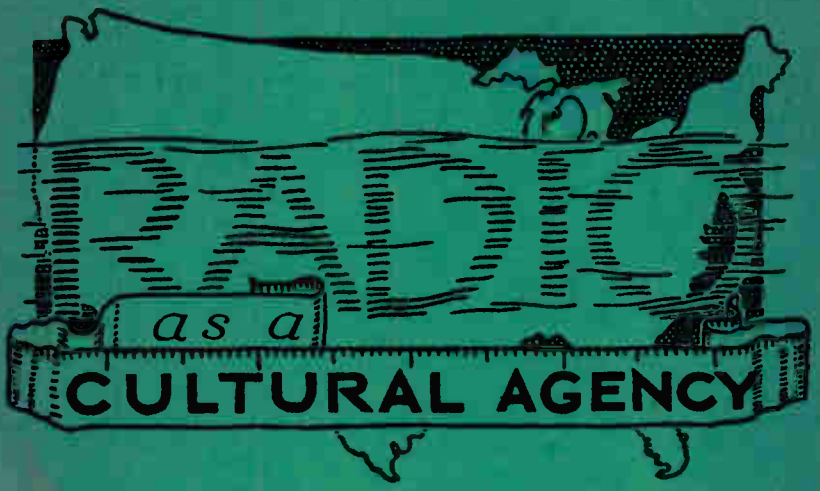

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TRACY F. TYLER,
Secretary

RADIO

AS A

CULTURAL AGENCY

PROCEEDINGS

OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON

THE USE OF RADIO AS A CULTURAL AGENCY IN A DEMOCRACY

Edited by

TRACY F. TYLER

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION BY RADIO
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1934

Neither the members of the National Committee on Education by Radio nor those of the Conference assume any responsibility for the views of individuals expressed in either the addresses or discussion which took place at the Conference. The attitude of the Conference is best expressed in the "Fundamental Principles Which Should Underlie American Radio Policy," which were adopted without a dissenting vote.

PREFACE

The National Committee on Education by Radio called together representatives of various interests in American life—of education, government, and civic affairs—to devote two days to a careful consideration of some of the fundamental problems of radio as a cultural agency in a democracy. The Conference was held in Washington, D. C., May 7-8, 1934.

The importance and necessity of such a conference of national leaders at that time can be pointed out easily. Along with other agencies and institutions of American life during the past few years, the radio has been subjected to a critical evaluation and questioning in the light of its service to society. More recently, in the opinion of leaders thruout the country, the problem of radio use and control has become a national issue. Uncertainty as to its effectiveness was growing. Presidential interest had been aroused. Congressional action was imminent.

It was fitting that such a conference should be sponsored by the National Committee on Education by Radio. The Committee is truly democratic in its organization and represents nine important national educational organizations. The Committee is not subordinate to any one of the nine organizations but is controled in its policies by a body consisting of a representative from each. Altho financed by the Payne Fund, the Committee determines its own policies and has never experienced interference in the conduct of its affairs. The National Committee on Education by Radio, of which both the service bureau and general headquarters are located in Washington, D. C., is not connected in any way with the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, with headquarters in New York City. The National Committee on Education by Radio, altho maintaining cordial relations with the various federal and state government departments, has no official relation to and is not controled by any of them. The Committee, therefore, is free, unprejudiced, and noncommercial in its connections and motives.

The one hundred leaders who accepted invitations to become members of the Conference devoted two days to addresses and

discussion and gave careful consideration both in general and group meetings to the vital issues of radio use and control in the United States. That their work was well done is amply proved by the press and other comment which has appeared since the adjournment of the Conference.

This book contains the text of the addresses, discussion, group and committee reports, and roster of the Conference. It is my hope and that of the National Committee on Education by Radio that thru a wide distribution of the proceedings of the Conference, the leaders in American life will secure valuable aid in planning the future of this powerful medium of mass communication and that as a result whatever cultural values radio broadcasting may prove to possess will accrue to the benefit of society at large.

TRACY F. TYLER,
Secretary and Research Director,
National Committee on Education by Radio.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
July 1, 1934

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE USE OF RADIO AS A CULTURAL AGENCY IN A DEMOCRACY HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION BY RADIO

MONDAY MORNING SESSION

MAY 7, 1934

The first session of the National Conference on The Use of Radio as a Cultural Agency in a Democracy, called by the National Committee on Education by Radio and held in the Auditorium of the Interior Building, Washington, D. C., convened at ten-fifteen o'clock, Dr. George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, presiding.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: It is my pleasant function as the presiding officer of the first session of this Conference to extend to all of you on behalf of the National Committee on Education by Radio a most cordial welcome. To this I wish to add the cordial good wishes of the Department of the Interior and the Office of Education for a successful meeting. I am very happy indeed that the Department of the Interior can afford to the members of the Conference a room in which to meet, and furthermore some evidence of our interest in this great problem of radio in education.

Most of us, I am quite sure, have a very definite feeling that several of these devices of the modern mechanical age, such as motion pictures and radio, are bound to change the map of education very much indeed before we have finished with them. Most of us, however, have a very indefinite idea of the exact way in which this is to take place. The organization or committee which can in any way point the direction that development ought to take will provide a great service for the whole field of American education. Sometimes I think that the mechanical developments in the field of radio and motion pictures are so rapid as to make it very difficult for those of us who are engaged in educational work to develop the basis on which those processes may be used in the classroom and in other ways for educational purposes. Nevertheless, we seem to

have reached a period when it does look more possible for us to make some plans for the use of those devices.

