service to be rendered by a station.

Since the power to control this service has been delegated to the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Government is in a position to assume full jurisdiction over broadcasting in the United States. Should the Government decide to exercise this power, radio could be used for the dissemination of deceitful government propaganda. The Government eventually could exercise an effective censorship over every word spoken into a microphone.

The best that can be said about radio broadcasting in the United States is that it is only half free, because it is operated under a license and is subject to the influences of the political party which is in power. No matter how insistently the Government proclaims its belief in the doctrine of absolute freedom of expression, there is no definite assurance that this freedom extends to radio broadcasting. The threat to its freedom lurks in the fact that the license of any station may be revoked at the slightest provocation.

Owing to the fact that radio waves respect no frontiers and are transmitted through the property of the citizens of the United States, broadcasting must always be subject to Government license. The essential difference between news collected by the newspapers and news collected by the radio broadcasting stations is that the press is a free institution and radio is a licensed medium, dependent for its existence upon a Government grant. Because radio is licensed, it never can be free and independent in the selection and broadcasting of the news which it may have collected through its own facilities.

Irrespective of whether news is spread by means of the African tom-tom, told by the Town Crier, or broadcast over a 50,000-watt radio station,

in the last analysis its value is determined by the authority back of the particular medium of communication. The operator of the African tom-tom speaks with the authority of his chief. The Town Crier carried the authority of the town government. The modern broadcasting station must speak either with the authority of its government, or, as is the case in this country, with the authority of the regularly organized news agencies, which are universally accepted sources of authentic news.

#### SAFEGUARDING NEWS SOURCES

In speaking of authentic news sources, I refer to the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service, three competing national press associations, which function independently of each other and serve the American public through the daily newspapers. For more than a decade these organizations, free from any government license or control, have been building their news-gathering structures at home and abroad for the collection, the assembling, and the distribution of accurate, reliable, and unbiased news.

Several years ago the American press associations found it necessary to extend their operations to foreign countries so as to insure the accuracy of their news reports. This extension of the American press has brought about its gradual divorcement from foreign news agencies and its dependence upon its own foreign press bureaus. The expansion of the foreign service of the American press associations and the development of their news-gathering facilities may be regarded as a distinct contribution to the advancement of self-government and the promotion of American interests. The American press associations are an asset of American democracy, because

they enable our citizens to obtain the news of the world from unbiased sources.

The three competitive news-gathering agencies, animated by American initiative and unrestricted except by economic limitations, have established their own foreign news services so that the source of this news will be free from the domination of the governments of foreign countries. This constructive achievement of the American press associations has been developed under the pressure of competition to obtain the business of the nineteen hundred daily newspapers of the United States. In a world which seems to be drifting toward the suppression of news and the consummation of dictatorship, the United States is one of the few nations possessing democratic news agencies.

Every daily newspaper in the United States subscribes to one or more of the national news services. The cost of extending the services of the press associations to all parts of the world is borne by the newspapers, because the press associations depend entirely upon them for their revenue. Of approximately nineteen hundred daily newspapers in the United States, not more than one hundred are owned or controlled by groups, known as chain newspaper organizations. This leaves about eighteen hundred independently owned and operated daily newspapers, with overlapping circulations extending in fanlike formation into their particular areas, so that every newspaper is a competitor of its nearest neighbor—a competitor seeking the attention of the reader. As a foundation for the support of the three national press associations we have eighteen hundred independently owned and operated newspapers in the United States, competing with each other for the reader's interest. These eighteen hundred independent units which supply the pub-

lic with news are exempt from governmental domination or regulation, and consequently they are the safeguards against autocratic government.

The newspapers were made effective safeguards of our liberty through the foresight of the founders of our Government, who placed the right of freedom of expression and a free press in the basic law of the land. The newspapers and the press associations are the trustees and guardians of a free press in the United States.

Few countries of the world enjoy a free press. In many countries the newspapers or the press associations either are owned outright or are subsidized by the government. The American press associations divorced themselves from foreign news agencies so that the news emanating from these countries would not be influenced by governmental domination. With the establishment of our own press bureaus abroad, foreign interests have little opportunity to place distorted facts or their propaganda before the American public.

#### THE PRESS-RADIO BUREAUS

The European news agencies are now seeking American broadcasting as a medium for disseminating news favorable to their interests. The organization of the Press-Radio Bureau for the orderly broadcasting of news, made available through the coöperation of the American publishers and the broadcasters, has encouraged the formation of a few independent radio news groups in the United States. These groups are using foreign news services as the basis of their news broadcasts.

Since the Press-Radio Bureaus are navigating uncharted seas in the field of broadcasting, the process of working out a satisfactory plan for the broadcasting of news from authentic sources

has been slow and tedious, as the plans must be changed from time to time to meet new conditions.

The basic problem which confronted newspaper publishers from 1921 to 1933 was as follows: The existing democratic news agencies and the independence of the eighteen hundred daily newspaper units had to be protected, because within them lies the foundation of a free press and the safeguard for our principles of government. On the other hand, this new means of mass communication under Government license had captured the imagination of the people and they were demanding news through the means of radio broadcasting.

In November 1933 the solution of this problem was found in the organization of the Press-Radio Bureaus, brought about through a series of conferences between the representatives of the two large chains, the newspapers, and the national news-gathering associations. The plan was put into action March 1, 1934.

Though no party has affixed a signature to a document, the program has operated without an interruption because the principle on which it rests is fundamentally sound. In the seven months of its operation, the plan could have been overthrown at any time by any of the participating parties; but it is growing in popularity with the broadcasters, the newspapers, and the general public. The plan will continue to function as long as it is operated in the interest of the general public and not to the serious detriment of the broadcasters, the newspapers, or the press associations.

#### PUBLIC OBLIGATIONS OF NEWS AGENCIES

It may seem to be incredible, but it is a fact that this working arrangement has cost these groups several million

dollars each in loss of revenue. The question naturally arises: Why should each side make these sacrifices? The answer is apparent when we realize that each industry has a definite field in which it functions, and each has its own obligation to the general public. If we keep in mind that broadcasting is made available by the use of the ether channels, which are the property of the citizens, we can understand the obligation which the broadcasters owe to the public. All broadcasting in the United States is done through channels loaned by the citizens, and in return for the use of these channels the broadcasters produce programs which theoretically are in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." It is the obligation of the newspapers and the press associations to preserve for the citizens the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression, which are inherent rights of every citizen of the United States.

The newspapers and the press associations have more than their own interests to preserve. When the guarantee of the freedom of expression and a free press was placed in the Constitution, the newspapers automatically became the protectors of the civil and political rights of the people. Therefore the press owes a duty to the citizens to do its full share in preserving radio broadcasting as a free medium for the presentation of the facts. Because radio can operate only through public property, it is licensed by the Government and is subject to a jurisdiction, the extent of which is dependent upon the prevailing governmental policy. This control could be extended to include the suppression of legitimate news and the substitution of Government propaganda. Events in Europe have definitely demonstrated the truth of this statement. A licensed agency can never be free in the gathering and

the disseminating of news. This must be the function of an unlicensed agency if the value of news is to be maintained.

#### PROPERTY RIGHTS IN NEWS

The gathering of national and international news is costing the newspapers of the United States in excess of twenty-five million dollars annually. The Federal Courts have established a definite property right in news collected by the newspapers or the press associations. When broadcasting came into existence, publishers of newspapers were giving little thought to their property rights in the news, because prior to that time there had been few violations of these rights. The broadcasting stations assumed that they were privileged to appropriate news published in the newspapers and to sell it to advertising sponsors. As soon as this became a general practice, the newspapers proceeded to protect themselves against an illegal use of their property by the broadcasters. That marked the beginning of a controversy between publishers and broadcasters, which ended when the broadcasters, having recognized the property right in the news, asked for a coöperative plan with the newspapers.

Contrary to a general impression, the broadcasters made the original request for the use of news bulletins taken from the press association reports. They believed that if the broadcasters could obtain bulletins from the press associations they would be spared the expense of setting up an elaborate news-gathering organization. After they had experimented for several years with the cost of assembling news, the broadcasters found that the cost of operating a reliable news-gathering organization was beyond the amount which could be considered to be economically sound.

Since the newspapers have devel-

oped an adequate system for the collection and the dissemination of national and foreign news, they are better equipped to furnish news bulletins for broadcasting purposes than an agency which at the present time functions mainly in the field of entertainment.

#### THE PRESS-RADIO PLAN

The essentials of the Press-Radio Plan follow:

That a committee consisting of one representative of The American Newspaper Publishers' Association, one representative each from The United Press, The Associated Press and The International News Service, one representative from The National Association of Broadcasters, and one representative each from The National Broadcasting Company and The Columbia Broadcasting System, totaling seven members, with one vote each, should constitute a committee to set up with proper editorial control and supervision a Bureau designed to furnish to the broadcasters brief daily news bulletins for broadcasting purposes. All actions of this committee will be in conjunction with the Publishers' National Radio Committee.

The newspaper and press association members of this committee are authorized and empowered to select such editor or editors, and establish such a Bureau as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this program, to wit:

To receive from each of the three principal press associations copies of their respective day and night press reports, from which shall be selected bulletins of not more than thirty words each, sufficient to fill two broadcast periods daily of not more than five minutes each.<sup>1</sup>

It is agreed that these news broadcasts will not be sold for commercial purposes.

All expense incident to the functioning of this Bureau will be borne by the broadcasters. Any station may have access to these broadcast reports upon the basis of this pro-

<sup>1</sup> This has now been changed so that the bulletins are not restricted to thirty words, but enough news is given to fill the full five-minute allotment period.

gram, upon its request and agreement to pay its proportionate share of the expense involved.

Occasional news bulletins of transcendent importance, as a matter of public service, will be furnished to broadcasters, as the occasion may arise.

The broadcasters agree to arrange the broadcasts by their commentators in such a manner that these periods will be devoted to a generalization and background of general news situations and eliminate the present practice of the recital of spot news.

By this program it is believed that public interest will be served by making available to any radio station in the United States for broadcasting purposes brief daily reports of authentic news collected by the Press Association, as well as making available to the public through the radio stations news of transcendent importance with the least possible delay.

The New York Press Radio Bureau was opened March 1, 1934. News bulletins, complying in spirit with the provision of the plan, were supplied to all broadcasting stations in the United States that wanted the service. A trial period of several weeks demonstrated that the cost of telegraphic tolls to the radio stations on the Pacific Coast was almost prohibitive. It was decided that the Pacific Coast area could better be served by the establishment of a separate bureau in Los Angeles. The Pacific Coast Bureau began its service March 26, 1934. The Atlantic Coast Bureau supplies news bulletins to radio stations east of Denver, and the Pacific Coast Bureau supplies bulletins to stations west of Denver. The operations of the two bureaus are coordinated through the Publishers' National Radio Committee.

#### NEWS SERVICE AND PUBLIC PROTECTION

The broadcasters have had some trouble in clearing the time on the air which has been sold to advertisers, but

this is being adjusted. Eventually all broadcasting stations will give the news broadcasts at the same time.

In September, a month in which an unusually large number of big stories developed, the New York Bureau gave to its clients 370 news bulletins of extraordinary importance, exclusive of the two regular daily five-minute periods for news. Only about one half of these bulletins were used by the broadcasters, because advertising sponsors refused to let the presentation of news bulletins interrupt their programs.

The Publishers' National Radio Committee approved liberal regulations for the broadcasting of election news from the press association reports on November 6. Newspapers were permitted to broadcast without restriction state and local election news supplied by press association reports. Broadcasts of national election returns were permitted in periods of ten minutes or less in every hour after the close of the polls. Radio stations that desired to broadcast state and local returns were permitted to obtain such service from the newspapers in their area, provided regulations were observed and proper credit was given.

The few radio stations which are broadcasting bootleg news, lacking newspaper or press-association authority, are using foreign news services, which come to this country by means of short wave, as a basis for their daily news broadcasts.

The newspaper publishers of the United States, fully cognizant of this world situation in the news field and the broadcasting set-up in this country, have planned to give the general public as much legitimate news by means of radio broadcasting as will provide the listener with full protection and yet will not destroy the value

of the news for the nineteen hundred daily newspapers.

The contention of the newspapers is: (1) that no agency directly or indirectly under Government license should function as a news-gathering organization; (2) that important news bulletins should be supplied to the broadcasters by the newspapers, in order that the general public may enjoy complete protection on news obtained from reliable sources; and (3) that the broadcasters must not sell these news bulletins to an advertiser, because this news service must be supplied by the broadcasters as a public service to the listeners.

If this plan is followed, the listening public will be guaranteed authentic news bulletins which are not the output of propaganda bureaus of our own Government or of the government of a foreign country. The listening public will be given ample and immediate

protection on all important news by means of the coöperative plan which is now functioning through the two Press-Radio Bureaus under the supervision of the Publishers' National Radio Committee.

This program is offered to the citizens of the United States, by the newspapers, the press associations, and the broadcasters, as a public service. If the broadcasters are encouraged or permitted to form their own news-gathering organization for general news broadcasts, they can never evade governmental supervision over their output. Through the license feature, which presents the opportunity of domination by governmental bureaus, news may be contaminated and restricted. The next step would be complete censorship. Such a step would be a retrogression from American ideals and the principles of government through an enlightened citizenry.

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# Radio and the Press: A Contrary View

By CLARENCE C. DILL

**N**EWs by radio in this country has had a haphazard history. Generally radio stations have used news reports from newspapers, sometimes by permission and sometimes not. Of course no radio station has any right to use news collected by press associations or newspapers without paying for the news, but since radio stations can give news so much more quickly and to such vast numbers instantaneously, news by radio serves the public interest, and serving the public interest is the legal basis for the grant and renewal of radio licenses.

During the winter of 1934 representatives of the press associations and of the radio chain systems held a conference on this subject and formulated what is known as the Press-Radio agreement for news by radio. By that agreement, the radio chains surrendered radio's birthright. They made the agreement as an experiment to avoid a bitter fight over the question of whether radio or the newspapers should be first to give the news. They yielded to the newspapers.

At that time I protested against the agreement on the floor of the Senate. I predicted it would be highly unsatisfactory to radio listeners. I pointed out that it would certainly bring rebellion and confusion among radio stations and that it could not continue long. Several months have passed. The result is chaotic. The Press-Radio agreement is a failure. It satisfies nobody, because it flies in the face of progress. The listeners are disgusted with it. Most stations refuse to use it. Many newspapers say it is unsatisfactory. Radio stations and newspapers

all over the country are trying all sorts of schemes to furnish news by radio in violation of the spirit of the agreement. Even most of the stations now using the Press-Radio bulletins pronounce them highly unsatisfactory.

Either the press associations must change the terms of the agreement so that radio stations can give their listeners up-to-the-minute news and for longer periods of time, or the stations will find or create means and methods for securing news entirely independently of the press associations. This is not only their full right; it is their duty. It is a part of that public service which they are bound to give if they are to justify the use of the frequencies the Government has granted them.

## ONE-SIDED AGREEMENT

Let me call attention to how one-sided the Press-Radio agreement is:

First, it limits the time which stations may broadcast general news to two five-minute periods during each twenty-four hours. That is about one thousand words per day.

Second, it fixes the time at which even those five-minute periods shall be used, so that the news by radio will not be broadcast until after it has been printed in the newspapers.

Third, representatives of the press associations, and they alone, determine what news shall be broadcast and what shall not be broadcast.

Fourth, the representatives of the press association, and they alone, write the language of the broadcast copy; and literally hundreds of station managers say the language is uninteresting and tiresome.

Fifth, no station is allowed to have the news it broadcasts sponsored by a commercial advertiser.

Sixth, the press associations give the news to the stations. They say it is a "public service." That makes the stations charity institutions, as it were, so far as news by radio is concerned. Since the news costs them nothing, the stations cannot complain. They must take what they get and be thankful.

Seventh, and worst of all, radio stations are bound not to use news from any source except the thousand words from the press associations. This compelled the Richfield Reporter on the Pacific Coast recently to abandon the up-to-the-minute news reports which have made that service so popular.

As operated today, this Press-Radio agreement simply results in censorship by the press associations of all national and world news by radio. From the standpoint of radio, it is tyrannical and indefensible. Every station that complies with it makes radio subservient to the press in the collection and the dissemination of news. It cannot continue, because radio stations will not submit to it.

There have been so many complaints that the press associations themselves have changed the agreement. They have lately been giving brief flashes of world news too important to be held up until newspapers have printed them. Such events as the killing of Dillinger and the SOS call from the "Morro Castle" are examples of this change. But even with this change, the radio stations bound by this agreement must await the pleasure of the press associations as to what flashes they may broadcast and when.

The most objectionable thing about the Press-Radio agreement is the effect it is having on radio listeners. Intentionally or unintentionally, the press associations are chloroforming listen-

ers into believing that news by radio is a poor substitute for news by newspapers. To that extent they are destroying the listening public of radio. They are teaching radio listeners that they must look first to newspapers for news. If they cannot get the newspapers until they are old, then they may get a stale, sketchy, uninteresting statement of a few items of news by radio. In actual operation, this plan causes radio stations to destroy their own listeners' love for one of their most popular and informative features, namely, live, hot, up-to-the-minute reports of news events of the Nation and the world as they happen from hour to hour by day and night.

This Press-Radio agreement had one virtue. By surrendering their birthright of broadcasting news before it was printed, and limiting the broadcasts to two five-minute periods each twenty-four hours, the radio chains proved their willingness to do everything to avoid a fight. Now that this plan has proved a failure, the press associations should be willing to sell uncensored news to radio stations, and let them broadcast that news with sponsors or without sponsors, whenever the stations desire. Newspapers and radio stations should cooperate fully and freely, and the stations should be just as free to broadcast any and all news as newspapers are to print any and all news.

#### EACH HAS ITS FIELD

While there may seem to be some competition between the press and the radio in giving news to the public, the fact is they supplement each other far more than they compete with each other. News by radio must be brief to be interesting. News by newspapers must be more detailed to satisfy readers. News by radio lasts but for the moment. News by newspapers is

in permanent form. News by radio includes descriptions of events while they are happening, such as sports, races, and celebrations; and radio also may give the actual event itself, such as a speech, a musical program, or a convention. Such news is exclusively for radio. News by newspapers contains description of things about these events impossible for radio to cover at the moment, and also interpretations by leaders and experts.

The fact is, the newspapers should use the radio transmitter as a news advertising medium. Not all newspaper publishers have overlooked this, because newspapers own sixty-eight radio stations, and an even larger number have mutually beneficial arrangements with privately owned stations. Here is a medium by which the newspaper can cry its headlines and brief news statements to literally hundreds of thousands and millions all at once. It seems unbelievable that they do not use it, or that they should try to throttle and handicap it to the point where they force radio stations to set up a competitive service, which a few years hence may easily become so powerful that it will prove a Frankenstein to them by printing radio newspapers simultaneously all over the world.

There can be only one explanation: The business manager has supplanted the news manager in dealing with news by radio. In other words, the newspapers are thinking in terms of advertising. They think if radio becomes more popular, radio advertising will increase and newspaper advertising will be more difficult to secure.

Statistics show that that fear is more imaginary than real. Radio advertising has never exceeded one seventh of the amount spent for newspaper advertising, nor one ninth of the combined total for newspapers, weeklies, and magazines. There cannot be

much increase in this proportionate expenditure for radio advertising, because the number of stations is limited and cannot more than keep up with the natural increase in newspaper and magazine advertising.

But even if the fears of newspaper publishers were justified, and even if increased popularity of radio would decrease newspaper readers, there is a bigger consideration than the financial one. The public interest demands that radio stations give news to their listeners in order that the people may know the truth and the whole truth regarding public controversies.

When the forefathers wrote the Constitution, they inserted freedom of speech and freedom of press as two of the chief pillars of the temple of liberty. They knew that no majority, however strong, should ever be allowed to override these rights, and that any minority, however weak, must always be able to exercise them.

#### PARTISAN NEWS REPORTING

What has happened? By taking advantage of inventions for rapid communication and rapid printing and speedy transportation in the newspaper business, newspaper publishers are giving the American people millions of copies of newspapers every day. Exercising this right of freedom of the press, the owners of many of these newspapers omit some news, exaggerate other news, and minimize or distort still other news. In short, many of our largest newspapers have become the personal or partisan organ of the corporation or the individual who owns them.

If readers complain, their answer is that this is a free country and you can start a newspaper of your own. But that is not so simple as it sounds. It takes enormous sums of money to start a daily newspaper and build it into a

paying proposition. The result is that year by year big newspapers are being bought by their competitors, and we have larger and fewer daily newspapers in our great cities each year, with a more monopolistic control of sources of news.

The abuse of this right of free press by great newspapers, as I have described it, has destroyed the confidence of the masses of the people in the press in many parts of the country. They doubt that they are getting the full truth about controversial matters. They deplore their inability to get both sides, and in many communities the support of certain newspapers for any cause often does that cause more harm than good.

During this development of the free press into such a vast power in the creation and influencing of public opinion, the power of free speech has dwindled greatly in comparison. The human voice can be heard only a short distance. Without newspaper publicity it has often been impossible to assemble crowds to listen to a speaker. The newspaper reaches millions, and they are often dependent on one set of newspapers for their information.

#### FREEDOM OF AIR

Now we have radio. It can combat the abuse of the power of the press as no other agency ever developed, if we establish complete freedom of speech on the radio. We must make freedom of speech by radio as sacred as freedom of speech on the platform has so long been.

We have the only system of radio by which we can compel freedom of speech. Under government-owned systems, there is no freedom of speech. There is no freedom of speech by radio in Germany or Italy or Russia. In those countries, speech by radio is simply propaganda by those in power

to retain control of the government. Even in democratic England, in free France, and in liberty-loving Denmark, there is no freedom of speech by radio for the discussion of public questions.

Under our system, Congress makes the law for regulating radio stations; and Congress will compel freedom of speech by radio whenever public opinion demands it. I think the law already implies that. Freedom of speech on the radio is in the public interest, it serves the public convenience, and it is a public necessity. If radio listeners are to be able to think and act intelligently as free men and women in the formation of that public opinion which in the end becomes the law of this land, they must have the facts that only freedom of speech will give them.

News by radio is the very essence of freedom of speech. No station would dare to omit important news items or exaggerate or distort facts. That would be against the public interest and would endanger the renewal of its license. Radio stations which broadcast only the one-sided reports of individual newspapers are likely to find themselves in that kind of trouble when their licenses come up for renewal. That is one of the strongest reasons why radio stations should have their own independent news service.

Another great public benefit which a radio news service giving both sides of all public controversies would render, would be that it would compel those newspapers now guilty of omitting, exaggerating, or distorting the news to cease such practices or stand convicted of duplicity before the world. By means of short waves and chain-system broadcasts, an independent radio news service could reach the whole country. This would make radio an invaluable force in the creation and

formation of an intelligent public opinion. It would compel the press to serve its highest purpose of telling "the whole truth and nothing but the truth," because the truth will keep us free.

#### SUGGESTED RADIO NEWS ORGANIZATION

Radio stations are handicapped because they are not organized to secure news. The Associated Press has twelve hundred members. But the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and the Universal Service, with their two thousand newspapers, are all solidly united when they deal with radio stations regarding news. It is the old, old story: "In union there is strength." If radio stations are to be able to assert their rights to give news, they must have an organization for that purpose.

Let me now outline what an associated radio news organization of one hundred or more stations could do.

First, it could either induce press associations and newspapers to sell news flashes and brief news reports for use by radio stations, or, failing in that, it could finance the beginning of a great radio news service. At a cost of \$25 per week for small stations and \$50 to \$75 per week for large stations, it could set up its own news bureau in large cities, use its own station members as correspondents in smaller communities, and buy a foreign news service for use until it became powerful enough to create its own world news service.

Second, it could secure recognition for its correspondents on an equal basis with press associations, because its listening public would be greater than any press association on earth.

Third, such an organization could send its news to member stations by short-wave silent printers in station of-

fices, at rates low enough for sending 3,000 to 4,000 words per day. This short-wave printer is not a dream of the future. It is a reality now. I have seen it in operation. It is being tested for distance of reception now, and will be on the market for commercial use before an associated radio news organization of 100 stations or more can be formed and in readiness to use it.

Fourth, such an organization could secure licenses for its members to use the necessary short waves to pick up sport events or celebrations where wire service is not available. The Associated Press and the United Press often secure short waves for such purposes, but individual stations in small communities find it almost impossible. Such an organization could work out schedules for the use of short waves by member stations with approval of the radio engineers of the Communications Commission.

Fifth, if the newspapers should start a fight on radio and refuse to print station programs, as they have repeatedly threatened to do, such an organization could easily print its own national weekly publication, such as the *Radio Times* of the British Broadcasting Corporation. It could then copyright radio programs, and no newspaper would dare to print them except by permission, and then in the form the organization might direct. When it is possible to transmit newspaper by facsimile, it will be able to compel newspapers to treat fairly or face a new kind of competition in their own field.

Sixth, such an organization could keep in direct touch with the impending developments in short-wave facsimile transmission that will certainly revolutionize the art of communication. This development again is not a dream of the distant future. It is already a reality that is just ahead, probably not more than a year or two at

most. Radio broadcasters should have such an associated radio news organization to take advantage of these developments as fast as they are made, in order to fulfill the true destiny of radio in presenting news first to all the world. Such an organization is not only possible now, but it is highly desirable in the interest of radio.

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# Radio: An Agency for International Understanding or Friction

By STEPHEN DUGGAN

WHEN the King of England was so ill a few years ago that it looked as if he might die, the broadcast made every evening by his physicians concerning his condition was heard by millions of people throughout the whole world. The words of deep sympathy expressed by our own leaders of public opinion in speech and in the press were greatly appreciated by the British people. They unquestionably resulted on the part of the British in a lessening of the irritation which had arisen because of conflicts of opinion between Great Britain and the United States on some difficult political problems. The incident was an evidence of the fine part that may be played by radio in developing understanding and good will in the field of international relations.

Last winter the Nazi propaganda directed from Munich to Austria in favor of *Anschluss* with Germany not merely urged union between the two countries but incited Austrians to rebel against their own Government. It finally resulted in an attempted revolution, in the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss, and in such a strained situation among the nations of Central Europe that actual warfare seemed imminent. The incident was a clear illustration of the evil part that radio may play in international relations.

Like the cinema, broadcasting was originally intended to provide entertainment and recreation, and these aspects of its work should always be of primary importance. Probably no product of the human mind has pro-

vided as much entertainment and recreation as music. And in this field, radio is triumphant. Music appeals to the ear only—it cannot be put upon the screen or expressed in the journal. Moreover, music arouses no nationalistic passions. Any one can listen to a Chopin waltz, a Beethoven symphony, or an extract from an opera by Verdi or Rimski-Korsakov and be affected only by pure enjoyment. And singing over the radio provides for millions of hearers almost as much pure pleasure. Sport also can play its part in establishing friendships among the nations. A description of the Davis Cup matches in tennis, of international yacht or automobile races, has little in it to inspire ill will. It can hardly be doubted that in providing entertainment and recreation, radio is distinctly an instrument of the greatest value for good in the field of international relations.

When we are considering such additions to knowledge as the developments of science, the wonders of archaeological excavations, or the results of geographical exploration, nationalism disappears entirely. And even the unfortunate barrier of language can be overcome by the skillful use of translated captions or summaries.

## IMPORTANCE OF RADIO DIRECTION

Radio is an agency of hearing, as the press is an agency of sight. Just as the press in the past accelerated or retarded understanding and good will by what it published, so can radio today by what it permits to be said through

the microphone. But the opportunity for good or evil in the case of radio is the greater. The gathering of news abroad and its publication in the press at home takes some time and permits at least a little delay for suspension of judgment. But there is no intermediary between the broadcaster and his hearer, and what the broadcaster says about an incident may counsel caution or inflame hatred and have immediate consequences of momentous importance. Moreover, in democratically organized countries there are newspapers of varying opinions, which permit of the learning of opposing views. But in every country save the United States the radio is a government monopoly, and even in the United States there are but two radio systems of nation-wide influence.

Whether radio will be an instrument for the welfare of mankind or for his detriment depends entirely upon what men want. Human nature is about the same the world over. Men everywhere are actually animated by practically the same hopes and fears. But century-old prejudices based upon ignorance or misinformation prevent the normal functioning of their reason. The movement in favor of moral disarmament must succeed before there will be any results in the field of military disarmament. Do men really want their fellow citizens to cease hating and fearing human beings of other nations? It is gratifying to read the speeches of statesmen at Geneva giving an affirmative answer to this question. It is equally saddening to learn that in the homelands of those same statesmen, every instrument of education—the press, the cinema, and above all the broadcasts—is sometimes used deliberately to incite men to unreason. Yet probably at no time in the history of mankind has there been greater necessity for caution. Never have the

problems that apparently divide nations been more delicate.

#### EDUCATION IN UNDERSTANDING

Curiosity is a human instinct upon which intelligence is based. It is the foundation stone of all civilization. The people of every nation are really curious to know how the people of other nations live and why they keep the customs and maintain the views they hold. With the knowledge resulting from this curiosity comes sometimes real understanding of the difficulties and problems of another people. And understanding is the basis of good will. The average man in any nation is a decent person, and when you understand him it is hard to hate him.

The education in such understanding, however, should not be delayed until false notions of other nations have become fixed ideas. It should be commenced with children in the schools. In every country, radio has become one of the most important teaching instruments. In geography, history, folklore, and literature, in describing the marvels of science discovered in different countries, children can early be taught respect for the accomplishments of people in foreign lands. It is, however, particularly in teaching them the relations of their own country to other countries that fairness is most required. To have the radio turned on in the classroom and the children listen to the voice of a distinguished figure in national life giving a fair explanation of a controverted question is one of the best methods of advancing the way to a better life among the nations. But it requires courage, sometimes great courage, to oppose nationalistic fervor, and not many statesmen are imbued with the necessary courage.

Some of the misunderstanding which is at the roots of our world difficulties

is fundamental and difficult to change except through a slow and laborious process of education. But it is in providing education that the chief difficulty arises. The dividing line between education and propaganda is sometimes difficult to decipher, especially where propaganda is skillfully rather than brutally employed. Broadcasting may cross national boundaries or be intended primarily for domestic consumption. In the former case it is obvious what a danger to good relations as well as a violation of good taste broadcasts would be, where they could hardly fail to be offensive to a foreign nation. Even broadcasts intended primarily for domestic consumption should be carefully considered, for there is nothing today to prevent foreigners from tuning in, especially in Europe.

Moreover, the intelligent foreigner is anxious to learn the views of the leaders of public opinion in another country upon the problems that face its nationals.

One of the problems that confront us in the field of international relations is whether a governmental or a privately controlled broadcasting system is the more likely to be an agency for international understanding. The only system that is not under governmental control is that of the United States. Among the great nations the only governmental system that has not been used for propaganda purposes in for-

eign affairs is the British—and that has, sometimes. As a matter of experience it would appear that there is no more danger, probably less, in the privately controlled system than in the governmental, despite the ebullitions of a General Johnson that sometimes have been heard concerning happenings in foreign countries.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RADIO

A convention is now being considered by the Council of the League of Nations, which makes provision not only against direct appeal to bitter feeling between two nations, but also against broadcasts that might incite such feeling among racial minorities in one of them. It also provides not only for the immediate rectification of an inaccurate broadcast, but also for accepting responsibilities for the accuracy of broadcasts generally. Moreover, being without the power of imposing sanctions, it goes as far as possible to secure observance by providing that should a dispute arise as to the interpretation or the application of the convention, the dispute shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to an arbitral tribunal. In our own country, where broadcasting is under private control, the Government cannot be held responsible; but sufficient Federal regulation should be adopted to secure observance of the admirable provisions of the convention.

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# Freedom of Speech and Radio Broadcasting

By LOUIS G. CALDWELL

*Oh, may my mother prove to be a dame of Athens,  
that from her I may inherit freedom of speech.*

—Euripides, *Ion*<sup>1</sup>

IN THE short span of years since the broadcasting of the Harding-Cox election returns at Pittsburgh in 1920, radio broadcasting has become an agency of mass communication comparable to the press. The broadcasting station has largely replaced the public platform as the forum for debate of current issues, for presenting the claims of rival candidates for public office, and for dissemination of opinions and ideas over the entire range of human interests. In a word, broadcasting is at present far and away the most impressive claimant for protection under the constitutional guaranty of the freedom of speech, just as the newspaper is the principal claimant for protection under the sister guaranty of the freedom of the press.

Certainly no one who has observed the calamities which have befallen both radio and the press in Europe, and who realizes the extent to which our constitutional guaranties furnish barriers against similar developments in the United States, will wish to see the protection of free speech and free press abated one jot. Yet there are some who say that the subject is academic, that no impairment by governmental authorities of liberty of speech by radio has even been contemplated in this free country of ours, or ever will be.

## AN ACTUAL CONDITION

In answer, I propose to show that, if we judge by the only fair standard

<sup>1</sup> *The Plays of Euripides*, Everyman's Edition, Vol. II, p. 187.

available (the standard which is now applied to the press under decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States), broadcasting is already burdened with a very real although somewhat elusive censorship. I hasten to add that I do not charge that the repression has been deliberate or conscious; it has resulted rather, I believe, from a series of historical accidents and from a misconception, not only on the part of the authorities but also on the part of broadcasters, of the social purpose of the First Amendment and of the extent to which it is necessarily involved in certain types of government regulation.

The consequences, nevertheless, are the same as if the repression had been intended. The test is not whether there is now any visible governmental tyranny over the expression of opinions, or whether the persons regulated and the public are generally conscious of a restraint. The test is the *power*, under our Constitution and our laws, to impose such a restraint.<sup>2</sup>

So long as differences of opinion among our people are not so pronounced or so one-sided but that the

<sup>2</sup> "The disposition of mankind, whether as rulers or as fellow-citizens, to impose their own opinions and inclinations as a rule of conduct on others, is so energetically supported by some of the best and by some of the worst feelings incident to human nature, that it is hardly ever kept under restraint by anything but want of power; and as the power is not declining, but growing, unless a strong barrier of moral conviction can be raised against the mischief, we must expect, in the present circumstances of the world, to see it increase." Mill, *On Liberty*, Everyman's Edition, p. 77.

group in control of the government can (or must) bear to have its critics express themselves freely, the danger may seem of no great practical importance. Only a few persons, commonly regarded as extremists, will be persecuted, while most of their fellow citizens will applaud the authorities, little realizing that they are witnessing and abetting the erection of a guillotine on which they may be the next victims. But let a state of national hysteria set in (and we Americans are no less susceptible to the virus than the people of any other nation), and, I venture to say, the power claimed and exercised by the Federal agency regulating radio is such that little short of a miracle can prevent at least the partial equivalent of what has happened to the German broadcasting system.

My principal thesis is that, on the

basis of the legal and factual data now before us, broadcasting enjoys a liberty of expression far more circumscribed than that of the press, and that whereas the press has won a very substantial immunity, broadcasting has no immunity in time of war, and in time of peace it must be content in the main with lip service to the principle instead of the principle itself. The scope of freedom of speech by radio should be no whit less than the scope of freedom of the press, not only for the sake of the broadcaster and his listening public, but as well for the sake of the publisher and his reading public. Theirs is a common cause, liberty of expression, and a defeat suffered by either will eventually expose the other to a flank attack.

In developing this thesis I have borrowed the three subtitles of *Anthony Adverse*.

## I. THE ROOTS OF THE TREE

*The Constitution deals with substance, not shadows.  
Its inhibition was leveled at the thing, not the name.*

—Mr. Justice Field<sup>3</sup>

Any exploration of the protection which broadcasting has, or to which it is entitled, against governmental interference with liberty of expression, must begin with the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranties alike the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press against abridgment by Congress.

Liberty of expression, a convenient term embracing both oral and printed matter, is one of a family of liberties representing unequal victories won through the ages by subjects against their sovereigns, against the tyrannies alike of democratic majorities and of hereditary monarchs.

He who expects to find liberty of ex-

<sup>3</sup> *Cummings v. Missouri*, 4 Wall. 277, 325.

pression in its ideal sense given full protection by the Constitution or by any statute is, of course, foredoomed to disappointment. Even in the realm of what is technically classified as "speech" and "press," we must expect to find a measure of governmental interference. In other realms, closely related though they be, there are methods of expression which have partly or wholly fallen by the wayside. Paintings, music, and dramas on the stage or on the screen, may communicate ideas as effectively as any speech or any writing, and have done so in countless instances.<sup>4</sup> Yet censorship

<sup>4</sup> Tolstoy's story of the ideas and emotions communicated by the *Kreutzer Sonata* was in itself so moving that in 1890 the book was ex-

of the moving picture and other kinds of public spectacle has been upheld by the Supreme Court,<sup>5</sup> which declared that both judicial sense and common sense were against the bringing of such spectacles "into practical and legal similitude to a free press and liberty of opinion."

Broadcasting, however, is not dependent solely on the First Amendment for its immunity. When Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927, it endeavored to lay at rest any doubt as to the extent of the power of the Federal licensing authority, and inserted a section which specifically negated any power of censorship of radio programs and forbade any interference with the right of free speech.<sup>6</sup>

Space will not permit a detailed analysis of either the First Amendment or the statute. I have, however, assembled some observations and data which I think are sufficiently important to the present study to justify their inclusion.

#### A. THE FIRST AMENDMENT<sup>7</sup>

There are, it seems to me, four propositions which must be kept constantly before us in appraising the scope of the guaranty of the freedom of speech or of the press.

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cluded from the mails as indecent. The newspapers which thereupon promptly published the story in installments were not, however, similarly treated. See 19 Ops. Atty. Gen. 667, 669, cited in dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis in *United States v. Burleson*, 255 U. S. 407, 422.

<sup>5</sup> *Mutual Film Corp. v. Ohio Industrial Comm.*, 236 U. S. 230, 243-244.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 326 of the Communications Act of 1934 (Sec. 29 of the Radio Act of 1927).

<sup>7</sup> The First Amendment provides: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

1. *The guaranty aims not so much to protect the individual in holding opinions as to insure that society receives them.* We shall miss the peculiar significance of liberty of expression if we fail to note that its principal objective is to maintain open the avenues of communication between human minds. The danger to be guarded against is the placing of governmental barriers anywhere along these avenues. "The free *communication* of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man."<sup>8</sup>

This appreciated, we can have little patience with the devising of nice legal distinctions between barriers placed at different stages along the path of communication. The freedom of the press may be abridged with equal effect by suppression of news at the source, by preventing or burdening the transmission of news by wire or wireless from the news gatherer to the news publisher, by forbidding or curtailing the act of publication, and by restraining the sale and circulation of the printed product. I mention news particularly since this service is performed in common, though in differing proportions, by both the press and broadcasting, and because the untrammelled, speedy, and economical distribution of news is the most potent safeguard against the spread of erroneous opinions.

After all, the party in power cares not at all what a man says to himself, and very little as to what he says over the back fence to his neighbor. But it may care greatly as to what he says to the immense audience accessible through the columns of a newspaper or the microphone, and the most

<sup>8</sup> Manifesto on the Rights of Man, appended to the French Constitution of 1791. See Jellinek, *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens*, New York, 1901. This clause was taken over bodily into several of our State Constitutions.

tempting (because the most effective) method of stifling the dissemination of disagreeable opinions is by action directed against the agency of mass communication rather than against the individual writer or speaker.