We are here this morning for the purpose of discussing what the function of the radio is and should be in the field of education as a cultural agency in a democracy. Such a discussion in America is quite to the point, because we are witnessing everywhere thruout the world at the present time democratic forms of government being replaced by some form of centralized action. Our problem, therefore, in America seems to be essentially different from what is necessarily true of a number of other countries which are today attempting to use the radio. In America, we have attempted to develop education largely thru local or at least state responsibility. We are here, however, presented with a device of education which can be and which should be used in much larger units than merely localized control of any kind, whether it be public or private. If, therefore, we are to get the benefits of radio in education, we must find some method of getting at it in a way so as to reach a large group of people rather than small groups. So we are presented with what seems almost like a paradox of attempting to retain local, state, and private control of educational efforts as we severally desire, and yet at the same time of having an opportunity to test the effectiveness of an institution which can and should operate over large areas and reach large groups of our population. In any form of centralized government the problem is simple; in a democracy it is very complicated.

The particular form that the question is to take for this morning's discussion has to do with the very heart of the question which we have before us. It is entitled: "A National Culture—By-Product or Objective of Preconceived (I have inserted this word myself) National Planning?" We are going to have several persons on the program this morning. They have been restricted to fifteen minutes. The discussion which we hope for has been confined, necessarily, to the members of the Conference, and you will be asked to participate at the close of the program this morning.

Speaking to the topic of "A National Culture—Is It By-Product or Objective of National Planning?" the first gentleman who has been asked to speak is Dr. Jerome Davis, Yale University Divinity School, a member of the executive committee of the American Sociological Society, and chairman of the executive committee, Religion and Labor Foundation. I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Davis.

THE RADIO, A COMMERCIAL OR AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY?

JEROME DAVIS

Yale University Divinity School

From an educational standpoint the eye and ear stimuli in any society are probably the most important of all the cultural forces which affect the human mind. Of all the eye and ear stimuli the radio is rapidly becoming one of the most important. Considering the fact that we have in the neighborhood of twenty million radios in use and that several individuals may be listening in on each set, the influence of the radio on the national mind is incalculable. In addition, whether we like it or not, it is very definitely beginning to play its part in molding the youth of the country. It, therefore, becomes of the utmost importance to make certain that the radio becomes a constructive, planned agency rather than a destructive force.

It is not my desire to minimize the many fine things which the radio has brought to America, not the least of which has been its contribution to the solidarity of the home. We all recognize its present value as a recreational agency and its contribution to the religious, the political, and the educational fields, including some fine musical programs. Yet, we must judge radio by its total program and its potential possibilities as a cultural force rather than by a few of its best features. When this is done, we at once recognize that radio in the United States has not measured up to its possibilities, even tho it probably is improving.

It is almost unanimously conceded that the present use of the radio in the United States is highly defective. The director of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, Levering Tyson, summarizes this widespread consensus when he says in his official report,[1] "If the American radio system continues as it has been going recently with commercialism rampant, nothing can save it." Harold A. Lafount, a member of the Federal Radio Commission in an article defending our present radio system, says: "Commercialism is the heart of broadcasting in the United States. What has education contributed to radio? Not one thing.

[1] Tyson, Levering, editor. *Radio and Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. p. 28-29.

What has commercialism contributed? Everything—the life blood of the industry."

The result of this commercialized base is that the radio must cater to the widest possible audience in order to make the most effective use of its advertiser's time. It has no interest in trying to elevate the public standards, solely in getting the maximum return for its advertisers. Dr. Lee De Forest, one of the pioneer inventors who made the radio possible, declares: "Nine-tenths of what one can hear is the continual drivel of second-rate jazz, sickening crooning by degenerate sax players, interlarded with blatant sales talk."

It is small wonder that religious and educational broadcasts have suffered severely. When the present radio law went into effect there were ninety-four educational institutions broadcasting. When these institutions were forced to compete with profit agencies for channel space, the Federal Radio Commission tended to decide the matter in favor of the commercial stations. Columbia University and the division of university extension of the Massachusetts State Department of Education both gave up radio broadcasting because of these difficulties.

The concrete obstacles in the way of educational broadcasts are clearly shown by the experience of the station at Connecticut State College at Storrs. For ten years the college has operated a radio station in an effort to develop an educational service. Inadequate power and radio interference have vitiated every attempt to develop the work. For ten years this station has sought to secure the right to operate a more powerful station and one free from commercial interference. For ten years this college has continued to broadcast programs into the whistle-ridden channels, vainly hoping that sometime provision would be made for state educational broadcasting needs. Last year the interference from the commercial station CNRO during the night periods was so great that educational broadcasts could not be heard one mile from the transmitter at Storrs. The absolute futility of sending out costly programs to batter weakly against an impregnable wall of interference made necessary the discontinuance of all evening educational programs. This is illustrative of what has been happening to educational stations all over the country.

While some space has been freely offered to religious agencies for broadcasting purposes, the decision as to who can or who can-

not use the air, the amount of time, and at which hours a program shall be given rests finally with the executive of a commercial radio company whose primary purpose must of necessity be to secure the largest amounts of profits. Usually the subordinate in the radio station who has this responsibility is not fitted either by experience or training for such important decisions.

It is not my purpose to criticize or to blame the executives of the various commercial radio corporations. Given the present system they may be doing as well as could be expected, but the question remains whether or not it should be continued. From a sociological standpoint there is unanimity of opinion that the radio should be used widely to educate the American people. Indeed, adult education becomes almost unintelligible, even humorous, if the radio is omitted from consideration. It seems probable that the radio could be used with powerful effect in every high school and college in the country. It is scarcely possible that this will be done so long as the present system continues. Similarly there is no question from the standpoint of religious education that the radio is one of the most important potential cultural agencies. But on the whole what is it now doing? It seems probable that, considering all the programs, it is actually promoting negative values.

Children are told that when they drink Cocomalt they are cooperating with Buck Rogers and his heroine Wilma. When they don't take this drink they belong to the Kane and Ardala Club who are the villains of the thrilling radio tales. I am not questioning the quality of Cocomalt, but the outrageous ethics and educational effects of this advertising on the child mind.

It is safe to say that both the American sociologists and the educational, progressive forces among the Protestant religious bodies would agree that it is certain that the radio could be used far more effectively than it now is. If it were possible to plan talks for the younger generation on an educational instead of a profit basis, the dramatic adventures of historical figures in American life—those who have really contributed something to the welfare of the nation and the world—could be told. Unfortunately desire for profits and sales is the chief drive; therefore, producers believe it profitable to whet the appetite of the child mind for excitement. Children listen day after day to the same dubious adventures of

Tom Mix and Bobby Benson and anything more worthwhile seems drab by comparison.

Cecil and Sally, Kate Smith, and similar inanities must drive off the air far more valuable educational broadcasts all because they appeal to the lowest common denominator of the people. Jazz of a debased sort with "crooning" which recently received the well-merited rebuke of Cardinal O'Connell are given almost unlimited time, while the more valuable educational broadcasts are debarred or restricted to unimportant hours.

Now, in answer to all this it may be said, "Yes, but the American people are getting what they want." This answer is open to serious doubt. The scientific study by Kirkpatrick[2] showed a universal dislike of jazz. Fifty-one people tuned out in disgust from Edna Wallace Hopper. But even if the masses of the people were satisfied, what of it? It is my contention that we should at least have proportional representation in radio programs. If the majority were to wish the air filled with jazz let them have it, but why not require that at least a stipulated part of the total desirable time shall be used by those who desire better educational material?

Furthermore, if we are going to base our radio programs on the majority demands of the American people, this involves a clear mandate to eliminate advertising announcements. It is not necessary to detail the exaggerated, even actually spurious claims which are constantly being made, but rather to ask why should we permit constant advertising interruptions at all? It is conceded on all sides that the public does not want it. The study by Dr. Kirkpatrick shows the resentment of the listeners. If a device could be invented which would automatically silence the radio for the exact time that advertising was on the air, it would be used almost universally. It is unfortunate that the American mind which is being bombarded on all sides by eye and ear stimuli of a commercial nature should now have to permit even the home to be invaded by sales talk for automobiles, cough remedies, chewing gum, dental pastes, gasoline, breakfast foods, fur coats, Crazy Water Crystals, cigars and cigarets, and so on *ad infinitum*.

It seems clear to almost everyone who is not himself either directly or indirectly a beneficiary of the present commercialized radio that some change should be made in the present setup.

[2] Kirkpatrick, Clifford. *Report of a Research into the Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners*. St. Paul: Webb Book Publishing Co., 1933. 63 p.

While there may be wide divergence of opinion as to what system should be adopted there are many indications that the English system is at least preferable to that in the United States. A great deal of the material that we read about British broadcasting is propaganda. To compare the United States program with that of England without allowing for many inherent differences is hardly fair. To secure a really comparable geographic area we should contrast the programs of Europe as a whole with those of the United States. But on a percentage basis the English radio appears to be vastly superior to our own. Sixty-two percent of the national broadcasting in Great Britain is musical, and of this nearly 17 percent is serious music; educational broadcasts comprise 22.8 percent; 4.7 percent is devoted to religion; 5.2 percent consists of good wholesome programs designed especially for children.

Contrast this with the programs in the United States. According to the Federal Radio Commission's report in 1932, of the total hours used by 582 stations only 12.5 percent was used to broadcast educational programs. This is only a little over half as much as in Great Britain. Furthermore it is exceedingly doubtful whether the content of what is called "educational" material in the United States would come up to that standard in Great Britain. I have in my hand an educational booklet mailed out as a matter of routine in England to the radio listeners. It contains 48 pages with 19 pictures and 28 charts and is, of course, free. Nothing like it is used on such a wide scale in the United States.

It is sometimes charged that controversial issues are debarred from British programs. That this is false is conclusively shown in the January 31, 1934 issue of the *Listener,* published by the British Broadcasting Corporation. In 1933, for instance, controversial discussions took place covering fascism, communism, imperialism, Russia, and Karl Marx, as well as debates on the drink question, betting, blood sports, the press, and the British educational system. At the height of the controversy over the Manchurian question, British listeners heard on the same evening statements of both the Japanese and the Chinese points of view. During the autumn of 1933 eleven talks on political issues were broadcast by leaders of the government and the opposition. Each speaker was allowed to say whatever he pleased about the remarks of his opponent.

If it is undesirable or impossible to establish in the United States a system similar to that in Great Britain, in any case immediate steps should be taken to change the present setup. Various alternatives are possible. It is conceivable that the federal government could set up a corporation using federal funds which would compete with the private radio chains. It might be desirable for the federal government to set up a fund to duplicate money advanced by individual states so that each state might, if it desired, have a state-owned station with leased wires to every college in its territory. Commercial or other stations could then tap in to provide wider distribution.

Another alternative would be to have the federal government tax the amount of time devoted to advertising on the radio. Each advertiser might be permitted to state the name of his company and use four additional words without charge to mention his product. Any additional advertising time up to thirty seconds could be charged for at the rate of 25 percent of the total paid by the advertiser to the radio broadcasting company. If additional time from thirty seconds to one minute were used, the tax could be 50 percent. From one minute to two minutes might be charged for at the rate of 75 percent, and anything over two minutes, 100 percent. The exact amount of these charges are, of course, not important, but the merits of some such general plan should be carefully weighed. The proceeds of this taxation would go to a National Educational Radio Commission appointed by the President to serve without pay. It should be composed of at least fifteen members representing all parts of the country and nationally recognized for their ability and impartiality in this field. It should include all shades of political belief. The money taken in from taxation should be used not to pay the broadcasting companies, but to pay for the educational talent and for the promotion of educational broadcasting in general. At the same time the private broadcasting companies should be required to set aside without charge at least 20 percent of their time for such educational broadcasts. The exact hours for educational broadcasts should be determined by the National Educational Radio Commission and should be mandatory on the broadcasting companies as one of the conditions for granting their licenses.