So obvious does this seem that I shall not pause to discuss the contention once made by the Federal Radio Commission that broadcast speech is not "speech" within the protection of the First Amendment!<sup>9</sup>

2. *The guaranty is against government censorship and not against so-called private censorship.* The word "censorship" is used in a bewildering variety of senses in current discussions, including what is sometimes termed the "censorship" exercised by newspaper publishers or by broadcasters in the choice of material offered them. If this be censorship ("editorial selection" is, I believe, a far more accurate term<sup>10</sup>), we face a contradiction in terms and a dilemma. Some one must determine what shall go into the columns of a newspaper, for there is an economic limit to the number of pages. Some one must determine what shall go to make up the daily broadcast program, for there is a physical limit to the number of hours of a station's daily operation. Some one must make a selection of material of interest and importance to the public.

<sup>9</sup> Brief for Commission in *Trinity Methodist Church, South v. Federal Radio Commission*, 62 F(2d) 850, at pp. 47-49. The contention was premised on language contained in the opinion in *Buck v. Jewell-La Salle Realty Co.*, 283 U. S. 195, from which it was argued that the listener does not hear the original speech but a reproduction of it through electrical means. The same reasoning would apply to an auditorium equipped with amplifiers.

<sup>10</sup> The term was first suggested by Dr. Henry A. Bellows in hearings held before the House Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries in 1933. *Hearings on H. R. 7986*, 73d Cong., 2d Sess., p. 158.

Manifestly, the government cannot prescribe that all material offered shall be printed or broadcast, since that would lead to absurdities. It cannot prescribe that the material shall conform to any particular standard, such as "fairness," "impartiality," or "public interest, convenience, or necessity," without setting up a bureau to supervise compliance with the standard; and, once such a bureau is established, there is censorship. In a word, the alternative is between so-called private censorship and actual government censorship, and the latter is the evil against which the First Amendment is directed.<sup>11</sup>

3. *The guaranty is, and was intended to be, a real limitation upon the powers delegated to Congress.* This proposition, which ought to be considered self-evident, is frequently overlooked by governmental agencies. During the interval between the formulation of the Constitution and its ratification by the states, there was widespread apprehension over the omission of a bill of rights, and it is safe to say that the Constitution would not have been ratified if it had not been generally agreed that the first ten amendments would be immediately adopted. These amendments are, for all practical purposes, part of the original instrument.

The apprehensions to which the First Amendment was intended as an answer, were that Congress might use one or the other of the powers expressly delegated to it (e. g., the power to tax) as a weapon to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The safeguard against the supposed evils of private censorship is provided by competition between the various agencies of mass communication. The public is protected against any monopoly of broadcast facilities by very explicit provisions in the Radio Act.

<sup>12</sup> Warren, *The Making of the Constitution*, Boston, 1928, pp. 507-509; Madison's *Report on*

That there was good cause for such apprehensions is revealed by the narrow escapes and the occasional defeats suffered by the First Amendment in its collisions with the postal power, the war power, and (particularly in the case of broadcasting) the power to regulate interstate commerce. Yet, however far the Supreme Court may at times have departed in fact from the original intent of the Amendment, it has never failed to reiterate the principle that the Amendment operates as a restriction upon each and all of the powers of Congress.

4. *A valid test of the effectiveness of the guaranty is the scope of the right to censure public men.* I would not for an instant contend that this is the only test. The battle for liberty of expression has been waged over a far-flung line which has included, for example, heresy, blasphemy, and obscene or immoral language, of which battle there are still traces in our laws, including the Radio Act. Under the prevailing standards of the day, however, such utterances are unlikely in themselves to engender any vital conflict between government and citizen. The danger is rather that they will furnish a pretext for prosecution when the motive is something else, e. g., the silencing of political discussion.

The real test of the First Amendment is most likely to be furnished by what the Supreme Court has broadly described as "the opportunity for free political discussion."<sup>13</sup> This oppor-

tunity is worthless unless it means (1) that government, institutions, and laws may be freely criticized, and (2) that the shortcomings, unfitness, and misconduct of public men may be freely communicated to the public. Space will not permit separate consideration of the first of these (in reality they shade into each other), although it has always been a most significant test of liberty of expression. It involves what historically were known as "seditious libels," and it would not give us as satisfactory a basis for comparison between the press and broadcasting in time of peace as is provided by the right to censure public men.

The right to censure is *the right to defame*. The bluntness of this statement may come as somewhat of a shock to the layman, for the word "defame" has an unpleasant sound until its legal incidents are appreciated.

What is defamation? As applied to printed or written matter (libel) the generally accepted legal definition is any writing which tends to impeach a man's honesty, integrity, virtue, or reputation, and thereby to expose him to public hatred, contempt, ridicule, or financial injury. As applied to spoken matter (slander), the definition has been considerably more narrow, and has been confined to a few classes of particularly derogatory charges. Since the advent of the broadcaster, a number of states have enlarged the definition of slander so that, so far as radio is concerned, it is coextensive with libel.<sup>14</sup> One or two states have reached, in part, the same result by court decision.<sup>15</sup> The other states are of course free to follow the same course.

*the Virginia Resolutions*, Elliot's Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 571-573. See also *Federalist Papers*, No. 84; Ford, *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States*, Brooklyn, 1888, pp. 87, 156; McMaster and Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, Philadelphia, 1888, pp. 180-181; Stevens, *Sources of the Constitution of the United States*, p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U. S. 359, 369; see also Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 8th ed., Vol. II, pp. 885-886.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, the statutes in California, Illinois, and Oregon.

<sup>15</sup> *Sorenson v. KFAB Broadcasting Co.*, Nebr., 1932, 243 N.W. 82; *Miles v. Louis Wasmer, Inc.*, II Jour. Radio Law, 161.

Defamation does not cease to be such because it is true. Truth is simply a matter of defense which the defamer may allege and prove in order to escape paying damages or criminal penalties. Even the truth is not enough in some states, where the defendant must also show that it was published with good motives and for justifiable ends. It is obvious, therefore, that the shortcomings, unfitness, and misconduct of public men cannot be brought to the attention of the public without what technically is defamation. As expressed in many of the State constitutions, "every person may freely speak and write his sentiments on all subjects, *being responsible for the abuse of that right.*" In the case of defamation the right is abused when the statements are false. The injured person may sue his defamer and recover damages.<sup>16</sup>

The important aspect of the right to censure public men is that it may be exercised without *previous restraint*.<sup>17</sup> As a practical matter, there can be no advance trial of the truth or untruth of defamatory language before publication, without censorship. The absurdities involved are nowhere better illustrated than in a decision of the Nebraska Supreme Court,<sup>18</sup> which, in deciding an action for libel against a broadcaster, and after saying that it

<sup>16</sup>The defamer is also subject to criminal proceedings for libel (and, by statute in a number of states, for slander by radio), and, if convicted, may be fined or imprisoned. In order to avoid undue complication, I am omitting reference at this point to such matters as the right of fair comment and criticism and the defenses of absolute and conditional privilege. I am also omitting reference to the class of utterances made in the course of pending judicial proceedings in such a manner as to obstruct justice, punishable as contempt of court.

<sup>17</sup>The meaning of "previous restraint" will be discussed in Part II.

<sup>18</sup>*Sorenson v. KFAB Broadcasting Co.*, 248 N.W. 82.

is the duty of the broadcaster to require a proposed political speech to be submitted to it in advance and to cull out all defamatory matter, went on to say that it is the duty of its technical operators and its announcer to shut off the speech by stopping the mechanism when they hear anything defamatory in the process of being said. In other words, these employees should be sufficiently versed in the law to know instantaneously whether the various parts of the speech are legally defamatory, and should also be sufficiently versed in the arts of Cassandra to forecast whether the defamatory portions can be proved to be true!<sup>19</sup>

## B. THE STATUTE

Section 326 of the Communications Act of 1934, a verbatim reproduction of Section 29 of the Radio Act of 1927, provides:

Nothing in this act shall be understood or construed to give the licensing authority the power of censorship over the radio communications<sup>20</sup> or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the licensing authority which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communications. No person

<sup>19</sup>Sec. 315 of the Communications Act (reproducing Sec. 18 of the Radio Act of 1927) provides that, if a licensee permits a candidate for public office to use his station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other candidates for that office. The section expressly states that "such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section." The Nebraska Supreme Court declared that this prohibition "merely prevents the licensee from censoring the words as to their political and partisan trend," and, by necessary implication, that it does not prevent censorship of words that the broadcaster might consider defamatory!

<sup>20</sup>Section 3(b) of the Act of 1934, which reproduces in substance Section 31 of the Act of 1927, defines "radio communication" as "the transmission by radio of writing, signs, signals, pictures, and sounds of all kinds."

within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication.

Thus, in addition to the First Amendment, there has been in force for nearly eight years a clear mandate from Congress to the Federal Radio Commission and its successor, the Federal Communications Commission, to refrain from censorship of radio programs and from any abridgment of free speech by radio.<sup>21</sup> On its face, the statute gives no intimation that the right protected in the case of radio is of narrower scope than the right recognized and established under the First Amendment in the case of the press, and the reader might well express surprise that it should be thought necessary to seek further evidence of what, by settled canons of statutory interpretation, seems self-evident.

#### POLICY OF NONINTERFERENCE

For fifteen years prior to the establishment of the Federal Radio Commission under the Radio Act of 1927, the Secretary of Commerce was the Federal radio licensing authority under the Radio Act of 1912. With the advent of broadcasting, Mr. Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, adopted and thereafter rigidly adhered to a policy of noninterference with broadcast programs. He pointed out that the decision of the United States not to imitate other nations in their systems of government control of radio supported by tax on the listener has avoided the pitfalls of political, reli-

<sup>21</sup> There are in the Act certain specific restrictions on complete freedom as to broadcast material, but they do not materially affect the question now under consideration (Secs. 315, 317, and 325, corresponding to Secs. 18, 19, and 28 of the Radio Act of 1927, and the new Sec. 316 prohibiting, and providing for criminal penalties for, the broadcasting of information about lotteries).

gious, and social conflicts in the use of speech over the radio which no government could solve—it has preserved free speech to this medium.<sup>22</sup>

During Mr. Hoover's administration of the office and under his auspices, four national radio conferences were held from 1922 to 1925, at which representatives of government and of industry met in a series of great cooperative efforts, and in which the American system of regulation of broadcasting was born and matured. The deliberations and recommendations of these conferences (particularly the third and fourth), attended as they were by the principal sponsors of radio legislation in both Houses of Congress, played an important part in the framing of the Radio Act of 1927, which, with minor changes, was carried bodily forward into the Communications Act of 1934.

At these conferences there was unanimous commendation of Mr. Hoover's policy of noninterference with broadcast programs. Among the conclusions reached by the Third Conference (1924) was a recommendation that the policy be upheld and that "any other attitude would necessarily involve censorship in some degree."<sup>23</sup>

At the Fourth Conference a resolution was unanimously adopted "that any agency of program censorship other than public opinion is not necessary and would be detrimental to the advancement of the art."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Proceedings of Fourth National Radio Conference, 1925, p. 1. See also Mr. Hoover's reference to censorship in his communication on the pending bill, Jan. 29, 1927, 68 Cong. Rec. 2573.

<sup>23</sup> Proceedings of Third National Radio Conference, 1924, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Proceedings of Fourth National Radio Conference, pp. 10-11. Committee No. 8 of the Conference concluded that governmental authority should not "under any circumstances enter the forbidden field of censorship" and recommended "that the doctrine of free speech be held inviolate." *Ibid.* pp. 34-35.

In the debates in Congress which preceded the Radio Act of 1927, the sponsors of the Act in both Houses referred to these recommendations and made it clear that they desired and intended to give effect to them.<sup>25</sup>

#### BILL IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Radio Act of 1927 originated in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. White of Maine early in 1926.<sup>26</sup> It contained no provision forbidding censorship. Mr. White's explanation of this aspect of the bill to the House can best be presented by an excerpt from the debates:

MR. LA GUARDIA. The gentleman stated the recommendations, among which was a guaranty of free speech over the radio. What provision does the bill make to carry that out?

MR. WHITE of Maine. It does not touch that matter specifically. Personally, I felt that we could go no further than the Federal Constitution goes in that respect. The pending bill gives the Secretary<sup>27</sup> no power of interfering with freedom of speech in any degree.

MR. LA GUARDIA. It is the belief of the gentleman and the intent of Congress in passing this bill not to give the Secretary any power whatever in that respect in considering a license or the revocation of a license.

MR. WHITE of Maine. No power at all.<sup>28</sup>

Defamation by radio was brought up specifically, and was the subject of

extended debate, particularly with reference to defamatory charges made in the course of political attacks. Mr. Blanton of Texas averred that the bill should have included a provision regulating or controlling the broadcasting of such utterances. Mr. White, supported by others, answered by saying that the common law and the state statutes on slander were ample to protect any individual, and that the proposed Federal regulation or control was "very near censorship."<sup>29</sup> Mr. Blanton persisted, however, and made an unsuccessful attempt to have the bill amended so as to forbid defamation by radio. His proposal was overwhelmingly rejected.<sup>30</sup>

An earlier radio bill had contained a provision authorizing the establishment of certain priorities as between *kinds* of broadcast stations with reference to type of ownership and program service. This had been eliminated because of apprehension on the score of censorship.<sup>31</sup>

#### BILL IN THE SENATE

On reaching the Senate the bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, where it was amended by the substitution of a new bill. The principal difference was the establishment of a commission as the licensing authority, instead of the Secretary of Commerce. As reported out by the committee, the amended

<sup>25</sup> Mr. White, 67 Cong. Rec. 5479; Mr. Dill, 67 Cong. Rec. 12350.

<sup>26</sup> Mr. White, now Senator from Maine, was then a member and later chairman of what is now the House Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries. The principal sponsor of radio legislation in the Senate was Mr. Dill, Senator from Washington, a member of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce.

<sup>27</sup> The original House bill continued the Secretary of Commerce as the licensing authority.

<sup>28</sup> 67 Cong. Rec. 5480.

<sup>29</sup> 67 Cong. Rec. 5480.

<sup>30</sup> By a vote of 287 to 57, 67 Cong. Rec. 5646. Mr. Blanton had previously succeeded in persuading the Committee of the Whole to agree to his amendment by a vote of 42 to 27, after extended debate, 67 Cong. Rec. 5272-5273.

<sup>31</sup> Hearings on H. R. 5589, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 39. See also debates on Wagner-Hatfield bill in Senate on May 15, 1934, 78 Cong. Rec. 9149-9150; also hearings on S. 2190, 73d Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 170-190, for later reiterations of the same point of view.

bill contained two sections of interest to the present study, as follows:

Sec. 7. No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall knowingly utter . . . *any libelous or slanderous communication by radio*, and the violation of this section shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or one year in jail, or both.

Sec. 8. Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give the commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station *except as herein stated and declared*, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communications *except as specifically stated and declared in this Act*: Provided, That no person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication. [Italics added.]

The committee report (by Mr. Dill) accompanying the bill contained the following description of these two sections:

No person shall utter any false, fraudulent, libelous or slanderous communication by radio, and violation of this provision shall be punished by a fine of \$1,000 or one year in jail or both.

The commission shall not be permitted to exercise the power of censorship over radio programs, but no person shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by radio.<sup>33</sup>

An attempt by Mr. Blease of South Carolina to have the bill amended so as to empower the commission to censor and prohibit broadcasts regarding evolution was, after an entertaining debate, rejected by the Senate. In arguing for the amendment Mr. Blease charged:

We are going to create a commission and let them censor almost everything in the world except the question of religion. . . .

<sup>33</sup> Report No. 772, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 4.

Mr. Dill replied:

I want to correct a statement which the Senator has made. . . . The bill does not give to the commission the power to censor programs, but instead there is a provision in the bill which specifically prohibits the commission from censoring programs in any way.<sup>34</sup>

There was no discussion specifically of Section 7.

#### THE BILL IN ITS FINAL STAGES

The bill then went to a conference committee composed of representatives of the House and of the Senate. When it emerged, the above quoted portion of Section 7 had disappeared. Section 8 had been modified by striking out the clauses above italicized,<sup>34</sup> and, thus modified, it became Section 29 of the Act of 1927. The conference bill then went back to the two Houses for further consideration and final action on January 27, 1927, accompanied by a report which said:

That part of Section 29 which refers to the power of censorship and to the freedom of speech is taken from the Senate amendment, there being no similar provisions in the House bill.<sup>35</sup>

There was no further discussion or explanation of Section 29 in either the House or the Senate.

In the House, Mr. Blanton of Texas again raised the question of regulating or prohibiting defamation by radio. He asked why the conference had struck Section 7 of the Senate amendment from the bill, and was told that this was because of a question "as to the legality of such a provision."<sup>36</sup> In the Senate, Mr. Howell of Nebraska

<sup>33</sup> 67 Cong. Rec. 12615.

<sup>34</sup> Also by substituting "licensing authority" for "commission."

<sup>35</sup> H. R. Report No. 1886, 69th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> 68 Cong. Rec. 2567.

touched indirectly on the subject, complaining of the deletion of a provision in the Senate amendment "requiring every radio station affording programs to keep an accurate official log of its broadcasting."<sup>37</sup>

In the House, Mr. Davis of Tennessee criticized the bill for omitting any provision to curb "private censorship." Mr. Scott of Michigan,<sup>38</sup> who had charge of the conference bill in the House, answered by saying:

. . . you are trespassing very closely on sacred ground when you attempt to control the right of free speech. It has become axiomatic to allow the freedom of the press, and when Congress attempts by indirection to coerce and place supervision over the right of a man to say from a radio station what he believes to be just and proper, I think Congress is trespassing upon a very sacred principle.<sup>39</sup>

In the Senate, Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts made a somewhat similar criticism of the bill.<sup>40</sup>

Thus the Radio Act of 1927 was enacted by Congress with the distinct understanding by those that voted for it that the Act gave the licensing authority: (1) no power to censor programs in any way, much less to take any action abridging freedom of speech; (2) in particular, no power to regulate or control defamation by radio; and (3) no power to regulate or control "private censorship" of programs by the broadcaster other than that contained in Section 18 requiring equal treatment of candidates for public office, but without imposing any obligation to allow the use of the station by any candidate.

## II. THE OTHER BRONZE BOY

*A journalist! That means a grumbler, a censorer, a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations! Four hostile newspapers are more to be dreaded than a hundred thousand bayonets.*

—Napoleon

In comparing the freedom of the press enjoyed by publishers with the freedom of speech enjoyed by broadcasters, I have narrowed the issue to the subject of censure of public men. By the term "public men" I mean to include, of course, government officials, candidates for office, and generally men identified with issues and institutions of public interest. What is the scope of the immunity of the press in this respect?

<sup>37</sup> 68 Cong. Rec. 4152.

<sup>38</sup> He was then Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and chief of the Managers on the part of the House in the Conference Committee. Mr. Davis had previously voiced the same criticism, 67 Cong. Rec. 5484.

<sup>39</sup> 68 Cong. Rec. 2567.

To answer this question, even briefly, requires an understanding of a very vital distinction between two kinds of government interference with liberty of expression: "previous restraint," and "subsequent punishment." The distinction must be accepted with some degree of caution, since many cases involve both, and others are difficult to classify. It has become traditional, however, and it has a very real relation to the social purpose of the First Amendment.

### DESCRIPTION OF FORMS OF INTERFERENCE

Previous restraint of the press may be defined as any form of governmen-

<sup>40</sup> 68 Cong. Rec. 3257.

tal interference which operates to *prevent* publication without advance government approval either of the publisher himself or of the matter to be published, or to *suppress* further publication because of matter previously published which does not meet with the approval of the government. Any such restraint is censorship.

The traditional example, historically, is a law that requires that each publisher be licensed by the government, or that each book or issue of a publication be licensed, and provides that publication without such license is a crime. Or the law may simply require advance submission of matter to a government agency for approval, and penalize publication of unapproved matter. Or the press may be subjected to a discriminatory occupational tax. Or a newspaper may be suppressed by confiscation of its plant, or by injunction forbidding its further publication (as in the case of *Near v. Minnesota*, hereinafter discussed), or by denial of second-class mail privileges preventing its circulation (as in the case of the *Milwaukee Leader* during the Great War), or by preventing the telegraphic or wireless transmission of news from a newspaper correspondent to his newspaper (as is done in some foreign countries which operate or control their communication systems), or by denying access to legitimate sources of news. Any attempt to enumerate *all* the ways in which a government can impose previous restraints would be immediately challenged and frustrated by the resourcefulness which bureaucracy has always displayed in inventing new devices.

Subsequent punishment is that form of government interference which operates to prevent publication solely through fear of consequences in the

form of penalties, civil damages, or deprivation of some right or privilege. Fear of subsequent punishment naturally has indirectly the effect of a previous restraint. Similarly, each form of previous restraint compounds a large element of subsequent punishment. The difference between the two is chiefly a matter of emphasis which, however, has a vital significance in the struggle for liberty of expression.

Space will not permit a review of all the devices by which government has attempted to abridge the freedom of the press either by previous restraint or by subsequent punishment, or of all the subtleties which have been enlisted in justification of these devices. In the field of previous restraint such a review would carry us back to the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts, and would include the Star Chamber, the ordinance of the Long Parliament against which Milton wrote his classic *Areopagitica* in 1644, the Stamp Act of Queen Anne in 1711, and many other important events. The story has, however, been too frequently and too well told to require repetition.<sup>41</sup> The extent to which the press has maintained its immunity in this field is, for our present purposes, sufficiently shown by two decisions of the United States Supreme Court—*Near v. Minnesota*, decided in 1931, and *United States v. Burleson*, decided in 1921.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, May, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. II, Chs. 9 and 10; Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, Vol. II, Ch. 24; De Lolme, *Commentaries on the Constitution of England*, Ch. 9; Paterson, *Liberty of the Press*, London, 1928; Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge*, London, 1899; Chafee, *Freedom of Speech*, New York, 1920; Schofield, *Freedom of the Press*, Amer. Sociol. Soc. Proc., 1914, Vol. IX, p. 67; E. C. Caldwell, *Censorship of Radio Programs*, I Jour. Radio Law, 441; and many other treatises and articles.

<sup>42</sup> The citations are 283 U. S. 697 and 255 U. S. 407.

### THE MINNESOTA "GAG-LAW" CASE

In *Near v. Minnesota*, the Supreme Court had before it a statute enacted in 1925 which provided, among other things, that any one engaged in the business of regularly or customarily publishing "a malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper, magazine or other periodical" was guilty of a nuisance, and might be enjoined, both temporarily and perpetually, from further committing or maintaining the nuisance.

Under this statute the county attorney of Hennepin County brought action to enjoin publication of *The Saturday Press*, a weekly journal which had been published in Minneapolis for nine successive issues. To appreciate the nature of the weekly, the description of its contents and the excerpts therefrom must be read in the Supreme Court's opinion. Its contents were practically all such as would ordinarily be thought of as "malicious, scandalous and defamatory," indeed, scurrilous in the extreme. No attempt was made to prove the truth of any of its statements. The Supreme Court of the United States, by a five-to-four vote, however, held the Minnesota statute invalid and reversed a judgment of the Minnesota court which had directed that an injunction issue against the publishers. In a word, the Supreme Court held that a newspaper cannot be suppressed or put out of business because it is regularly malicious, scandalous, and defamatory.

The gist of the Court's decision is that the Minnesota statute operated as an unconstitutional *previous restraint* upon publication. As found by the Court, the operation and effect of the Minnesota statute was

that public authorities may bring the owner or publisher of a newspaper or periodical before a judge upon a charge of conducting

a business of publishing scandalous and defamatory matter—in particular that the matter consists of charges against public officers of official dereliction—and unless the owner or publisher is able and disposed to bring competent evidence to satisfy the judge that the charges are true and are published with good motives and for justifiable ends, his *newspaper or periodical is suppressed and further publication is made punishable as a contempt. This is of the essence of censorship.* [Italics added.]

A large portion of the Court's opinion merits quotation because it is so strikingly pertinent to our present study, but a few short excerpts must suffice:

The fact that for approximately one hundred and fifty years there has been almost an entire absence of attempts to impose previous restraints upon publications relating to the malfeasance of public officers is significant of the deep-seated conviction that such restraints would violate constitutional right. Public officers, whose character and conduct remain open to debate and free discussion in the press, find their remedies for false accusations in actions under libel laws providing for redress and punishment, and not in proceedings to restrain the publication of newspapers and periodicals. . . .

The statute in question cannot be justified by reason of the fact that the publisher is permitted to show, before injunction issues, that the matter published is true and is published with good motives and for justifiable ends. . . .

The preliminary freedom, by virtue of the very reason for its existence, does not depend, as this court has said, on proof of truth.

### A VICTORY FOR THE PRESS

This decision represents a tidewater mark in the battle of the press for immunity from governmental interference. It is a complete victory for the right of censure of public men, free of any previous restraint. In passing it should be noted, however, that there

are other fronts where the press has not yet secured recognition of a commensurate right. This is intimated in the opinion in *Near v. Minnesota*, which concedes the existence of "exceptional cases" where the protection "is not absolutely unlimited." The exceptions mentioned are as follows:

. . . a government might prevent actual obstruction to its recruiting service or the publication of the sailing dates of transports or the number and location of troops . . . the primary requirement of decency may be enforced against obscene publications.<sup>43</sup> . . . The security of the community life may be protected against incitement to acts of violence and the overthrow by force of orderly government.

#### MILWAUKEE LEADER CASE

If *Near v. Minnesota* indicates the tidewater mark of press success in recent years, the majority opinion in *United States v. Burleson*, decided only ten years earlier, in March 1921, may be said to mark a low ebb of defeat. The Supreme Court, by a vote of seven to two (Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissenting), upheld an order of the Postmaster General made in September 1917, revoking the second-class mail privilege which had been granted in 1911 to the publisher of the *Milwaukee Leader*.

The ground for the action was that the publication had become "non-mailable" under Title XII of the Espionage Act.<sup>44</sup>

We cannot here examine the de-

<sup>43</sup> See, however, *Dearborn Pub. Co. v. Fitzgerald*, 1921, 271 Fed. 479, 482. With regard to the law against blasphemy, Bury says: "It hinders uneducated people from saying in the only way in which they know how to say it, what those who have been brought up differently say, with impunity, far more effectively and far more insidiously. . . . Thus the law, as now administered, simply penalizes bad taste and places disabilities upon uneducated free-thinkers." *History of Freedom of Thought*, pp. 246, 247.

<sup>44</sup> Approved June 15, 1917, 40 Stat. at L. 217.

tailed character of the articles on which the above findings were based. I am sure that the reader who has done so will agree that in the main they represent a point of view regarding the nature and origins of the war, and the underlying causes of our participation in it, which is now widely held and accepted as true by a substantial portion, perhaps a majority, of our population.

As pointed out in the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis, the *Milwaukee Leader* case presented no legal question peculiar to war. The Espionage Act is not the first instance of a declaration by Congress that particular matter is unmailable. In the past, the Postmaster General has been authorized to exclude other matter from the mails, such as obscene matter and information concerning abortion, matter violating the Copyright Laws, communications forming part of schemes to defraud or concerning lotteries, and, what is very pertinent to our present study, libelous or threatening matter upon envelopes or post cards. But his authority had always been thought to be limited to the specific offending piece of mail; never before had it been considered that, either as a preventive measure or as a punishment, he might order that in the future mail tendered by a particular person, or all future issues of a particular paper, should be refused transmission.

#### DISSENTING OPINIONS

In his dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Brandeis said:

If such power were possessed by the Postmaster General, he would, in view of the practical finality of his decisions, become the universal censor of publications. For denial of the use of the mail would be, for most of them, tantamount to a denial of the right of circulation. . . .

Congress may not, through its postal police power, put limitations upon the freedom of the press, which, if directly attempted, would be unconstitutional. . . . It is argued that although a newspaper is barred from the second-class mail, liberty of circulation is not denied; because the first and third-class mail and also other means of transportation are left open to a publisher. Constitutional rights should not be frittered away by arguments so technical and unsubstantial. . . .

If, under the Constitution, administrative officers may, as a mere incident of the peace-time administration of their departments, be vested with the power to issue such orders as this, there is little of substance in our Bill of Rights, and in every extension of governmental functions lurks a new danger to civil liberty. . . .

Mr. Justice Holmes, in his dissenting opinion, said:

The United States may give up the Post Office when it sees fit; but, while it carries it on, the use of the mails is almost as much a part of free speech as the right to use our tongues. . . .

The decision brings into bold relief the dangers inevitably inherent in the use of the administrative method of regulation, by which I mean the concentration of executive, legislative, and judicial powers over a subject matter in an executive official, board, or commission, with relatively little control reserved to the courts. Generally speaking, the press has been subjected to the administrative type of regulation only in its relations to the Post Office.<sup>45</sup> Broadcasting is subject to it, not only down to the most minute details of carrying on business, but for its very existence.

<sup>45</sup> It is becoming increasingly involved, however, in the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission in the matter of advertising. Whether, or to what extent, this involves freedom of the press is outside the scope of this article.

#### SUBSEQUENT PUNISHMENT

So important historically were the issues raised by attempts to impose previous restraint on the press, that it is not uncommon to find the view expressed or implied that the constitutional guaranty was directed at previous restraints *only*.<sup>46</sup> That this is not so, is well settled by decisions of the Supreme Court.

A large field of utterances which in earlier days were crimes in England are protected by the First Amendment against subsequent punishment, including heresy (except for the faint vestige in modern laws prohibiting profanity), seditious libels (except for the inroads made by decisions under the Espionage Act of 1917), and what is known as fair comment and criticism in the field of defamation. Hardly less important was the winning of the right of a jury trial on important issues in actions for defamation.

Two vulnerable points have, however, betrayed themselves. The first is the specious reasoning that when a business or other activity is placed under a permit or license system, the refusal of a permit or license because of the applicant's past conduct is not a punishment for such conduct. Such reasoning involves a glaring fiction and puts a terrific strain on intellectual integrity. The other point is the increased use of such broad language in statutes as to provide a trap for utterances entitled to protection under the First Amendment. A variation of this point, which may deserve separate classification as a third point, is the tendency exhibited at times by the courts (particularly during war time) to regard utterances which are in reality merely strong criticism of

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. IV, p. 150; Story, *The Constitution*, 5th ed. Sec. 1880; *Patterson v. Colorado*, 205 U. S. 454, 462.

government, laws, or public men, as a direct incitement to others to overthrow the government or to breach the laws.

In a case<sup>47</sup> decided only a month before *Near v. Minnesota*, the Court held invalid a California statute which was found to abridge the right to engage in free political discussion, saying:

A statute which upon its face, and as authoritatively construed, is so vague and indefinite as to permit the punishment of the fair use of this opportunity is repugnant to the guaranty of liberty contained in the 14th Amendment.

The legal definition of defamation is dangerously broad, and it is only because we have at hand a whole library of court decisions and learned treatises rendered and written over a period of several centuries, that there is not widespread abuse of the definition. The hopelessly irreconcilable court decisions as to what constitutes obscene or indecent language furnish a valuable object lesson as to what can happen to language which to the average person may seem fairly definite.<sup>48</sup> What is obscene and heard only in the back alley today may have the sanction of the academy of society and be heard in the *salon* tomorrow.

The trouble with statutes couched in general phraseology is that they

furnish convenient vehicles for reaching utterances against which they were not really aimed (literature about birth control or instruction in sex matters for adolescents, for example), just as the Mann Act was distorted into a vehicle for punishing immorality that happened to have an accidental ingredient of interstate travel, and as such became too frequently a tool for wreaking private vengeance rather than furthering the public weal.

When the dragnet provided by the Espionage Act was hauled in and a roll call was taken of the unfortunates ensnared, what did it reveal? A host of German spies or of persons rendering military aid or giving military information to the enemy? Not at all. It was, for the most part, an aggregation of Socialists, Communists, I.W.W.'s, Nonpartisan Leaguers, pacifists, and sympathizers with the new Russian Government. The statute, supposedly enacted under Congress' war power, had served excellently to repress social and economic views which those in power despised or feared. What is to be expected, then, if we find that a statute forbids all language which, in the view of a government commission, does not meet the standard of "public interest, convenience or necessity," under penalty of destruction of the offender's investment and business?<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U. S. 359.

<sup>48</sup> Consider the varied career of such books as Joyce's *Ulysses*. See *An Outline History of Post Office Censorship*, New York: The National Council on Freedom from Censorship, 1932; also Dennett, *Who's Obscene?* New York, 1930.

<sup>49</sup> "A statute, therefore, which imposes heavy penalties for violation of commands of an unascertained quality is, in its nature, somewhat akin to an *ex post facto* law, since it punishes for an act done when the legality of the command has not been authoritatively determined." *Wadley S. R. Co. v. Georgia*, 235 U. S. 651.

## III. THE LONELY TWIN

*What is true of restrictions upon printing must be true of other restrictions upon the movement of ideas. They are all condemned by the same curse.*

—Mr. Justice Cardozo<sup>50</sup>

What is the right of the broadcaster to use, or permit others to use, his station for the censure of public men?

One portion of the subject can be disposed of immediately—and briefly. *If the statutes now on the books be given effect, freedom of speech by radio virtually does not exist in time of war.* Not only is the broadcaster faced with the same restrictions as in peace time (and, in all probability, an extension of them since they are very elastic), but the President is expressly given power to close down any station and to remove its apparatus and equipment merely upon proclamation “that there exists war or a threat of war or a state of public peril or disaster or other national emergency.”<sup>51</sup>

The President's power is arbitrary and unqualified. He need give no reason for his action. To ask for faith that this power will not be used for partisan purposes or for the stifling of opinions is to tax human credulity, particularly after the country's experience with the Espionage Act.

What is meant by the words “or other national emergency”? The familiar rule of statutory construction, *eiusdem generis*, should be strictly applied to limit the words to a state of affairs actually, and not merely metaphorically, akin to war. Yet many recently enacted statutes, Federal and

state, recite that a national emergency *now* exists. The President has made several proclamations and executive orders to the same effect. The Supreme Court has sustained the validity of legislation on this ground. The implications are, to put it mildly, disturbing.

Let us now turn to consider the rights of the broadcaster in time of peace (or of non-emergency), following the same outline we have previously followed with relation to the press.

## PREVIOUS RESTRAINT

We have seen that a newspaper may not be suppressed for publishing matter defamatory of public men, no matter how scandalous or how regularly continued. Yet a broadcasting station can be put out of existence and its owner deprived of his investment and means of livelihood if it is used for the oral dissemination of exactly the same language. That is, this can be done if the views and past practices of the licensing authority and the decisions so far rendered by the courts are upheld by the Supreme Court.

The power to suppress a broadcast station is exercised principally by refusing to renew a license<sup>52</sup> because of utterances previously disseminated over the station, on the ground that the utterances do not meet the test of “public interest, convenience or neces-

<sup>50</sup> *The Paradoxes of Legal Science*, Col. Univ. Press, 1928, p. 104.

<sup>51</sup> Sec. 606 (c) of the Communications Act of 1934, reproducing part of Sec. 6 of the Radio Act of 1927. In order not unduly to complicate the discussion, I am overlooking the possibilities of Sec. 606 (a) and Sec. 305 (a).

<sup>52</sup> The same result is also achieved by refusing applications for improved facilities, such as a better wave length, more power, or longer hours of operation; by subjecting the offending licensee to inferior facilities; and, possibly, also by revocation of license.

sity." To understand how this state of affairs has come about, it is necessary to review briefly the essential provisions of the Radio Act<sup>53</sup> and the history of its interpretation and application. The story of how the intent of our forefathers as expressed in the First Amendment, and of our modern lawmakers as expressed in Section 29 of the Radio Act, has been successfully circumvented is one of the most interesting and instructive in the annals of administrative law.

The cornerstone of the Radio Act is the section which makes it a crime punishable by heavy penalties for any person to engage in radio communication without a license from the Federal Government. The licensing authority established by the Act is a commission (formerly the Federal Radio Commission<sup>54</sup> and now the Federal Communications Commission). The maximum period for which a broadcast license can be issued is three years, but for nearly four years after the enactment of the Act in 1927 the period was limited to three months, partly by law and partly by Commission practice, and even now, broadcast licenses are issued for a maximum period of only six months.

#### POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission is directed to grant or deny applications for renewal of

<sup>53</sup> I use the term "Radio Act," as I have previously done in this article, to include both the Radio Act of 1927 and those portions of the Communications Act of 1934 which in substance reproduced and continued the Radio Act of 1927.

<sup>54</sup> The Radio Act of 1927, as originally enacted, established the Commission as the licensing authority for a period of only one year, after which it was to sit in a supervising quasi-judicial capacity and the Secretary of Commerce was to be the licensing authority. The Commission, however, was continued as the licensing authority by successive amendments to the Act, and finally the Radio Division of the Department of Commerce was merged into it.

license<sup>55</sup> according to the standard of "public interest, convenience, or necessity," and, before denying an application, must afford the applicant a hearing to determine whether the standard is complied with. It is authorized, after notice and hearing, to revoke licenses for any of a number of grounds.

The Commission has invoked the revocation procedure practically not at all, and has assumed that it may refuse to renew a license for any of the reasons for which it could have revoked it, together with other reasons for which revocation is not authorized. The Commission thus sits in a judicial capacity with power to decide on the birth, the continued existence, and the death of each broadcasting station, and, except for specific provisions in the Act which are not important at this juncture, the only rule to guide its decisions (outside of its own regulations) is "public interest, convenience or necessity." Its decisions can (with certain exceptions) be appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia,<sup>56</sup> but under a proviso which limits the review to questions of law, the Commission's findings of fact being conclusive if supported by any substantial evidence.

The Commission is also vested with almost unlimited legislative power. It is authorized to make regulations on a variety of subjects, together with blanket authority to "make such regulations not inconsistent with law as it may deem necessary to prevent interference between stations and to carry out the provisions of this Act."

The only restriction on this regulation-making power is that the regula-

<sup>55</sup> I omit reference to other kinds of applications. The situation is the same in all.

<sup>56</sup> On petition for certiorari, a further review can be obtained in the Supreme Court, subject to the latter's discretion.

tions shall conform to the standard of "public interest, convenience, or necessity." These regulations have all the force and effect of statutes enacted by Congress. Violation of any of them is a crime entailing heavy penalties by way of fine. Violation is also a ground for revocation of license and, under the Commission's practice, for refusal to renew a license.

#### LIMITATION OF POWER

Thus at every turn in the Act we meet with the phrase "public interest, convenience, or necessity," or its equivalent, as the principal restriction on the Commission's powers. Is the phrase susceptible of an intelligible definition? It was obviously borrowed from public utility legislation, requiring that, before engaging in new construction, the public utility obtain a sort of permit usually known as a certificate of public convenience and necessity. Only recently the Supreme Court had to pass on the contention that a similar phrase in the Transportation Act, i.e., "public interest," was too vague and uncertain to be valid. In meeting and rejecting this contention the Court, in an opinion written by Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, said:

It is a mistaken assumption that this is a mere general reference to public welfare without any standard to guide determinations. The purposes of the Act, the requirements it imposes, and the context of the provision in question show the contrary.<sup>57</sup>

If we apply the same test to the Radio Act, we obtain fairly satisfactory results. The powers of the Commission to legislate and to adjudicate

<sup>57</sup> *New York Central Securities Corp. v. United States*, 1932, 287 U. S. 12, 24 and cases cited. See also *United States v. American Bond & Mortgage Co.*, 31 F (2d) 448, 457, 52 F (2d) 818, 821.

are limited to what may be called traffic regulation purposes. It is the traffic policeman of the ether, and, with particular reference to broadcasting, its functions are, first, to regulate the *location* of stations so that there will be a fair geographical distribution of service,<sup>58</sup> and, second, to see that a maximum physical use of the ether is made possible by the avoidance of interference through a scientific allocation of wave lengths and power and suitable prescriptions as to the transmitting apparatus and the operation thereof, the technical qualifications of operators, and the like.