It can be seen at once that this plan retains the present American system of broadcasting but that it modifies it in response to

the desires of the people. In the first place, it would reduce advertising to a minimum—something which is devoutly desired by nearly every radio listener—yet it would still permit companies to sponsor programs and advertise their wares. In the second place, it would enormously increase the time available for educational broadcasts and would provide the money to ensure that they were done well.

Whether or not this plan or some other is adopted, it is of tremendous importance that all at this Conference should join in supporting a common program. We should then unite on a plan for securing its adoption. The danger of conferences of this kind is that we may present many fine plans, disagree among ourselves, and then adjourn to leave the total situation almost exactly as it was. There is far less danger of our uniting behind the wrong plan than there is in our permitting the present defective, inadequate, and commercialized setup to continue until it is so cemented into popular usage, into established law and dominant special interest, that it cannot be modified.

So important is the question of education by radio that the very future of America may be at stake in our decisions. We cannot permanently achieve the maximum social progress in the United States if we permit the radio to be used by the special interests solely for private profit. The power now in control is, in effect, commercial monopoly, not so much because of unfair treatment of educational interests by the Federal Radio Commission, but simply because the educational interests are not organized to carry on the costly warfare waged by the commercial interests. There is no hope for the small college station in a system where the criteria for fairness evolve from commercial competition. What hope is there for educational broadcasting so long as the phrase "public interest, convenience, and necessity" is interpreted as "commercial interest, convenience, and necessity"?

The tentative suggestions which I have made are to stimulate your thought. For myself, I am willing to stand wholeheartedly behind any program which the National Committee on Education by Radio will agree to sponsor. Let us recognize the tremendous importance of this issue. Let us sacrifice our own individual preferences if that be necessary, uniting in a common program, and then take action so that the radio may become a genuine cultural, planned force in the future as it has not been in the past.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: Discussion of the topic of the morning will be continued by Dr. Thomas E. Benner, dean of the college of education, University of Illinois.

RADIO AND THE CULTURAL DEPRESSION

THOMAS E. BENNER

Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois

National cultures have their depressions just as do national business conditions. In fact it begins to be clear that a sickly national culture made possible the extremes of stupid, short-sighted, or ruthless individualism which accentuated the great business depression from which we now seem about to emerge. It is equally clear that full recovery from American economic difficulties and the prevention of an early recurrence of them depends in large measure on what we can do to bring our national culture nearer to a state of decent health.

Even so brief an introduction should make clear that the culture of which I am speaking is not an intellectual or spiritual varnish chiefly of importance in giving the individual a certain polish. It is more than a matter of the pronunciation of his A's, his success in choosing the right fork at dinner, or even the number of classical allusions he can recognize in one of Milton's poems.

The appraisal of a national culture, as the phrase will be used in this paper, involves consideration of the nation's commonly accepted ideals and of the extent to which these ideals are harmoniously interrelated. It involves, furthermore, consideration of the effectiveness of the nation's social machinery for working toward these ideals and, particularly in a democracy, the flexibility of that social machinery when confronted by new conditions. Similarly, the appraisal of the culture of an individual involves consideration of his ideals, the degree of their harmonious interrelation and the extent to which they are expressed in his interests and activities.

Under the peculiar circumstances of our earlier development as a nation, as several writers have pointed out, a national philosophy of materialism was developed which tended to blind us to the striking difference between sturdy, self-reliant individuals and brutal, self-seeking individualists by classifying both as examples of a desirable "rugged individualism." These writers pointed out

that for two centuries or more each increase in the mileage of roads and canals, in the acreage of land under cultivation, in the size of crops, in the output of industry, or in the population of county, state, or nation was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the conditions of human living. It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that the nation should have jumped to the conclusion that cultural progress could be measured in these crude and indirect terms.

It is painful to recall some of the extremes to which this preoccupation with material change led the nation. There were, for example, the quarrels between chambers of commerce of rival towns and cities over returns of the federal census. The community which had attained or seemed on the way to attaining a greater total population than its neighbor congratulated itself on its superior rate of "progress" altho during the same period its standards of citizenship may have developed alarming symptoms of decay. Regardless of everything else the town which grew 30 percent in population between 1910 and 1920 was better than one which grew only 10 percent.

This was the greatest nation in the world because it had the largest number of telephones. New York City was the greatest city because it had the tallest buildings. It became progressively greater when the Chrysler and the Empire State buildings added higher peaks to the skyline. On the lunatic fringe appeared the mounting records of marathon dancers and flagpole sitters to provide a final *reductio ad absurdum.*

This popular point of view found its most dramatic expression in the great world's fair which is soon to reopen in Chicago. Tho this fair was given the title, "A Century of Progress," it was planned from the outset, with a few conspicuous exceptions, as a pageant of material changes in which the cultural complications which have resulted received little or no recognition.

Unfortunately this popular worship of materialism had also its direct parallel in the intellectual world where its expression has been most strikingly shown in the history of our colleges and universities during the past sixty-five years. Altho professional schools were in existence much earlier, it is within that brief span that there has occurred the development of the American graduate school. The purpose of this school was from its outset almost exclusively the outward extension of the boundaries of human

knowledge thru scientific research. Literally thousands of writers have emphasized the dependence of progress upon research. There have been a few, however, to point out that, while without research there can be little progress, it is equally true that even in the presence of an intensive program of research, progress has not been assured until the results of that research have been coordinated and humanized—that is, woven into patterns of philosophy.

It was unfortunate that the American graduate school came into being as an upward extension of the liberal arts college which in its earlier days performed a certain unifying function in the education of the young men and women who came to its doors. Whatever may have been the defects of its program, it did in that respect make definite contributions to the development of a national culture. When, however, it began to grow upward into a graduate school primarily interested in research and when the heads of these research departments thus became responsible both for cultural education and for specialized preparation for research, the downfall of the American liberal arts colleges as an agency for the development of sound American culture was assured. Specialization and super-specialization of subjectmatter in the liberal arts college went forward at a tremendously rapid pace. In the period between 1884-1885 and 1904-1905, the number of elective courses offered in the college of letters of the University of Wisconsin, for example, had jumped from 2 to 46 in English, from 2 to 32 in chemistry, from 2 to 28 in history, and from 0 to 33 in economics. The same pattern of increasing specialization was rapidly adopted by the independent colleges. By 1920 there remained almost no vestige of anything which could truly be called liberal education in the United States as far as American colleges were concerned, and, furthermore, the influence of this increasing specialization at higher levels had extended itself to the American high school whose teachers the American college had trained. As a result, the high school also was no longer as effective an agency for contributing to the development of national culture as it might otherwise have been.

Since the World War, the dangers of this intellectual materialism have begun to receive recognition. The resulting movement for the restoration of liberal education has been still further accelerated by the revelations of the depression. American secondary schools, colleges, and universities are rapidly awakening to

the fact that educational programs, while maintaining and increasing their provisions for research, must provide also the machinery for coordinating and humanizing this research and for constantly improving their contributions to national culture in the light of this interpretation.

Only two of the broad streams of influence which have contributed to bringing about our cultural depression have been mentioned, but these will serve to indicate what have been its chief characteristics. Fundamentally, there has been an emphasis on centrifugal tendencies without adequate provision for a corresponding and vitally important emphasis on needed centripetal forces.

There has been failure to note that hand in hand with the processes of specialization, without which neither industrial nor intellectual advances would be possible, there must go a carefully considered and continuously adjusted program of coordination. Otherwise these intellectual and industrial advances will again and again find themselves blocked by the unforeseen accumulation of the unused waste-products or by-products of their own individualism. The very freedom of scientists and industrialists to go their own individualistic ways is contingent on their readiness to do the social planning which alone can keep open the paths they wish to follow.

Slowly there is developing among the American people a recognition that agreement upon practical remedies is always dependent upon agreement on the underlying ideals. It is dependent, that is, upon the state of the national culture. Public education has begun to face this issue and in so doing has been forced to recognize that any adequate solution must include provisions for adult education as well as for the education of childhood and youth.

As far as the latter groups are concerned, there is none who questions that this task of readjusting and reviving our national culture is a matter of grave public concern which it would be unthinkable to entrust to private, commercial interests. But the same principle holds as definitely with regard to adult education directed to the same ends. This also is fundamentally a matter of public concern which the nation cannot afford to leave to the tender mercies of private agencies operated primarily for profit.

Since radio is the most effective and the most economical means of providing this needed adult education for the rebuilding of the

national culture, as well as an important means of enriching our programs of public education for childhood and youth, *it is obvious that some provision should early be made for recapturing for public use under public control radio channels sufficiently broad and well chosen to make possible the carrying forward of the program which this implies. The present almost complete surrender of the public interest in radio to private ownership is a striking example of the severity of our cultural depression.*

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: Next on the program we shall hear from Dr. James A. Moyer, director, division of university extension, Massachusetts State Department of Education.

ADULT EDUCATION BY RADIO

JAMES A. MOYER

Director of University Extension, Massachusetts State Department of Education

I am speaking first of a section of the United States, and then later I shall discuss educational broadcasting in general.

Education by radio has been a pioneer activity in Massachusetts. It is well known that the first collegiate broadcasting station was in Massachusetts, at Tufts College, and Massachusetts has the distinction of having organized the first university extension courses by radio with provision for homestudy with the aid of a syllabus supplemented by written assignments and leading to certification—really only a variation of the well-known correspondence method of instruction.

There was a time when these courses by radio were so much in demand that there were enrolments from nearly all the states east of the Rocky Mountains and north and south from Newfoundland and Labrador to Florida and Texas. In one course more than 600 were enroled for certification, and the listeners were heard from in European countries. Such were the glowing prospects when the "air" first became available for broadcasting education. I was most touched by the letter from the mother of a family living in an isolated farmhouse near Osborne, Ohio, which was somewhat as follows: "I want to enrol in the course you are broadcasting. It is such a fine, generous offer for folks like me who simply can't get away from home and yet who dread the thought of stagnating because of isolation."

It was not uncommon to note encouraging headlines in the newspapers such as these: "Radio May Make of Rural School a Modern University in Miniature"; "Radio's Greatest Field is in Popular Education"; "Culture by Radio"; "A Radio University"; "A College Education by Radio"; "Radio—The Modern Educator"; "Progress in Adult Education by Radio in the South"; "Possibilities of Radio in Public Schools Are Limitless"; "Ignorance Now Difficult With Radio Schools"; "Radio and Cultural Education"; "Radio Democratizes Higher Learning"; "People's Radio University"; "Extending Cultural Education by Radio"; "Radio Colleges";"Educational Democracy by Radio"; "College Radio Courses"; "Great Educational Institutions To Educate Millions Instead of Thousands by Radio."