There is a wealth of evidence to support these limitations in the legislative history of the Radio Act (including the circumstances that led to its enactment), some of which has already been summarized in my review of the history of Section 29 forbidding censorship.

#### DELAYS OF THE COMMISSION

What has actually happened? The Commission was very slow to exercise its regulation-making power to effect either of the major purposes for which it was created. It was not until June 1930 that it adopted any procedural regulations worthy of the name, and only in November 1931 did it adopt a comprehensive set of technical regulations.<sup>59</sup> The formulation of these regulations came too late to check an unexpected development which had gone on apace in the meantime, largely due to the absence of any rules, and which has had a preponderant influence in steering the course of the Commission's

<sup>58</sup> This subject is specifically covered by what is known as the Davis Amendment, Sec. 307 (a), formerly Sec. 9 of the Radio Act as amended.

<sup>59</sup> Previously the Commission had from time to time issued what it termed "general orders," which had reached a total of 119 and were a conglomerate of confusing enactments.

administration of the Act into a field that had never been contemplated.

Immediately after its establishment in 1927 the Commission was faced with a situation calling urgently for action, due to the excessive number of broadcast stations which had crowded their way into the congested ether because of defects in the Radio Act of 1912.<sup>60</sup> The Commission was expected to set to work immediately to bring order out of chaos by a technically sound allocation of wave lengths and by reducing the excessive number of stations, and, in so doing, to effect a more equitable distribution of stations over the country. For reasons not exclusively the fault of the Commission, over a year passed without any substantial progress toward these objectives, and in some respects the situation was made worse instead of better.<sup>61</sup> The American broadcasting system still bears the scars of the Commission's early temporizing.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMISSION

In the meantime, the Commission was giving increasingly of its time to hearings in which individual broadcasters sought to demonstrate that they should have better facilities or that they should not be assigned to inferior facilities. Since there were no regulations, neither the Commission nor the parties appearing before it had any guide to the issues except the vague phrase "public interest, convenience or necessity." Consequently,

<sup>60</sup> See Stephen B. Davis, *Law of Radio Communication*, New York, 1927, Ch. V; *Report of Standing Committee on Radio Law*, 54 A. B. A. Rep., 404, 439-443.

<sup>61</sup> The Commission's actions in increasing the inequities of the geographical distribution of stations so aroused the ire of Congress that the so-called Davis Amendment was enacted in March 1928 (see footnote 58), and, for two successive years, cut the six-year terms of office to one year and limited broadcast licenses to a maximum period of three months.

the parties initiated the practice (which still obtains) of showing the program service rendered over their respective stations, while the Commission gravely listened (as it still does) to long and tedious recitals, in infinite detail, about such service. Then, just as gravely, it rendered its decision (without findings or reasons unless and until an appeal was taken, when its legal staff composed the Commission's decision).

There being no limit on the issues thus presented, there was no limit on the scope of the hostile inquisition conducted by parties opposing a particular application. The Commission (still gravely) listened to revelations of the darker side of the applicant's program service. Countless thousands of pages of stenographic transcripts (and even phonographic recordings) of station programs have been piled up in the Commission's archives as monuments to this era.

Nor was the attack confined to programs. All the misdeeds of the applicant (and of each opponent), under Federal laws, state laws, municipal ordinances, and even unwritten law, were a legitimate subject of inquiry. The whole field of advertising practices (including many matters within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission and the Pure Food and Drugs Administration of the Department of Agriculture) was exhaustively canvassed, sometimes with telling effect. Since the approval of the Broadcasters' Code under the NRA, a favorite pastime at hearings has been to examine the parties fully on the measure of their compliance with the code provisions—an insane and fratricidal procedure.

Such has been the remarkable development of radio jurisprudence under the standard of "public interest, convenience or necessity." We have

no occasion to be surprised, therefore, if we find that, in the course of its adjudications on program service, the Commission has enveloped political speeches in its deliberations and thus has advanced from the outer rim to the very center of the forbidden field of censorship.

#### REFUSAL OF RENEWALS

For about fifteen months after its establishment the Commission took no steps aimed directly at putting stations off the air.<sup>62</sup> When it did, it took over the amorphous procedure which had already developed in proceedings before it. For a long time, when the Commission set down an application for renewal of license for hearing, it gave notice to the licensee of only one issue, i.e., "public interest, convenience or necessity." With this as his sole information of the charges against him, the unfortunate suppliant had to sustain the entire burden of proof,<sup>63</sup> both of the service rendered by his station and of his innocence of anything that might not meet with the Commission's approval.

With the increasing formulation of regulations, the Commission's notices tended more and more to specify violations of particular regulations; but they invariably added (and still add) the catchall of "public interest, convenience or necessity." It was under cover of this issue that the Commission examined both into the applicant's compliance with regulations which the notice had not specified, and into the details and contents of the applicant's programs.

Why did not the regulations cover

<sup>62</sup> See its Second Annual Report, pp. 15-16, 146-170.

<sup>63</sup> This was upheld by the Court of Appeals in *Technical Radio Laboratory v. Federal Radio Commission*, 1929, 36 F (2d) 111; *KFKB Broadcasting Ass'n. v. Federal Radio Commission*, 1931, 47 F (2d) 670; and other cases.

this matter of program service? Here we encounter a most astounding paradox. The Commission has repeatedly held that it does not have the power to make any regulations governing the contents of programs or even advertising, because of the prohibition against censorship in Section 29. In pronouncements made public by press release or otherwise, it has taken this position on the broadcasting of fortune-telling, lotteries, and other gift enterprises, on false, deceptive, or exaggerated advertising, on "programs which contain matter which would be commonly regarded as offensive to persons of recognized types of political, social, and religious belief," and on liquor advertising.<sup>64</sup>

Figuratively in the same breath, the Commission has warned broadcasters that it may, and is likely to, take any such matters (and similar matters) into account in determining whether it will renew licenses. In other words, after listening to a mass of evidence adduced without formulated issues, this Government board will give an *ex post facto* judgment as to what *should* have been the rule which the broadcaster *should* have known enough to abide by. Bad as would be the regulation-making power which the Commission disclaims, it would at least afford a measure of certainty as to the rules with which the licensee is expected to comply. Instances can be cited where what was accounted a vice justifying unfavorable action on one application has been accounted a virtue justifying the granting of another application.

The Commission has more than made good on its warnings and on its theory that in applying the test of

<sup>64</sup> See *U. S. Daily*, April 23, 1927; II Jour. Radio Law, 332, 345-348, 471-472; *Report to U. S. Senate*, Doc. 137, 72d Cong., 1st Sess., Govt. Pr. Off., 1932, p. 33; Release No. 9690.

"public interest, convenience or necessity" to renewal and other applications it may take into consideration any and all past conduct of the applicant.

#### ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

There have been four cases in which the Commission's decisions reveal on their face that the ingredient of censorship of programs, indeed of speeches, was exclusively or predominantly the basis for the result. I shall speak of them as the *Schaeffer*, the *Brinkley*, the *Baker*, and the *Shuler* cases.<sup>65</sup> They serve better than any of the others to illustrate the extreme powers claimed and actually exercised by the Commission, and two of them show the extent to which these claims have been upheld in court.

In certain of the cases the shortness of notice and the rapidity with which the proceedings were carried forward were little short of shocking. In the *Schaeffer* case, for example (involving a little 15-watt station, KVEP at Portland, Oregon), the proceedings started with the issuance on April 30, 1930, of a temporary 30-day renewal license, followed by a notice of hearing dated May 5 and reaching Portland several days later; the hearing was held on May 27-28, 1930, at which a voluminous mass of evidence was introduced before a single Commissioner; on the following day, May 29, the Commission rendered its decision denying the renewal application, the effect of which was to prevent further broad-

casting by the applicant's station on May 30, 1930. No statement of findings or of reasons for the decision was published, or even prepared, until several days after an appeal was taken, when a statement was gotten up by the Commission's legal staff, who were also charged with justifying the decision on appeal. The *Brinkley* case was just about as bad. In the *Baker* and the *Shuler* cases, the Commission's decisions were made effective on the day they were rendered, so that literally on a few minutes' notice, further operation of the stations became a crime subject to heavy penalties. The tragedy of having to close down a going business forthwith, involving substantial numbers of employees and contract relations with third parties, will be readily appreciated.

All four of the rejected applicants appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and petitioned the Court for stay orders which would permit continued operation of their respective stations pending determination of their appeals. The Commission opposed all the petitions, and only one of them (in the *Brinkley* case) was granted.<sup>66</sup> Two of the appeals, the *Schaeffer* and the *Baker* cases, had to be abandoned because of inability on the part of the appellants to make the required advance payment of the cost of printing the huge record of evidence accumulated during their hearings. Cases have not been rare where the required advance payment of printing costs exceeded \$2,500. Obviously, where the evidence against the applicant consists in a great mass of transcripts of speeches over the station, the initial cost of appeal is in itself likely to be prohibitive, particularly where the station is closed

<sup>65</sup> The respective licensees were William B. Schaeffer, doing business as Schaeffer Radio Company (Station KVEP, Portland, Oregon); KFKB Broadcasting Association, Inc. (controlled by Dr. John R. Brinkley and his wife, Station KFKB, Milford, Kansas); Norman Baker (Station KTNT, Muscatine, Iowa); and Trinity Methodist Church, South (Robert P. Shuler, pastor, Station KGEF, Los Angeles, California).

<sup>66</sup> In the *Baker* case the petition was granted and then, on reconsideration a few days later, was denied.

and the applicant is deprived of all revenue from it.

#### PROSECUTION BY AGGRIEVED PARTIES

Another feature which the cases have in common is that in none of them did the Commission make the investigation or take the initiative in the prosecution. The impetus in three of the cases was furnished by private parties who had been attacked or defamed over the stations,<sup>67</sup> who had collected all the evidence against the applicants, and who, directly or indirectly, virtually conducted the prosecutions. In the *Baker* case, a voluminous mass of evidence of Baker's speeches over the station was secured by depositions taken at Muscatine, Iowa, on precisely one day's notice to Baker. These depositions were filed with the Commission four days *after* the date prescribed by the Commission's own order, and only three days before the hearing.

In the *Shuler* case, the evidence of Shuler's utterances included some oral testimony by witnesses who had heard him, but for the most part consisted of about a thousand typewritten pages of transcripts of his speeches taken down in shorthand or by mechanical devices covering a period of over three years prior to the hearing. This evidence had been collected directly by or for persons who were attacked by Shuler, and the active leader in the movement to take away the station's license was a man who had been forced to resign as city prosecutor because of Shuler's criticism of his handling of certain quasi-criminal prosecutions. The applicant was given no

notice of, and no opportunity to know, the contents of the transcripts until well along in the hearing, and they continued to be introduced in evidence up to the end of the hearing, which lasted sixteen days.

The Commission proceeded upon the theory in these cases that where the speeches were defamatory it was incumbent on the applicant to prove the truth of the utterances, even in instances when there was no proof of untruth.

#### BASES OF DECISIONS

In the *Brinkley* case the Commission's decision was based primarily on Dr. Brinkley's practice of prescribing over the air for patients he had never seen. Since the case does not involve political discussion, it is unnecessary to attempt any detailed description of the physician's talks.

In the *Schaeffer* case, the nature of the reprobated utterances (which were not by the licensee but by a third party) may best be gathered from the following excerpt from the Commission's statement of its grounds for decision:

The compelling factor in the Commission's decision, however, was the nature of the broadcasts which have been emanating from this station. . . . This disclosed that as a result of a very bitter political campaign the defeated candidate, one Robert G. Duncan, had entered upon a program of vilification denouncing in most violent terms those whom he believed responsible for his defeat. As a medium for this outburst the facilities of radio station KVEP were engaged for two hours daily, and under the guise of a political speech the character of reputable citizens was defamed and maligned, not only by innuendo but by the direct use of indecent language.

Although the licensee . . . did not actually participate in these broadcasts they were rendered with his knowledge under a contract previously made with the afore-

<sup>67</sup> The *Brinkley* case did not, so far as appears on the face of the Commission's decision, involve any attacks or defamation, but it appears that the Kansas State Medical Society played an important part in furnishing the evidence and in furthering the proceedings.

mentioned Robert G. Duncan. The claim that he disapproved much of the language used is not sustained by the evidence since, as proprietor of the station, he had full authority over all programs broadcast.<sup>65</sup>

In the *Baker* case the objectionable speeches consisted principally in attacks on the local newspapers because of an alleged alliance between them and the local public utilities, on the attorney-general of the State, on the State Board of Health, and on the Iowa State and the American Medical Societies. It must be conceded that some of the language employed was at least crude, but I doubt that any court would hold it "indecent" within the legal meaning of the term. One of the Commission's enumerated grounds for decision was:

The programs broadcast by Station KTNT have included personal and bitter attacks upon individuals, companies, and associations and whether warranted, or unwarranted, such programs have not been in the public interest, convenience or necessity.

The most interesting and significant portion of the Commission's decision is the following:

This Commission holds no brief for the Medical Associations and other parties whom Mr. Baker does not like. Their alleged sins may be at times of public importance, to be called to the attention of the public over the air in the right way. But this record discloses that Mr. Baker does not do so in any high-minded way. It shows that he continually and erratically over the air rides a personal hobby, his cancer cure ideas and his likes and dislikes

<sup>65</sup> Duncan was prosecuted and convicted for violation of the prohibition against the use of obscene, indecent, or profane language in Sec. 29. On appeal his conviction was upheld, but the reviewing court held that his language had not been obscene or indecent, and justified the conviction only on the ground of a few profane expressions such as "by God." *Duncan v. United States*, 48 F (2d) 128, 133.

of certain persons and things. Surely his infliction of all this on the listeners is not the proper use of a broadcasting license. Many of his utterances are vulgar, if not indeed indecent. Assuredly they are not uplifting or entertaining.

Though we may not censor, it is our duty to see that broadcasting licenses do not afford mere personal organs, and also to see that a standard of refinement fitting our day and generation is maintained.

The Commission's statement in the *Shuler* case is so long that I am afraid that any attempt to characterize briefly the utterances on which it relied would be subjected to criticism by one side or the other.<sup>66</sup> I shall therefore confine myself to excerpts of a general character which bear directly on the subject matter of this article, with the suggestion to the reader that he should consult the decision itself for a full and complete description of the Commission's reasons. One of the enumerated grounds for decision was:

The principal speaker over this station has repeatedly made attacks upon public officials and courts which have not only been bitter and personal in their nature, but often times based upon ignorance of fact for which little effort has been made to ascertain the truth thereof.

<sup>66</sup> Having been counsel (on appeal but not before the Commission) for the defeated party, I am anxious that the characterization be thought fair. In addition to what is above mentioned, Shuler was twice convicted of contempt of court for commenting on the alleged improper handling of two pending criminal cases, the Lois Pantages manslaughter case and the Julian fraud cases. (See *Ex parte Shuler*, 292 Pac. 481.) He alluded slightly to certain Jews and, in the course of the 1928 presidential campaign, in opposing Smith, made violent attacks on the Roman Catholic religion. He used a few extremely crude expressions in the course of a crusade against commercialized vice some two or three years before the hearing, but the Commission did not allege or find that he had been guilty of indecent or obscene language. There was no evidence in the record supporting any insinuation of blackmail.

Other excerpts of interest are the following:

. . . In most instances, however, he has vigorously attacked by name all organizations, political parties, public officials, and individuals whom he has conceived to be moral enemies of society or foes of the proper enforcement of the law. He has believed it his duty to denounce by name any enterprise, organization, or individual he personally thinks is dishonest or untrustworthy. Shuler testified that it was his purpose "to try to make it hard for the bad man to do wrong in the community." . . .

#### DECISIONS UPHELD BY COURT

The *Brinkley* and the *Shuler* cases reached the Court of Appeals, which affirmed both decisions of the Commission.<sup>70</sup> The first of these cases is important to the present discussion chiefly because of the conception of censorship announced by the Court in the following excerpt:

Appellant contends that the attitude of the Commission amounts to a censorship of the station contrary to the provisions of Section 29 of the Radio Act of 1927 (47 USCA § 109). This contention is without merit. There has been no attempt on the part of the Commission to subject any part of appellant's broadcasting matter to scrutiny prior to its release. In considering the question whether the public interest, convenience, or necessity will be served by a renewal of appellant's license, the Commission has merely exercised its undoubted right to take note of appellant's past conduct, which is not censorship.

In the *Shuler* case, after some general observations on the First Amendment, the Court said:

<sup>70</sup> *KFKB Broadcasting Ass'n. v. Federal Radio Commission*, 47 F (2d) 670; *Trinity Methodist Church, South v. Federal Radio Commission*, 62 F (2d) 850. In the latter case, two attempts by petition for certiorari to obtain review by the Supreme Court were unsuccessful, 284 U. S. 685, 288 U. S. 599.

But this does not mean that the Government, through agencies established by Congress, may not refuse a renewal of license to one who has abused it to broadcast defamatory and untrue matter. In that case there is not a denial of the freedom of speech but merely the application of the regulatory power of Congress in a field within the scope of its legislative authority. See *KFKB v. Commission*, 47 F. (2d) 670.

The regulatory power of Congress referred to by the Court is the power to regulate interstate commerce. Broadcasting is interstate commerce, said the Court, and, since the regulatory provisions of the Radio Act are a reasonable exercise of this power, the exercise thereof "is no more restricted by the First Amendment than are the police powers of the states under the Fourteenth Amendment." The Court found that the evidence abundantly sustained the Commission's conclusion that the continuance of the station's broadcasting programs was not in the public interest, and said:

. . . This is neither censorship nor previous restraint, nor is it a whittling away of the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, or an impairment of their free exercise. Appellant may continue to indulge his strictures upon the characters of men in public office. He may just as freely as ever criticize religious practices of which he does not approve. He may even indulge private malice or personal slander—subject, of course, to be required to answer for the abuse thereof—but he may not, as we think, demand, of right, the continued use of an instrumentality of commerce for such purposes, or any other, except in subordination to all reasonable rules and regulations Congress, acting through the Commission, may prescribe.

Except as may be implied from such language as I have quoted, the Court refrained from passing on contentions based on Section 29 of the Radio Act.

To return to my thesis, I am con-

fidant that if the reader will examine the contents of the issues of the *Saturday Evening Press* involved in the case of *Near v. Minnesota*, and compare them with those involved in the four radio cases I have referred to, he will concede that the following conclusion is unassailable: A broadcasting station can be put out of existence and its owner deprived of his investment and means of livelihood, for the oral dissemination of language which, if printed in a newspaper, is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution against exactly the same sort of repression.

#### SUBSEQUENT PUNISHMENT

The broadcaster is of course subject to substantially the same subsequent liabilities, civil and criminal, as a publisher. In addition, however, the broadcaster is subject to what are really infinitely greater punishments.

To say that to render a huge investment worthless and to deprive a man of his means of livelihood because of past utterances is not a punishment for those utterances would be a shocking quibble over words. Thus we are brought up squarely before the principle of the case of *Stromberg v. California*. The term "public interest, convenience or necessity," as construed by the Commission and the Court of Appeals, is "so vague and indefinite as to permit the punishment of the fair use of this opportunity" to engage in free political discussion.

#### SOME OF THE CONSEQUENCES

Granted the good intentions of the Federal Communications Commission, the known existence of its power is bound to have—has already had—incalculable consequences.<sup>70a</sup> One im-

<sup>70a</sup> "Who can compute what the world loses in the multitude of promising intellects combined with timid characters, who dare not follow out

mediate and visible consequence is that it forces the broadcasters themselves, or at least the more timorous among them, to exercise a "private censorship" over the speeches of those who use their facilities.<sup>71</sup> They feel it necessary to require advance submission of the manuscripts of proposed speeches and to scrutinize them carefully for matter which might be deemed objectionable by the Commission. They are forced carefully to compile, with the aid of their lawyers, an *index expurgatorius* of utterances which are in the danger zone, combed painstakingly from the Commission's press releases and decisions and the speeches of individual Commissioners. Not only must they blue-pencil all defamation (unless they know in advance it can be proved to be true), but they must take care that the utterances are not "sensational" and that they are not wanting in such qualities as "high-minded," "uplifting," "entertaining," and "refinement fitting our day and generation." There has been written into every license a condition that the station shall not be used for utterances which do not serve "public interest, convenience or necessity."

A second consequence is that the broadcaster is effectively deprived of a

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any bold, vigorous, independent train of thought, lest it should land them in something which would admit of being considered irreligious or immoral?" Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 94; see also p. 93.

"There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open, the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to, more than if some enemy at sea should stop up all our havens, and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise, Truth." Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 66.

<sup>71</sup> A tendency which is further encouraged by the prohibition against obscene, indecent, or profane language in the Radio Act, and by the position taken by the Nebraska Supreme Court in *Sorenson v. KFAB Broadcasting Co.*, 248 N.W. 82.

means of protection without which no constitutional guaranty is more than a sentiment. I refer to the right of effective judicial review by the courts of the United States. When a mass of evidence of speeches made over a period of months, even years, is jammed into the record of a hearing held under no formulated issues, with the burden of proving the truth of anything defamatory cast upon the applicant, with the Commission free to cull out utterances from the mass and to build up a statement of facts in which wheat and chaff are inextricably mixed, with the Commission's findings of fact binding on the courts, what in *substance* (not shadows) is left of the First Amendment? How can the courts know whether the broadcast station has not been really silenced for perfectly legitimate political discussion instead of inconsequential violations of regulations or chance vulgarity? Who will say whether Ovid was banished from Rome for his writings or for adultery?<sup>72</sup>

A third consequence is that the guaranty of the freedom of speech has ceased to keep pace with the progress of science. The Court of Appeals suggested that a speaker is perfectly free to indulge in his strictures upon the characters of men in public office anywhere except over a broadcast station. That is to say that freedom of speech still exists for the obsolescent public platform, but not for the great means of mass communication that is replacing it. This is but another way of saying that the freedom of speech (in its true sense of the right of the public not

to be deprived of unobstructed avenues for the communication of ideas) has failed to keep abreast of the freedom of the press, and the latter henceforth must carry the torch alone.

#### ATTEMPTED JUSTIFICATION

Can any justification for such consequences be seriously urged? I have heard or read of but two attempts: first, the assertion that since the total of radio facilities is limited, their use must be regulated even down to program-content; and, second, that since the broadcast program enters the family circle where it may be heard by immature minds, it should be held to a higher standard than is the press. Both attempts vanish like the mirages that they are, when the facts are frankly faced.

It is true that scientifically there is a limit to the total facilities available for radio stations. Yet in most of the large cities there are actually more broadcast stations in operation than there are newspapers, so that apparently the physical limitations are not more serious than the economic. The really serious limitations on the facilities now available, from the listener's point of view, are due to unsound features in the present technical regulation of radio—the interference-ridden condition of most of the wave lengths and the refusal of this country to allow the use of the long waves for broadcasting as they are used in Europe.

There is even less room for patience with any argument based on the protection of children from unwanted influences. Has the Commission ever exercised its power to discipline any licensee for the broadcasting of suggestive songs and jokes? So far as I can discover, the only cases in which the Commission has reprobated language as indecent or vulgar have been

<sup>72</sup> The right of trial by jury has always been considered inherent in the freedom of speech and of the press. Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*; Schofield, *Freedom of the Press*. This assures that the accused will be definitely apprised of the charges against him, of a trial on those charges and nothing else, with judgment by his fellow citizens rather than a governmental agency.

cases of political discussion, in which not it but the persons attacked were the real prosecutors. Also, let the reader ask himself whether he does not have more difficulty, so far as his children are concerned, with moving pictures (which are now under a censorship in many parts of this country) than he does with the radio in his home.

#### WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

The remedy is *not*, in my estimation, to attempt to draw a definite line by statute or regulation between what may be said and what may not. It would probably be impossible to express such a line in words, but even were this not so, the fundamental evil would remain. No definition of "unacceptable" language can be devised which will not encompass speech uttered in good faith by persons who do not deserve to be censured and whose opinions are indispensable to the march of civilization.

When the Swiss authorities burned Rousseau's book, *Social Contract*, Voltaire, who was constantly chagrined and angered by his contemporary's writings, wrote: "I do not agree with a word that you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."<sup>73</sup>

The rights of the press have had courageous champions in every era of its history, and forward-looking newspaper publishers have almost constantly been at hand to join in protecting editors whose opinions they despised, from governmental restraint. The publishers realize that they are, in a sense, trustees of a precious liberty held for the benefit of the public. Unless and until a similar spirit is awakened in the broadcast industry, I am afraid it is futile to talk of reconquering the lost territory.

<sup>73</sup> Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, p. 271; Voltaire in *His Letters*, 65.

There is always room for hope that the future trend of judicial decisions will be in the direction of such cases as *Near v. Minnesota*, and that the meaning of "public interest, convenience or necessity" will be reëxamined and restated in accordance with its original intent. In order to raise the question, however, some broadcaster must brave the fates and, with adverse decisions already inscribed in the books, wager his investment and his means of livelihood on a highly uncertain event.

#### *Legislative restriction*

Congress can contribute greatly by amending the Radio Act so as to eliminate the arbitrary power of the Government in time of war or of emergency, and specifically to exclude consideration at any time of broadcast programs and particularly speeches (a restriction it has already attempted in Section 29), as well as to negate any invasion of the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission over unfair methods of competition, of the National Recovery Administration and the Federal courts over code violations, or of any other Federal or state agency. The matter of obscene, indecent, or profane language should be left to the criminal laws of the states; medical charlatanry should be left to the state medical practice acts. Language which is not illegal within a state should not become a crime by the accident of crossing the state boundaries. If, however, any of these matters are to be prohibited by Federal law, let them be treated solely as crimes, punishable by fine or imprisonment, and not as a cause for deprivation of license.

#### *Revision of Commission practice*

The Commission might formally abandon its broad interpretation of "public interest, convenience or neces-

sity," but history affords but few instances of the voluntary surrender of power once acquired by governmental agencies. Such a surrender, furthermore, would leave us without a final decision by the Supreme Court as to the existence of the power.

In the meantime, the cause of justice would be substantially advanced if the term of license for broadcast stations were increased to the full maximum of three years now permitted by the law (and this term might well be further increased by Congress); and if the Commission, in its discipline of stations, would employ revocation proceedings (instead of confining its actions to renewal applications), so that the Government would have to sustain the burden of alleging and proving specific misconduct, and would relieve the citizen of the burden of proving himself innocent.

There are, however, deeper roots than any of these remedies will reach. The phrase "public interest, convenience or necessity" has proved to be the Achilles' heel by which a serious wound has been inflicted on the First Amendment to the Constitution. But the type of legal machinery employed in radio regulation, like the type employed in the dispensing of second-class mail privileges, is such as to strip away almost all armor of defense against the nullification of constitutional guaranties. In explaining this, let me again make it clear that I am discussing the *power*, and not any actual conduct, of the Commission.

The Commission involves so complete an amalgam of executive, legislative, and judicial powers, is so little subject to judicial control, and, as the dispenser of licenses, wields so powerful a weapon to gain its ends, that inevitably there is free play for the achievement of arbitrary and unauthorized purposes. The safeguards of

judicial independence and isolation from extraneous influences, which centuries of experience have thrown around our courts, are lacking in such a combination. The license system is the machinery of government thrown into reverse gear; the servant becomes the master. What in most businesses is a constitutional right to continue in an honorable calling becomes a mere privilege to be dispensed periodically to those who successfully sustain the burden of proving conformity with some vague and variable standard of conduct.

#### *Independent tribunal*

Such considerations again lead us into the field of administrative law, and I can only suggest the remedy. The license system seems necessary on the technical side of radio regulation; in any event, it is not likely to be abandoned. But it is *not* necessary that the government agency, which as legislator make the rules and as prosecutor attempts to secure a conviction, should also sit as judge. Cases involving the rights of radio licensees, and particularly cases of discipline, should be heard and decided by an independent tribunal such as was intended under the Radio Act of 1927 as originally enacted.

Broadcasting was born in an age greatly resembling that which saw the birth of the press—an age of great social and economic changes and a marked tendency to concentrate power in the executive. The comparison may be carried a step further. If, instead of the phrase "public interest, convenience or necessity," we should insert in the Radio Act the meanings which the Commission has actually given the phrase, the resulting statute would bear a startling resemblance to the notorious decrees and ordinances of the Star Chamber in the days of the Tu-

dors and the Stuarts, "regulating the manner of printing, the number of presses throughout the kingdom, and prohibiting all printing against the force and meaning of any of the statutes and laws of the realm"; and to the ill-fated Licensing Acts of Parliament.<sup>74</sup> The reader would then realize better than from any effort of mine that, with the present governmental power to regulate speech by radio, the clock of liberty has been set back three hundred years.

The undeniable advantages of administrative machinery in certain fields of regulation (including radio) where the continuous supervision of experts with regulation-making power is of value, should not blind us to the ever present necessity for proper checks and restraints on governmental authority. We may not fear (and I do not) that, on the plea of national emergency, our present President would in time of peace close down any broad-

cast station. Yet, there are other persons who, if they succeeded to the office, might not justify the same confidence. Similarly we may not fear the conduct of the present members of the Federal Communications Commission, but we have a right to be concerned over their possible successors.

Like the hill of Gergovia, liberty of expression stands sentinel upon an ancient human road. It is the liberty without which other liberties are defenseless against tyranny. It is "the most valuable achievement of modern civilization, and as a condition of social progress it should be deemed fundamental."<sup>75</sup> Only second in importance is the independent judicial machinery necessary to its preservation.

For in this altar shall I find protection,  
And this free country on whose soil we  
tread.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*, Ch. VIII, p. 240.

<sup>75</sup> Euripides, *The Children of Hercules*, Plays of Euripides, p. 373.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, Vol. II, Ch. XXIV, pp. 309, 310; Copinger, *Copyright*, pp. 11-13.

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# New Technical Horizons for Broadcasting and Their Significance

By JAMES C. McNARY

**T**HE art of public address by radio broadcasting has undergone almost continuous change and development since its inception. The electrical devices and methods by which broadcast programs reach the listener have been a fertile field for the physicist and the engineer. Recently many advances have been achieved in the tools with which the engineers and inventors perform their functions. With new tools, of the nature of hitherto unknown vacuum tubes and circuits, many excursions into the realm of the present unknown will be made. Some of them have been begun and the progress is interesting.

Broadcasting station managers, eager for greater coverage and reduced operating expense, and the radio audience, amenable to technical improvements in broadcasting service, will observe gradual developments within the next few years.

## DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES

The anticipated progress within the near future will not appreciably alter the current allocation of broadcasting facilities, but will be based largely on existing conditions. The present allocation of broadcasting facilities, i.e., the frequencies or channels along which programs travel from the transmitting plant to the receiving sets, the hours of operation of the individual stations, the localities in which the transmitting stations operate, and the power assignments to the various transmitters, were established by the Federal Radio Commission in 1928. While minor readjustments have been

made since then, no change in the basis for individual assignments has occurred. The newly organized Federal Communications Commission has not indicated favor to anything other than an evolutionary policy.

Clear-channel broadcasting stations, or stations which are presumably the sole night-time occupants of the forty channels assigned for such use, furnish high-grade service to an extensive area immediately surrounding the transmitters, and at night to a secondary area frequently extending throughout many states. Regional stations, which are medium-powered, use forty more frequencies for serving smaller areas, usually not more than seventy-five miles in radius. Duplicated night-time operation on regional frequencies permits as many as five transmitters to operate simultaneously at night without objectionable interference in their primary service areas. Six more frequencies accommodate nearly three hundred local stations which operate with low power and have a service range of five to ten miles. A few high-power regional stations and experimental stations bring the total number of broadcasting stations to approximately six hundred, which furnish night-time service of varying degrees of utility to practically all the United States.

The system, which has been operating with a considerable measure of success during the past six years, emerges from the shakedown period and faces an interval of development and perfection in both transmitting and receiving technique. Most of the

ingenuity manifest by approaching developments will be displayed in receiving apparatus, for many of the minor imperfections of existing broadcasting service may be removed by appropriate receiver design and construction.

#### REBROADCASTING SYSTEM

For example, especially designed radio receiving sets and receiving antenna systems will eventually supplant the very expensive telephone circuits used for intercity distribution of programs, by making possible a reliable rebroadcasting service from one station to another. The release of the large amount of money annually paid for telephone service should permit a fuller public service by the individual stations.

It is probable that the substitution of radio program circuits for wire-line program circuits will necessarily await manufacture of a radio receiving set having a marked reduction in noise reproduction, without impairment of program fidelity, to permit use of such circuits during heavy static. For the first time since modern tools, methods, devices, and artifices became available, really intelligent thought is being given to the noise reduction problem by a few qualified engineers. Remarkable progress has already been made in the laboratory. The heretofore foolish prediction that static, or the effects of it so far as reproduction of radio signals is concerned, can be minimized is no longer a prediction that should be ignored.

Naturally, radio receivers having noise reduction circuits included in them will at first be expensive. They will therefore fit into the rebroadcasting service much more quickly than they will supplant the existing receiver in the home of the average broadcast listener. It is conceivable that broadcasting stations will, in several years,

utilize a rebroadcast signal for all out-of-studio program pick-ups, whether local or distant. The large expense of wire program circuits and the arbitrary policies of the various telephone companies furnishing such circuits supply ample incentive for the development of rebroadcasting technique. For rebroadcasting from a distant city, it is improbable that the short waves will be used. The uncertainties accompanying short-wave broadcast transmission can be avoided when rebroadcasting from moderate distances up to two or three hundred miles, by use of especially designed receiving antennæ having directional characteristics, used in conjunction with receiving apparatus with noise reduction capabilities. The possibilities of such a rebroadcasting system will undoubtedly be carefully determined and demonstrated within the next few years.

#### FADING OF SIGNALS

Fading of signals has always been an annoyance to listeners to programs from distant stations. The most violent fading usually occurs from thirty to eighty miles from broadcasting stations using the frequencies assigned to United States stations (550 to 1,570 kilocycles), in the area where the wave approaching along the surface of the earth is interfered with by the wave which has been reflected back to earth from the Heaviside layer. At distances greater than the so-called "fading wall" around the stations, the fading still exists, but has a slower period and is usually accompanied by much less distortion of program quality. The radius of the fading wall can be controlled to some extent by constructing the antenna at the broadcasting station in such a manner that the sky-wave radiation from it is reduced below the normal value. The

cost of anti-sky-wave antenna systems is sizable, and the results obtained are of only a moderate order. It is doubtful if a complete solution of the fading problem can be obtained by design of transmitting antennæ of practicable proportions, and the expense of any efforts to reduce fading by transmitting antenna design is quite often out of proportion to the results achieved.

In recent years nearly every broadcast receiver has been equipped with an automatic volume control, which is a device for automatically increasing the amplification of the radio signal when it fades out, so as to keep the effective output of the receiver approximately the same. The automatic volume control has also proved useful when tuning the radio receiver from a local station to a distant one, as with its use it is not necessary to readjust the manual volume control each time a different station is tuned in.

The automatic volume control has demonstrated its utility in maintaining the desired loud-speaker volume when, in many cases, a fading signal is being received, but it has not had any effect on the type of fading known as "selective" fading, or quality distortion, which frequently accompanies "amplitude" fading. Means are now available to radio receiving set manufacturers for minimizing the annoying consequences of selective fading, manifest by serious distortion of the normal quality of reproduction, although none of them has included this type of circuit in receivers sold to the general public. The use of receiving sets having anti-selective-fading devices is obviously a step in the right direction, as it will permit those listeners residing in bad-fading areas to enjoy programs which might otherwise be devoid of entertainment value because of quality disruption due to selective fading.

#### HIGH-FIDELITY REPRODUCTION

An odd characteristic of the average broadcast listener is that he does not seem to appreciate high-fidelity reproduction of radio programs. This has been temporarily fortunate for radio receiver manufacturers, as it allowed them freedom from worry about the fidelity of signals emitted from loud-speakers. Largely at the instigation of the engineering committees of the National Association of Broadcasters and the Radio Manufacturers Association, and the broadcast committee of the Institute of Radio Engineers, steps have been taken to make available to those listeners who reside relatively close to broadcasting stations, high-fidelity reproduction of broadcast programs.

A tentative definition of high-fidelity reproduction postulates not more than a 5-decible variation in acoustic output from the loud-speaker within the frequency range of 50 to 7,500 cycles, and not more than 5 per cent distortion. While several broadcasting stations can meet these stringent requirements, only a few of the most recently developed receiving sets can qualify. A high-fidelity receiver is of necessity more expensive than the conventional models, and full advantage of its superior reproduction characteristics may be enjoyed only in limited areas, usually metropolitan.

It will be of considerable interest to observe the public reaction to such high-fidelity broadcasting as is practiced. High-fidelity reproduction of some program material will not sound much better than conventional reproduction; but the effect on first-class programs is considered very much worth while to an appreciative and discerning listener. The public reaction will be slow in crystallizing, as the higher prices of high-fidelity receivers

will probably cause the number of purchases to be a small percentage of the total.

#### SYNCHRONIZED BROADCASTING

Synchronized operation of broadcasting transmitters, as the operation of two or more transmitters on a single frequency with identical program material is called, does not have a very rosy future. While the system has been used in several instances to solve particular and peculiar problems, it is not generally applicable to a broadcasting structure for the United States capable of maximum public service. The inherent limitation to one program for all stations synchronized on a single frequency removes any freedom of operation which the managements of the individual stations might otherwise enjoy. The majority of broadcasting stations are local and regional entities, and it is economically and politically expedient that they should so function. To destroy such independence through widespread synchronizing is certainly not in the maximum public interest.

Synchronized broadcasting has received much newspaper publicity and has been hailed as a panacea for the technical ills of a supposedly suffering industry; but careful investigation quickly reveals that it would be the destroyer and not the savior of the American system of broadcasting. Engineering and economic limitations have apparently received scant consideration by proponents of nation-wide synchronizing schemes. Fortunately, such proposals seem to be dying a natural death.

#### DIRECTIONAL ANTENNÆ

Frequently a need arises for additional broadcasting service to a locality in which a conventional station cannot operate in accordance with accepted

standards of interference to already existing stations. Artifice must then be resorted to, and the artifice usually appears in the form of an especially designed directional antenna system for the proposed station, so devised that the interference to the other stations transmitting on the same or adjacent frequencies may be minimized without reduction of intensity of signal radiated toward the principal service area of the proposed station. Directional antennæ may also be used to increase the intensity of signal radiated toward certain areas, although this use is not common.

The technique of directional broadcasting has been under course of development for the past four years, based on fundamental principles and circuit arrangements patented as long as thirty years ago. The cost of directional radiating systems is usually higher than that of nondirectional antennæ, or "omni-aërials" as our British contemporaries call them, but the extra cost has been justified in several cases by the advantages obtained which could usually have been procured in no other manner. The use of directional antennæ makes possible the addition of a number of broadcasting stations to those already operating in the United States, in so far as avoidance of interference to existing services may be the deciding factor rather than the important political, legal, and economic considerations. No large increase in the number of stations is anticipated, however.

#### ULTRA HIGH FREQUENCIES

Heinrich Hertz, who discovered in 1886 the electromagnetic waves predicted from mathematical considerations twenty years previous by Maxwell, used in his experiments waves that were approximately one meter in length. As the propagation of electro-

magnetic waves became a medium of communication, Hertz and his ultra short waves were supplanted by long waves, some of them as much as 17,000 meters in length. This was largely due to apparatus limitations of the early days of radio development.