So far as I can see we have drifted into a mire. Educational broadcasting has not made good in this country. The glowing prospects of five or six years ago have not materialized. For example, in 1927 Merlin H. Aylesworth, president of the National Broadcasting Company, had fond hopes for the future accomplishments in radio education.[3] He said radio broadcasting has thrown the door wide open to those who would raise the level of national culture by greater educational opportunities and to the millions who yearn for some of the advantages of higher education.

The problem of adult education is to reach the adult in his home rather than to bring him to the classroom. From this standpoint radio broadcasting can be made the greatest agency of public education. Now what are the reasons that we have failed to give the "radio public," as it is called, the cultural advantages that seemed so nearly within our grasp a few years ago? Fundamentally there has been lack of planned cooperation between those having the disposition of available time for educational broadcasting and the tax-supported institutions that should be most interested in making available to all the people the best possible cultural advantages. In my connections with state universities and land-grant colleges, I have heard a great deal about taking the university to the people where they live—taking the college to the people. Most of the tax-supported institutions have failed to make the most of the opportunities that were theirs by the means of radio broadcasting. The

[3] *Boston Herald*, March 4, 1927.

policy seems to have been to spend hundreds of thousands for vocational demonstration services—a very expensive method—and a few thousands for technical operation and next to nothing for talent. Getting along with free services in educational broadcasting has been about as successful as university extension and other extra-mural courses would be if given on a volunteer basis. A fundamental mistake was here made in the early days. At first, because of the novelty, really good programs were prepared with unusual care. It was a mark of distinction to be invited to give a radio broadcast, and the best talent was obtainable on a no-fee basis. But as the novelty wore off there was less preparation and the lesser lights had to be substituted. As it is now collegiate programs are not as good as they should be. Comparison of the lecture-work over the radio in the United States with the educational "talks" of the British Broadcasting Corporation puts the American product in a very inferior position.

Lack of any sense of showmanship, too much "academic self-consciousness," too many inferior lecturers, and inadequate financial support are the chief reasons why the radio programs of collegiate institutions have reached fewer and fewer loud speakers.

Yet in the early days of radio most of the broadcasting was controled by collegiate institutions. Gradually the commercial broadcasting stations expanded their programs until they had occupied nearly every worthwhile air channel. Collegiate institutions lost ground steadily by continuing to put on programs by inferior artists and lecturers, to which a discriminating public simply would not listen.

Our educational institutions would never have had to fight to retain their air channels if their programs had been comparable to those of the English tax-supported radio system which broadcasts only the very finest of educational "talks" and musical and dramatic programs which carry no advertising.

Yet despite the present subordinate position of educational institutions in the broadcasting field, there is a growing insistence on the part of listeners for more serious and better programs. They are becoming weary of nothing but crooners, middle-aged gags, jazz orchestras, and more crooners.

The time is at hand for constructive efforts toward the development of new educational programs, planned for the general public

by people who know what the public is interested in, and most important, by individuals who know how to "put it over."

A great stride forward would be to place more and more responsibility for such educational broadcasts upon librarians, newspapermen, magazine editors, public officials, and professional artists of the stage and concert hall.

The issue resolves itself into a question of whether or not the American public is going to continue to be hoodwinked by commercial radio interests. Education by radio should be the objective of national planning, not the incidental by-product of private enterprise. Only by adequate public control of radio time will this be brought about.

The director of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education stated recently that there is an apparent tendency toward planned radio programs—that is, the planning of radio programs in an evening or during a week that will put together broadcasts of the same type. For example, from 6 to 8 o'clock in an evening for a given station there would be only dramatic presentations; from 8 to 10 popular music; from 10 to 11 political addresses, and the like. This is a commendable tendency, and should be encouraged. It may be significant also of an effort to promote planned cultural broadcasting to take the place of the present jumbled programs that listeners get from every commercial station, evening after evening. Tax-supported broadcasting stations have always accepted this principle in making program arrangements. This effort at planning on the part of the commercial stations marks, therefore, possibly a recognition of the excellence of the program planning of noncommercial stations, and an effort to follow a good *lead*.

This effort at program planning should have the support of those who realize the objectionable, unnecessarily exciting types of dramatic presentations called "dramatic sketches," that are now broadcast from many commercial stations during the early evening hours when young children are likely to be attentive listeners. Exciting dramatic broadcasts during the early evening hours have many of the objectionable features of motion pictures of similar subjectmatter. Dramatization unsuitable for children, as presented in motion pictures, is, however, much more easily controled than the broadcasting of similar subjects, for the reason that children can be sent to motion picture theaters only when

suitable or at least the less objectionable kind of pictures are on the program. Objectionable dramatizations that come by radio broadcasting cannot be easily avoided, especially when jumbled programs come daily from practically all broadcasting stations.

We may as well realize that opportunities for educational broadcasting, as now made available to educational institutions by the commercial stations, are not satisfactory arrangements for either the stations or the educational institutions. The commercial stations must necessarily have misgivings about putting on the air at their expense the type of educational program that is currently offered to them by educational institutions, the services for educational broadcasting being usually those for which no compensation is given. In this connection there is another interesting fact, and that is the diversity of opinion among educators as to how educational broadcasting can be best arranged. There are some who believe it is necessary that separate channels be set aside for the exclusive use during the day and evening time for tax-supported educational institutions or by departments of education of the federal or state governments; and, on the other hand, there are those who are convinced that for the absolutely free expression of views, especially political, it is necessary for education and similar services to have a definite time allotment from the commercial stations.