Curiously enough, the use of ultra short waves, or ultra high frequencies, appears to be returning after a long lapse. Vacuum tubes are now available for transmitters and receivers to operate on frequencies as high as 600 million cycles per second. Many amateur and professional experimenters and investigators have gradually brought to light the possibilities for the use of the ultra high frequencies. The propagation characteristics of these waves are indeed different from those of the longer ones used for broadcasting. Some of the ultra high frequency waves, for example, appear to be limited in range to approximately the optical horizon.

A number of uses may be suggested for the ultra high frequency waves, in addition to their use for local broadcasting. They are, by their peculiar characteristics and by the types of apparatus required, suited to beacons for aeronautical services, for limited range point-to-point transmission, and for limited range television broadcasting, as well as for many other purposes.

Ultra high frequency waves are useful in television broadcasting over a limited range because of their ability to accommodate the high-modulation frequencies necessitated by a television signal capable of a high entertainment value. While the future of television broadcasting is subject to conjecture, it does appear that ultra high frequency waves may be utilized for it if, as, and when it finally arrives from around the corner where it is supposed to have been hiding for several years.

#### TELEVISION AND FACSIMILE BROADCASTING

From a practical point of view, the colossal expense of television programs, transmitting apparatus, and program distribution networks has conspired with a large public disinterest to delay the advent of commercial television service. The use of ultra high frequency transmission for television broadcasting will require a large number of transmitting stations if national service is to be rendered, as the service ranges of the individual transmitters operating in this type of service would in many cases be limited to twenty or thirty miles. To supply programs to a large number of transmitters would require a distribution network of very expensive construction. The simultaneous broadcasting of sporting events and other occurrences would require such a program distribution, however. It is not reasonable to assume that all television programs from the individual stations might be derived from motion picture films, and this consideration at once creates a program production problem of sizable proportions. The public has not as yet indicated its opinion of television in the home, and no one has proposed a reasonable method of financing television broadcasting. For the time being, therefore, television remains in the laboratory.

Some thought has been given to the establishment of a facsimile broadcasting service to augment the existing sound broadcasting during the hours from midnight to six in the morning, when most broadcasting transmitters are otherwise idle. Apparatus has been developed by means of which the broadcast listener may turn a switch on his radio receiver, on retiring at night, and find on arising the next morning a printed copy of the morn-

ing newspaper which has been transmitted to him by radio. The facsimile apparatus capable of duplicating newspaper service by radio broadcasting is commercially available. The formulation of policy for facsimile broadcasting depends not so much on perfection of apparatus as on experiments to determine public acceptance, on the best methods of finance, and on the broader aspects of general desirability of augmenting the newspaper by an electrical means of distribution.

The enabling inventions of broadcasting transmitters and receivers have been made, and a rather full advantage has generally been taken of available devices for the operation of broadcasting symptoms. The progress from the present moment depends on a public

demand for change and perfection, on lack of governmental restraint or coercion, and on the initiative and intelligence of individuals managing the broadcasting business. Hence, the progress of broadcasting may be accelerated by inventions and the application of them, but it is not probable that radical changes in the general system as practiced in the United States will occur in the next few years. The several developments of an engineering nature which have been described may be looked upon as solutions of economic problems confronting an established industry, or as an advance, in some cases, of the facility with which the art may be employed to convey programs to an increasingly appreciative listener.

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# The Future of Radio as a Cultural Medium

By JOHN ERSKINE

WHEN you propose the subject of radio as a cultural medium, we educators imagine a happy new day. We who like to talk leap at the prospect that our voices will reach not merely the dozens or even the hundreds who now listen to us in our lecture rooms, but millions in the home, hungrily tuning in for our wisdom.

I am bound to say I think this millennium somewhat remote. The distribution of sound which the radio provides will be for education, as for other enterprises, an ordeal before it becomes an opportunity. The size and the variety of the audience, of all ages and tastes, is a severe challenge to what we educators usually impose upon reluctant or docile batches of impounded youth, and the novel medium compels us to reconsider what we are doing and to define the conditions upon which we are likely to succeed.

## GETTING AND HOLDING THE AUDIENCE

Broadcasting is an art, and the broadcaster is either an artist or a failure. Radio demands a special use of the voice and a special conciseness of language; but otherwise, as an art it is governed by the same principles of æsthetics as all other arts. If we wish, we can make æsthetics seem a complicated subject, but in practice we need attend to only two points: first, how to persuade our audience to come in; second, how to prevent it from walking out. There are many reasons why it may come in, but it will stay only because the performance seems worth while, or because we have locked the door on it.

Education too is an art, but at the present moment in our country the art of education is in a very low state. The motives which bring young men and women to college are mixed—more often social, athletic, or economic than intellectual. None of these motives will operate on the air. Listening over the radio will not bring you the valued privilege of rubbing elbows with the descendants of the best families, or of making connections which will help your later career. On the air you cannot join a fraternity, nor assist the glee club, nor do any of the other essential things. On the air you can only listen and learn. You tune in if the subject interests you, or if you like the speaker, or if the speaker is well known and you wish to judge whether or not he deserves his reputation. If the performance does not interest you—well, in no art is it easier than in the radio for the audience to walk out.

These conditions seem to me altogether fortunate. To survive at all, broadcasting must be interesting. Poor entertainment soon wears thin. To survive indefinitely, broadcasting must give us programs not only interesting but of permanent merit.

I wish I could say that such programs would be secured by transferring to the air the sounds now produced in college classrooms. I wish the students in those classrooms came, as the radio audience will come, only because they were interested in the subject, or because they wished to follow the mind of a great scholar. But in the colleges and universities of the United States we have vitiated the art

of education by exaggerating the importance of the degree. We have rigged the system so that without a degree, and a fairly advanced one, one cannot enter the teaching profession. Without a so-called cultural degree one cannot, in many states, become a lawyer or a doctor, no matter how much one knows about law or medicine. Some attempt has been made to attach practical or economic significance to a degree in journalism and in business. Were this attempt entirely successful, the art of education would rest on force. In order to earn its living, the audience would have to come in, whether or not it wished to, and it would have to stay till the end, whatever the quality of the performance. With the device of the degree we have succeeded in locking the door.

We educators are so accustomed to securing our audiences by force or by economic pressure that some of us hope to compel the radio audience also to come in. It has been proposed to reserve exclusively for education a certain proportion of the hours on the air. With this proposal I have no sympathy. Why go to such trouble to expose our nakedness? If education can bring to the public a message which the listener finds interesting and important, then education will be at once a popular success, in no need of protection. If our message is not what the listener enjoys, he will tune off, and we shall have provided the country each day with so many hours of silence.

What I have said about academic degrees would, I think, be unjust if the degrees were an accurate record of progress in education or of accomplishment in scholarship or of quality in character. But the degrees are only a badge of docility, a receipt for the number of points or hours the candidate has passed and paid for. Having made a degree necessary for entrance

upon one's life work, we set the requirements for that degree so that the various departments will have a share of the student's time, and the academic income will be equally distributed. We do not guarantee that all classes are equally well taught, nor do we permit the most competent teachers to monopolize the audience. With the degree as a club, we drive the students where it is convenient for us to have them go.

What we really think of the degree is sometimes revealed after the student has earned it. He has fulfilled all the conditions we set, he has accumulated the required credits, he has written a thesis according to our rules, and therefore, under the contract we must give him the degree. But if you write us privately asking whether he is any good, we may answer privately that he is not. You probably will not engage a teacher who has not his Ph.D., but I know no Ph.D. which you are likely to accept on its face value, without those personal inquiries.

#### THE ART OF ADVERTISING

One of our reasons for wishing to preempt a large proportion of the time on the air is that we educators detect in the present conduct of radio a commercial element.

I think that radio has something to learn from education, and that education, during that period which I referred to as a preliminary ordeal, will learn much from radio. The commercial element which we disapprove of is, of course, the advertising which carries the programs. I think the radio advertisements can teach education some errors to avoid. The objection, if we analyze it, is not to advertising as such, but to advertising which is inartistic and uninteresting. Our magazines, even the most scholarly, are glad to have the support of advertis-

ing, and far from being scandalized, most of us turn to the advertising section of a magazine with curiosity, and often find there sound information, well presented. If advertising is a proper support for the best fiction or poetry, or scholarship in a journal, I do not see why, in theory at least, it should offend us when it supports the programs on the air.

The trouble is that the advertisers have for some time been losing faith in their own art. Instead of addressing us in one section, at the back of the magazine, they now like to trip us up as we try to locate the continuation of the article we began in the front. This interruption most of us resent, though we are aware of the tribute to our interest in the main reading matter. On the radio, this humility of the advertisers is even more obvious. They concede, apparently, that by themselves they could not get a hearing. They therefore bribe us to listen by presenting what they are sure we shall like—great music, or the voice of some famous artist, or even, if he already has a large audience, some educator. Into the midst of this entertainment the advertisement is thrust most incongruously and often with apologetic haste.

I do not here presume to tell the advertisers how their art on the radio should be developed, but I believe it can be developed so that it will address with self-respect, in its own right, instead of trying to appropriate our interest in other matters. It is the horning in that hurts. In a recent number of a college magazine, an undergraduate suggests how Shakespeare might have written for the radio advertisers. "Yon Cassius has a lean and hungry look. Remember, Cassius, to eat every morning for breakfast —." "Out, damned spot! Out, I say! Will all great Neptune's ocean

wash this blood clean from my hand? No, it won't. Not unless I use the new soap —."

How far this self-distrust of advertising has spread, you could see in the very magazine which quoted this undergraduate criticism. On one of the back pages was an attractive picture of two veterans of the Civil War. Under the picture the text reminded the reader of the momentous significance of the year 1865, which saw the end of a frightful conflict, the restoration of the Union, the beginning of the modern chapter in our history. Also, the year 1865 was made memorable by the introduction of a new brand of whiskey.

To me, the lesson for the educator is that he cannot compel the radio audience to listen to him, as he compels his academic classes, and if he tries to bribe them he will fail as ignominiously as the radio advertisers are now doing. He must present education on its merits, and he must make it so interesting that the public would rather listen than not. To master these principles, I repeat, will be for us educators an ordeal.

#### PROGRAMS MUST MEET PUBLIC NEED

Once we have made headway in the art of radio, our opportunity will begin.

It is generally agreed that the radio performs its greatest social service in putting an end to the isolation of those who live far from cities and towns. The best program in education, I should think, would be that which offered the public at large, in remote places, what they would seek if they could come to the great educational centers. What would they seek, if they had the chance? We cannot answer that question from our catalogues or our curriculums; we know

what we should like to teach, but only our prospective audience can tell us what they wish to learn. A sound radio program in education must, I believe, be based not on educational theories but on the wishes of the people, found out by search and inquiry.

If a survey of the popular need were made, and a program devised to answer it, the result would probably differ widely from our usual lecture schedules. In schools and colleges we divide learning into subjects and specialties, and the division has its advantages; but life rarely presents its problems in such neat compartments, and the ordinary man who has experience for his degree may ask us a question which falls in several fields at once. On the radio we shall have to meet the question on the broad and living terms in which it may be asked.

This does not mean that the old categories of science or of art should be scrapped. The radio will be no rival of the universities, nor a substitute for them; but it certainly will force us to invent a new type of adult education, a direct following of problems wherever for the moment they seem to lead us.

The illustration is easy. If I am in college, and if I stop the professor of economics on the campus and say, "I'd like to know something about the gold standard, why we should be on it or why we should be off," he will of course answer, "That question is dealt with in my course, Economics 5b, which comes the second half of next year. Meanwhile, I'd advise you to take my introductory course 3a, which clears the ground and gives the history of the problem." But if the professor is teaching economics on the air and his audience wants to know what is involved in the gold standard, he had better tell it, and tell it at once. Otherwise, when the class meets next

time, there will be nobody present but the teacher.

Radio education will be, then, in the first place, a concise answer to whatever questions the remote public wish to ask—a kind of vocal encyclopedia, in which scholarship will be presented as information and made as fascinating as possible. I plead again for the entertainment. I never could see why truth should be authentic only when it is soporific. If a man has enough love of a subject to spend his nights and days studying it, I do not see why some of the enthusiasm should not leak out when he talks.

#### NEW FORMS OF ART

In the second place, radio education will devise new art forms, and new ways of presenting the arts. At present the best music is finding a constantly larger place on the air, to the delight of millions. I am so thankful for this wide enjoyment, which no medium but radio could make possible, that I should be very sorry if I seemed to quarrel with what we are getting. But if we are to talk here honestly about the cultural service of the radio in the future, then I must say that very little music already composed is quite suited to the radio. If it is important music it is too long, not because the time on the air is limited, but because the attention one gives to music when his eyes are shut is much greater than he would ever give in a concert hall. When a person sees a symphony as well as hears it, some of his pleasure comes from the behavior of the performers or the graceful antics of the conductor. He listens to the music intermittently—and this is true of trained musicians, though some of them will deny it. But when he listens over the radio he hears every note, and nothing else, and the possible span of his attention is much shorter.

We need new compositions for the radio, which accept these peculiar conditions. We need major symphonic works which last only fifteen or twenty minutes, and preferably ten. We need choral works, noble but brief. We need ten-minute operas. These works will be created by a generation which has grown up with the radio. There is here an entirely new challenge to the composer.

In literature too there will be new forms, or rather a revival of old forms. Man did not always get his poetry or his fiction from the printed page. In many parts of the earth today literature is still handed on from generation to generation, by oral repetition. Great literature composed for the ear may still be effective when it is written down; but literature intended only for the eye, as in our time, comes off badly when we are asked to follow it only with the ear. For that reason most of the verse read on the radio, most of the fiction or the drama, is a disappointment. We need, as in music, fresh compositions designed to fit the æsthetic conditions of the radio. I believe that a new type of poem will be developed, and especially a new type of short story, packed with interest, and brief enough to recite in ten minutes. The old troubadours and minstrels could have told us how to do it. We shall rediscover the art for ourselves.

Or we may recall with what charm Charles Dickens used to read selections from his works, or Tennyson from his poems. Both these men thought of literature primarily as addressed to the ear, and both of them had a histrionic ability to entertain. There must be in the theater today many men and women who could devise for the radio brief plays which would need only the voices of the performers and the imagination of the

hearers. Such plays would be addressed to each of us personally; they would no longer seem something which other people elsewhere could look at but we could only overhear.

#### TWO TYPES OF PROGRAM

In the third place, and last, I think the radio ought to bring us, in the cause of education, two types of program, the first of which we already have in a rudimentary form. There ought to be a number of occasions each year when we would all listen in to some one man pretty well known over at least half the world. We had such an opportunity when Mr. Shaw spoke to us, on his visit to America. We have something of the same opportunity when we listen to an international broadcast. These occasions, however, are haphazard and unplanned, and many precious opportunities slip away, since most of the men whom we ought to hear are old.

In music, a great performer could reach us by the radio even after the strain of a concert tour had become impossible. There are today a number of great artists in retirement, who, if the radio were alert, could command, for one last appearance, an audience of millions. The same thing is true of writers, of actors, of statesmen, of scientists. Why should we not have each year a series of Honor Hours, in which we would all listen to the elders, from all countries, whom their contemporaries have held to be great? There would be difficulties of language if we included the Orient, but we might profit merely by listening to the voice of a strong personality.

The other kind of program would be quite national, and I wish it might occur during the closing weeks of each year. President Roosevelt has accustomed us to his occasional reports of progress, which have proved so use-

ful that future Presidents will probably wish to imitate his technique, if they can. But these reports refer only to the problems of national government. Why should we not have also an annual report, or a series of reports, of progress in science, in exploration, in invention, in each of the arts? We should be glad to know what the year had contributed to American architecture, sculpture, painting, the theater, dancing, music, and literature.

This kind of progress is a true and permanent addition to the national wealth, the kind of wealth which shrinks least, but it is precisely the kind about which it is hardest to get information. Such a report would come naturally from a department of fine arts if we had such a thing, but since it is our tradition to make inventories of only our material resources, we should have to depend for these spiritual reports, on the artists themselves in their various groups, or on some spokesman whom they might designate.

I illustrate especially by the arts because I am at home in that field; but I know that the most thrilling reports, even for the artists, might come from science, from astronomy or biology, from physics or chemistry, or from medicine. Many colleges and universities now offer courses which survey the human accomplishment in all fields, but I am proposing something different; I should like to hear an an-

nual report of the progress which we have made in those realms which belong to the creative intelligence of the race and which are the subject matter of education. From such reports we might find hints for the educational programs of the following year.

#### SUMMARY

For the benefit of any who have found these remarks wandering, I sum up, as a wise educator will do to give his wisdom a little belated structure. I have tried to suggest that education on the radio must, for various reasons, be different from education off it; that the moment the scholar talks on the radio, he must surrender his ancient and jealously guarded privilege of being dull; that when we plan the radio curriculum, we must begin not in the usual way, with what the teacher has ready, but with what the class wishes to learn, since the adult audience is the kind of patient that insists on being looked at before the doctor writes the prescription; that in some arts, such as music and literature, radio calls for new forms; that acquaintance with great men is a priceless kind of education, and the radio could permit us to hear the words of the few great in our time; and that the radio, beyond any other medium, is fitted to convey to us each year a report of what education is in the upshot—an account of what the best educated have been able to do with their education.

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## ***SUPPLEMENT***

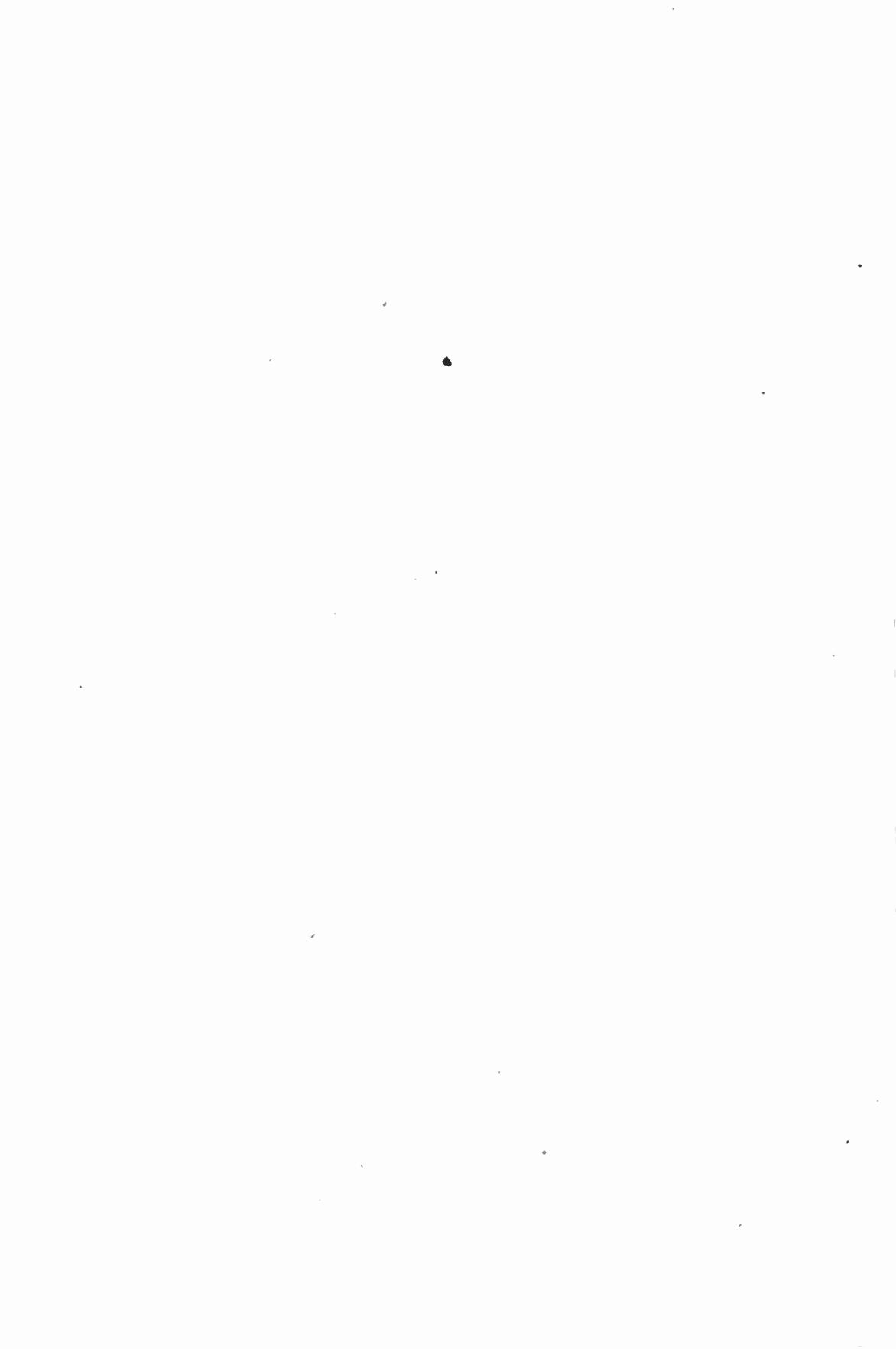
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### **THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE BALKANS**

*Addresses delivered before the American Academy of  
Political and Social Science, November 2, 1934*

### **FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS**

*Addresses delivered before the American Academy of  
Political and Social Science by His Excellency, The  
Japanese Ambassador on November 23, 1934, and by  
His Excellency, The Chinese Minister on  
November 27, 1934*



# The Macedonian Question

By JOHN BAKELESS

I SHALL not discuss the larger European aspects of the Macedonian question which produced the recent murder of King Alexander—aspects which may very well affect your lives some day as the murder at Sarajevo affected them twenty years ago—but I wish to talk to you about Macedonia and the Macedonians themselves, particularly those in the organization which planned and executed the assassination of King Alexander. I saw them and talked with them in their camp in 1929, and I have tried to keep in touch with them since then.

Perhaps the most important thing I can say is this: Although to you the death of King Alexander seems murder pure and simple; and though to you it seems merely a horrible and bloody crime which has left a little boy without a father and with a kingdom to govern, yet I should like you to remember that, horrible as this thing is, it is no more horrible than the things that King Alexander's gendarmes have been doing in Macedonia for the last ten years.

Macedonia is the country north, east, and west of Salonika. If you took a rope about a hundred miles long and swung a circle with Salonika as a pivot, you would roughly describe the country known as Macedonia. It is the same country that we find in the New Testament. It is the country from which one of its nationals appeared to the Apostle Paul in a vision and said to him, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." From that time to this, Macedonia has known no peace except perhaps during the Great War, when it was behind the German lines

and the military police kept order. The Macedonians are closely akin to the Bulgarians. They speak a dialect which is comprehensible to any Bulgar. They have roughly the same civilization; and make no mistake, there is plenty of civilization in the Balkans.

## SINCE THE PEACE TREATY

After the peace treaty, Macedonia was split up into three parts. The Greeks were given the seacoast, the Yugoslavs took almost all that was left, and the Bulgarians were given a small district about Petritch. The Macedonians immediately found that they had changed masters for the worse. They were denied the use of their own language; they were forbidden to worship in their own language; they were forbidden a press in their own language; they were forbidden the right of free and peaceable assemblage; and they were placed under the control of some eighty thousand Serbian gendarmes.

The final blow was a requirement which to the American always seems grotesque, which seems a little thing to fight about, but which was a bitter thing in the Balkans. The people were compelled to change their names from the Macedonian-Bulgarian "off" to the Serbian "ovitch." To an American, I suppose that seems amusing; and yet if you were compelled to worship in Serbian, and forbidden English language newspapers, and compelled to make your names end in "ovitch," I imagine that there would be a very considerable disturbance in Philadelphia. I know that if I were compelled to change my name to "Bakeless-

ovitch," I should do something drastic about it. It is a small thing, but it means a great deal.

There is, of course, dispute as to what these people really are. The Serbians say that they are all without doubt Serbs. I went down into Macedonia some years ago to see whether the people were all Serbs. What I found was a gendarme on every platform, and a police control so strict that secret service men followed me everywhere I went and watched everything I did. When I reached my destination the gendarmes seized me and held me for fully thirty minutes while they grilled me. That seemed to me fair evidence that there was no special enthusiasm in that particular country for Serbian rule. Else why the police precautions? We do not need in Philadelphia an army of secret service men, we do not need eighty thousand gendarmes, and we do not need a policeman on the platform to keep you good Americans. That is because you want to be Americans. It would, I imagine, take a great many more gendarmes than that to turn you into Serbs; not that there is anything wrong with being a Serb, but you just don't want to be Serbs.

#### THE IMRO AND ITS METHODS

In the bad old Turkish days, the Macedonians, like all other Balkan peoples, intrigued for freedom. They set up an organization which is known as the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, and which is better known all over Europe as the IMRO, from its initial letters. The word "IMRO" is a name of terror—or a name of hope, according to which side one is on—from Salonika to Marseille. The IMRO claims to be the legitimate government of Macedonia, because it believes that it represents the Macedonian people.

If the IMRO really does represent the Macedonian people, it is very difficult for Americans to quarrel with its point of view. It is a revolutionary government. As Ivan Mihailoff, the leader, said to me five years ago when I talked to him in his mountain camp (and he said it rather proudly), "We are a government, but of course we are an illegal government. As a matter of fact, we are illegal everywhere." The IMRO maintains its own army, its own law courts, its own executioners (as you have seen), and its own secret service—and an extraordinarily efficient one it is, as I have good reason to know. It kept a man watching me for ten days, and he was, I think, the only secret service man I never caught. Of course I cannot be sure of that, because one usually does not know when one has failed to catch a secret service man.

The assassination of King Alexander is the successful consummation of a series of eight attempts since the spring of 1929. If you wish to call it assassination you may do so, but it is not assassination quite as we should understand it here. In the first place, the IMRO quite frankly is a terrorist organization. It proposes to operate by terror until it has made Macedonia too hot for any outsider to stay. However, it operates on what it believes to be the highest possible principles. No man, except in the greatest emergency, is assassinated until he has had a fair trial. To be sure, he is rarely at that trial. There have been cases when victims of the IMRO were present at their own trials, but they did not especially want to be there.

Furthermore, the IMRO does not ordinarily strike until the prospective victim has had a fair warning to change his ways. If he declines to accept that warning, he receives a second warning, and then, as the third step,

comes the death sentence. The death sentence is the only sentence that the organization can carry out. A government which is always on the run can make itself felt only by striking a death blow. The milder punishments are beyond it. You may like that or you may not like it, you may applaud it or you may not applaud it; but if you are going to free the country, that is the only thing that you can do.

#### EXAMPLES OF IMRO TACTICS

Perhaps I might tell you of some other episodes of this same sort which the IMRO has carried out, and of which it is very proud. The last thing that Mr. Mihailoff said to me as I left his camp was, "Just one moment till I tell you about my wife's famous murder."

There was a Rumanian named Panitza who had incurred the enmity of the IMRO for various offenses. For eighteen years the organization had tried to kill him and had failed. He was a man of extraordinary resource and ingenuity. On one occasion the revolutionary organization trailed him to a house where he stayed that night. In the night they crept up to bomb the house, and blew it to bits. When the excitement had died down and the IMRO had gone, Panitza crept out of the haystack where he had thoughtfully spent the night, and went his way in perfect safety. Then Mme. Mihailoff was set upon his trail, and killed him.

There was the murder a couple of years ago of a friend of mine, Simeon Evtimoff, who was one of the most brilliant propagandists that the organization has ever had. He was the League of Nations man for the IMRO; he was the man who did all their propaganda in Europe; and in an unlucky hour he was called back to Bulgaria to carry on propaganda there. Like

every member of the IMRO, he went in danger of his life at every move, and he therefore moved with a body-guard. One day, as he crossed outside the Royal Palace in Sofia, men dressed as hunters opened fire on him from a park. Evtimoff was killed, but not until he had made a fight, and the men who killed him went to the hospital, very much the worse for wear.

The Bulgarian Government knew, of course, that the IMRO would exact vengeance for the killing of its man, and they used every precaution to prevent an assassination. They filled the hospital with police and secret service men, they guarded every door and every window. But what they did not know was that the nurse attending those men was an agent of the IMRO. Mihailoff sent her a pistol, and that Bulgarian girl went into the room of her patient, made him as comfortable as she was able, plumped his pillow, and then stood back and shot him. She is serving sentence of penal servitude now, yet she feels that she has done her duty, has done her bit for Macedonia.

Now, the Macedonian attitude is very difficult for Americans to understand; but you may well ask yourselves, "What else is there for these people to do?" Under the peace treaties, it is provided that all minorities in all countries, including the Balkan countries, are to have the right to the free exercise of their own language, a free press, and opportunity to petition the League for redress of grievances. In all the time that this bloody struggle has been going on, every one of those rights has been denied to the Macedonian people. As a result, they have had recourse to the only possible means of action left to them. Political murder is a dreadful thing, it is an especially dreadful thing in American eyes; but it is very, very

difficult to see what else they are to do except yield up their liberty, their rights, their country, and become Serbs.

#### SECURING AN INTERVIEW

I wish to describe exactly this organization, the country, and the conditions against which the Macedonians are in revolt. I went into the hills in 1929 in an attempt to see Mr. Mihailoff. It is very hard to interview a revolutionary chief. He has very good reasons for not wishing to see unidentified strangers, and he is always in danger of his life. I have no doubt that it took him some hours to make sure that I was not the latest thing in political assassins. No one had ever sent an American political assassin, and therefore to send one would have been very clever. However, I was not an assassin. In fact, I never have been a political assassin—at least not yet.

I spent ten days in Sofia, waiting, and every three days a man came to see me, always a different man. Then finally came a man who walked in, smiled, and said, "I think you are going on a little journey." And I, not being quite sure how much Chicago slang had penetrated to Bulgaria, said with some trepidation, "How long will this little journey last?" My Bulgarian friend smiled again and said, "Twenty-four hours, I think." I was glad to know that it was not for eternity. I said, "What do you want me to do?" He said, "I want you to stand outside the hotel at seven o'clock tomorrow morning, and something will happen."

At seven o'clock in the morning I stood outside my hotel, and a gentleman whose name I had better not mention, and which you would not understand anyhow, came around the corner and said, "Are you ready?" I said,

"Yes." He said, "Come." We walked around behind the hotel, and three men got out of a big automobile. One was a gunman. Gunmen are international. This man might have come straight from Chicago. There was the same grim expression, the same stocky build, and the same bulge over the hip pocket. There was a chauffeur, and then (this is typical of the IMRO) lest the American might be bored upon this journey, lest he might find time hanging heavy on his hands, there was a German-speaking university man to entertain me on the way.

#### THE JOURNEY

We went perhaps twenty miles out, when suddenly the car jolted to a halt as two strangers hailed us. The gunman smiled slightly, got out, clapping a hand to his hip pocket, and went back. Our car had not stopped instantly, but had sped on for a good hundred yards, out of pistol range. There was a great deal of talk. Then the men were brought up and I said to my guide, "Who are these chaps?" He said, "Well, they are just friends, just friends taking a stroll." To this day I do not know who those men were, but I do not believe they were taking a constitutional in the mountains at ten o'clock in the morning.

We went on another fifteen miles and came to a halt suddenly by a little culvert where there was a carriage and another gunman and another guide, and my crew said, "Come on, get out." I got out, they shook hands warmly, and said, "Good-bye. This is where we leave you." They vanished and there I stood, alone in the middle of the Balkan Peninsula with three total strangers. We went on in our carriage, and although I did not know it then, I have since discovered that the man who was either protecting me or seeing that I behaved myself, according to

the necessities of the case, was really something very special in gunmen. He had been detached from Mihailoff's own bodyguard to see first to my personal safety, and secondarily to my good behavior. I am glad to tell you that my behavior all that day was admirable.

I had supposed that we would go on into the mountains on horseback. When we reached a little farmhouse whose yard was closed in with apple trees so thick that one could not see through the foliage, my guide said, "Come on, get out. We will stretch our legs." I walked down one side of the farmyard and up the other. My gunman, taking my little brief case, said, "Let me carry your bag." I said, "Oh, don't trouble, it is just a little thing." He said, "Let—me—take—your—bag." And I said, "Extremely kind of you. Take it."

I thought I was waiting for horses to be ready, as I strolled along outside the farmyard, when suddenly a peasant ran out and there was a flood of Bulgarian that I could not follow. We were taken into the farmyard, and suddenly the bough of an apple tree was thrown aside and Mihailoff himself stepped out. He is famous for dramatic exits and entrances, and he is also famous for never giving an interview except where the Macedonian countryside is at its best.

This is the man that the European press dispatches would have you believe is a mere butcher. He is certainly one of the most ruthless men in Europe, but he is not a ruthless man except as his government bids him be.

#### CLOSELY GUARDED

I spent all day, talking. As I walked in to talk with Mihailoff, I glanced over my shoulder and my heart stopped at least three beats, because behind me stood eight or nine

picked political assassins. They were the best men in the organization, chosen as Mihailoff's personal bodyguard. I have seen some good troops in my time, but I never saw finer fighting men than those fellows. Only one thing puzzled me. Their faces were quite white, the faces of townsmen; and yet these were obviously men in the pink of physical condition, used to the hardest kind of outdoor life. I was so curious I asked why. Mihailoff smiled and said, "Well, you see, we never see the sun, we move at night." It gives you some notion of what the life of a comitadji leader is—a hunted man who could not stay more than two days in one place even before the upset in the Bulgarian Government made him a fugitive on the face of the earth.

We talked about the Macedonian problem and what it meant and what the IMRO was doing and what could be done. As we talked I glanced up suddenly, and for the third time that day my heart lost several beats, because ahead, through the apple trees, there was a little opening, and through the opening came the head and shoulders of a rifleman standing easily with his rifle at the ready; not aiming, just ready. He was guarding Mihailoff, but he was not facing out toward the Yugoslav frontier a few miles away; he was facing in, and the muzzle of that rifle was unpleasantly in my direction. Nothing obtrusive, nothing that a civilian would have noticed, but something whose meaning no soldier could miss for a moment.

During the afternoon I had another terrible scare, because as we leaned over the balcony talking, I looked down the road and saw a platoon of infantry coming along. I said to Mihailoff, "Don't you think you had better get under cover?" "What for?" he asked. "For those fellows."

I felt most unhappy. I was beyond the law, I had no right to be there. No one knew where I was. I was quite unarmed. I could look down under the bushes and see the comitadjis all ready for action, and the army coming up the road. But I could not at the time think of anything to do, and I have not since thought of anything that I could have done, so I did nothing. The army marched happily past us and the comitadjis lay under the bushes, while Mihailoff and I went straight on with our conversation. Nothing whatever happened.

#### THE TROOPS

When it was all over and we were ready to go, Mihailoff saw me looking closely at his men. "Would you like to inspect the troops?" he asked. "You bet I would like to inspect the troops," said I. "Well, come on down." We went down, and the comitadjis, who were quite as interested in an American as I was in them, and who thought me a far stranger object, I dare say, than I thought them, gathered around. Mihailoff tore open the bandoleers and showed me the little bombs which the IMRO makes for just such occasions as the assassination in Marseille, though that assassination happened to be carried out with a pistol. I noticed that the bombs, like those of any other government, carried the stamp of the government, "IMRO"; or in Bulgarian, "VMRO." "Is this discreet?" I asked. Mihailoff smiled slightly: "Oh, yes. We want people to know where they come from."

Then the medical officer tapped a huge wound in a man's cheek, an old scar, and with that innocent professional enthusiasm which seems to belong to medical men of all nations, smiled seraphically and said, "That is my wound. I fixed that up." The

comitadjis began to close in from all directions, pulling up the legs of their trousers and the sleeves of their coats, showing the scars of battle—all except one poor fellow who stood aside and looked very sheepish until some one pointed at him and they all began to laugh. I asked what the laughter was for. "Oh," they said, "that is Dmitri—he has been with us for years and he has never been wounded. Isn't it a joke?" And there was a great deal of hearty Balkan laughter.

When I left the camp, I wanted, as any journalist would want, to get to a typewriter as fast as I could. I asked my guard, "Can you put me on the next train for Sofia?" "No, I hardly think you want to go so soon." And I, being an American and very stupid, said, "Oh, yes, I do. I must get right to paper and typewriter now." He said, "No, no, no. There are many things we wish to show you. You'd better stay here for the night." And I said, "Oh, quite. I had better stay here for the night." I did stay there for the night, and again my conduct was impeccable. Understand, I was not a prisoner. I have never been more beautifully entertained in my life. I was a guest—as long as I behaved properly. I never did find out where my guard was. No doubt somewhere outside he watched, first that I should not be annoyed, and second that I should be very well behaved. In the meantime, of course, Mihailoff somewhere off in the night was leaving that part of the country. In political intrigue in the Balkans there is always a chance of treachery, and he was taking no chances.

#### THE YUGOSLAV FRONTIER

Late that afternoon I was taken up to the Yugoslav frontier. When you understand what the conditions are on the Yugoslav frontier, you will per-

haps understand a little better why things like the Marseille assassination happen. We drove down the road, and a few miles out collected the local representative of the IMRO. A few miles farther on we collected the local representative of the Bulgarian Army. They rode up that mountain path with their arms around each other's necks, and I realized then that the army was not at that time hunting the IMRO so eagerly as it has since hunted it. Today, of course, since the overturn in the Bulgarian Government, the Gueorguieff government is hunting Mihailoff very hard indeed, and has driven him out of the country.

We came up then far into the mountains to the last little frontier post, with the Bulgarian infantry captain with us. We walked to a little ditch, six inches wide and three or four inches deep, dug between the two countries. There was a Bulgarian sentry on our side and a Yugoslav sentry on the other side, with a watchdog running on a wire beside the Bulgarian sentry. Behind that little blockhouse, telegraph wires ran back to where a Bulgarian regiment was spread out over forty kilometers, and beside the wires a beacon stood ready to be fired in case the unfriendly soldiers across the way slipped around and cut the wires in the night.

We walked up to the frontier and the Bulgarian officer stuck his toe over the ditch and said, "Well, here it is. Look down there." I looked across on the Yugoslav side and could see in the twilight, a little way down, a barbed wire entanglement being built, and in the ground at my feet were the holes that had been dug for posts that were to hold that entanglement. I have built enough entanglements to know one when I see it. I said to my guide, "Do you mean that this frontier is closed?" "Well, no, it is not exactly

closed, only you are not allowed to cross." What he meant was that the Yugoslav Government, a month or two before, had declared the frontier open, in spite of which, crossing was prohibited.

Scenting a story, I said, "Well, I have an American passport in my pocket. It is properly viséed. I am going across the frontier and if they throw me out, all the better. That is a story." They looked at me with one of those expressions that the American gets used to in the Balkans. "You don't seem to understand. Americans never do. Down here, we take the papers from the body." "Just what do you mean?" I asked. "Well, your toes are on the line. One step over and that sentry over there, twenty feet ahead, will shoot you."

Now, it is a cardinal maxim of good journalism, as of good scholarship, that every statement must be verified. But for once I let a statement go unverified and took the word of my informant. When I got back and could talk to people who knew the country better than I, whose word I could trust, I asked about it and was told, "Quite true. One more step and they would have shot." Now, fortunately, it was a day when I was on my good behavior, and nothing happened.

#### CONDITIONS THAT CAUSE REVOLT

You may ask why a government has to surround itself with such precautions. That barbed wire entanglement was built in order to cut off the Macedonians in Serbian Macedonia from the Macedonians in Bulgaria, in order to break all national links and let a new generation of Macedonians gradually grow up who have forgotten the old ways, the old language, and the old religion, and have been Serbified.

Perhaps that lets you see what the conditions are in that country. Per-

haps it lets you see why things like the Marseille assassination happen. I do not defend assassination, as I said in the beginning. I think the murder at Marseille was a horrible thing. But having been in the land of King Alexander's police, and having seen strong men turn white and shake when I merely suggested taking a message to their mothers in Macedonia, and having seen their terror at the mere idea that a message from them might get through, knowing that their families would be visited by police, imprisoned, perhaps tortured, if a mere friendly message was brought by an American stranger, I do think that there is something to be said for ending a situation like this in the Balkans.

Make no mistake—the revolutionary organization has not been broken up. Mihailoff has been driven out of Bulgaria; Kyril Drangoff has been arrested; Vlado Gueorguieff [Chernozemski], who did the killing at Marseille, is dead. One cannot *find* any members of the IMRO in Bulgaria now; but they are there all the same. Just as soon as the government changes they will come back. The work of the IMRO will go on. There will be more murders, and each one of these murders has the germs of another Sarajevo in it. If King Alexander had been killed on Italian soil I venture to say that we might have a world war now.

#### PREWAR SITUATION REVERSED

Finally, I should like to remind you that the present situation in Macedonia is simply the 1914 situation in Austria-Hungary, reversed. In 1914, the Serbs of Austria-Hungary were oppressed by the Austrian Government, and for their relief there existed a nationalist movement in Serbia. Its organization was exactly like the IMRO. It was then called the Black

Hand. It has been replaced by another organization called the White Hand, and the saying in the Balkans is that the White Hand casts a black shadow. The Serbian organization with which King Alexander was at one time allied, committed one murder too many. It is said that King Alexander had retired from the organization before the murder. That, at least, is the statement of a sober historian like Professor Sidney Fay. Certainly there is no question that King Alexander was at one time much interested in the work of the Black Hand and contributed to it.

The Serbians at that time were trying to free their oppressed fellow countrymen. They tried to free them by terroristic murders. The murder at Sarajevo was not the only one, it was the last of a series. But it happened to be the wrong murder, coming at the wrong time diplomatically, and the World War was the result.

Today, the Serbs in Yugoslavia are "top dog." They are the masters now. As is so sadly the way with all nations, the moment they became top dog they became oppressors. They are grinding down the Macedonians and the Croats just as they themselves were ground down. It makes one think that the German philosopher Hegel was right when he said that history teaches only that men learn nothing from history. Today we have the 1914 situation repeated. We have the very grave danger that we may sooner or later have another assassination like that at Marseille, which will have the same fatal result as the one in 1914.

There is, so far as I can see, no possible way out except to see that ordinary justice is done to these people—to see that the Croats, the Macedonians, and any other minorities who desire to present their cases to the League of Nations shall be allowed to

do so. At present, Yugoslavia is allied with France. France is dominant in the Council. A minority petition has no chance. Being denied legal means, the IMRO insists that it will go on by violence. It has repeatedly said that if it were given legal means to

work, it would work by legal means. It is in the interests of all of us that the complaints of all the minorities in the Balkans should have a fair hearing, and something should be done about the rights and the sorrows of these people.

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# The Balkans and the Great Powers

By ARNOLD WOLFERS

**B**EFORE I came to this country it sometimes seemed to me that Europe must appear to the American people somewhat as the Balkans did to many of us in Western Europe, namely, a small, crowded territory where nations live side by side in continual strife, in mutual fear and hatred. The subject of this evening's lectures shows, however, that in this country too the Balkans are regarded as a particular center of unrest, worthy of special attention.

To speak of the "present crisis in the Balkans" may give an erroneous impression. There is no crisis in the Balkans today apart from the general European crisis. If we want to be just to the Balkan peoples, we ought really to begin by contrasting their achievements in consolidating peace among themselves with the growing antagonism separating the big powers in Europe. The first speaker, it is true, was able to show how difficult and wholly unsatisfactory the situation is for two minorities in the Balkans—the Macedonians and the Croats. Nevertheless, with the recent drawing up of the Balkan Pact and the surprising reconciliation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, for the moment at least one can speak of pacification in the Balkans. If the assassination of a Balkan king is able to arouse new fear of an impending European conflagration, it is due to the fact that the Balkan nations have not ceased to be pawns in a bigger political game, in the fight for supremacy going on incessantly among the great powers.

The greatest failure of the postwar settlements is not the way in which boundaries were drawn in the Balkans—although there is enough open to ob-

jection in that regard—but that the whole of the Balkan and Danubian region has been left in what has been called a "Balkanized" state of affairs. This means that an important part of Europe has been divided into political units too small and too little consolidated to exist independently without external help. They are therefore subject to the continual intrigue and rivalries of the big powers. Whenever the Balkans have played a conspicuous rôle in European politics since the war, it has been in connection with changes in the balance of power, resulting from moves by one or more of the major states.

Yugoslavia particularly has had to serve her ally, France, either against Italy or against Russia, or against attempts of Germany to gain influence in Southeastern Europe. King Alexander's planned visit to Paris indicated Yugoslavia's particularly important position, because her stand, as we shall see, may actually decide the fate of new and embracing plans of European alignment.

## YUGOSLAV-ITALIAN DISAGREEMENT

Yugoslavia's conflict with Italy had been taking on more serious aspects. Yugoslav newspapers were insinuating the cowardice of the Italian soldier in the last war, which called forth very bitter reactions from the Italian side.

The relations between the two neighbors on the Adriatic have been anything but satisfactory for most of the time since the close of the war. It will be remembered that the Versailles Peace Conference experienced its gravest crisis in connection with fixing the boundaries of those two countries.

President Wilson's attitude in regard to Fiume nearly blew up the conference.

The new outbreak of irritation in that region has become an event of grave European concern. When Italian troops were massed on the Brenner frontier in July, not every one suspected that the danger of war came less from a possible clash between Germany and Italy than from the reactions of Yugoslavia against Italian control of Austria. It has been said that Yugoslavia might have regarded it as a *casus belli* if Italian troops had taken possession of Vienna.

This may seem surprising at first sight. The Yugoslavs have shown no less opposition to Austro-German union than have the Italians. When the customs union between Germany and Austria came up for discussion in the League, the Yugoslav representative was more emphatic than any one else in pronouncing his veto. But at that time there was no question of a union between Austria and Italy. If Yugoslavia has to choose between German influence extending to her boundaries, and Italy's attaining power over a still larger stretch of land on her northern border, she may regard the former alternative as the lesser evil. May it not strengthen Yugoslavia's position to have two big powers as her neighbors rather than to see her most dangerous opponent become even more powerful?

France and the Little Entente have reason enough to look with dismay at this conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia. The Austrian troubles, after all, are by no means definitely liquidated. Vienna may still at any moment go over to Austrian National Socialism, independently of whether Germany interferes or not. No one knows what attitude Italy would take in such a case. Isolated Italian action might lead to war with Yugoslavia. There can evidently be no graver dan-

ger to the *status quo* of Versailles and the other postwar settlements than a conflict involving allies of the Great War.

King Alexander's visit to Paris was to have been the first step in the direction of Yugoslav-Italian negotiations over the bridge of French mediation. There can be no doubt that a compromise regarding steps to be taken in the event of an Austrian emergency would have been the first objective of such negotiations, and the basis for any general settlement which might be attained by those countries.

#### FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

The issue which the negotiators in Paris were to face was, however, a broader one. France, in taking the initiative, had more in mind than purely Central European affairs. It was within those wider plans of Barthou's European policy that Yugoslavia and the decisions her monarch might decide to take suddenly acquired such importance.

When Doumergue's National Government was set up last winter, French foreign policy took a new line. It was a break with the Briand traditions. The desire for security, and ever more security, had characterized French foreign policy since the war. In this there was to be no change. More than ever the fear of Germany was shaping the French plans. But there were different ways by which this goal could be attained. One was the strengthening of the League of Nations. France had endeavored to introduce a system of effective international sanctions by which to guarantee the *status quo*. This attempt had failed. "Collective security" on these French lines was not available.

There was a second way, the one to which Briand and some of his successors had given their main efforts, and that

was security by conciliation of Germany. The main feature of any such policy, if it were to lessen the reasons for fear, would have had to be some revision of the Versailles Treaty. In 1934 it would have meant a convention on armaments, giving Germany greater relative strength in arms than had been conceded to her at Versailles. Barthou decided not to take the risk of such a policy. He had no confidence, so he said, in the word of Hitler. He was not going to legalize any German rearmament. Negotiations between the two countries were abruptly ended.

There was only one other path then. France would seek what we would call "hegemonial security." This was nothing new. It was the main principle of the Versailles settlement. France was given security by her preponderance in military strength over a unilaterally disarmed opponent, and by the privilege she held to form alliances regarded as being compatible with the Covenant of the League. The security that the treaty gave her was, however, on the wane. Germany was rearming. She might soon be able to find allies. Hegemonial security could be established in future, only if France could unite the whole of Europe in a system of alliances or pacts of mutual assistance, guaranteeing the *status quo*. This was Barthou's plan. To achieve his ends he carried on two campaigns, one to the northeast, the other in the southeast or Mediterranean region.

The northeastern program was carried to an end, but with only partial success. France was able to win the support of the Soviet Union, which was the most important power in that region. But in drawing nearer to Russia, even so far as to make a return to the prewar alliance seem likely, the French forfeited the support of Poland. The Poles resented Franco-Russian amity and had no desire to be brought

into more conflict with Germany. It looked as if they were lining up very definitely with Germany.

#### YUGOSLAVIA'S IMPORTANCE TO FRANCE

When Barthou then turned to the southeast in pursuit of his objectives, he naturally kept in mind his experience with Poland. Here, too, his first object was to secure the allegiance of the strongest power in the theater of his operations. There could be no security if Italy stood aloof or remained hostile. The negotiations with Mussolini were carried on with utmost care and were to come to a conclusion during a visit of Barthou in Rome. Yet here again loomed the danger that one of France's old allies would be antagonized. Would not Yugoslavia turn away from France if she found her siding with Yugoslavia's neighbor and opponent across the Adriatic? The support Yugoslavia had been getting from France was largely due to the French desire to keep Italy in a vise. If Italy was to gain power by lining up with France, would Yugoslavia not tend to seek support from countries that were not tied to Italy?

Poland's defection was certainly disagreeable, but if Yugoslavia followed her example, this might mean real disaster for the French. The specter of a new, powerful grouping of countries in Central Europe comprising Germany, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and perhaps other states, appeared on the horizon. An arms race, coupled with a race for stronger alliances, would wreck the plan of hegemonial security.

However important it was for France to come to terms with Italy, and however tempting it was to profit by the occasion of Italy's sudden hostility to Germany, France could not run the risk of alienating the Yugoslavs and of breaking up the Little Entente, her

main support in Central Europe. Alexander's visit seemed to promise that Italy and Yugoslavia could both be brought into line with the French program. Would he have come to Paris, people said, to attend great ceremonies of friendship, if he had intended to destroy the hopes and wishes of the Doumergue government?

#### PRESENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS

The death of the two main negotiators put a sudden stop to the progress of the whole undertaking. The interruption and postponement is in itself a serious hindrance to French diplomacy. Events may occur, either in connection with the assassination or independently, that may lay more stones in the path of these very difficult three-cornered negotiations. Germany gains time to counteract the French endeavors. She has reason enough to resent and oppose the plan of encircling her by what has been called an "iron ring of security pacts." Italy may discover that she is paying too high a price by tying herself to France and French politics. The reason for doing so was to keep Nazi influence from becoming predominant in Vienna. Italy may come to realize that her fear of the *Anschluss* is becoming less well founded. Yugoslavia has been weakened by the loss of her dictator-king and by new difficulties at home. The regency may be less able to enter upon what might be an unpopular compromise with Italy. Already the assassination has increased bitterness towards the Italians. In the minds of the Yugoslav people there is no doubt that the Croatian and Macedonian terrorists who took refuge in Hungary and Italy have been finding sympathetic support in both countries.

Notwithstanding these facts, it looks at this date as if both the French and the Italian Governments want to con-

tinue the negotiations. This is evident from the way in which they cooperated in checking all attempts to lay the responsibility for the Marseille events on Italy, or to stir hatred in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government so far has shown the same desire to avoid international complications.

If, then, the negotiations may be expected to continue in much the same spirit as before, one may ask oneself, Is it desirable that they should lead to the results which Barthou had in mind? Is the fear of Germany, in other words, a sound foundation for European and particularly for Balkan politics? It cannot be denied that common grievances with regard to a third country have often in history been the means of drawing nations together and overcoming the antagonism that separated them. Today we find that common fear of Germany or common hostility to the present German régime is helping those who advocate reconciliation between France and Italy or between Italy and Yugoslavia, and has already served to bring the Soviet Union back into the European concert.

It is certainly in the interest of world peace that the neighbors on the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas should find a way of setting their conflicts. If the fear of a third country was necessary to bring about their willingness to compromise and to make neutral concessions, it has served useful ends.

#### YUGOSLAVIA AS A MEDIATOR

This does not mean, however, that either Yugoslavia or Italy should look with favor on a policy that would tend to make them partners in a system of anti-German alignment. The Balkan countries, as was said in the beginning, have suffered from antagonistic relationships among the big powers, more than from any other circumstance.

Instead of finding the coöperative support of the great powers, they have found themselves used for purposes that lay outside of their own spheres of interest. What they need is economic and political support, not from France alone but from Germany too. It is detrimental to the Balkan states to be asked to choose and to have to antagonize one of the two. What has the conflict on the Rhine to do with Yugoslavia's affairs? Even the struggle between Germany and Italy regarding Austria leaves Yugoslavia in a position where from her own interest she can side with neither of the two.

Under these circumstances, it would seem that Yugoslavia's aim in taking part in the European negotiations must be to serve as an agent of conciliation. Instead of encirclement, she must wish for all-around agreements for the appeasement of Europe. Until recently Italy tried to serve as a mediator between France and Germany. If she should now decide to give up that position, Yugoslavia may be called upon to take her place. She can point out that nothing short of recon-

ciliation between France and Germany and between Germany and Italy can save the Balkan and Danubian states from becoming entangled in an otherwise unavoidable clash between opposing groups and alliances.

The idea of an all-around reconciliation may sound utopian. Yugoslavia's influence may seem too weak to induce the big powers to attempt such a policy. But if France realizes how little she can rely upon Italy for anything like permanent support; if the danger of disrupting the Little Entente by a policy of the Barthou type comes even more to the fore, the willingness may grow to try once more a policy of reconciliation with Berlin. A convention on arms equality, the return of the Saar to Germany, and a guarantee for Austrian independence, implementing an adjustment of colonial and other claims between Italy and France, might at last give Europe breathing space. Yugoslavia and the other countries in that region might then hope to find time and freedom for solving some of their own pressing internal problems.

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# Trends in the Balkan Situation

By EDGAR J. FISHER

THE present concern about the situation in the Balkans is of course due to fears concerning the consequences of the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseille on October 9, 1934. When revolution broke out in Spain a few days earlier, no one trembled for fear that a general European conflagration would result. But when this Balkan ruler was murderously struck down by one of his own subjects almost immediately after he had landed in France, many were those who did then, and still do, fear the consequences to world peace of that terrible act of unjustifiable violence. The Balkans had again precipitated a crisis!

The Balkan Peninsula has had a reputation for stormy turbulence. It has been a byword for weakness, division, and mutual hostility on the part of the Balkan states and their peoples. When a recent author wished to call attention to the fact that all Europe was suffering from the same conditions, he wrote a book and called it *Balkanized Europe*. But the Western European, and we in the United States, have either consciously or unconsciously lost sight of the truth that much of the Balkan turmoil has been stirred up by the divisive policies of Western European chancelleries by their too frequent interference in Balkan politics. This interference has not been primarily motivated by a desire to serve the welfare of the Balkan peoples themselves, but in furtherance of the political or economic interests of the great powers. The sordid details of the Congress of Berlin in

1878, and the unhappy influence of European policies at the time of the Balkan Wars in 1912, illustrate this point. To the impartial person, long resident in the Balkans and interested in the welfare of these peoples, the situation has caused great distress. Europe has had a definite responsibility for the balkanization of the Balkans, and if Mother Europe is today suffering from the same malady, she has herself to blame.

## YUGOSLAVIA THE CENTER OF CONFLICT

In an interesting and significant way, all the major influences involved in the present Balkan crisis are seen in the Yugoslav situation. It is on that account that the lamentable assassination of King Alexander has so sharply raised questions. These influences may be listed as the domestic dissatisfaction in Yugoslavia, Balkan contacts with western powers, the Little Entente and the Balkans, Yugoslavia's relations with Bulgaria, and the question of Balkan federation.

The serious domestic discontent in Yugoslavia, at times bordering on active civil war, has been one of the danger spots in contemporary Europe. A common hostility to the Hapsburgs drew the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes together into Yugoslavia. Though practically all are South Slavs, the non-Serbs in this heterogeneous state differ greatly from their Serbian brethren in traditions, culture, and religion. Under the leadership of Nicholas Pashitch, Yugoslavia was organized as a severely centralized state. This policy of centralization was continued by King Alexander, despite the

bitter protests of the new sections, such as Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, that were added to old Serbia in order to form Yugoslavia. So bitter did the antagonisms become that the ruler, instead of guiding the country to a coöperative federated basis, early in 1929 established a stern dictatorship.

In becoming dictator and overthrowing the constitutional régime, King Alexander was not moved by desire for power. Parliamentary institutions seemed to have broken down because of the factional turmoil in the land. The aim of the dictatorship was to build national unity, imposed from above, so to speak. Undoubtedly the five years of dictatorship improved administration, but the fundamental task of achieving national unity was too great for the wisdom of this Alexander. Sufficient and tangible recognition was not given to the diverse groups in the state, so as to satisfy their demands for some autonomy and relief from the stern pressure of the centralized authority of Belgrade.

What has increased the difficulty of this problem of unity in Yugoslavia is that the Croats and the Slovenes, with their historic connection in the old Hapsburg Empire, feel themselves culturally superior and more advanced than the Serbs, who were so much longer under the backward influences of Ottoman Turkish despotism.

It is perhaps immaterial whether Alexander was shot down by a Croat or a Macedonian, although where the assassin may have been sheltered is of great importance. Had the wisdom and conduct of the King of Yugoslavia been sufficient for the solution of the domestic problem, he would probably today be ruling over a reasonably contented land, with much surer pros-

pects of enduring peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and thus in the world.

#### CONTACTS WITH THE WESTERN POWERS

As a result of the World War the area of the Balkan states was greatly enlarged by the addition of territory that formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This resulted in new Balkan contacts with western powers, which are nowhere more clearly seen than in the case of Yugoslavia. It is not necessary today to travel so far south and east as formerly to reach the Balkans. Countries like Yugoslavia and Rumania, that grew from small to large states territorially, have begun to make their influence increasingly felt because their new lands have thrust them out nearer, or into, the orbit of the great powers.

Yugoslavia and Rumania, though still Balkan powers, became important links in the chain that was to forge French security by encircling the Germanic states. Faithful friendship with France has been for the last decade an axiom of the foreign policy of these two states. In a sense, this has also changed the character of French interests in the Balkan Peninsula. The new reactions of Balkan affairs upon the power politics of the Western European states is obvious when we understand that the main motive behind King Alexander's visit to Paris was to guarantee, if possible, that the projected and highly desirable *rapprochement* between France and Italy would not weaken Yugoslavia's fidelity to France and throw her into the lap of Germany.

In this problem affecting Yugoslavia, the statesmanship of Foreign Minister Barthou and of Premier Mussolini was indeed to be put to the test. When Yugoslavia succeeded the

disrupted Hapsburg Empire in the possession of the Dalmatian coast, it succeeded inevitably to that empire's active rivalry with Italy. The continuous and touchy strife that has marked the relations of the two chief states that border the Adriatic Sea has become chronic. The most obscure student or the most provincial newspaper editor of Italy or Yugoslavia can, with a shout or a stroke of the pen, stir profound and dangerous waves of patriotic emotion among these peoples.

The disadvantage of this unhealthy situation between these two neighbor states has become the more obvious since France and Italy have been earnestly seeking a basis of understanding in their disputes, the failure to settle which has been an important cause of European unrest. It came down to this: How could France be friendly to both Italy and Yugoslavia at the same time? To find an answer to this question, Barthou wished to see the Yugoslav dictator in the French capital before he saw the Italian dictator in Rome.

The Yugoslavs likewise were concerned lest France and Italy should come to an agreement before they themselves had been able to regulate their differences with the government of Mussolini. King Alexander's visit to France coincided unfortunately with one of those regrettable outbursts of petty feeling and lack of restraint on the part of the Italian and Yugoslav press, that did not augur well for an era of good feeling between the two states. The killing of Alexander was soon followed by anti-Italian outbreaks in Yugoslavia and by charges that Italian policy was, at least in part, responsible for the tragedy. Only three days before the fatal shots were fired at Marseille, Mussolini had ad-

ressed a great throng in Milan and issued pointed warnings against what he termed a provocative attitude on the part of the Yugoslav press.

In this tense situation the question of peace or war rested in the hands of the Italian dictator. The commendable restraint and foresight of Benito Mussolini in the days immediately following the assassination of King Alexander and Foreign Minister Barthou maintained the peace at a time when merely a slight misstep would have precipitated a major conflict.

These Yugoslav contacts with the western states indicate the new influence of the Balkans upon Europe.

#### THE LITTLE ENTENTE

Yugoslavia as a member of the Little Entente represents another post-war influence in the Balkan problem. The object of the Little Entente, formed by the tireless activity of Eduard Beneš, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, is in general to preserve the territorial *status quo* in Central Europe. In particular it means that Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, which had seized territory from Hungary, banded together to prevent Hungary from forcibly overturning the new territorial arrangements. In this alliance with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia find certain inconveniences in their relations to the other Balkan states. The real interests of Balkan states are likely to be prejudiced by membership in an alliance that unduly involves them in the regional quarrels of Central Europe. The Central European interests could be better handled through the League of Nations, or specially as occasion arose, without the disadvantage of a close alliance with Czechoslovakia for purposes that affect Central Europe only.

Little Entente policies have been almost exclusively negative, and have not developed a spirit that would lead to the appeasement of the area involved. It is practically impossible for Rumania and Yugoslavia to face both ways, by giving loyal adherence to the Little Entente and to the movement for Balkan union under the present conditions in Europe.

As soon as the Little Entente develops positive policies for correcting the sore spots in Central Europe, its *raison d'être* will have disappeared. Until that time arrives, Rumania and Yugoslavia are likely to find the Little Entente connection a drawback in their relations with the other Balkan nations, and hence to Balkan coöperation. The dangerous influence of the Hungarian situation is seen in the Yugoslav charges that at least some of the group involved in the plot to assassinate King Alexander came from a terrorist camp located, and tolerated, at Janka Puszta in Hungary.

Perhaps my judgment may seem a little harsh on the Little Entente. It is true that the declaration which the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and the Balkan Pact powers made after the assassination of King Alexander did much to calm the general situation.

#### CAUSES OF DISCORD

The relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have, until recent months, illustrated Balkan feeling at its worst. The Balkan nations secured their freedom from the Ottoman Empire in this chronological order: Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Due to the constant war and oppression to which this section has been subjected, with the consequent movement of populations, the boundaries of the Balkan states have

never suited national demands and aspirations.

Three complex series of problems have been intertwined, to the great misfortune of the Balkan peoples and the peace of Europe. In the first place, the relations of the European powers to the old Ottoman Empire were motivated by the desire on the part of the powers to partition Turkey and seize as much of that empire as they could. Secondly, the Turks were constantly engaged in efforts to put down the revolts of their subject peoples, due to the oppressive and unenlightened character of the rule of the Ottoman sultans. The third intricate situation that added to Balkan turmoil was due to the rivalries and quarrels among the new Balkan states which succeeded, one by one, in securing political independence.

As a result of these conflicting cycles, which disported themselves in diplomatic chicanery, rebellion, and civil war, public policies in the Balkans were dominated by fear and suspicion. These chronic conditions gave the unhappy connotation to the term "Balkan." If the Balkan Wars did free Macedonia from Turkish rule, they also intensified the discord among the Balkan states.

The critical character of the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, both South Slav peoples, has been almost exclusively due to the Macedonian question, which has been the major upsetting Balkan problem. Macedonia had been administered as a unit by the Ottoman Empire; it was divided after the Balkan Wars among Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia, in 1913; and there was a new partition after the Great War that left Bulgaria more dissatisfied than ever. The Bulgarians claimed the Macedonians as Bulgarians, the Serbs said they were

Serbs, and the Macedonians themselves began to feel that they were Macedonians. The partitions satisfied no one. Discontented Macedonians sought refuge on Bulgarian soil, and, as comitadjis, made violent incursions across the frontiers into neighboring states. These border raids were organized by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), and left the frontiers between Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia in bloodshed and disorder. Attempts to improve relations between the states were countered by fresh deeds of violence by the IMRO.

The position of the Bulgarian Government was exceedingly difficult because of the large number of Macedonians in Bulgaria and the considerable number of high government officials who either were Macedonians or sympathized with them. Yugoslav diplomatic protests, appeals to the League of Nations, the closure of the borders, and the pressure of the great powers called constant attention to the dangers of the situation. Even reasonably satisfactory relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia waited upon the cessation of Macedonian violence, the ability and willingness of Bulgaria to prevent illegal acts and frontier violations by the Macedonians, and the carrying out by Yugoslavia of the terms of the Minorities Treaties with respect to the Macedonians.

#### IMPROVED RELATIONS

A few years ago the world witnessed the Balkan miracle of a sudden outburst of affection and good feeling between Greece and Turkey. The year 1934 has provided another Balkan miracle in suddenly improved relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In December 1933 the Bulgarian rulers visited their royal colleagues in Bel-

grade. Five months later, in May 1934, a coup d'état established a dictatorial régime in Bulgaria, with Kimon Gueorguieff, the leader of a powerful nationalist association, as Prime Minister. King Boris became a titular rather than an active dictator like King Alexander. The new Bulgarian Government set out to crush the IMRO, and adopted a policy definitely favorable to friendship with Yugoslavia. The violent Macedonian revolutionary leaders, headed by Ivan Mihailoff, have been captured or run out of the country.

This policy paved the way for the remarkable state visit in September 1934 of King Alexander and Queen Marie, of Yugoslavia, to Bulgaria. It gave the occasion for a more remarkable demonstration of popular good will toward neighboring sovereigns than any part of the Balkans has witnessed in many decades. It is indeed fortunate that King Alexander's visit to Sofia was scheduled before the ill-fated trip to France. A great spur to effective coöperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was given, which has already been important in displacing the vengeful spirit of the past. This is the more certain because not only have royalty exchanged visits, but professional and religious bodies, social groups, and sport clubs have followed suit in traveling back and forth between the two countries. The barbed wire entanglements along the Bulgarian-Yugoslav boundary are at length being removed, with good practical and psychological effect.

#### BALKAN CONFERENCES

If, as seems likely to be the case, the present crisis in the Balkans is peacefully regulated in its special Balkan and general European phases, this will have been due largely to the foresight

and the courage of a number of Balkan leaders who have been seeking a Balkan "New Deal." In the face of the most serious obstacles, such as attempted interference of the European powers in Balkan affairs, the troublesome questions affecting minorities, and the divisive influence of economic nationalism, a definite movement toward Balkan union has been in progress since 1930.

Four annual Balkan Conferences have been held in different cities. These gatherings are private in character, but most of the delegates, men and women, hold high official positions in their countries, or have previously held such positions. They represent and speak for leading political, economic, and social movements in the six Balkan nations, including Turkey. In fact the Turkish Republic has been in an advantageous position as a mediating power in the Balkan Conference movement. Turkey is practically the only state that has no serious difficulties with her Balkan neighbors, and her leaders have recognized the potential helpfulness of this situation.

A permanent organization, influenced by that of the League of Nations, has been formed. Various avenues toward Balkan coöperation and union have been explored. The free discussion of their own affairs in the annual Conferences has strengthened the self-respect and initiative of Balkan leaders. Through these Conferences influential Balkan groups have begun to build up a background of popular good will and understanding among the Balkan peoples themselves.

This has finally permeated to the governments of these states and has begun to influence public policy. It is improbable that such remarkable progress would have been made

toward Greco-Turkish and Bulgarian-Yugoslav *rapprochement*, or that the ceaseless round of Balkan royal and diplomatic visits of the last twelve months could have taken place, without the fundamental education and preparation furnished by the Balkan Conference movement. Since the assassination of King Alexander, the Fifth Conference, which was to have been held in October 1934 at Istanbul, has been indefinitely postponed. It is possible that public policies in the Balkans will soon take on a sufficiently definite trend toward practical co-operation, so that the private Conference movement will have fulfilled its major function of pointing the way toward Balkan union. With flag and anthem, a new Balkan state of mind—patriotism, if you will—has been developing. Here is a third Balkan miracle!

#### THE BALKAN PACT

One of the most important resolutions of any of the Balkan Conferences was passed at Salonika in 1933. This resolution embodied a request to the six Balkan governments to conclude a multilateral pact on the basis of the pact of friendship, peace, and union adopted at the Bucharest Conference the preceding year. There followed an impressive series of visits of Balkan royalty and statesmen, which culminated in the signature of a Balkan Pact at Athens on February 9, 1934. The Preamble declared that the object of the pact was to consolidate Balkan peace, guarantee respect for existing treaties, and maintain the present Balkan territorial arrangements.

The fatal defect of the Balkan Pact signed at Athens was the abstention of Albania and Bulgaria. The absence of Albania from among the signatories may be explained by its continued de-

pendence upon Italian policy, and the unsettled minorities dispute with Yugoslavia. As to Bulgaria, this state has disclaimed any intention of wishing to revise the Treaty of Neuilly by force of arms, but has been consistently opposed to signing a pact which would confirm anew her present territorial bounds and which did not include adequate guarantees for her minorities in other lands and for her Aegean outlet.

It is now realized that the hurried signature of a pact, to which only four of the Balkan states would subscribe, was a serious mistake. Indeed, the pact as signed is very different in character from the agreement recommended to the governments by the Balkan Conference, which had urged the six states to sign a pact of nonaggression and pacific settlement of all disputes. This would have permitted subsequent negotiations for smoothing out differences, to which any or all of the signatories could have been parties. The pact was signed by the states that are in general satisfied with their present situation, and its wording makes it difficult for them to negotiate separately with the other two states, the countries with which there are difficulties crying for solution if ever real Balkan union is to be attained. Recent interpretations of the pact by signatory governments have weakened it as a guarantee for Balkan security and peace. This agreement cannot be regarded as final, but as only another important stage in the progress toward true union.

If the haste in signing an incomplete Balkan Pact was due to the fear of the other states at witnessing the evidences of increasing good will between the two South Slav states of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (certainly a contradiction of the spirit of a pact of

friendship), the signature may have been dearly bought at the expense of unduly postponing the ultimate federation of the Balkans.

An essential to the fulfillment of the Balkan Pact, however, has recently been taking place in the improved relations between these two countries. Note this striking contrast. Formerly, to the Bulgarian, the Yugoslav symbolized an unlucky fate and the thwarting of national aspirations; while to the Yugoslav, the Bulgarian signified only a base and intriguing neighbor, even if of the same blood. The picture has now changed. Toasts at royal banquets are not always evidences of constructive changes, but those offered at the palace in Sofia on September 28, 1934, just ten days before the murder of King Alexander, had the backing of popular approval in both countries. The keynote of the toasts at King Boris's banquet to King Alexander was the development of "brotherly" relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and the necessity for an "enduring faith."

The removal of Alexander's person has not altered the policy of the Bulgarian Government in its new friendship toward Yugoslavia. As soon as these two South Slav states have reached a formal settlement of their outstanding difficulties, which under the new conditions should not be difficult of attainment, the way will be prepared for a revised Balkan Pact to which Bulgaria will be able to adhere. This will necessarily bring Albania also nearer to some more definite decision as to her Balkan status.

#### SOLUTION OF THE BALKAN PROBLEM

Such are the main currents in the Balkan stream. Succinctly, the solution of the present Balkan crisis and

problem, by which we really mean its peaceful resolution, is dependent upon the ultimate fulfillment of the following seven conditions:

1. The realization on the part of the European powers that their own best interests in the new Balkans require the abandonment of their policies of stirring up mistrust among these peoples and trading upon their jealousies, and the adoption of policies based upon coöperation. A reasonable practice will follow realization of the situation, even among diplomats.

2. The gradual substitution in Yugoslavia of a decentralized, federated system of government in place of the highly centralized régime of the present system that centers in Belgrade. This problem of unity must be solved adequately to prevent the disruption of Yugoslavia, with the consequent danger to peace that such disruption would involve. Unfortunately, some of the first acts of the new regency have not given promise of much progress at the present time toward this necessary decentralized arrangement.

3. The achievement of a settlement of the difficulties that mar the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia. The continuance of the sensitive tension in this political area is a constant threat to international peace.

4. The withdrawal of Rumania and Yugoslavia from the Little Entente as at present constituted. This does not mean that these Balkan states should ignore the problem involved in Hungarian dissatisfaction, but they should devise a positive, statesmanlike policy that will ultimately release Hungary from her smarting feeling of injustice.

5. The definitive settlement of the Macedonian question, and any other minorities problems in the Balkans, by the faithful fulfillment of the terms of

the Minorities Treaties in the spirit in which those treaties were conceived. The plague of violence that has marked conditions in Macedonia can be cured only by granting cultural autonomy to the Macedonians in the several Balkan states. The Minorities Treaties have not worked satisfactorily in the Balkans any more than they have worked satisfactorily anywhere else, because minorities problems cannot be cured by machinery. Just as soon as any machinery has been successful, there is no need of machinery in connection with minorities problems. The best definition I have ever heard of a minority is this: "A minority is a group that does not feel at home." When the governmental situation is such that the minority feels at home, it is no longer a minority, and no machinery is needed.

6. The accomplishment of such friendly relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as to lead finally to a single South Slav state, based upon voluntary coöperation and mutual agreement. This should be less difficult than was the organization of the Hapsburg dual monarchy in 1867, and if consummated on a peaceful, voluntary basis it would be more permanent than the *Ausgleich* of 1867, and it would greatly facilitate the task of Balkan federation.

7. The conclusion of a Balkan pact, signed by the six Balkan states, that will make effective a Balkan union, or federation, organized coöperatively on a common political and economic basis, strong enough to be heard effectively with the voice of a single great power, and capable of deciding Balkan questions in the Balkans itself.

In putting faith in the practicability and the possibility of these seven conditions, it may be said that another frail bark has put out to sea. But the

main object of this discussion has not been to catalogue causes of perpetual strife in the Balkans, but to chart a course for the future. Edmond Ros-

tand declared that "the Fable is always better than History." How remarkable if in the Balkan "New Deal" the Fable itself shall become History!

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# My Impressions in the Far East and Japanese-American Relations

By HIROSI SAITO

IT IS a great pleasure for me to come to this American Academy of Political and Social Science and speak about my recent visit to the Far East and something about the relations between our two countries in general.

It was my privilege to come here about two years ago and talk about the Manchurian situation with special reference to the Lytton Report just made public at that time. Since then Japan has withdrawn from the League of Nations, and Manchukuo has been proclaimed an empire and has effected a remarkable progress. Since then a new administration has been installed in the United States, and the general situation of the world at large has undergone considerable change.

I am glad to be able to say at the outset and also as my conclusion, that, amidst these vicissitudes in the international situation, the relations between Japan and the United States have not only been undisturbed but have turned decidedly for the better. Deeper understanding and more correct appreciation of motives have come to characterize our friendship. It is the beholden duty of the two nations to promote this happy trend. I am glad to know that thinking people in the two countries are working hard and sincerely for the furtherance of that great cause.

It is the good fortune of our two countries that we have between us no major questions, either political or economic, that are not susceptible of amicable solution. It appears that our two nations are heaven-ordained to be mutually beneficial and ever to

be the co-guardians of the peace of the Pacific.

Let us now enumerate the possible, or at least apparent, causes of friction or disagreement between our two countries. They will fall under the following heads: (1) the immigration question, (2) the trade question, (3) the Manchurian question, and (4) the naval question. I have already said they are susceptible of amicable solution. The first two items are not at this moment demanding our attention so much as the latter two. I shall therefore touch upon them in a more or less cursory manner.

## THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

Japan looks upon the immigration question not so much as a question of immigration *per se*, but as a question of discrimination—a question of prestige. Especially since the enactment of the American Immigration Law of 1924, the question has resolved itself into whether or no one hundred-odd Japanese immigrants will be admitted into this country. I am glad to have been assured by many Americans that there has come to be a strong movement in America to have the immigration law in question amended so that the Japanese will be placed on an equal footing with Europeans. Several chambers of commerce and some bar associations in the United States have passed resolutions that the legal discrimination should be removed. Already there are bills introduced in the United States Congress with the same object. A leaven of fairness and justice appears to be at work in the Ameri-

can public mind regarding this matter. Japan is patiently waiting for the day when this needless affront to the Japanese sense of honor will be deleted from American legislation.

#### THE TRADE QUESTION

As to the trade question, Japan and the United States are no competitors in the economic field. Our countries are endowed with entirely different resources. Our products are altogether complementary and our Pacific trade is remarkably well-balanced. Only, Japan buys a little more from the United States than the latter buys from Japan. The two countries exchange raw materials in the form of silk and cotton, which represent the major factors of our trade. Not that there do not occur some minor frictions from time to time, but they are always of the nature that will not disturb our international relations. In fine, I am firmly convinced that the commercial relations between our two countries are destined to become closer and closer with the passage of time, to the mutual benefit of the two peoples.

#### THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION

During my recent sojourn of three months in the Far East, I made a two-weeks' visit to the new Empire of Manchukuo and North China. I was agreeably surprised to find that the situation there was very much better than I could have imagined in distant parts of the world. I am glad to say that this is not only the result of my own observations, but I may say the consensus of opinion among foreign visitors to the new country.

In connection with the problem of banditry, which according to the Lytton Report "may be traced throughout the history of China," and which "the [Chinese] administration has never been able to suppress . . . entirely"

(p. 19), the claim of the Japanese authorities that "the presence of their troops in the country will enable them to wipe out the principal bandit units within from two to three years" (Lytton Report, p. 83) has now been literally fulfilled.

During the two-and-a-half-years' existence of Manchukuo, the bandits that used to infest towns and villages as well as railway lines have been practically suppressed. Prior to the fateful incident at Mukden on the night of September 18, 1931, which ignited the so-called Manchurian affair, there were about one hundred thousand bandits in Manchuria. The number increased to two hundred and ten thousand soon after the incident, due to the fact that many of the defeated soldiers turned bandits. But now the number has dwindled to only thirty thousand, and they are practically banished to the wooded hills of Kirin.

There are many reasons why such a remarkable achievement has been effected in so short a time. Some are ironical and others are fantastic. Some of the bandits who ran riot soon after the Mukden incident were styled political bandits. They aimed at the overthrow of the newly established Manchukuo Government. A prominent figure in this movement was General Mah Chan-shan. General Mah was once reported to have been killed in battle, but later it was found that he was a refugee in Siberia. When he arrived at Shanghai through Europe, he was hailed as a hero and his name was even used for a brand of cigarettes. But when he came to know that twenty million Mexican dollars had been contributed by the Chinese residents in the South Sea districts as an anti-Manchukuo fund, while only a million Mexican dollars had been handed to him in Manchukuo, he interposed objection with Chu Shing-

lan, the Chairman of the Committee which collected the fund in question.