Doubtless there is merit in the contentions of both these groups, and probably the method proposed by the first group is more suitable for some parts of the country, while in many of the eastern states, the plan of a percentage allotment of time on all radio channels would be more acceptable than that requiring the establishment of radio broadcasting stations by the federal government, located according to district or regional planning.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: Our discussion will be continued by Mr. Harold B. McCarty, director of WHA, Wisconsin State Station, Madison, Wis.

THE WISCONSIN RADIO PLAN IN PRACTISE

H. B. McCARTY

Program Director, WHA, Wisconsin State Station

Our Conference began this morning with a stimulating talk on the relation of radio and government, and I suspect that that issue

will be before us constantly in our discussions here. I suspect also that my presence on this program is explained by the fact that I represent a broadcasting station which is probably more truly governmentally-owned and controled than any other in this country. I propose, therefore, to report briefly on some developments by this station, WHA in Madison, and the other state-owned station of Wisconsin, WLBL in Stevens Point.

On the front page of a Washington newspaper three days ago there was a heading like this: "President Makes Plea To Stop Cry of 'Wolf'." On the editorial page of another newspaper the same day was an article explaining an attack on the Administration.

These are merely incidents in our daily life. But they are more than that. They are examples of the eternal struggle to avoid misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Always there is that struggle toward a common meeting place of minds. In that struggle only one thing will help: complete freedom of discussion, chiefly, in these days, by press and radio.

In the case of the President it will probably be the radio. He himself may stop the "wolf" cries by having one of his heart-to-heart radio talks with the American people. Very shortly now we may expect the President, in the quiet of his study or in the hush of some solemn occasion, to have a friendly, confidential chat with a hundred million people. When that time comes doubts and fears will fade as if by magic. Confidence will be renewed—or at least, misunderstanding will be removed. There will be no mistaking the President's meaning. With sharp accuracy his thoughts and plans will be conveyed thru the combination of his strong, confident voice and his simple, straightforward language. Apprehension may not be removed but confusion will be swept aside. The people will know exactly where the President stands and what he aims to do. And the President, by the reaction which follows in a few hours after his talk, will know what the people want. Once again, as on the eve of the bank crisis in March 1933, understanding and solidarity will be achieved.

Might not this be one of the supreme services of radio—this spreading of understanding between people and public officials; this clarification of vision on common problems; this integration of people and purpose?

In Wisconsin we recognize the possibilities of radio as an agency of university extension, as a means of supplementing classroom

work in elementary schools, as an instrument of adult education, and as a general cultural medium. But we see also possibilities of a great service in developing an informed citizenship, a service which only the radio can perform.

It may be too much to hope that radio can produce a reasoning electorate with responsible, responsive officials. It may be too much to hope for but it isn't too much to work for. In Wisconsin we have made a start. We have begun to build what might be the modern equivalent of the old New England town meetings or the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The state has provided all political parties and candidates for state office with free time on the air in generous portions to reach the people with their message. All parties? Yes, all parties that qualify for inclusion on the state ballot. Socialist? Yes. Communist? Yes, the Communist party has been given time on the air. And there is no censorship by the station! The only restraint is the regular reminder that good taste and gentlemanly conduct are expected of all speakers.

How can such political freedom be attained? Obviously not from a privately-owned radio station. That is why Wisconsin owns and operates two state stations and seeks more adequate facilities. Complete freedom of discussion in politics and in education can come only thru public agency supported by public funds.

Briefly, here is the plan:

For a period of four weeks preceding both the primary and election campaigns of 1932, programs in the interests of political parties and candidates were broadcast twice daily five days a week. All political parties and groups appearing on the official state ballot participated. Conditions governing the use of the state stations for political purposes were arranged at a preliminary meeting by representatives of the stations and political groups. Time on the air was divided equitably and a schedule was determined by the drawing of lots. It was agreed that officials designated by each party or group should have complete charge of all programs for that group, selecting speakers and apportioning time. It was agreed also that talks should be limited to a discussion of state or national issues and that there would be no censorship of any material by the radio stations.

Of course there were whispered warnings of great danger in such a radical plan. However, we have in Wisconsin the heritage of a great liberal political tradition and we have a brilliant intel-

lectual liberal in Dr. Glenn Frank, president of the University. Conditions favor experiment, and the fears proved unfounded. We have, then, a public forum that is truly a forum in the public interest. Here, for the first time, the extent of a political campaign on the radio is not dependent upon the size of the campaign fund. Here is a significant step in solving the problem of excessive use of money in political campaigns. Here, for the first time, the minority has equality of opportunity for expression.

This political forum is just one part of the program of governmental service. Other features include:

Legislative broadcasts—During the last two sessions of the legislature special broadcasts were made from the assembly chamber—the inaugural, the governor's first message, his budget message, and other events. Then each day at one o'clock an analysis and discussion of current bills was presented by radio. Proponents and opponents of legal measures were given equal opportunity of being heard.

State Capitol visits—Each week there is a broadcast from the Capitol in which a state official or department head is interviewed. He is asked to tell frankly what he is doing right at the moment, that very day, in the interests of the people. This program is designed to supplement the study of civics and citizenship in the schools, to humanize and personalize our state government. By this means government ceases to be the intangible thing it commonly seems to be. You can see the possibilities here for creating and cementing a close relationship between the people and their state officials.

Informative, noncontroversial talks—A fourth type of government service makes available to the people the vast store of factual information gathered and disseminated by such agencies as the department of agriculture and markets, the state conservation commission, the board of health, the highway commission, and others.