Mr. Chu, being a man of high character and tried probity, would, in ordinary circumstances, have given a satisfactory answer immediately. But he did not, and very naturally suspicions arose that the fund might have been peculated at some high quarters, the revelation of which fact would most certainly cause much embarrassment and confusion.

Learning of the situation, Chinese residents in the South Sea districts decided not to send any more funds, and those so-called political bandits in Manchukuo entirely disappeared from the scene.

Then, among the historic predatory bandits, there were two eminent coteries called the Red Spear League and the Big Sword League. The members of those leagues were very brave and even dare-devil. They had a superstition that when they swallowed a piece of paper on which magic words were written they would never be shot dead even by machine guns, and that if they were once dead they would be resurrected. They would brandish their poisoned spears or swords and would assault even an organized and modern-equipped army with a strong and naïve conviction of their immortality. They often succeeded in their attempt at looting in the early days, but later on they too frequently found out that the magic words did not work. They complained that the Japanese bullets were bewitched; and having lost confidence in their spears and swords, came to carry antiquated firearms and became entirely deprived of their quondam valor of ignorance and superstition. Manchukuo of today has in this way been purged of the time-honored social venom and is on the road to an era of law and order.

### *The capital city*

The new capital of Hsinching offers to the eye of a casual observer a sign of progress unparalleled at this moment in any other part of the world. An area of land where only two years ago reeds and rushes reigned supreme is now being turned into a modern city. It covers just the size of the old city of Changchun, an area of twenty square kilometers or eight square miles, and forms one tenth of the area allotted for the future capital, which will be ten square miles larger than the District of Columbia. Wide and geometrical streets are being constructed, interspersed by parks with trees and lakes. Large office and administrative buildings which would challenge comparison with any in Western cities are fast cropping up. New private houses with all modern appliances are already seen in clusters here and there, with their picturesque uniform red roofs against the background of darkish-green hills.

But the most interesting part of the city construction is that the sewage system was first built. It is not a thing spectacular to the eye, but one that is most important for modern sanitation, especially in Manchuria, which has long been supposed to be the home of epidemic diseases. Japan has had enough bitter experiences in building sewage systems, because she had to approach the question after cities were already in existence. In a few years' time Hsinching will be a model city of the Far East, even excelling Tokyo and Osaka in many respects.

In the apportionment of land for residential purposes, a novel but very reasonable plan has been adopted in Hsinching. A man is not allowed to purchase more than two thousand tsubo, or one and a third acres, for

his personal use. Moreover, if he does not build his house within two years, he has to give up the land at the prevailing price. This method has been adopted to forestall the intrusion of speculators, to prevent a person from owning too large an estate, and to accelerate the construction of houses. It appears to be working satisfactorily.

### *Communications*

In the matter of communication, which is a prerequisite to the maintenance of law and order, remarkable progress has also been attained. At the time Manchuria became an independent state (March 1, 1932), there were in Manchuria about 6,000 kilometers (3,728 miles) of railway line, including 1,110 kilometers (700 miles) belonging to the South Manchuria Railway and 1,700 kilometers (1,000 miles) to the Chinese Eastern Railway (later the North Manchuria Railway). By the end of 1933, 850 kilometers (528 miles) of line had been constructed, and 1,500 kilometers (932 miles) more are actually being built in three different parts of the country. How modern methods are utilized by Manchurian railways may be imagined from the fact that streamlined trains and air-conditioned cars are now under construction at the South Manchuria Railway factory.

The purchase by Manchukuo from Soviet Russia of the North Manchuria Railway, which has practically been agreed upon, will, apart from its political significance, be of immense value from the point of view of transportation facilities.

Roads available for motor driving stood at 13,200 kilometers (8,200 miles) in 1932, but new construction has been vigorously carried on to extend the mileage. A network of state roads, 50,000 kilometers (31,000 miles) in ten

years at a cost of 85,000,000 Yen, is on the program.

In the comparatively flat country of Manchuria, aviation is a convenient and suitable means of conveyance. During the past two years commercial airways have come to cover 3,000 kilometers (1,900 miles).

### *Industry*

In point of industry, Manchukuo is not trying to be too hasty in its development. Since the declaration of independence, steel, aluminum, and magnesium manufacturing has been inaugurated. The deposit of magnesite in the vicinity of Tashihchiao is estimated to be by far the largest in the world. It is an ore which promises to be very important in future industries, because magnesium which can be extracted from magnesite is a metal one-third lighter in weight than aluminum. The tapping of placer gold deposit has also been started.

Prior to the independence of Manchukuo there had been developed, mainly through the influence of the South Manchuria Railway, the textile, chemical, electric, and ceramic industries. They have during the past two or three years been greatly modernized.

But upon the whole, industry in Manchukuo is still in its infancy. When 90 per cent of the population are farmers, the mode of living cannot and should not be changed overnight. The land will remain agricultural for many years to come. In this respect, the Manchukuo authorities will encounter one of the most difficult questions to solve. While the whole world is suffering from low prices for farm products, Manchukuo cannot very well be an exception.

### *Currency and taxes*

It may further be pointed out that currency in Manchukuo has now been

unified. Formerly there were various kinds of money in circulation, as in any other part of China. Each city had its own paper money, which would not be accepted in other cities. Over and above, what were called Mukden coupons were in the market. Their value would fluctuate at the whims of the despots at Mukden. All this irregular money was retired and superseded by the notes and coins issued by the Central Bank of Manchukuo in the short space of two years' time. The success is looked upon with admiration by many foreign observers, and is even encouraging the Chinese in China to undertake a similar measure.

Attention has naturally been directed by the Manchukuo Government to the lightening of financial burdens upon the people. Under the rule of military despots taxes were levied very arbitrarily, and the public burden was not only heavy but also unevenly distributed. To rectify the situation the assessment was systematized, and many unusual taxes, such as the military surtax, the policing salt tax levied on the pretext of being the compensation for protecting the sale and transportation of salt, the receipt and certificate tax collected as the cost of paper and printing of various tax receipts and freight certificates, have been totally abolished. There are complaints heard from some quarters that under the new régime the assessment is too systematic and regular. Some people prefer the old slovenly way of assessment where corruption would work. But there is no doubt that the fair and just system now put in operation is winning the confidence and appreciation of the people.

#### *Confucianism revived*

Apart from the material aspects of the Manchukuo situation, it is gratify-

ing to note that much energy is applied to have the teachings of Confucius inculcated among the people. The Confucian rites have been revived and are now observed all over the country. The Confucian teachings aim at the bringing about of an era of peace, righteousness, and prosperity. Good progress is now being made in that direction. Recently the Prime Minister Cheng made an extended trip throughout the country, mostly by airplane, and compressed his impressions in a short poem, a passage of which runs:

Our country yet is not  
The home of virtues, joy and happiness  
Nor the land of mirth and plenty;  
But that shall be our final aim,  
To which we devote our heart and soul.

It is interesting to note that China herself has recently started the observance of the long forgotten Confucian services in emulation of the Manchukuo practice.

#### *Scientific advance*

In connection with the moral and spiritual advancement of the Manchurian people, it is further to be observed that the understanding and appreciation by the local people of the motives and purposes of the Japanese are daily increasing.

In Harbin, for instance, the recent inundation supplied a suitable occasion for coöperation between Manchurian and Japanese citizens. Harbin was threatened by a flood in 1934 on account of the rising of the Sungari and Nonni Rivers. North Manchuria is a plain, flat country, and water moves very slowly in meandering courses. It was therefore possible for the Harbinians to anticipate the arrival of the flood a week or ten days ahead. It was decided among the authorities of the city, at the instance of Japanese engineers, that dams or walls should be built at suitable places.

Those barriers proved successful and the main current of the inundation was diverted away from the city precincts.

But even so, some water came into the Chinese district adjacent to the river, and the authorities concerned decided to use hundreds of pumps to throw out the water. In the beginning, Chinese passers-by looked upon the process with a disdainful smile, as much as to say that it was futile to struggle against the forces of Nature. To combat Nature was not in line with the time-honored fatalist way of thinking of the Chinese mind. When, however, the water subsided and the land was beginning to become dry, the astonishment of the Chinese citizens was so great that some of them were seen making obeisance of gratitude and reverence before those mysterious pumps. The impression left upon them was the greater because they well remembered the calamity which had visited them two years ago. Then, a similar flood immersed the whole of Chinatown and did not subside until winter came, demolishing many houses on account of the freezing.

In the wake of the inundation in 1934 a cholera epidemic sprang up, as had usually been the case. Japanese medical experts immediately came to the rescue. Disinfection was immediately administered, and the coöperation of the Manchukuo citizens was requested to have their carts and wagons go through a pool of disinfectant in the middle of the street. It was feared that germs carried by the wheels might propagate the epidemic. The request was well heeded and the abominable disease was overcome within a very short space of time.

The Mayor of the city, a Chinese, told me about those happenings with due pride and appreciation, and was confident that such instances of the

victory of science over Nature would serve as a happy link to bring about the collaboration and harmony of the Manchurian and Japanese peoples.

#### *Establishment of law and order*

I am very glad to recall these impressions I gathered during my recent visit to Manchukuo, because I know that these are the impressions that are carried away by many foreign visitors to the Far East, and because they tend to establish the fact that Manchukuo is on the road to wholesome and steady progress, in the face of sporadic predictions of rather pessimistic character.

Furthermore, if Manchukuo becomes in this way a land of plenty and the home of peace, as she aspires to be, not only will her own interests be served, but the interests of Japan, of the Far East, and of the whole world will surely be served. Japan can, incidentally, demonstrate to the world that in taking decisive steps in the Manchurian affair three years ago, she was not engaging in any aggression but was merely intent upon ushering in a régime of law and order and consequent peace and prosperity in the Far East.

When I was passing through Chinchau district by train, an American missionary, quite unknown to me, strolled into my compartment and offered me a copy of the New Testament, which he said was the only suitable thing he had with him to serve as a memento of our chance meeting. He was living in Jehol, he said, and was very glad that the Japanese influence had come to be felt there and that tranquillity and repose were being maintained in that district. He was also grateful for the treatment meted out to him and his associates by the Japanese military authorities stationed in that area. Jehol now, according to

him, compared well with any part of the United States so far as order and security were concerned. Any foreigner could go out at night in the city and travel to any remote village without fear of personal danger or molestation. I accepted the Holy Book with a sense of gratitude and deep-felt emotion. I was very glad to be assured of the progress in the maintenance of law and order in Manchukuo from a disinterested and impartial observer.

### *The open door*

In this connection I am gratified to have heard from thinking Americans, both in this country and in the Far East, that if Manchukuo was to progress as she was progressing at present, and if Japan's policy toward that country continued to be what it was at present, there was no reason why the United States should not be satisfied with the prevailing situation. Their only anxiety appeared to be about the observance of the principle of the open door and equal opportunity. As to that question, the Manchukuo Government made it clear that the principle would be meticulously adhered to, in her declaration of independence and her subsequent public avowals. The Japanese Government also has made it clear that it will abide by its frequent statements upon the subject. It is unthinkable that those two Governments will go against their pledge made in such unequivocal terms.

The only thing we have to bear in mind is that Japan is geographically close to Manchukuo and that Japanese industry has of recent years made so much progress that Japanese goods are produced at a very much lower cost than those of the United States and Europe. When the opportunity is equal, the chances are that Japanese

goods will mostly command the market.

But in point of fact, the United States and Japan have no conflicting interests in their exportation to foreign countries, including Manchukuo. Fortunately, as I said before, the goods exported by the United States and Japan are generally of different descriptions. They do not compete with each other. In any case the door of Manchukuo will always be kept open and no discriminating barriers will ever be set up.

Recently the question of oil monopoly to be instituted by Manchukuo has often been made the subject of discussion. Whatever may be the motives of that Government in coming to the decision, we are sure that nothing will be done to contravene the established principle of the open door and equal opportunity. If there be any real ground for complaints that there was some violation of this principle, the Manchukuo Government will surely see to it that the causes for grievance will be removed.

### *Reconciliation of Chinese*

In the Lytton Report it is recorded (p. 111) that the Commission came to the "conclusion that there is no general support for the 'Manchukuo Government,' which is regarded by the local Chinese as an instrument of the Japanese." That may have been true when the Report was written in 1932. In any case, Japan has never designed to use Manchukuo as an instrument, but has always made it her genuine aim to offer a helping hand in the establishment of an independent, peaceful, and prosperous state. Not that she is altruistic, but it is the natural desire of Japan from the point of view of her own interest. And the mentality of the Chinese citizens of Manchukuo is adjusting itself to the new

situation as time progresses, and harmony and coöperation between the Manchukuo people and the Japanese are being satisfactorily promoted, as some instances I have adduced amply demonstrate.

When these facts are known, I am sure any misgivings, suspicions, or fear that may have lurked in the minds of Americans in respect to Manchukuo will be altogether dispelled.

#### THE NAVAL QUESTION

We have already surveyed the fields of politics and economics, and have found that there are no acute questions between Japan and the United States that would involve us in difficult situations—much less in war. We have every reason to be good friends and none to be at loggerheads. Then is it not a foregone conclusion that in the matter of naval disarmament our two nations will eventually come to some agreement? The road may be strewn with difficulties, but the goal is not lost sight of.

At this moment when the preliminary conversations are being conducted in London, I feel I am not in a position to anticipate the details of the stand the Japanese Delegation will take in relation to naval matters. However, in view of the fact that there appears to be some misunderstanding in the press and elsewhere as to the attitude of Japan, I shall undertake to make a few general explanations.

There are two important points in our new proposal. The first is that equality or parity should be attained in the naval strengths of the powers concerned; and the second, that a drastic reduction should be accomplished in the naval armaments.

Japan is earnestly interested in the diminution of the navies, so that the chance of war would be reduced and the financial burdens upon the people

lessened. The most practical and the most reasonable way of accomplishing this aim would be, to the mind of the Japanese Government and people, to adopt a program under which, in reducing the size of the navies, none would feel a menace to its national security. That is exactly the basic idea underlying the Japanese proposal.

First, Japan regards the ratio system as inappropriate, and proposes that the parity system, by the establishment of a common upper limit for all navies, should be instituted. The navy has two distinct services to perform. One is to police the seas, having in view no particular enemy, and the other is to engage in a battle, having in view an actual enemy.

The theory often advanced by the United States and Great Britain in support of their contention that they should have greater ratio in their navies compared with that of Japan, has as its ground their possession of longer coast lines, more extended trade routes, and greater interests to defend. This reasoning would hold good if the navies had only the policing service to perform. But when we look at the navy as a fighting unit, we must take into consideration the mobility of vessels, which has been greatly increased in recent years. When a decisive battle is to be fought, no power, whether or not the coast line and the trade route are long, would be content with dividing its naval forces into separate units. The whole strength would be concentrated on the spot where the fateful encounter would take place. Then the country which has a lesser ratio would always be placed at a disadvantage.

We have not yet arrived at the stage where navies could be considered only as policing forces. So long as the navy retains its character as a fighting unit, Japan is not in a position to waive her

claim for equality in naval strength. That would impair the sense of security of the people, as recent developments indicate.

It has often been said that with the present ratio of 5-5-3 in capital ships and aircraft carriers and 10-10-7 in auxiliary vessels, Japan has equality of defense in her home waters. That presupposes that the American Navy would fight in the Western Pacific but never that the Japanese Navy would fight in the Eastern Pacific. The equality or inequality of defense of the United States has never been questioned. As one of our delegates to the London Naval Conference in 1930 had an occasion to say, it is always the navy that has the ratio of ten that can take the offensive, never the navy that has the ratio of seven.

In insisting that the lesser navy should have an even smaller ratio, the larger navy cannot but be motivated by the desire to make it easier for it to take an offensive action against the lesser one, or, in other words, to reduce the latter's defensive power. Then it can easily be imagined that the Japanese have felt that there is some unfairness in the ratio system.

Moreover, in the ratio system is involved the question of national dignity and prestige. No one has ever thought that by granting Japan equality in naval strength, either the United States or the British Empire would begin to feel anxiety about its own national security. That is not the point. The fear appears to be that in that case there would be no knowing what actions Japan might take toward China and other parts of the Far East. There is a tendency to look down upon Japan as an *enfant gâté* who may run amuck at any moment. The argument too often falls upon Japanese ears in this manner: "If we have the ratio of ten, we will always behave;

but if you have more than six or seven, it is highly probable that you will go astray." Does it not sound too much as a case of asserting moral superiority? It is something which the Japanese susceptibility cannot tolerate; it is something to which no man with a sense of honor will remain reconciled.

It is earnestly hoped that the real and sincere aim of the Japanese nation in the Far East will be clearly understood by the other nations. It is nothing but the establishment of the reign of law and order and the advancement of peace and prosperity in those regions. What Japan is actually doing in regard to the new Empire of Manchukuo is, as has already been explained, an eloquent evidence of the genuineness of such Japanese purposes.

#### *Ratio system hinders reduction*

There is another cogent reason why the parity system is far preferable to the ratio system. It is that under the parity system the reduction of naval strength can very much more easily be carried out than under the ratio system. Equality will remain equality whatever reduction may be effected. But a ratio of say 10-6 will represent quite a different relative strength according to the total tonnage. It may be likened to a case where there are two men who earn \$1,000 and \$600 a month, respectively, and another two men who earn \$100 and \$60 respectively. The disparity between the two men of the latter set is much greater than between the former two. The ratio system is an impediment to reduction.

From these points of view, Japan is going to give notice of her intention to terminate the Washington Treaty of 1922, according to the method foreseen in the stipulation of Article 23

of the same treaty. This will be done regardless of the developments at the preliminary conference at London. Japan desires that there shall be a new formula of limitation other than the ratio system. She is hoping to have a new deal on a more reasonable basis than heretofore.

#### *Naval reduction urged*

However, Japan is by no means claiming the right to possess a navy greater than she actually has. On the contrary, she is proposing a decided reduction in naval armaments. She is in favor of the total abolition of capital ships and aircraft carriers. In terms of tonnage, she is proposing the scrapping of 250,000 tons in capital ships and 70,000 tons in aircraft carriers. She is further prepared that some tonnage representing 8-inch gun cruisers should be dropped from the list. In short, Japan proposes to have her naval strength, standing at 800,000 tons, reduced by half. She is prepared to reduce as far as the general situation in the world permits, in juxtaposition with the United States and Great Britain. If all of us make such drastic reduction, we will approach the day when we can reduce our respective navies to the police standard.

At the present moment it is to be regretted that both the American and the British navies appear to be unwilling to abolish those weapons of war which are most expensive and form the main strength of fighting units—the weapons of war that are laying an inordinate burden upon the shoulders of the taxpayers of the countries concerned. They do not appear to be willing to do so on any condition whatever.

Are not the naval strengths after all relative? Why then can we not counsel together and decide to abolish them simultaneously? Of course,

there exist navies outside of the United States, British, and Japanese navies. Why not then make the decision conditional—contingent upon the attitude of those other navies? Unless there is a wish to use the navy as an instrument of national policy, it is impossible to see a reason to insist upon the necessity of holding on to such expensive weapons of war. A battleship nowadays will cost the enormous sum of \$80,000,000 in America, and, although the prices are lower in Japan, it will cost nearly half that amount in that country.

In this connection it is sometimes argued that the United States needs large-type vessels with long ranges of action for transoceanic operations. Such need may well be justified when war in distant waters is envisaged; not when only security in home waters is contemplated. Such vessels may be indispensable for aggression, but not for defense.

The vulnerability of the Philippines is often discussed. But the United States is pledged to give them independence within ten years. Furthermore, Japan has no covetous designs towards these islands, and is always prepared to conclude any agreement to safeguard their immunity from outside molestation.

It is sincerely desired that, in the interests of the great cause of disarmament, the simultaneous abolition of large and expensive vessels shall be decided upon.

A few days ago (November 9, 1934) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, said at the Guild Hall:

I believe with all my heart that the best and the last word in security is an international agreement on scales of national armaments, and, the lower the scales agreed upon, the greater the security of the nations will be. But if these agreements are re-

fused, defensive requirements must be met in a way that will put the non-aggressive purpose of the nation beyond question. I believe that this country will trust us to do what we think to be necessary without embarking on an armament race, on the one hand, or on the other, forgetting, in providing for our own security, the overriding and far more permanent duty to make war a thing impossible in the future.

What Japan is proposing is exactly what Mr. MacDonald has in mind. By abolishing the highly expensive units of the fleet, it is designed to bring nearer the day when war is made "a thing impossible" once and for all time to come. Security will naturally thereby be increased, because security is greater or smaller according as there exist greater or smaller potential enemies.

Such accusations frequently leveled at Japan as courting aggrandizement of the navy or challenging a competitive naval building are, needless to say, sadly wide of the mark. When Japan is proposing the reduction of her own navy by half, how could she be looking for a naval competition? Japan's foremost purpose is to provide for the security of all concerned, to reduce the financial burden of peoples, and to contribute to the establishment of peace, which is the supreme need of the time.

#### CONCLUSION

My conclusion was stated at the beginning of this address. Not beclouded by any political or economic complications, the relations of our two countries are daily becoming closer, and the understanding between our two peoples yearly more profound. In February and March last, notes were exchanged between Mr. Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State, and Mr. Koki Hirota, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs. In these notes Mr. Hirota stated:

I firmly believe that, viewed in the light of the broad aspect of the situation and studied from all possible angles, no question exists between our two countries that is fundamentally incapable of amicable solution.

And Mr. Hull replied:

I fully concur with you in that opinion. Further, I believe that there are in fact no questions between our two countries which, if they be viewed in proper perspective in both countries, can with any warrant be regarded as not readily susceptible to adjustment by pacific processes.

This is no perfunctory diplomatic language. It is borne out by actual facts, and should form the basis of our future international relations. As regards those rumors of war that are all too frequently circulated, let us ask ourselves, "*Cui bono?*"

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# Reconstruction in China

By SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

**T**HIS is not the first time that I have been privileged to address an audience assembled under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and I consider it an especial honor again to be invited to do so.

I have taken "Reconstruction in China" as the title for my address, because I believe this subject is not so well known outside of China as it should be. At the same time, it is a subject so broad and varied in content that I shall be able to consider only some of its more outstanding points, and these in only general terms.

## RESTRICTED SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

First, I would ask my audience to bear in mind that in China, from time immemorial, the governments, local as well as central, have not sought to take an active part in controlling or influencing the social and economic activities of their peoples. In fact, in the past such action would have been regarded by my people as an undue interference with their right to regulate their affairs by their own less formal, less coercive means, and in accordance with their own ideas as to justice, propriety, and expediency.

This conception of the extremely limited sphere of political authority has constituted one of the fundamental differences between Eastern and Western life, and, given the social and economic conditions of the Chinese people, it has been by no means devoid of advantages. As I shall presently point out, Chinese political as well as social, economic, and cultural ideas are

rapidly changing, and in many respects are tending to approximate those of the Western world. It still remains true, however, that without an appreciation of the minor part which political authority has been accustomed to play in the life of the Chinese people, it is impossible to form a correct conception as to the present situation in China.

In the Western world, habituated as the people are to look to their governments for both guidance and control, any failure of those governments to function with reasonable efficiency and controlling authority leads to national demoralization and disorder. This is not true in China. When there is political discord there, and even when there is considerable armed fighting between contesting parties, only local and temporary and what one might call surface disturbances are caused. The underlying and all-pervading economic and social life of the people is not seriously troubled.

Thus it is that a Westerner is likely to gain a distorted idea of the situation in China when he reads in the newspapers of civil strifes and the lack of complete coercive control by the Central Government over certain portions of China's vast area. Almost certainly he would be surprised could he gain a full knowledge of the great movement for social and economic reconstruction which has been under way during recent years. This movement has now gained a momentum that is sure to carry it to results that will be of tremendous benefit to the Chinese people and to the entire world, which will necessarily profit from the enhanced

well-being of a people numbering more than four hundred millions.

It is well known that, beginning with the overthrow of the old imperial system in 1911, China has been passing through a period of political evolution in her attempt to establish her central and provincial governments upon a firm popular basis. It is not so well known that this change from an autocratic to a democratic rule has carried with it an enlarged conception of the proper province of government, and has been accompanied by equally radical alterations in almost all other departments of thought and action. Thus, the Chinese people now look to their governments not only for police protection, but also for the promotion, in every possible way, of their general economic and social welfare; and at the same time they are rapidly modifying their own economic methods and cultural ideals.

In result, I believe it is correct to say that nowhere else in the world, unless it be in Turkey, are there such profound changes taking place in all departments of national life as are to be observed in China.

#### EDUCATION

Of fundamental importance as regards its permanent and pervading influence, is the advance in China, since 1905, of educational methods and facilities.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to 1905, the primary purpose of Chinese education was the inculcation of moral principles rather than the imparting of substantive information or facts. Also, the Central Government concerned itself only with the holding of examinations for testing the

proficiency attained by students. In the present régime, not only has the scope of instruction been greatly widened so as to include matters of scientific, philosophical, and technological interest, but the Central Government and the local administrative authorities now conceive it to be their proper function to provide the means whereby their citizens may obtain higher as well as primary and intermediate instruction.

How rapid this development has been is indicated by the fact that China now has more than a hundred institutions of higher learning, more than twenty of which are national institutions. The importance that is now attached to science and the practical application of its results is attested by the fact that thirty of these colleges specialize in technological subjects. Added to the graduates of these colleges and universities are the many Chinese students who have obtained advanced instruction in foreign countries—a considerable proportion of them in the United States. In result, China now has a very considerable body of highly educated men and women, many of whom are playing a prominent part in the life of the nation, and are destined to play an increasingly important part.

As for primary and secondary education, it has been estimated that in 1921 there were about three million children in school. The Ministry of Education of the Chinese Government reports that in June 1934 there were eleven million in the primary and middle schools registered with the Government. Since this does not include a large number of students in private schools of various kinds, it would appear that in thirteen years there has been an increase of not far from 400 per cent.

<sup>1</sup>With regard to educational advances in China, I have drawn upon language and observations made by me in an article which I contributed to the June 1934 issue of *The World Today*, published by the Encyclopædia Britannica.

*Educational movements*

There is still, however, a deplorable amount of illiteracy among the masses of the Chinese people. For some years past there has been an important movement under the direction of Dr. Y. C. James Yen for the promotion of mass adult education to supplement the work of the primary schools. The results of this movement to date are considerable, and the prospects for still greater results are encouraging in the extreme.

In connection with education in China, it is necessary that I should also say a word regarding what is known as the "New Culture" or "New Thought" movement, which during the last twenty-five years has produced a veritable renaissance in China. This movement, largely under the influence and direction of the eminent Chinese philosopher Hu Shih, has sought to give a literary standing to the popular or vernacular speech of the people, and thus to create a literature for the masses which will replace the old, complicated, pedantic writings which have been available only to the few classical scholars.

In 1920 the Ministry of Education ordered that this simplified language should be used in all textbooks in the primary schools, and since then the same requirement has been made applicable to the upper grades and to high schools. The Government has also issued a dictionary fixing the pronunciation to be given to the words or "characters" of this new *Kuo-yü* or "national spoken language."

Mr. Arthur W. Hummel, the eminent Sinologue and Chief of the Division of Chinese Literature of the Library of Congress, in a paper in *THE ANNALS* of this very Academy, expressed the opinion that this cultural renaissance represents for China a

revolution more significant than the political revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the old imperial system and the establishment of a republican form of government.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with matters cultural, I wish that I had time to speak of what is known as the "New Life Movement," especially sponsored by General Chiang Kai-shek, which advocates simple, and what one might almost call puritanical, rules of life and behavior. The subject is interesting and important enough for extended treatment.

## GENERAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

In the commercial, financial, and industrial fields the modernizing movement has made an advance equal to that in the cultural fields. Industrialization is going ahead, especially in the larger cities, and the Chinese banks are conducting their operations upon a larger scale and operating under sound financial principles. There is not time for me to state any details upon these points, but one general and important fact is that whereas, up to recent years, China was a field for foreign exploitation, whether with regard to the financing of railways and other large undertakings, or the conducting of foreign trade, or manufacturing upon a large scale, this is no longer dominantly the case. The Chinese are now in very large measure financing their own public undertakings. They are establishing and operating their own manufacturing plants, and are themselves directing their large exporting and importing concerns instead of acting merely as subordinate agents for foreign companies. Speaking upon this point, Mr. Grover Clark, in an address before this Academy at its Annual Meeting in 1933, said:

<sup>2</sup>"The New-Culture Movement in China," *THE ANNALS*, Nov. 1930, p. 55.

Just as the Chinese have successfully pushed their demand for the cancellation of the special political privileges which the foreigners enjoyed in China, so they have, with even more striking success and in very effective fashion, moved ahead to take from the foreigners—not by force but by successful economic competition—special economic opportunities and privileges.

That change is easily the most significant that has come in China in recent years.<sup>3</sup>

In the matter of governmental action for the promotion of health, there has been, within the last few years, a great advance. This has been greatly aided and stimulated by the League of Nations, and this brings me to a phase of China's recent development of which I wish especially to speak; namely, the technical coöperation which has existed since 1930 between the League and China.

In 1931 this technical coöperation was broadened to include, in addition to public health, transportation, communication, agriculture, public works, and so forth. Also, at about that time a League of Nations Mission of Educational Experts was sent to China. A few months later the League sent a group of experts to study and give their advice to the Government of China regarding local problems of water conservancy, land reclamation, flood prevention, and road building. Also, a committee of experts was sent to advise regarding land reform and the improvement of agricultural conditions generally. Experts were also sent to aid in the field of industrial developments. And Sir John Hope Simpson was sent as Director General of the National Flood Relief Commis-

sion which was appointed to deal with the extraordinary floods which occurred in China in the fall of 1931.<sup>4</sup>

#### NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

In order that the various proposed constructive undertakings might be properly conceived and coördinated according to a comprehensive plan of national improvement, the Chinese Government, in 1931, established a body known as the National Economic Council. The Chairman of this Council is General Chiang Kai-shek, with Mr. T. V. Soong as Vice-Chairman. Its ex officio members are the Ministers of the National Departments of Interior, Finance, Railways, Communications, Industries, and Education. In addition to these, there are private persons specially invited to membership.

The end sought in creating this Council is to have available an advisory body, composed of competent persons who can assist the Government with regard to executing the larger reconstructive undertakings as well as determining which of them are feasible, and their degrees of urgency. It is to be noted, as pointed out by General Chiang at the first meeting, that so far as members of the Council are ministers of the Central Government, they are in a position to give immediate executive effect to such proposals as are adopted.

<sup>4</sup> On November 7 the League of Nations announced that a mission of four European engineers was being sent at the request of the Chinese Government and in continuation of the League's coöperative work in China. These engineers—Mr. Code of Great Britain, Mr. Coursin of France, Mr. Nijhoff of the Netherlands, and Mr. Omodeo of Italy—will undertake a thorough investigation of such problems as water conservancy, road communications, and so forth. Before leaving Europe, they, together with Mr. Daniel Mead of Madison, Wisconsin, studied in Geneva previous reports made on these subjects by other engineers.

<sup>3</sup> "China's Economic Emergence," *THE ANNALS*, July 1933, p. 84. In this address Mr. Clark gave striking proof of the assertion which I have quoted. To those who are especially interested in this phase of China's development, I would recommend the reading of the entire address.

As concerns the specific enterprises approved by the National Economic Council and by the experts sent to China by the League, the most convenient summary is to be found in the report made in April 1934 by the Technical Delegate of the League, Dr. Rajchman, and in the special reports of the technical experts appended to that report.

The picture of the work of reconstruction will, however, be incomplete if I fail to mention the activities of the governmental departments, both central and provincial, and individual agencies, which, each in its own way, have mapped out a plan of work for general improvement and reconstruction. In fact, one may say that at the present moment the people of China are reconstruction-minded. The Central Government attaches so much importance to the work of reconstruction that it has ordered revenues derived from the American Cotton and Wheat Loan to be devoted to the work carried on through the National Economic Council.

In this connection I may say that a statement has been made that the proceeds of the Cotton and Wheat Loan from America have been used for purchasing arms and munitions. The Chinese Government has made emphatic denial of this allegation. When it was reported in the press that the Chairman of the Special Committee of the Senate for the Investigation of the Munition Industry had made a statement along this line, I, acting under instructions of my Government, immediately asked the Secretary of State to request the Senate Committee to produce the evidence supporting it. Under date of September 27 the Committee informed the Secretary of State that the newspaper articles had incorrectly quoted a member of the Committee, and that the Committee did

not believe the charges made in this connection would be substantiated.

A general description of what has been done or is being done either by the National Economic Council or by other governmental departments or by private agencies may be given as follows:

#### AGRICULTURE

Although industrial development has made considerable progress, China remains a dominantly agricultural country. But in spite of the characteristic industry of the Chinese farmers and the intensity with which the fields are cultivated, the average crops per acre are small. The condition of the farmers is made further unsatisfactory by the high cost of credit facilities, the burden of heavy taxes and surtaxes, and the uneconomic system of land tenure which largely prevails. Furthermore, as is shown by a most able investigation made by the League's expert, Professor Dragoni,<sup>5</sup> the best seeds are not planted, nor are artificial fertilizers used in sufficient quantities. Nor is there an adequate scientific control of animal diseases, insect pests, and droughts. To correct this last, the Chinese Geological Survey, the International Famine Relief Commission, and other agencies have made surveys upon which remedial irrigation projects may be based.

The chief causes of agricultural inefficiency being now largely determined, the way has been opened to their correction, and already the movement is under full headway. The National Economic Council has rendered assistance and given technical advice to the provincial governments in the working out of their plans, and has particularly emphasized the preparation and execution of projects for comprehensive regional reconstruction in

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix to Dr. Rajchman's report.

two areas, one in the northwest and the other in the provinces of Kiangsi and Chekiang, both of which are agricultural sections.

The project in Chekiang and Kiangsi aims at raising the productivity of the land through the improvement of technical as well as social and economic conditions of land cultivation, with special reference to the modification of the land tenure and taxation systems, the introduction of cooperative societies, and the organization and establishment of social welfare centers.

The motive for the selection of the area in the northwest is not merely for restoration, as is the case in the other section, but also for the prevention of recurrent famine and pestilence, for the providing of a foundation for the development of a large central area commanding communications between prosperous and less favorably situated provinces, and for the demarcation of various types of agriculture and civilizations. In the northwest, land is plentiful but population is scarce. The plains are of good quality, and, if irrigated, two crops a year can be harvested. The mountainous portions are suitable for the planting of forests and the raising of cattle and horses. Although the inhabitants are few, they are thrifty and hardworking.

In developing such a large country as China, the problem is, of course, an enormous one, and many years will be needed for its satisfactory solution; but it is evident that this solution will be sought in accordance with comprehensive and scientifically formulated land policies. The development of improved means of transportation, of which I shall presently speak, will greatly contribute to the welfare of the farmers by providing them with cheaper access to the best markets.

#### COTTON AND SILK

Cotton and silk are produced in large quantities in China, but the profits from their production are by no means so great as they should be. This is because of poor methods of cultivation, grading, and marketing.

Cotton weaving and spinning is already a major industry in China, and in fact employs more labor than any other industry. A Commission for the Rationalization of the Cotton Industry has been formed, and is promoting the use of better cotton seeds, the establishment of cooperation among growers, the employment of better marketing methods, and, in general, the rationalization of the cotton industry.

As regards silk, a special study of the problems involved in its production, spinning, weaving, and marketing has been made by the League expert, Mr. Mari. Also, since 1919 there has existed in China an International Committee for the Improvement of Sericulture, maintained by the foreign chambers of commerce at Shanghai, aided by various Chinese interests and since 1927 by the National Government. The further improvement of sericulture has now been made part of the reconstruction program of the National Government, and the National Economic Council has established a commission for the silk industry, which commission has received an allotment of \$750,000 from the budget of the Council. The National Government has also established at six of the principal ports of China bureaus for the grading and testing of all silk to be exported. Dr. Rajchman, in his report to the League, says:

It is expected that this measure should have important effects in two directions. In the first place, it should cause foreign purchasers to have a greater confidence in

Chinese silk; and, in the second, it should stimulate the producer and lead him to pay closer attention to quality, and he will thus become more willing to seek the aid of organizations established for his assistance.

#### WATER CONSERVANCY

As is probably known to you all, China has suffered greatly from floods caused by the overflowing of their banks by certain of her great rivers—especially the Hwai, the Yangtze, and the Yellow Rivers. The beds of these rivers have for centuries been steadily rising by reason of the enormous amounts of silt that are brought down by their waters from the highlands of the northwest. Thus these rivers have beds that in some places have become higher than the plains through which they flow, and the only protection against their overflow has been the erection of dikes, which need constantly to be made higher and higher.

But despite continued efforts upon the part of the Chinese people, these dikes have failed to furnish adequate protection against unusually swollen rivers. In the fall of 1931 came the great Yangtze flood which affected an area of 70,000 square miles inhabited by 25,000,000 people. About 140,000 persons were drowned, and crops worth \$900,000,000 lost. To meet this calamity a National Flood Relief Commission was established to furnish relief to those suffering from the flood and to provide for the repair of the broken dikes and for the building of them upon a higher, larger, and stronger scale, in order that future floods might be prevented. Much foreign financial aid was sent to China at that time, and Sir John Hope Simpson was sent by the League of Nations to direct the work of the Commission. As indicating the magnitude of the preventive work to be undertaken, and the part played by the Chinese in that

work, I will quote a paragraph from Sir John's report:

When I first surveyed the flooded area, I felt that the dikes could not possibly be repaired before the next flood season. But it was done within six months, and by Chinese engineers. There was not a foreigner in the lot. . . . These dikes of ours were many of them one hundred and forty feet broad at the base and thirty feet broad at the top and they were thirty to fifty feet high. . . . At one time we had one million four hundred thousand of people working on the main river dikes. The amount of dirt used would put a dike around the earth at the equator two meters thick and two meters high.

When the emergency work of the National Flood Relief Commission was finished, the National Economic Council was directed by the Chinese Government to take over the funds and materials still on hand and to carry on the general work of water conservancy throughout China. Since then a great amount of work has been done, in which the expert engineers sent to China by the League of Nations have collaborated. Two million dollars have been allotted by the National Economic Council from its funds for hydraulic work in the four provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, and Chinghai, the aggregate area of which is equal to that of France and Germany combined.

I will ask you to note especially the statement by Sir John Hope Simpson, in the words which I have quoted, that in the huge and successful work which he described, not a foreign engineer was employed. In connection with this significant fact, I wish to quote a statement made by Dr. Rajchman, technical agent of the League, in his recent report to the Council of the League. He says (page 69):

One of the most hopeful prospects for the success of reconstruction in China lies in

the manifold activities of a large number of its citizens specialized in many fields of technical work who carry on their work steadily, away from the limelight of publicity, in a spirit of public service and guided by the interest of accomplishment. These men . . . have now attached themselves resolutely to positive development work and some of them to the task of planning how best to build up their own country in all the present circumstances. Their background of solid technical knowledge was acquired partly in China, partly abroad. Having given a good deal of thought to the study of the working of the economic machinery of leading countries of the world, many of them have gained a remarkable—and perhaps generally unsuspected—insight into Western practice in fields of public endeavor, financial, economic, industrial, and agricultural, and often also into the philosophy underlying public policy in foreign lands. In short, China can count today on men with the requisite expert knowledge and clear understanding of their own technical needs and of the type of reform or improvement required.

### HIGHWAYS

The greatest work that has been undertaken by the National Economic Council is that of providing China with more adequate highways, especially in the provinces of the lower and middle Yangtze. The other provinces of China have also undertaken for themselves, and by themselves, to provide better roads. As a result of this widespread movement for improved means of transportation, China now has more than forty thousand miles of improved roads, whereas twenty years ago she had hardly one hundred miles throughout her entire vast area; and many more miles are under construction, and still more projected. Upon these improved roads, many motor busses are already operating. During the past two years alone, roads built with the help of the National Eco-

nomical Council amounted to 4,000 kilometers, or about 2,600 miles.

The American Red Cross Society has given great help to the movement for construction of highways since the great drought in Central China in 1921.

The questions studied by the National Economic Council in connection with road building are: (1) the best type of roads adapted to selected areas; (2) methods of operating the roads; (3) questions of fuel supplies; and (4) types of vehicles and engines.

Oil is not yet produced in commercial quantities in China. Imported gasoline at the seacoast costs about seven times the price on the Pacific Coast of the United States. This price at the coast is proportionately increased as the oil goes farther inland. The National Economic Council has appropriated \$100,000 for studies of fuel by the National Geological Survey. The extraction of fluid and gaseous fuel from coal is being experimented upon as a substitute for gasoline.

### RAILROADS

Railroad construction by the Chinese Government is also going ahead. Among the more important railway projects are: (1) the completion of the railway connecting Hankow with Canton; (2) the extension of the Lung-Hai Railway to Shensi and Kansu; and (3) the Chekiang-Kiangsi-Hunan Railway, an entirely new line.

When completed, the Hankow-Canton Railway will become the central trunk line connecting North and South China; the Lung-Hai Railway will facilitate the development of the northwest; the Chekiang-Kiangsi-Hunan Railway will bring about closer economic and cultural relations between the southeastern provinces. In addition, harbor works have been built at Laoyao, on the Lung-Hai line; the North

Station at Shanghai, on the Nanking-Shanghai line, has been reconstructed on improved lines; the Pukow railway ferry service has been inaugurated; and the Hangchow-Kiangshan Railway in Chekiang is in operation. In addition to these achievements, innumerable improvements have been made by provincial and private interests for the development of the railway system, and though these are of less significance than the construction of the three main lines mentioned above, they have an important bearing on the development of the national railway system.<sup>6</sup>

### AVIATION

Commercial aviation is making great strides in China and is an important part of the Government's work for the promotion of means of transportation and communication. Regular services are now maintained north to Peiping, south to Canton, and up the Yangtze to Chengtu, capital of Szechwan. The trip from Shanghai to Chengtu used to take over a month at certain times of the year. This trip can now be made in two stages of a little over twelve hours' flying time. I venture the prediction that China will soon be connected with Europe and America by aviation as she now is by radio.

I do not need to point out the immense benefit that will accrue to such a vast country as China from the great improvement in the means of transportation which I have mentioned, especially when with them are combined the improvements and extensions which are taking place in the long distance telephone, telegraph, and wireless systems whereby the means of communication are being increased. With railways and highways affording ample means of transportation and

supplemented by ready means of communication, the safety of persons and property in the outlying districts will be increased, the administrative efficiency of the Central Government will be greatly augmented, and conditions of commerce, international as well as domestic, will be vastly improved.

The recent abolition by China of the old tael which, though uncoined, was used as a measure of monetary value, and its replacement by a standard silver dollar, will further facilitate commerce.

### PUBLIC HEALTH

I have earlier referred to the fact that the technical coöperation of the League of Nations with China began in the field of public health. Encouraged and aided by this help, the Government of China is doing a great work in public health, the description of which would, in itself, merit an entire address. I can here make mention of only a few of the more important achievements within this field.

A Central Field Health Station has been established and a Central Hospital developed as a nucleus for national medical and health services, including problems of sanitation, preventive medicine, and medical relief. An experimental medical school for the training of public health officials has been created. The National Quarantine Service has been extended. And the work of the various centers of public health service throughout China has been coördinated. Diseases such as the plague, cholera, malaria, and parasitic diseases have been scientifically studied at specially equipped departments and field stations. Midwife schools and maternity centers have been opened, and provision has been made for mass production and distribution of health propaganda exhibits.

<sup>6</sup> From an address by His Excellency Wang Ching-wei, "Two Years of National Reconstruction," *The China Weekly Review*, March 3, 1934, p. 25.

### THE CHINA DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CORPORATION

Another institution closely connected with this matter of national reconstruction needs to be mentioned.

An organization named The China Development Finance Corporation has been recently created by the principal Chinese banking institutions and leaders in China's economic life. The purpose of this organization is to examine into the merits of proposed new enterprises involving the expenditure of considerable sums of money, and especially of those relating to reconstruction work in China, and, if found meritorious and financially sound, to extend to the parties concerned the necessary long-term credits.

This Corporation, which is wholly Chinese-financed, has a paid-in capital of ten million Chinese dollars; but, in order to extend the necessary credits, it expects to obtain additional funds from abroad as well as at home. In fact, it is the prime purpose of the Corporation to serve as a *liaison* instrumentality for joint Chinese and foreign constructive enterprises in China. The Corporation is not to act as an investment trust, nor is there any intention of inviting foreign capital to participate in the Corporation itself. Its purpose is rather to operate along traditional financial lines, by way of arranging for the financing, with Chinese and foreign money, of any commercial enterprise which it may judge offers a satisfactory opportunity for investment.

The Corporation, though it will have the good will and coöperation of the governmental authorities, is a purely private institution. Nor has it any connection with the League of Nations. Private interests will at all times control its activities, and it will act without political discrimination as

to the foreign interests that may become associated with it in the enterprises which are financed through its instrumentality.

It is believed that by means of this new financial institution there will be encouraged and made possible a degree of coöperation between private foreign and Chinese financial interests which has not previously existed.

Chinese capital will be encouraged to finance the selected enterprises, by the knowledge that the projects have been carefully and competently examined before being approved, and that they will be carried out under the constant watchfulness and the financial control of a corporation organized and operated by Chinese men of known integrity and ability. Chinese capitalists will also derive confidence in the soundness of their investments from the fact that foreign capital is joined with their own.

To foreign capital, the undertaking underwritten by the Chinese Development Finance Corporation should be especially attractive, because the soundness of these undertakings will have been determined by competent and responsible Chinese financiers; and furthermore, Chinese capital being involved, the Chinese authorities may be depended upon to guard with solicitude against any mismanagement that would prejudice their own interests.

The point to be especially emphasized, however, is the fact that the Corporation is a wholly private and non-political concern; and that the primary purpose motivating its creation is that the supply of capital needed for the carrying on of the contemplated reconstructive measures in China shall be encouraged and facilitated.

### CONCLUSIONS

In my opinion, the following conclusions may be drawn from the picture

of China's cultural and economic renaissance which I have attempted to present:

First: That China is not in that state of demoralization in which some have sought to have her viewed. The widespread reconstructive measures which are now being actively carried out constitute adequate evidence of this.

Second: That the Chinese, who have shown their desire to be mistress in their own political household, are also determined to have that household placed in the best possible order.

Third: That the Chinese are seeking to bring about economic, social, cultural, and political order by means of carefully prepared plans which, in large measure, their own experts have worked out and executed, though assisted at times by the non-political technical advisers sent to China by the League of Nations.

Fourth: That, whatever may have been their past tendency to be satisfied with things as they were, the Chinese people are now wide-awake and are looking forward to a future that will be different from, and better than, the past.

Fifth: That, so far from being discouraged by foreign invasion or such natural calamities as flood and famine, the Chinese people have faith in their ability to overcome all the obstacles

that stand in the way of their progress.

Sixth: That this faith has been justified by the progress that has already been made.

I am sure that my audience will not deem me too boastful of my own people if I say that the developments now going forward in China bear evidence that there resides in the Chinese people a vital energy which, because so often latent in the past, occasions surprise when it is made manifest, just as, in Shanghai in 1932, the power of ill-equipped Chinese soldiers to defend their native soil exceeded all the expectations of the Japanese invaders.

I have referred to the fact that China now has her own skilled experts. Also that her own bankers and other men of wealth are more and more making their funds available for governmental and other public enterprises. But this does not mean that China no longer requires aid from outside. In order that her progress may be as rapid as is desired, China still needs, and will welcome, expert advice from abroad and the investment of foreign capital in her enterprises. But most of all she hopes for the sympathetic good will and understanding of the other peoples of the world. From Americans she knows that this will be received.

*Honorable Sao-Ke Alfred Sze is Chinese Minister to the United States, and was Minister to Great Britain from 1914 to 1921 and from 1929 to 1932, and to the United States from 1921 to 1929. He was Delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, and Chief of the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference 1921-1922, to the Geneva International Opium Conferences 1924-1925, and to the 12th Assembly of the League of Nations; also Chinese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations, 1931. He is author of "Addresses" and "The Geneva Opium Conferences."*

## Book Department

COKER, FRANCIS W. *Recent Political Thought*. Pp. ix, 374. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. \$4.00.

For teachers and students of political theory, this scholarly volume fills a long felt need. As stated by the author, its purpose is to present an impartial review "of dominant political ideas, as set forth in theoretical writings and active social movements, during the period from about the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day." Compressing such a widely ramifying subject matter within the covers of a single volume was no easy task, but Professor Coker's orderly and incisive mind has proved more than equal to it. With admirable skill he has interwoven exposition and interpretation under three major rubrics: (1) socialistic doctrines, including both anarchism and sovietism; (2) the controversy over democracy; and (3) the twentieth century resurgence of the conflict between political authority and individual liberty.

In surveying the controversial literature of recent political thought, it is doubtful if any two commentators would agree on the allocation of emphasis. To some readers Professor Coker's allowance of as much space to the various socialist schools as to all other philosophies will not readily be accepted. Others will perhaps object to the author's omission of any consideration of the newer psychological and statistical measurement approaches to the understanding of political behavior. But in the reviewer's opinion, no one can fail to be impressed by the balance of insight and judgment with which the materials of contemporary political thinking are handled in this book. Especially valuable are the extensive bibliographical lists of works in French, German, and Italian which are appended to each chapter.

WALTER R. SHARP

Harvard University

BUTLER, NICHOLAS M. *Between Two Worlds*. Pp. xvi, 450. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. \$3.00.

Names get books published—*there* is one answer to a seventeenth-century question. Witness this collection of thirty-three popular addresses and essays. Here is an enlightened interpretation of the national political and economic scene in the light of gospel, i.e., individualism. So far good, but also the book resembles nothing else quite so much as a reëdition of earlier books. Not that this is to disparage President Butler. It was for him to discern and fulfill his proper rôle—nor is the broadcaster and propagandist to be slandered because he makes no contribution to knowledge. But it follows that his words earn a discount, if for no other reason than that reiteration makes one one's own zealous partisan—this, unless pure spirit can overleap psychological mechanisms.

It may be guessed that the argument is not quite guileless. Nor is it. For, though wary to dissociate himself from the corrupt individualists of the recent past, Butler is nevertheless insistent to identify as foes of liberty all those who, though disclaiming such extremism, venture to suggest specific corrective measures—and it is here, in concrete proposals, that true attitudes are revealed. Thus he wins an easy victory, at the expense ultimately, it may be chanced, of the qualified individualism he defends in the abstract. But the position is defensible, if not by logic, at least by the consideration that perhaps today the great danger is not the abuse but the extinction of freedom; and surely logic is not the whole of virtue.

L. M. PAPP

University of Chicago

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. *The United States in World Affairs, 1933*. Pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934. \$3.00.

The publication of an annual survey of the trend of world affairs satisfies an urgent need. Objections to such an undertaking may be expected from those who realize that writing recent history must imply, to some extent, taking a point of view. The

impossibility of complete unbiased taken for granted, one can only commend the Council on Foreign Relations upon the remarkably well done piece of objective reporting of current history.

The introduction by Walter Lippmann is a masterpiece of stage setting for the play "The Affairs of 1934" that is to follow. America's postwar policies are traced from the encouragement of exports, the floating of loans, and the protection of home industries to the inevitable collapse of this absurd combination of endeavors and the herefrom resulting "new deal nationalism." The dramatic failure of the World Economic Conference, prepared with so much care and hope, heralded the beginning of a newer "new era." Will it result in permanent instability of the major currencies, and further disruption of international capital flows and debtor-creditor relationships, which in return would mean a drying up of international trade and an impetus to international political friction?

The American gold and silver policies and their repercussions on Europe, South America, and the Far East, and the whole further dislocation and disturbance of economic relations are painted in broad outlines; the fact that the writers have succeeded in so short a survey in bringing out the vital facts in the kaleidoscopic spectacle is a rare achievement.

ROBERT WEIDENHAMMER

University of Minnesota

BRANE, DENNIS DE WITT. *A Sequential Science of Government*. Pp. vi, 90. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1934.

In examining his own "objectives as a teacher of political science," the author of this essay was "led to the conclusion that the science of government needs a treatment which is complete, coherent, and sequential—that is, one which shows each principle following the prior one in a patterned relationship." What he presents is an attempted delimitation of the subject, a statement of its main divisions, and a series of "elucidating ideas" or principles which show the sequences or relationships of the parts.

The essay is well written, and includes much that will be instructive even to the specialist. Then, too, the author has warded off criticism by an admission that other classifications of the subject matter may have equal validity. It is a little hard, however, to see how any science could be other than "sequential," in the author's use of the term; nor has he made it sufficiently clear that his sequences are those coming from his own logical processes, and that they have no necessary relationship to time or space. One may well question, also, a number of his statements, such as that "the processes of political domination are universal" and that "the boundary of any science is functional—not institutional." Even if "the power of social control is the unifying concept of political science," it may still be doubted whether the author's conception of the scope of the subject is not too limited in some directions and too inclusive in others.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

University of Minnesota

OLIVER, FREDERICK SCOTT. *Politics and Politicians*. Pp. ix, 93. London: Macmillan & Company, 1934. \$1.25.

The contents of this volume form the introduction to a major work on British politics and politicians of the eighteenth century, entitled *The Endless Adventure*, two volumes of which have already been published (Volume I, *The Rise of Robert Walpole to the Head of Affairs: 1710-1727*, pp. 428, London, 1930; Volume II, *Walpole and the First Parliament of George the Second: 1727-1735*, pp. 326, London, 1931). For those acquainted with Mr. Oliver's earlier writings, especially with his brilliant essay on Alexander Hamilton, probably nothing less than the complete publication will suffice; but for the many who may not have access to the fuller work, these few detached pages will prove most welcome. The author has happily contrived to compress in them most of his mature reflections on the practical art of politics inspired by the events narrated in the subsequent chapters of *The Endless Adventure*.

Using historical figures as far apart in time as Sir Robert Walpole and Nikolai

Lenin, and the problems of statecraft to which each of these addressed himself, Mr. Oliver demonstrates the universality and timelessness of those intellectual and personal qualities necessary to the successful politician. The volume ends upon a note of fulsome praise for this gentleman who, despite the contempt of philosophers and the wrath and indignation of righteous critics, must contrive in every age to balance the social ledger. Machiavelli's *Prince* hardly needs to be rewritten; but if a modern version of the message of the great Florentine were desired, no better selection could be made than this lucid, penetrating, and humanly wise introduction to Mr. Oliver's *The Endless Adventure*.

Arnold J. Zurcher

New York University

ROBINSON, EDGAR E. *The Presidential Vote 1896-1932*. Pp. ix, 403. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1934. \$6.00.

Dr. Robinson's work is the most important study which has been made of the actual presidential votes cast since 1896. No one who has not worked in the field of political statistics can realize the patience and assiduity that has gone into the compilation of these statistics covering every county in the country for each election. In the first place, there are for most states no uniform election statistics for a sequence of years as long as this. In the second place, the variations between the different states in the methods of compiling election returns is limited only by the clerical imagination of the responsible local and state officials. To have collected the presidential vote for the two major parties in each of the more than three thousand counties in ten elections is in itself a major achievement.

But this volume contains much interpretative and illustrative material. The author has included comparative studies of party strength in all the counties for each of the elections, indicating not only the total strength of each party but also the distribution of the minority party's enclaves in each state. In a second section of his study he has indicated the percentage of votes distributed by sections and states for

each election, thus making possible a comparison of the drift in party strength from one period to another as a basis for comparison with changing economic and social patterns in the different sections. It is interesting to note that many counties even outside of the "solid states" continue to maintain a definite party complexion despite a general national shift. From Professor Robinson's tables it is possible to trace the party adherence of each county over the period and to discover the distribution of party control for the sections of the country as a whole since 1896. The maps of each election add greatly to the usefulness of the volume. Inasmuch as there is at present no uniformity in election statistics in the country, this volume will become the standard source for further studies regarding presidential votes.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

HAINES, CHARLES G., and BERTHA M. *Principles and Problems of Government*. Third edition. Pp. x, 642. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1934. \$3.50.

Teachers and students of politics as well as the layman will applaud the opportune appearance of the second revision of this popular text. The chaos which has supervened in the political world no less than in the economic has created an insistent demand for just the kind of stock-taking which these two authors accomplished so successfully in the original edition in 1921 and in the first revision in 1925. They have met the need with a volume which is quite as satisfactory as its predecessors.

In presenting their material, the authors have chosen a middle course between the purely subjective treatment of politics and the usual systematic descriptions of political architecture, developing, in consequence, the broadest foundations for their volume in comparative government and public law, political theory, and public administration. Although quite adequate in extent, no attempt has been made to render the work encyclopedic; only the more important phases of the general problem of government have been selected for treatment. Compared

with the former editions, much more attention has been bestowed upon the problem of public regulation of industry. Several splendid chapters on this subject, one of them containing an adequate summary of the policies of the present administration, appear among the very first ones of the book. It is the authors' opinion that the fate of democracy is more than ever dependent upon the successful solution of this problem. More adequate treatment has also been given in this edition to local administration and to the development of administrative law.

The restraint and the scholarly probity which distinguished the earlier editions distinguish this one also, the pages being singularly free from those easy generalizations and occasional exhortations which too frequently appear in books of its general character. The authors are satisfied to supplement their examination of a problem with an analysis of current trends, relying for their opinions upon their own considerable research and upon a large number of special studies of other scholars. The volume contains a serviceable index and selected bibliographies of supplementary readings, the usefulness of the latter impaired somewhat by an occasional misspelling of the name of an author.

ARNOLD J. ZURCHER

New York University

MAXEY, CHESTER C. *The American Problem of Government*. Pp. ix, 693. New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, 1934. \$3.75.

The author originally intended that the present volume should be a revision of his text, *The Problem of Government*, published in 1925. In preparing the manuscript, the work became so enlarged in scope and so changed in outlook from the original, chiefly because of the political implications of the prevailing economic situation, that he decided to consider the book a wholly new one, and accordingly chose a modified title.

The changes in content and general perspective have not, however, included a change in the scheme of presentation developed in the original text. Professor

Maxey persists in his preference for treating the problem of civil government as a problem of social management the processes of which can be expressed in standardized and universal terms and subjected to critical examination and evaluation. Although such an approach may occasionally sacrifice objectivity of treatment and perhaps be lacking in an appreciation of organic relationships, it greatly facilitates the reduction of the subject to its first principles, and renders less difficult the task of evoking a critical and judicial attitude in the reader. It may be added that Professor Maxey's preference for this approach is probably a logical necessity for him, because he is confident that there are principles and processes of government which are intrinsically good, and that a technically good governmental system is as important to society as a knowledge of economic laws.

In view of his scientific attitude towards his subject, it is perhaps to be regretted that the author did not find it possible to make greater use of his knowledge of foreign institutions. Confining the substance of his volume almost exclusively to American experience and to theoretical and scientific deductions imparts to it a slight taint of provincialism. But this shortcoming—if it be a shortcoming—detracts in no essential respect from the practical value of the book. The author's examination of the problem of government in terms of the United States is exhaustive, relatively as much attention being bestowed upon its local as upon its national manifestations. Neither the mass nor the intricacy of the details has prevented him from presenting them concisely and lucidly, in a manner which is generally quite informal and occasionally humorous. The volume contains a brief index and several admirably conceived charts illustrating the anatomy of various governmental units.

ARNOLD J. ZURCHER

New York University

MACDONALD, AUSTIN F. *American State Government and Administration*. Pp. xiii, 839. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. \$3.75.

This is probably the seventh or eighth

college text in American state government put forth in the past twenty years, not counting revisions or the long sections devoted to the states in general books on American government. It is also the longest text on the subject yet issued, and it carries to a logical conclusion the tendency in such books to give more and more emphasis to functions and administration. Approximately three fifths of this work, or nearly five hundred pages, are devoted to administrative organization and activities.

This is essentially a descriptive work and a compilation of known facts. As such, it is well done. The facts are in general clearly and accurately stated, and there is a consistent moderateness in the tone of the statements. The indicative mood prevails on almost every page.

Every descriptive writer in this field faces the difficult problem of avoiding an excessive use of relatively unimportant details. There are forty-eight jurisdictions to discuss, and they do many things, both important and trivial, but there are very few points on which their organizations or practices are the same. To be complete and accurate on any matter, the book must aver that five states do this, seventeen do that, and others do something else. To be most informative, the book should name the states; but this involves loading the pages with lists of names. The author has not fully avoided this difficulty, and there are details of no great importance stated in many places throughout the book. Students should not be expected to know the fees paid for registering births and deaths, the list of states in which the legislature chooses the treasurer, or the names of the particular states in which the budget system is provided for in the constitution, unless there is some important principle involved, or something significant in the fact that these particular states and not others do a certain thing. A judicious use of tables and graphs might have saved many pages for more fundamental discussion.

In making his work so useful as a compendium of well-arranged information, the author has necessarily sacrificed other values. The student is not made to feel or understand the dynamics of state government,

the interplay of economic and other forces therein, the rapidly changing position of the states, the failure of state governments to achieve distinction in any but a few states, the inadequacy of some states to meet their responsibilities, the existence of sectionalism within states and its importance in government, and a number of other matters of real importance. It can hardly be assumed that every teacher will supply these deficiencies.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

University of Minnesota

SCHMECKEBIER, LAURENCE F. *New Federal Organizations*. Pp. ix, 199. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1934. (Institute for Government Research, Studies in Administration, No. 28.)

The war period, 1917-1918, saw a great expansion of the activities of the National Government, with a corresponding increase of governmental agencies; but that extension now seems remote and small when compared with what has happened under the "New Deal" in an equal period of time.

If important subsidiaries of major organizations are counted, the author describes about fifty new agencies, large and small, temporary and permanent, of which the great majority have something to do with the recovery program. For each organization unit there is a statement showing when and how it was created, how it was organized in Washington and what local and regional headquarters were established, how large a staff it has, what it has cost, what it has collected, and briefly what it has achieved. The time period covered extends in most instances to July 1, 1934.

"The volume is entirely descriptive, and does not attempt to pass judgment on the policies involved or the method of organization," says the Preface. It is a *vade mecum* which, if it does not show the reader how to thread the mazes of the new administrative agencies, at least leads him to the door of each one with some knowledge of what it is and does. It is more complete than a corresponding mimeographed guide issued by the official United States Information Service, and has been prepared

with the care and competence which generally characterize the publications of the Institute.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

University of Minnesota

HAIG, ROBERT MURRAY, and CARL SHOUP.  
*The Sales Tax in the American States.*  
Pp. xxv, 833. New York: Columbia  
University Press, 1934. \$4.50.

Whether we like it or not—and the reviewer does not like it—we probably shall have more rather than less sales taxation, in the near future at least. Therefore, we will do well to become acquainted with the subject. This book will serve the purpose admirably. It contains a wealth of factual material gathered at first hand, and a considerable amount of analysis of the experience of the fifteen states which at the time this book was written had for one reason or other made use of one sort or other of sales tax.

Aided by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Professors Haig and Shoup and their small army of researchers made field studies of the operation of the sales tax in the states employing that form of taxation. Their purpose was "to outline the growth of the sales tax movement, to describe some of its results, to analyze the problems which it has introduced and to evaluate the sales tax as a measure of state finance."

The authors find that the sales tax is a resultant of the depression rather than of any tax reform movement, and that its use has been occasioned not so much by the decline in the productivity of other taxes as by the necessity for supplying funds with which to defray new and larger expenditures, among which relief costs are of minor importance so far as responsibility for the sales tax is concerned. Highway costs and particularly school costs, they find, are mainly responsible for sales tax. This, of course, does not apply equally in all the states which have used sales taxation.

It seems also that no one group in every case was responsible for the introduction of the sales tax. While in some instances it was the public service corporations, in other instances it was the school group, and in

still others, the urban real estate group which clamored loudest for the sales tax.

So far as opposition to the tax is concerned, the writers conclude that the retail merchants are the most important group, that the opposition of labor has been weakened because of the absence of labor organization, and that the consumers' protest has been ineffective because not organized.

"Inasmuch as the chief appeal of the tax has been as a source of ready revenue for emergency purposes, its progress has naturally differed greatly from state to state with the degree of the emergency, and even more with the desire and ability of various groups in the community to save something for themselves out of the economic wreckage."

Some twenty pages of the volume are devoted to a chart outlining the principal provisions of the recent state sales tax laws. Probably the most valuable part of this study is the lengthy analysis of administrative and legal problems arising out of state sales taxation. Among these problems are distinguishing retail from other sales, the definition of a sale, the definition of property, the definition of business, and the measure of the tax. Persons framing sales tax legislation should give careful study to the data presented. Effective administration of the sales tax requires a large staff. The sales tax is not a simple one to administer; but its costs are not prohibitive, although those costs mount rapidly after the cream is skimmed, and a high standard of collection is difficult to attain.

The authors conclude that there is not so much shifting of the sales tax as is assumed in common arguments. The data gathered in the survey indicate that a large part of the burden rests directly upon the business man himself, and that in proportion to their number, more of the retailers operating small stores shift none of the tax than is the case among the large retail establishments, which gives rise to a type of regressive distribution of burden. This leads to an inequitable burden on various kinds and sizes of business.

It has been "assumed that the sales tax, although shifted, is concealed in prices and

that this fact tends to make the public ignorant of the true extent of the tax burden." This seems not to be true during the first few months of the operation of the tax. Merchants seek to make the people conscious of the tax by charging it separately, with the hope that it will be repealed. Later the practice of charging the tax separately is discontinued and the consumers, generally, cease to be aware of it. In some states, however, the law requires that the tax be charged as a separate item.

Mr. Shoup writes the chapter on "Evaluation of the Sales Tax as a State Fiscal Measure," and concludes:

"In common with most professional students of taxation in this country, the writer has had an unfavorable opinion of the sales tax, although he has not believed it to be by any means unworkable or impracticable with respect to raising considerable amounts of revenue. The results of the present study have caused him to favor the tax even less than before, chiefly because of the indications found with respect to the distribution of its burden. As an emergency source of revenue the tax has the undeniable advantage of yielding a certain amount of money quickly; but it is not the only tax possessing this virtue. It should not be difficult for the professional student, though removed from the immediate arena of contest, to sympathize with the actions of legislators and others in many states who have been trapped by constitutional limitations on the taxing power and by the threats of articulate and powerful groups who would be injured by resort to forms of emergency revenue other than the sales tax. Nevertheless, in the writer's opinion, the sales tax as an emergency form of revenue, and certainly as a permanent part of any state's tax system, marks an unnecessary and backward step in taxation. . . . Although adequate information is at present lacking the writer is inclined to feel that it will take a higher degree of progression than now exists in the Federal and state tax systems of the United States to justify such a burden on the destitute and near-destitute as the sales tax grants."

H. R. ENSLOW

New York State Tax Department

MAGEE, JAMES DYSART. *Collapse and Recovery*. Pp. xii, 477. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934. \$2.00.

In this book Professor Magee has brought together a collection of readings classified into the following categories: The NRA and Social Control, Money and Banking, Labor, Trusts and Monopolies, Consumers, Agricultural Problems, Social Legislation, Security and Stock Exchange Regulation, Transportation, Public Finance, Tariffs and International Trade. Recent legislation in each of these fields is summarized, while many excerpts from Congressional hearings, periodical articles, and Government reports give the background of this legislation. The selection and arrangement of these readings make them particularly useful in supplementing economics textbooks which have not been revised for a year or more.

W. N. LOUCKS

University of Pennsylvania

VOGEL, E. H. *Nationale Goldkernwährungen und öffentliches Kreditmonopol als Grundlage eines Weltgoldsystems*. Pp. xii, 400. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1933. RM 17.

The author rejects the monetary explanations of the present depression, which in his opinion must be traced mainly to overproduction, rationalization, general political conditions, and unfavorable distribution of capital. Consequently, he opposes the plans that aim at restoring prosperity by raising the level of commodity prices. Neither does he consent to the stabilization of the purchasing power of money. Rather, he advocates a policy of "neutralizing" money, i.e., of eliminating all monetary influences upon the price level. But here Professor Vogel's reasoning does not carry conviction. It is true that under a policy of stabilizing purchasing power non-monetary changes of the price level must be counteracted by changes in the supply of money and credit—a fact which is usually not sufficiently taken into account by the advocates of a stable purchasing power of money. Such counteracting monetary measures may indeed sometimes have quite unpleasant economic consequences; but it

can be stated that these possible disadvantages of a policy of stabilizing the price level are by far outweighed by its advantages in other respects (cf. also my essay "Monetary Stability," Public Policy Pamphlets No. 9, Chicago, 1933).

A considerable part of the book is devoted to banking problems in Central Europe, especially Germany and Austria. Space does not permit us to reproduce and discuss the author's remarkable and bold proposals for a reorganization of commercial banking in these countries. Among the many other problems treated by Professor Vogel, his very elaborate analysis of the various forms of the gold standard should be especially mentioned, and also his suggestions for creating a world currency and establishing an International Bank with far-reaching competencies.

Although not always sufficiently conclusive, the author's argumentation certainly deserves the attention of all students of monetary problems. The detailed summary on pp. 337-354 will be a great convenience to hurried readers.

ALEXANDER MAHR

University of Vienna

CURRIE, LAUCHLIN. *The Supply and Control of Money in the United States*. Pp. xvi, 199. (Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. XLVII.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934. \$2.50.

This book is much more interesting than its rather forbidding title originally made it appear to the reviewer, and, although there are points in the analysis about which arguments may arise, Dr. Currie is to be congratulated upon having discussed the problem of monetary supply effectively without being dragged into the vortex of the quantity theory.

In the first section of the book the concept of money is defined. The inclusion of demand deposits is emphasized, but the present reviewer is inclined to think that in excluding all other forms of credit from consideration the author might have made an exception in the case of the foreign bill of exchange. More interesting to the general public, perhaps, is the calculation of the variations in the supply of money in

the United States during the past twelve years. From slightly less than 22 billion dollars in 1921, the figure rose to 26.6 billion dollars in 1929, falling to 20.2 billion dollars by the middle of 1933. These figures are interesting as indications of the monetary aspects of the depression, and also as criteria by means of which to test current monetary proposals.

Dr. Currie's analysis of credit control offers less that is novel. It is a clear and closely reasoned picture designed to show the importance of member-bank reserves and the peculiar significance of member-bank indebtedness. His conclusion emerges definitely and lucidly that credit control is possible, and to those who would point to the past few years as evidence to the contrary he suggests that the Reserve administration failed to take action from 1929 to 1932, while business conditions were still manageable.

Nevertheless, this analysis points distinctly to the need for improving the structure and extending the powers of the monetary authority, a problem that Dr. Currie tackles in the third section of the book. While regarding the 100 per cent reserve requirement against demand deposits as the ideal arrangement, he feels that this is not immediately attainable, and contents himself with suggesting that the Federal Reserve Board should be strengthened and that its power over the twelve banks should be increased. If all commercial banks were required to become members of the System, and if the Board added to its older powers the legal right to vary member-bank reserve ratios, much more satisfactory control over the aggregate supply of money could be attained. Such a conclusion follows logically from the analysis, and the author has performed a real service by providing us with such a book at a time when the problems he discusses are matters of political agitation.

F. CYRIL JAMES

University of Pennsylvania

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD.  
*The New Monetary System of the United States*. Pp. ix, 147. New York, 1934. \$2.00.

This book is a description, rather than an appraisal or criticism, of the various aspects of the monetary program of the present Federal Administration. While a certain lack of sympathy is perhaps implied at various places, argumentation is subordinated to enumeration of the complex factors, political, international, and non-economic, which condition the ultimate outcome of the program itself. Hence it is that the answer to most of the questions intriguingly placed on the jacket—such as *Is Inflation Inevitable?*—is that one cannot tell.

A chapter on *The Background of the New Monetary System* explains that since the war, central banks have concerned themselves with securing internal rather than external stability, even after gold standard conditions were restored. It is not clear whether it is intended to show that the Roosevelt program is based on a procedure which has already been tried and found wanting, or whether the purpose is merely to show that the new monetary program follows along lines already well marked out. Is it something we should be happy about—or discouraged? It is later made clear, however, that the essential difference between the old scheme and the new lies in focusing on Treasury, rather than Federal Reserve, currency as the thing to be controlled. But as to whether this is a significant difference we are again left in the dark.

Had there not been so much vagueness surrounding the monetary program, the task of description would have been simpler, and the book might have been more satisfactory; but there would have been just so much less excuse for its existence.

A long appendix, comprising about a quarter of the book, is given over to a point-by-point comparison of the old gold standard and the new monetary system. Two briefer ones compare the kinds of money in the United States under the different systems, and estimate the currency supply at the end of October 1933.

JOHN H. PATTERSON

Cornell University

HUBBARD, JOSEPH B. *The Banks, the Budget and Business*. Pp. 147. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. \$1.75.

The world's drift toward illiquidity during 1931 and 1932 and the managed recovery of the last two years has had its focal point in the interrelationship between the banks, the budget, and business in general. Dr. Hubbard claims that England in September 1931 sacrificed its currency to save its banks, while this country in March 1933 sacrificed its banks in a (futile) effort to save its currency.

Most of the book is devoted to a description of the financial history of 1931–1933; the last two chapters discuss the “New Deal” and “Inflation and a Managed Currency.” A statement is made here with which the reviewer feels somewhat inclined to disagree. The collapse of the Stinnes interests in Germany is used as an example of the helplessness of wealth to protect its substance during inflation. The Stinnes episode should rather be used to show that tremendous fortunes can be acquired by people taking advantage of the simple device of going into debt when the monetary unit takes its toboggan ride. The collapse of the Stinnes Trust was caused by the fact that its guiding spirits did not realize in time that the inflation was over in November 1923, and change their methods accordingly.

In the coming discussion of banking reform and central banking, this book will be a helpful device to survey the critical years just behind us.

ROBERT WEIDENHAMMER

University of Minnesota

GRAHAM, B., and D. L. DODD. *Security Analysis*. Pp. xi, 725. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. \$4.00.

To those who would know what an investment is in contrast to a speculation, this volume is strongly recommended. More particularly, this volume is recommended to those who demand quantitative and qualitative standards to measure the degrees of difference between particular issues of securities, whether of the speculative or the investment type.

An investment operation is defined as "one which upon thorough analysis, promises safety of principal and a satisfactory return. Operations not meeting these requirements are speculative." As might be expected, this definition includes a number of "weasel" words such as "thorough," "promises," "safety," and "satisfactory." But these limiting words are not conveniently forgotten. To those having adequate background and willing closely to study the principles, techniques, and illustrations in this work, "thorough analysis" will be meaningful; so also will safety of principal and adequate return. Thorough analysis is "the study of the facts in the light of established standards of safety and value." "A safe bond, for example, is one which could suffer default only under exceptional and highly improbable circumstances. Similarly, a safe stock is one which holds every prospect of being worth the price paid except under quite unlikely contingencies." "A satisfactory return is a wider expression than adequate income since it allows for capital appreciation or profit as well as current interest or dividend yield."

From these basic principles, specific technical standards are set up by which particular issues may be measured. These standards are carefully elaborated and a wealth of actual illustrations presented showing both their correct and incorrect application.

The authors limit their treatment mainly to such information as can be obtained from reported accounting statements. While they recognize the primary importance of changes in corporate management, of changing currents of demand, technical processes, and costs, these aspects are not given major consideration except as they are later reflected in financial statements because of the difficulty of adequate analysis. It is also probably true that in most cases defective security analysis is the result either of inaccurate or insufficient accounting facts, or of a faulty analysis of these facts. It is possible for the new Securities and Exchange Act to correct the first of these defects. An intelligent application of the principles and the technique of this

work should go a long way toward correcting the second of these defects.

With those having little or no knowledge of the fundamentals of security prices and values, an evening spent with this book should leave one very definite impression, namely, that expert advice is needed for security commitments. Those having a fair knowledge of securities but whose work is not immediately in this field, should receive the same impression. And those who present themselves as professional security analysts will find a fresh and stimulating approach to their problems.

G. WRIGHT HOFFMAN

University of Pennsylvania

LAW, WILLIAM. *Successful Speculation in Common Stocks*. Pp. 396. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. \$3.50.

This is another popular treatise on the stock market. There have been numerous books of this type during the past decade: a portion describing the machinery for trading, and another enumerating the factors affecting stock prices. This volume adds a third section on "Groups and individual stocks." In a standard work such as Dice, *The Stock Market*, all the information included in this volume and much more of a worth-while character is to be found.

G. WRIGHT HOFFMAN

University of Pennsylvania

PLUMMER, ALFRED. *International Combines in Modern Industry*. Pp. 191. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1934. \$2.50.

The author alleges at the start that at least two of the basic assumptions of classical economics can no longer be retained. In the first place, the assumption that free competition is the rule to which combines and monopolies are but occasional exceptions, has steadily become less satisfactory as actual free competition has diminished during the past half-century. In the second place, the assumption that scarcity is the rule and plenty the exception can hardly have general application in a world so obviously oppressed by abundance. In-

deed, it is the advent of abundance which, having first produced bouts of intense competition, has since resulted in a desire for more orderly and peaceful planning of production and marketing; for the conscious balancing of producers' outputs with consumers' demands. Such planning or at least the "need for planning" is at present discussed in industrial and political circles in heated controversies. Such discussions would probably be more fruitful if the participants realized that the last thirty or even forty years in the growth and the decline of cartels have provided nearly all the experience that is needed as a criterion to judge "economic planning."

The book deals with the different "types" of international cartels and the incentives and obstacles that prevail in the process of their formation. In "Effects and Tendencies" and "Future Prospects," the author usually commits himself in favor of cartels and sees in them even a contribution toward world peace.

The reviewer has on other occasions set forward his skepticism in regard to the economic wisdom of cartels, and can find nothing in this book to make him adopt a different attitude. The literature on "international cartels" is so meager, however, that even those not sharing the author's friendly feelings toward cartels will acknowledge with gratitude this contribution in the field.

ROBERT WEIDENHAMMER

University of Minnesota

BRADY, ROBERT A. *The Rationalization Movement in German Industry*. Pp. xxi, 466. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1933. \$5.00.

There has been a vast amount of superficial discussion of rationalization and of economic planning. Technical descriptions of a limited nature and somewhat hazy speculations are numerous, but a sane, well-balanced combination of the two is unusual, particularly if the writer is at the same time able to relate the whole movement to its background of history, politics, social psychology, and philosophy.

This has been done by Professor Brady in the volume under consideration more

satisfactorily than in any other treatment known to the reviewer. The book is in three parts, the second being a careful, detailed treatment of the German rationalization movement in selected industries during the period 1924-1929. Coal, lignite, and coke; iron and steel; the machine industry; the electro-technical industry; power; the chemical and potash industries; and others are thoroughly considered.

Even more important, however, are Parts One and Three. Part One, which deals with the elements and organization of the movement, develops the background by emphasizing the part played by scientific development and the increase in standardization and in scientific management. There is included a chapter on the other features of the background, with attention to its weak as well as to its strong elements. For the reviewer, the most interesting and valuable aspects of these introductory chapters are the analysis of the fundamental importance of an interrelated scientific development to the growth of rationalization, and the emphasis on the social criteria that are or should be posited for all economic planning.

Part Three treats "The Incidence and Implications of Rationalization." It is careful and broad in its outlook. To the author, rationalization is far more than a technique applied in a limited field. Not only must detailed measures be dovetailed "into plans which embrace the entire national economy," but "the unit of organization is larger in nearly every case—in nearly every respect—than Germany. . . . Yet it is precisely in the international sphere that rationalization has the least chance of application so long as European nationalism survives in its present form (p. 324). . . . In almost every conceivable respect, rationalization means internationalism and cosmopolitanism—megalopolitanism is the Spenglerian term—with a vengeance" (p. 412).

As practiced in Germany, the movement seems to have failed in what were presumably its major objectives. "That rationalization, as carried out, must bear a considerable share of the responsibility for the debacle, is beyond question" (p. xii).

This is, of course, not an argument against further attempts, but is an emphatic reminder that the task of economic planning is not easy. The author's general view is best given in his own words at the end of the introductory chapter: "The development of rationalization in Germany has shown more or less clearly the possibilities and the directional drives inherent in the movement, and that, among men intimately acquainted with its history, there is sufficient appreciation of the shortcomings of rationalization *as carried out* to justify the rather significant subtitle of this study, 'A Study in the Evolution of Economic Planning.'"

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON

University of Pennsylvania

SHOTWELL, JAMES T. (Ed.). *The Origins of the International Labor Organization*. 2 vols. Pp. xxx, 497; xii, 592. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. \$10.00.

In these magistral volumes Professor Shotwell, himself one of the American Secretariat at the Versailles Conference, has performed for the International Labor Organization the same invaluable and definitive service that Mr. David Hunter Miller carried out for the League in his volumes, *The Drafting of the Covenant*. Professor Shotwell has brought together the most important documents of the Peace Conference bearing on the evolution of Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty—The Constitution of the I. L. O. These drafts have not hitherto been easily available in anywhere near the completeness with which they are here presented. Although the documentation begins only with 1914 and is carried through to the first conference at Washington in 1920, the essential materials for original study of the creation of the I. L. O. are here presented. Although there is no complete English text of the minutes of the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the Peace Conference, comparable to that which has recently been published in Paris under the editorship of Professor de Lapradelle (*La Documentation internationale*, Vol. V, Paris, 1932), Professor Shotwell has in-

cluded the minutes as collated from texts available in the International Labor Office in Geneva and from the English, American, and Belgian texts.

In a work of this magnitude, minor typographical errors may occur. Some have been detected but will undoubtedly be corrected in future editions. The main value of the work will not be seriously impaired, as scholarship will rapidly eliminate such errors. On the other hand, to have brought together so comprehensive a compilation of the documents makes this a distinguished introduction to the Carnegie Endowment's series, "The Paris Peace Conference, History and Documents."

The importance of this study is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of ten essays by various experts from half a dozen countries, all of whom have been closely connected with the work of the I. L. O. All the essays deal with the period of its gestation rather than with current administrative or general questions. Three essays deal with the "background" of the I. L. O. in prewar international labor legislation, and wartime trade union and socialist proposals. Four further chapters describe the elaboration of the Labor Charter at the Peace Conference. French, American, and British preparations for the conference are analyzed by Charles Picquenard, Leifur Magnusson, and Edward J. Phelan respectively. The longest single section recounts and appraises the work of the Commission on International Labor Legislation, while the action of the Conference on the proposals of the Commission is related in a separate chapter. Three chapters deal with the constitutional developments in the first conference at Washington. In the last of these, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia discusses "the problem of American coöperation." Not only does he trace the development of American interest and participation in international labor legislation before the war, but he indicates the reasons why at the present time there is a sound basis for closer coöperation with the I. L. O. on the part of the United States.

"It was to achieve many of the same objectives in the relations of labor, indus-

try, and the community in normal times as are now sought through the NRA in a great emergency that the International Labor Organization was founded. . . . The activities of the Organization since its establishment have largely consisted in efforts to achieve for its member states, now more numerous than those of the League of Nations itself, uniformity of minimum standards for the protection of labor, the elimination of unfair competition between nations and a certain solidarity of social and human values instead of the competition of merely monetary values." He points out that the United States Delegation to the 1933 conference itself recommended our adhesion on grounds similar to these. With the active participation of the United States in the work of the I. L. O., its contribution to the furtherance of the objectives of domestic policy will, he believes, be vindicated.

These volumes will remain the definitive source for an understanding of the constitutional origins and the early history of one of the two or three most permanent and viable agencies of international coöperation resulting from the travail of the war. Here are preserved the records of conflicting national viewpoints upon matters of vital economic and social interest to the workers of the world. And within the various national policies can be traced the clash between the interests of workers and employers, interests which the I. L. O. is the first agency charged, if not with reconciling, at least with adjusting. The records here made available to officials and scholars define pretty clearly the limits of effective international action within the terms of competing political and economic systems. As such they will become the primer of statecraft as well as source book of scholarship.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

TOYNBEE, A. J. (Ed.). *British Commonwealth Relations*. Pp. xiv, 235. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. \$4.00.

PALMER, G. E. H. *Consultation and Coöperation in the British Commonwealth*.

Pp. xiii, 264. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934.

These two volumes bring together the proceedings and studies of the First Unofficial Conference on British Commonwealth Relations at Toronto in 1933. The personnel of the Conference included representatives from public life, the professions, and the university scholars, and included undoubtedly the most expert group on British Commonwealth relations that has ever met. Indeed, it might well be compared in point of constitutional knowledge and acumen with our own Constitutional Convention of 1787. While these volumes do not include verbatim records of the discussions, there are useful summaries of the debates and the studies submitted by various members of the Conference.

In the volume edited by Mr. Toynbee, which deals directly with the Conference, many interesting points of view are brought forward by men engaged in political conduct of commonwealth relations, as well as the leading studies in each of the states upon matters of policy for the commonwealth as a whole and upon the machinery of inter-commonwealth relations, especially with regard to foreign affairs, justice and law, and the unity of the commonwealth in international relations. The value of such a conference as this, which was somewhat similar in purpose and form to the Conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is, of course, to be able to present unofficially the attitudes of the responsible policy-forming agencies as well as of public opinion at large in the different countries upon matters of common interest. That the procedure of informal conference makes possible not only exchange of views but also reconciliation of conflicting policies has been abundantly illustrated wherever the problem in international relations (whether within a federal state such as the United States or in the general international community) arises. Furthermore, it is probable that a meeting of this sort brings together persons more advanced toward coöperative objectives than the average official conference, and thus makes possible the mobilization of liberal opinion as one leverage upon official action. As a

record, therefore, of what may well become the program of the various governments day after tomorrow, the work of the Conference is likely to have great historical significance.

In the volume compiled by Mr. Palmer there is the most complete account of current inter-commonwealth relations that has yet been brought together. The study makes no pretense of being an elaborate historical treatise, but rather attempts to present a photographic record of the actual machinery of coöperation as it has developed during the past decade or so. Every aspect of inter-commonwealth relations has been included under four major headings: the machinery of coöperation; practice and procedure for representation at international conferences and for the negotiation and ratification of treaties; official inter-imperial bodies; past problems for the creation or modification of machinery of coöperation. Inasmuch as the British Commonwealth is the most viable international unit of the present day, a detailed study such as this of the interstitial operation of its constitution is of outstanding importance to the scholar. Based as it is upon official documents, the legislation of the various members of the Commonwealth, and court decisions, it will remain an indispensable guide to current practice in this most interesting field of constitutional law and diplomatic experimentation.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

MADDOX, WILLIAM P. *Foreign Relations in British Labour Politics*. Pp. xv, 253. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934.

This sound and judicious monograph by an instructor in Government at Harvard shows how the British Labor Party developed its orientation in foreign affairs, and how it sought to guide events. The author makes effective use of the distinction between popular politicians (the general effective leaders), public advocates (the effective leaders on foreign affairs), and specialist advisers (the invisible leaders). He believes that the coördination of skills which was obtained by the Labor

Party in the postwar years was a signal achievement, affording an interesting instance of a working alliance between middle-class intellectuals and reformists on the one hand, and trusted trade union leaders of humble origins on the other.

There is a careful statement of the pressure and propaganda methods used to mobilize the party for concerted action on specific issues, and to modify the acts of administrators, legislators, and voters. Throughout, there is judicious use of evidence which has often been laboriously tabulated. One example is the summary of facts about twenty-five leaders of labor on foreign questions. Two fifths of this number were "invisible" leaders. About half rose from humble origins. All had been abroad. Twelve had elementary schooling or none at all. The handling of such data is always subordinated to the general analysis, which it strengthens and does not swamp.

Maddox has prepared one of the most rewarding books about the Labor Party, the British Government, and political action in general which has come off the press.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

University of Chicago

LAUTERPACHT, H. *The Development of International Law by the Permanent Court of International Justice*. Pp. 111. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934.

This treatise should give satisfaction to all favoring the demonstration of the legal and binding character of international law. The Permanent Court of International Justice seems to be their only hope. Professor Lauterpacht analyzes "the principal tendencies which have distinguished the work of the Court and which permit some forecast as to the temper in which it is likely to approach future cases." Thus he analyzes in consecutive chapters the law behind the cases decided by the Court, the Court's judicial caution, its judicial legislation, the effectiveness of the law applied, and the Court's attitude towards state sovereignty.

The record of the Court is impressive. All through the work the author stresses

with evident approval the fact that the Court, though conscious of its existence by the will of sovereign states, shows a critical attitude towards claims of state sovereignty. "The simple explanation of this striking phenomenon," he holds, "is that once a State has accepted the jurisdiction of the Court in a given case or generally, the metaphysical majesty of sovereignty has largely departed from it [the State]; it has become a plain party governed by the statute and the rules of the Court. . . . This may be a rude awakening, but there is no escape from it once a State has submitted to the jurisdiction of the Court."

Professor Lauterpacht represents that school of thought which starts with the imperative of establishing the supremacy of the international order, admits the existence of sovereign states, but finds it necessary to curb the sovereignty of the state as an obstruction to an effective international order.

There is another school of thought, which concedes the need for an effective international order, but starts with the so-called sovereign state as the initiating and sustaining medium or unit of such an international order. This school views the state as the immediate, and as such the only effective, bulwark against the disintegrating forces of the diversification of social and political interests, forces which have done their deadly work in the states reverting to dictatorships and the metaphysical majesty of sovereignty. This school of thought welcomes the work of the Court without identifying itself completely with the author's interpretation of that work. After all, states which operate with the "metaphysical majesty of sovereignty" can evade jurisdiction of the Court by refusing to submit to that jurisdiction, just as they can evade the obligations of the League Covenant by refusing to maintain membership in the League. Such states are not likely to give the Court an opportunity to deal critically with their claims to sovereignty.

It seems high time that all the advocates of a legally effective international order realize the need of dealing not only critically but above all sympathetically with

that modicum of state competence, so-called sovereignty, left in the states willing to submit to the jurisdiction of an international order. For their willingness is seriously jeopardized by the effect of pluralistic activities within, pushing headlong to the alternative of dictatorship with its practical demonstration of what a claim to metaphysical majesty of sovereignty is capable of accomplishing in limiting the effective work of the Court.

JOHANNES MATERN

Johns Hopkins University

MANNING, WILLIAM R. (Ed.). *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs 1831-1860*. Vol. I, *Argentina*; Vol. II, *Bolivia-Brazil*; Vol. III, *Central America 1831-1850*; Vol. IV, *Central America 1851-1860*. Pp. xxxviii, 789; xxviii, 544; xxv, 561; xlv, 993. Washington, D. C.; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1932-1934. \$5.00 per volume.

These four volumes contain almost three thousand pages of valuable raw material for the student of American diplomatic history, and form the first part of a projected series of ten or more volumes. The completed work will constitute an imposing sequel to Dr. Manning's well-known *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations*. No one can read through these four stout volumes without realizing the great value of the documents presented or without giving thanks to the editor for his meticulous care manifested throughout.

Though the editor states that "no documents have been omitted because of a confidential or discreet character," two general questions may be raised concerning his selection. First, it seems unfortunate to this reviewer that the decision was made to omit documents concerning "negotiations looking toward the settlement of commercial controversies or the conclusion of commercial treaties . . . unless special favors were offered or solicited or discussions arose regarding stipulations designed to prevent the concession of such favors by the negotiating states to others." Inas-

much as many students in this field are inclined either to overemphasize or to underestimate the importance of the economic nexus in diplomatic relations, it would have been very useful to have available more documents on commercial affairs and fewer examples of the oratorical and patriotic disquisitions made by our diplomatic representatives on presenting their credentials.

Likewise it may be doubted whether Central America is worth two volumes comprising some fifteen hundred pages. It may be, as Aldous Huxley declares, that "Central America, being just Europe in miniature and with the lid off, is the ideal laboratory in which to study the behavior of the Great Powers." But, as J. B. Locky has pointed out, our early relations with Central America were marked by a singular futility. ("Diplomatic Futility," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X, August, 1930, 265-294.) Of our eleven envoys appointed before 1849, three died en route; one succumbed before starting on his mission; one was dismissed before embarking; another drew his salary for more than a year without going near the Central American capital; and still another traveled over the length and breadth of the country, unable to find a government to receive him. Though the remaining four reached their destination and were received, only one prolonged his stay beyond a few months, and he committed suicide soon after his return to the United States. The period 1849-1860 in Central America proved to be much more important; but even so, does it deserve, in relation to the whole series, the twelve hundred pages here devoted to it?

The chief problems with Argentina arose from the Falkland Islands dispute, the French and English intervention of 1845, and the situations created by the Paraguayan War. Included in the mass of correspondence relating to these questions are interesting short descriptions of the Paraguayan dictator Dr. Francia, of Rosas and Rivadavia of Argentina, and of that colorful international liberator Garibaldi, then styled "Admiral of the Oriental Republic."

Our diplomatic officials were none too

favorably impressed by the Argentine citizens during this tumultuous period. Apropos of the corruption, the brutality, and the injustice of the Rosas régime, France Baylies, the *chargé d'affaires* at Buenos Aires, ironically reported: "Such, Sir, is the happy condition of society in this *Sister Republic* of ours, whose free and liberal principles and hatred of despotism have so often been themes for the panegyrics of our mistaken, romantic and imaginative politicians. I think one week's residence here would cure them of this hallucination . . . none of these South American governments has any idea of national justice . . . the best negotiator here would be a naval commander backed by his cannons."

Other officials in different countries reported in a similar spirit. The revolutionary epoch with all its facile enthusiasms had passed away and several dreary decades of chaos and dictators had set in. Indeed, reading these documents makes one realize clearly that the honeymoon phase of our relations with Latin America was now definitely over.

Diplomatic relations with Bolivia were not established until 1848. Its correspondence was never important and occupies but a small part of Volume Two. Our ministers busied themselves with advising the Bolivians not to use violence during elections, and with the proposed introduction of alpacas to the United States, and the navigation of the Amazon and La Plata.

Our diplomatic relations with Brazil have been so competently treated in the recent monograph by Lawrence F. Hill that only specialists are likely to consult the Brazilian correspondence which fills the remainder of Volume Two. The two chief subjects dealt with were the important slave trade between Africa and Brazil which flourished under our flag in the period 1825-1850, and the attempts of our diplomats to propagate the idea of an American continental system independent of European influence.

The futility of our early relations with Central America has been mentioned. Volume Three is filled with dispatches re-

lating attempts by Europeans and Americans to secure the right to build an isthmian canal. Until the arrival in 1849 of the energetic and scholarly Ephraim G. Squier, British influence was supreme in Central America. Squier stoutly fought what he termed British "machinations," and in particular opposed the establishment of a British protectorate over the Mosquito Coast. His reports to Washington afford absorbing details of the comic opera activities of the British diplomats and Queen Victoria's "ally," the Mosquito "king."

The fourth volume owes its bulk to the divergent interpretations given the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the many boundary disputes affecting the various proposed canal routes, and to the invasion of American filibusters, particularly "Colonel" Kenney and "General" William Walker. One of the numerous documents concerning the picturesque Walker is his Inaugural Address delivered on assuming in 1856 the presidency of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Though this significant collection of documents covers as yet but a portion of the field, problems common to the whole period from the revolution to the present are frequently encountered. Our secretaries of state constantly evoked eternal principles. For instance, Edward Livingston included the following counsel in his instructions dated July 20, 1831, which might even now serve as a guide to all our representatives in Latin America: "The American influence must not be lost by improper demands or frivolous complaints. Every application in behalf of an American citizen must be carefully examined before it is carried to the Government. Even where you are sure of obtaining an advantage, let no demand be made unless it is founded on justice. But, on the other hand, press firmly, though respectfully, for the redress of every injury; and insist, strenuously, for every privilege and advantage for your fellow citizens to which either the treaty or the law of Nations entitles them."

LEWIS HANKE

Harvard University

ZNANIECKI, FLORIAN. *The Method of Sociology*. Pp. xii, 338. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934.

In this provocative essay is given the latest pronouncement of that school of thought which would limit sociology to "one special category" of cultural phenomena (p. viii), would sharply differentiate the cultural from the natural, would divide cultural values into a number of closed systems, such as the economic, legal, linguistic, religious, technical, social, and would select the last-mentioned of these as its special province. Man thus appears as a "humanistic coefficient," separating his expression from "natural" expression, and as possessing a number of shells or "aspects" (p. 132) a social aspect, an economic aspect, a religious aspect, a legal aspect, and so on—each of which can be made the basis of a special and independent science of culture. Sociology, from this point of view, should deal only with the "social aspects," not with all cultural aspects, nor with "societies" or "communities," and especially not with psychological and biological data.

The volume is worked out with care and profundity, though one cannot say with consistency. First, one of the author's main contentions is that human activity (pp. 43-44) or the "humanistic coefficient" (pp. 39, 79) clearly divides the cultural world from the natural world (pp. 82, 155). It is held that a natural system is composed wholly of "things" (pp. 41, 59), that it exists "absolutely independently of the experience and activity of men" (pp. 35-36), and that cultural systems are quite otherwise (pp. 173, 176). What then can the author mean by admitting that there is a "natural aspect" to "human collectivities" (p. 94)? Possibly human behavior should not be regarded as completely unnatural after all.

Second, after the emphasis placed upon human activity as the basis of all cultural systems, every effort seems to be made to eliminate from sociology any knowledge gained from fundamental studies of human activity (pp. 103-104, 131). "No sociological theory can be based on conclusions drawn from non-sociological theories," as

from "psychology, biology, anthropology, or geography" (p. 218).

Third, in the endeavor to separate social data from "other" cultural data, additional difficulties are encountered. Sociology is to be a "special cultural science with an empirical field of its own" (pp. 106, 134), a closed system "exactly circumscribed and described" (pp. 13, 18), absolutely independent of other cultural systems and of non-cultural systems. And yet cultural systems "usually appear connected and intertwined," so that the "social data" must be specifically picked out (pp. 213-218), and "dynamic interaction" between them is always present (p. 318).

Again, after excluding from its "proper domain" such categories of cultural data as the hedonistic, economic, technical, æsthetic, scientific, linguistic, literary, artistic, religious, and all other special cultural categories (pp. 36, 101, 318), what is left to be labeled "social"? Not "societies" nor "cultural phenomena in general," for these are also specifically rejected (pp. 101, 104, 105). What then? The following, we are told: "social actions," such as are now studied in social psychology (p. 107), despite the taboo otherwise placed upon psychological data; "social relations" or "norms regulating social actions" (p. 111), despite the dictum laid down elsewhere (p. 47) that normative data must be kept out of sociology; "social persons" or the "social aspect of human personality" (p. 117), which is apparently quite different from the human individual as he "really is" (p. 120) and thus from psychological and biological facts (p. 131); and "social groups" (pp. 120-121) which, while not "societies," are "systems," such as kinship (p. 123), working classes (p. 125), children's groups (p. 126), national groups (p. 126), and secret "society" systems (p. 124).

The greatest difficulty for the reader is encountered in the last chapter, which is called "analytic induction in sociology" and is the sequel toward which the rest of the book leads. The chapter appears in reality to deal with scientific method in general; its illustrations are couched largely in biological terms; and its specific social references are to all cultural data, not to any severely

circumscribed "social category." The author is apparently unaware of, or confused with respect to, the dual character of scientific method and its application to social fields, the development of the sciences from raw analysis and observation to present-day rigorous techniques, the hierarchical relationship among the recognized sciences and presumably between them and the social studies, and the desirability of formulating basic social concepts after the fashion so successfully pursued in the physical and biological sciences. About these considerations the present reviewer has recently written at some length in other connections (in the September 1933 *Journal of Sociology* and the July 1934 *Philosophy of Science*). Bearing them in mind, the situations in sociology which the author of the essay regards as hopeless or analyzes in a vacuum or in a complicated and round-about way, would seem to resolve themselves without much difficulty, and thus render unnecessary any such metaphysical and circumscribed path to sociological advance as that advocated in the book.

Among the best features of the essay are the description of the limitations of statistical method (pp. 225-235) and the analysis of the sources of cultural materials (pp. 154-212). At the present stage of methodological controversy, the volume should result in further self-searching and in a reëxamination of fundamentals. It should be carefully read by all who have an interest in sociological theory.

JOSEPH MAYER

Library of Congress

SMITH, JAMES G. *Elementary Statistics*. Pp. x, 517. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1934. \$3.50.

Considerable space in this book is allotted to subjects which are only remotely related to elementary statistics. The subtitle, "An Introduction to the Principles of Scientific Methods," enables the author to incorporate a section on the evolution of scientific method, in which he attempts to cover and criticize social philosophies from earliest times to the present. A few pages containing a review of elementary mathematics for statistics and some elementary

principles of logic are also included.

The organization of the book is somewhat confusing, and the table of contents, if not actually misleading, is not enlightening. It does not contain the usual division headings used to cover measures of central tendency and measures of dispersion found in most texts on statistics. Elementary mathematics is classified under the study of static variability; the section on logic is listed between the theory of errors and correlation; and the book ends with the chapters on the evolution of the scientific method.

However, despite the inclusion of many miscellaneous topics which are, perforce, somewhat superficially and dogmatically handled, and the apparent lack of organization of the material, the book has much to be said for it as an introduction to statistical methods. Professor Smith presents complex concepts in a readable and comprehensible manner. The section devoted to the analysis of time series is particularly clearly presented.

Although the author claims to have separated the presentation of statistical principles from their application in particular fields, most of his examples are chosen from the fields of economics and demography.

MILDRED PARTEN

Yale University

HOFFER, CHARLES RUSSELL. *Introduction to Rural Sociology*. Pp. xiv, 500. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934. \$3.00.

This book is divided into four parts—general introduction, the rural population, rural social institutions, and rural social organizations. The writer conceives rural sociology to be a science dealing with the social conditions of rural people from the standpoint of their own well-being and its influence upon the nation as a whole. As he sees it, the main objective of an author is accuracy of analysis and clearness of presentation, while the method of approach followed, whether formalistic, comparative, or problematical, is a matter of personal preference.

Professor Hoffer assumes the efficacy of existing social theory, which is not altogether defensible. If social theory is to be

the basis of mass projects, by what criteria may we judge the theory to be employed? If the important thing in rural life is the reconstruction of the social pattern, how can one merely glide over the sweeping innovations which have been inaugurated during recent years? A noticeable inadequacy of the book from the viewpoint in which it is written is its failure to risk any judgments regarding the sociological import of our present agricultural policies, although its inscription date is September 1934.

The present edition of the book is an enlargement of the first and a renovation of the statistics it contained. Three new chapters, one each dealing with rural children, rural youth, and rural leadership, have been inserted. With all that, the text becomes a handbook on American rural life and a series of suggestions for rural improvement. In this respect the author has done his task well. Whether or not his book represents the content and scope of a scientific rural sociology is another question. The important thing is that an excellent job is done on the task which was undertaken.

O. D. DUNCAN

Oklahoma Agricultural and  
Mechanical College

FOLSOM, JOSEPH KIRK. *The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*. Pp. xiii, 604. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1934. \$4.00.

The aim of this book, as stated in the author's preface, is "to weave cultural anthropology, individual psychology, social psychology, history, sociology, economics, and psychiatry into a unitary *science of the family*." Accordingly, it represents an eclectic approach to the study of the family, with all the advantages and disadvantages inherent in such a treatment. The result is a more thorough digest and summary of the literature than has previously appeared in any book on the family. This comprehensive treatment, however, frequently leads to consideration of writings of little or no originality, upon a par with others of prime importance.

The author has chosen to organize the book into six parts, viz.: the family pattern

and its subcultural basis, the cultural history and geography of the family, social change and the family, family problems and mass readjustments, family problems and individual adjustments, and the cultural future. The treatment nevertheless falls into three distinct units: (1) organic and cultural bases of the contemporary American family, (2) social change and cultural adjustments, and (3) family disorganization and social therapy.

Some of the most interesting and useful features of the book are: its portrayal of the essential features of the family pattern by comparing the family system of the Trobrianders with that of our own society, its analysis of the basic elements in the love relationship, and its frank discussion of the love mores. Some of the weakest are: its lack of realism in the discussion of domestic discord, its academic and sketchy discussion of the treatment of domestic discord, and its tendency to sermonize, particularly with reference to conflicts between husband and wife and between parents and children.

The author is to be commended upon his judicious and liberal view expressed in his discussions of the controversial problems of the family. *The Family* constitutes a scholarly treatment which should find a place in courses upon the subject of the family.

ERNEST R. MOWRER

Northwestern University

NIMKOFF, M. F. *The Family*. Pp. x, 526.  
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company,  
1934. \$3.00.

*The Family* is an attempt to forge out of the diverse literature on the subject a unified and comprehensive treatment. It begins with the family as an institution and attempts to trace its origin and development to the present. The contemporary American family is then analyzed in terms of its biological, economic, and psychosocial aspects. This is followed by an analysis of family disorganization and a discussion of programs for family reorganization. The point of view expressed represents a combination of social psychology, human biology, and social economy.

The author excludes by definition the

marriage pair from his conception of the family, insisting that that parent-child relationship is the basic element in the family. This distinction is not, however, consistently maintained; though the corollary notion that there is something fundamentally lacking in a marriage which does not eventually lead to childbirth causes the author to venture interpretations which may be questioned. For example, the social pressure exercised to compel marriage in early New England may have been motivated by a desire to control sex relations quite as much as by a desire to increase the population, as the author interprets it. Also, the assumption that a change from a sacrifice philosophy to a pleasure philosophy is in part responsible for a decline in the size of the family may be seriously questioned, since any philosophy tends to represent a rationalization, rather than a motivation of practices.

The author, like many others, makes the treatment of domestic discord seem more simple than he, undoubtedly, has actually found it to be. At times he becomes lyrical, and at other times moralization creeps into his analysis. His treatment also raises the question of whether a writer of a textbook should feel that he must fully develop every phase of his subject which he considers important, or whether he can refer the reader to other sources where adequate presentations can be found. Thus, for example, the chapters on the primitive family and the history of the American family cover ground which has been gone over so often and so well that this seems to be wasted effort.

Dr. Nimkoff has produced a readable book which should appeal to those who wish a careful digest of the essential literature in the field without going into wearisome details. He has supplemented his reading with a keen observation of what is going on about him, and by his research in the sector of marital adjustment, in a way that is commendable. And while to some his treatment will seem to be lacking in definiteness of viewpoint, this is somewhat mitigated by its close-knit organization.

ERNEST R. MOWRER

Northwestern University

HATHWAY, MARION. *The Migratory Worker and Family Life*. Pp. xiv, 240. University of Chicago Social Service Monograph, No. 21. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. \$1.50.

Those who still believe that "some folks won't work" should read Dr. Hathway's study of migratory families in seasonal occupations in the State of Washington. The efforts people make to secure employment, the low wages received even when family earnings are combined, the inexcusably poor housing endured by the people who dig clams and pick berries, fruit, and hops, are evidence of their eagerness to be self-sustaining as well as of the intense competition for work opportunities. Migratory workers whose families accompany them find their children handicapped by gaps and shifts in school work. They themselves do not share in the life of the community as measured by recency of voting and participation in recreational and religious activities.

Although the study is chiefly concerned with families not dependent, it also considers the problems of the migratory worker from the standpoint of the social agency. It should recommend itself to social workers and also to students of labor, standards of living, school administration, and public health.

The author writes from an intimate knowledge of her subject, the result of patient field work which included interviews with family heads, school children, employers, and officials. The study combines statistics and case studies effectively. Its vividness is enriched by diagrams and photographs depicting typical housing and working conditions.

ARTHUR HILLMAN

University of Washington

FORMAN, HENRY JAMES. *Our Movie-Made Children*. Pp. viii, 288. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. \$2.50.

CHARTERS, W. W. *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*. Pp. vii, 66. Combined with Holaday, Perry W., and George D. Stoddard, *Getting Ideas from the Movies*, pp. viii, 102. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. \$1.50.

DYSINGER, WENDELL S., and Christian A. Ruckmick. *The Emotional Responses of Children to the Motion Picture Situation*. Pp. xiii, 122. Combined with Peters, Charles C., *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality*, pp. v, 235. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. \$2.00.

RENSHAW, SAMUEL, *et al.* *Children's Sleep*. Pp. xviii, 242. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. \$2.00.

DALE, EDGAR. *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*. Pp. xi, 243. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. \$1.20.

The studies of which these volumes are the outgrowth have a twofold interest. On the one hand they will appeal to those who, in a practical way, are interested in the social consequences of the motion picture. That there is such a body of people is seen in the rise of the Legion of Decency and similar movements in recent months. On the other hand, students of methods in social research in the fields of attitude and behavior will find much for discussion in the techniques that have been employed by the investigators.

In 1928 the Motion Picture Research Council invited the collaboration of a group of university psychologists, sociologists, and educators in formulating a program of motion picture research designed to ascertain the effect of pictures upon children. The Payne Foundation subsequently provided funds with which to undertake the study. The investigations covered four years, 1929-1932 inclusive. These books are part of the published results.

The general reader should turn to the Forman and Charters volumes, both of which summarize the findings. Forman's summary is popular in nature, and written with a journalistic style that at times is greatly over-dramatized. There will be those who contend that its constant use of adverbs and adjectives, its alarmism, and its repetitious reference to "startling" results actually detract from the true significance of the data that are involved. One may question how effective such emotional presentations are in inducing calm consideration of a matter that is of importance. The Charters summary, to the contrary, is more academic and even tempered. It

contains an excellent digest of the results. The facts there presented deserve consideration. It is not without significance that 17 per cent of all movie audiences are composed of children of grade school years, and that 37 per cent are minors. It does occasion some thought when the authors estimate that eleven million children under fourteen years sit in movie theaters every week.

Holaday and Stoddard raise the question, What do the children retain? The conclusion is that in general they comprehend three of every five events an adult sees, that they remember for surprisingly long periods what they have seen, and that they tend to accept the screen incidents as authentic.

What are the consequences of this? Dying and Ruckmick, using a galvanometer technique, show that children have high emotional response, reacting especially to danger, conflict, and tragedy situations, with which motion pictures abound. With increasing age, there is enhanced sensitivity to erotic situations. Renshaw, Miller, and Marquis have found carry-over into the sleep patterns of children who attend movies. The pictures induce sleep motility, and on the average have the same effect as would follow by forcing a young child to sit up until midnight. The authors raise questions concerning the cumulative influence of this emotionalism.

Peters has undertaken elaborate analyses of motion picture content to ascertain its conformity or nonconformity to the mores. The social psychologist will follow attentively his efforts to determine the "good" and the "bad" in pictures.

The volume by Dale was written as a guide to motion picture attendance, and in many respects is the most unique in the list. The rise of motion pictures has introduced a new art form, and the author's purpose is to lead young people into an intelligent appreciation of this art form. Here is an attempt to formulate standards upon which judgments may be based, with the ultimate purpose in mind of raising audience-taste. There are compact sections dealing with the history of motion pictures, advertising, production, reviewing prac-

tices, acting, photography, settings, sound, direction, and story analysis. The book is eminently useful.

For the social scientist, these several studies will raise as many questions as they answer. For the lay reader, the summary volumes will unquestionably stimulate interest in the problem of youth and motion pictures. Both results are desirable.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

University of Minnesota

RUPPIN, ARTHUR. *The Jews in the Modern World*. Pp. xxxi, 423. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. \$5.00.

BROWNE, LEWIS. *How Odd of God*. Pp. xi, 250. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. \$2.50.

LAKHOVSKY, GEORGES. *Le Racisme et l'Orchestre Universel*. Pp. 153. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1934.

In these days of propaganda and boycott and Aryanism and Brown Shirts, it is impossible to avoid being reminded of a Jewish question, and at the same time, difficult to preserve a proper balance in relation to it. A reasonable and objective attitude requires as an obvious preliminary a knowledge of the facts concerning the Jews, and these are conveniently presented by Dr. Ruppin in a single volume which condenses and brings up to date the material from his earlier *Die Soziologie der Juden*. The number and distribution of the Jews, vital statistics of all kinds, occupations and income, education, intermarriage, anti-Semitism, recent developments in Palestine—all are handled with fine historical objectivity and a wealth of informative material which is almost encyclopedic in its scope. There is perhaps an occasional tendency to generalize a little too easily, and to treat a local comparison between Jews and non-Jews as if it had universal validity; but usually the figures are allowed to speak for themselves, and the theorizing is reduced to a discreet minimum. The book is not light reading and the style is somewhat cumbersome, but the material should be of real value to any serious student of the Jews.

Lewis Browne's new book (the title comes

from W. N. Ewer's sparkling little verse—

How odd  
Of God  
To choose  
The Jews)

is subtitled "An Introduction to the Jews," and will serve as a convenient first book on this subject for those who know very little about it. The thesis which is rather elaborately developed in the early chapters, that Judaism as a religious system thrives under persecution and is forsaken when the outside world becomes friendly, is an old one, nor is it news that even after his conversion to Christianity, hostility against the Jew will usually persist. These familiar points are presented, however, with so many interesting factual odds and ends as to make the book pleasant reading. The theory that anti-Semitism is due to the abnormal confinement of the Jew to urban centers is certainly an exaggeration; this urbanism may play a part, but since it is itself to some extent an effect of anti-Semitism, it can hardly be regarded as its sole cause. The discussion of Aryanism and the Jewish "race" is accurate and careful, and the anthropology upon which it is based would probably be accepted everywhere but in Germany.

The book by Lakhovsky bases its opposition to German race theories on the strange hypothesis that the quality of the soil affects the type of ionization, which in turn determines the cellular vibrations in the organism, and in that way, the physical characteristics of the various races. Race is therefore entirely a function of geographical environment and need not be taken too seriously. The Jews show such varied characteristics because they live under such different cosmic and geological conditions. The author ignores the possibility that intermarriage or conversion may have contributed; he shows pictures of Chinese Jews and of Negro Jews in Harlem to illustrate the variability of the Jewish physical type. There are many inaccuracies; for example, the Mediterranean race is described as brachycephalic, and Thomas Mann is referred to as a Jew. It is unfortunate that the author has attacked the standpoint of the German racial theorists with ar-

guments at least as unscientific as their own.

OTTO KLINEBERG

Columbia University

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. *Shadow of the Plantation*. Pp. xxiv, 215. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. \$2.50.

Whatever may be said in defense of the ante-bellum Southern plantation as an agricultural system and a way of life in the heyday of its existence, there is no doubt that its "shadow" exercises a baneful influence now. How it does so in a segment of Macon County, Alabama, is subjected to critical analysis in this book by Professor Johnson and a corps of assistants from Fisk University. The family, economic, religious, and educational life of some six hundred Negro families is portrayed in much detail. The resultant picture is not a pretty one. Family life is characterized by illegitimacy, promiscuity, venereal disease, desertion, quarrelsomeness, cruelty, and miserable housing; economic life, by abject poverty, hopeless debt, inadequate farming implements, and wasteful agricultural methods; the church, by superstition and banality; the school, by irregular attendance, scanty equipment, and poorly prepared teachers who make but little headway in their unequal struggle against ignorance and outmoded habits of thought.

This Alabama community is more or less typical of the entire black belt. Thousands like it are inextricably intertwined in a system which reaches up through landlords, merchants, and bankers in such ways as to deter the state governments from attacking the evil, and even the benevolent Federal Department of Agriculture is bewildered by the problem. Professor Johnson sees little probability of its early solution.

B. B. KENDRICK

The Woman's College of the  
University of North Carolina

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE and FRANCES. *Rebel Destiny*. Pp. xvii, 366. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. \$3.00.

*Rebel Destiny* "describes scenes in the

lives of a Negro people living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana, South America," according to the Preface. Dr. and Mrs. Herskovits, who are particularly interested in tracing survivals and connections between New World Negroes of today and their African ancestors, consider these Negroes in Dutch Guiana important for study, because, having escaped slavery and lived in relative isolation, they, the writers think, may be expected to live and think as did the West Africans of the seventeenth century. The book, the authors continue, is not an ethnographic treatise (which will appear later as a monograph), but an attempt "to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes towards his own civilization and his own logic in explaining his customs . . . juxtaposed against the factors of outsiders—in this case ourselves, a man and woman who came as friendly whites."

The result is a very readable, interesting, and well-written log of the Herskovits' sojourn and travels among these Saramacca people. We start off with the authors on their first night in the bush and we go with them up the river. With them we attend a funeral, hear the corpse being questioned, see the ritual dancing, and are present when the body is buried. With them we continue on up the river, feel the perils of the dangerous rapids, visit the shrine of the river gods, and listen to songs and folk tales. We learn about *obia*, charms which derive their power from a supernatural force. We visit the court of the Chief, feel the drama of it, and catch some of the excitement when we watch the dancing of those possessed by the gods. We leave the authors only as they are taking a train for western civilization. All of which is to say that Dr. and Mrs. Herskovits carry their readers along with them in a vivid fashion.

The method of presenting the material is interesting. The juxtaposition of the writers against native culture and vice versa gives valuable data which most anthropologists have, but fail to publish. We like, too, the way we can hear the anthropologists' questions and the informants' answers. In the chapter on *Kunu*, we are with the authors every step of the way as they try to get at the meaning of this spirit

which seems to be a kind of vengeance of the gods. This method adds to the enjoyment in reading *Rebel Destiny*.

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

Yale University

HARTSHORNE, CHARLES, and PAUL WEISS (Eds.). *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Vol. 5: *Pragmatism and Pragmaticism*. Pp. xii, 455. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934. \$5.00.

"Lo, pragmatism!" shouted the social scientists and forthwith worshiped, thereby doing themselves mischief and damaging the none too fair name of the philosophy. For it was a perverted pragmatism—not pragmaticism—which they embraced; yet had they been more critical it might have sufficed. The true doctrine is basically this: "Consider what effects that might conceivably have practical bearings you conceive the object of your conception to have. Then your conception of those effects is the whole of your conception of the object." Peirce's careful development of this thesis is recommended to all pragmatist-scientists.

L. M. PAPP

University of Chicago

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