These are governmental services, most of them possible only thru a governmental radio station. They constitute our approach to the problem of integration and citizenship. Apart from these, there are a great number of specifically educational features. In Wisconsin, as elsewhere, there is too much lag between investigation and application. Investigation is far ahead. We need closeness of communication to bring research results and application meth-

ods together. This is where radio comes into the service of education. Under the Wisconsin plan for state radio service, the intelligence, culture, and inspiration centering in the University are not to be confined to the campus. These educational advantages ought not to be available exclusively to the young men and women who can afford residence at the University. The state stations have experimented with the broadcasting of regular courses from the classroom, two especially: music appreciation and current economic problems. No university credit is given, by the way, to radio students in these courses.

More specifically, for the many boys and girls of school age who are not in school, there are courses of instruction in the *Wisconsin College of the Air*. Estimates place the number of young people out of school and out of work in Wisconsin at 120,000 to 140,000—a tremendous social problem in the making. For these people, or for some of them, there are regular courses of instruction in agriculture, literature and leisure activities, home economics, general science, and social problems of today.

Then there is the *Wisconsin School of the Air*, now completing its third year. This series offers ten weekly programs to supplement the work in graded schools of the state. It takes to remote country schools educational opportunities such as they could never otherwise enjoy. It gives training in special fields such as music and art. It syndicates the best teaching talent of the state.

These specific educational features are entirely aside from many programs of general adult education. And then we have not even mentioned the daily programs of service to farm listeners and homemakers. These are features well established over a period of years as an essential part of agricultural and home economics extension. The farm program gives practical help, latest research activities, and the like. Thru the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and Markets latest market information as received by direct wire from the United States Department of Agriculture is broadcast by WLBL several times daily. The value of this service to farmers is recognized by the federal government in reinstating and maintaining the reports after they had been discontinued as an economy measure last year. Like the farm period, the homemakers' program is a daily feature giving information on the care and conduct of the modern home.

These are a few of the developments by the state radio stations of Wisconsin. Some of them are types of service possible only thru a public agency. They require a freedom of discussion and interpretation which commercial enterprise does not give. For further development and effectiveness, they require more adequate facilities than we now have in Wisconsin. Even broadcasting jointly, the two stations cover only a part of the state. Both stations are limited to daylight hours and insufficient power. Wisconsin will not be satisfied until it has secured from the federal authorities permission to use a channel and build a radio system capable of reaching every citizen with sufficient strength for comfortable listening *day and night.*

From our experience, we are not in a position to recommend complete and exclusive government ownership and control of radio. Ultimately, however, a forward-looking, statesmanlike policy of public good must bring changes in the present practise of distributing radio facilities. There is something structurally wrong with a system that releases the limited, natural radio resources of the nation for private exploitation without adequate reservation for true public service in citizenship, education, and culture. Surely the weaknesses of the present system will not be perpetuated.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: Our final speaker this morning will be a gentleman who is a very active member of the National Committee on Education by Radio and editor of *The Journal of the National Education Association*, Mr. Joy Elmer Morgan.

A NATIONAL CULTURE—BY-PRODUCT OR OBJECTIVE OF NATIONAL PLANNING?

JOY ELMER MORGAN

Editor, Journal of the National Education Association, and Chairman, National Committee on Education by Radio

I would like first to pay a word of tribute to the Payne Fund which has made possible the activities of the National Committee on Education by Radio, and which had made considerable contribution to the development of interest in radio even before the National Committee came onto the scene. I doubt that there has been at any other point in the history of this Republic an

expenditure of a similar amount of money so significant and prophetic as that which the Payne Fund has contributed to a development which is so new that the great majority of our people have quite overlooked its significance. At a time when the nation as a whole has been almost totally blind to the effects of this new institution, when governments, state and national, have been peculiarly neglectful and unappreciative of the significance of radio as an instrument of education and culture, the Payne Fund has helped to keep alive a great purpose and a great ideal. I have faith to believe that sometime, if not now, the nation will awaken to the significance of the program which the National Committee on Education by Radio has been urging and that these years of pioneer beginnings will eventually be crowned with results of the utmost importance for American life and culture.

I would like also to pay tribute to my colleagues on the National Committee on Education by Radio who without compensation, without thought of advantage to themselves, often at great sacrifice, have carried on during these difficult years when we have had not only the uncertainties of a pioneer development but in addition the difficulties which grow out of the confusion created by the collapse and chaos of our economic system. I would like also to extend a word of greeting and to pay tribute to you who have come here today to consider the place which this new instrument of radio should have in our national culture.

The preceding speaker, Mr. McCarty, director of the Wisconsin State Radio Station, has described the activities of that station on behalf of a great state. As an opportunity for human betterment I would rather have the management of a radio broadcasting station in any American state than the presidency of its university. The influence of radio on the masses of the people is immediate and intimate. When it comes into their homes with the high purpose and fine spirit and the strict confidence which a wisely managed public institution inspires, it may become a mighty power for lifting the level of enlightenment so that every human institution will be better in consequence.

Our subject this morning refers to national planning. There is a popular fallacy in certain quarters that national planning represents an effort to force people or events into some preconceived mold. The exact opposite is true. It is the spirit and purpose of planning to get at the facts, the fundamental needs and wishes,

and on the basis of those fundamental needs and wishes to work out step by step the procedure needed to realize them so that all the factors which enter into the situation will be brought together in a harmonious whole. No planning is preconceived. We might as well speak of preconceived growth of a tree. Planning has its own internal laws and the planner seeks to discover those laws and to apply them, just as young Charles W. Eliot has spent years studying the development of this city and laying out plans which will look forward several generations to make sure that it will be the best and most beautiful city that human ingenuity can provide. No plan is final and it is a part of the technic of planning that provision is made for constant and continuing adaptation and replanning as new conditions develop. Our automobiles are planned. They represent a tremendous coordination of artistic and engineering skill. They have been replanned several times within the brief history of automobiling and they are still being replanned. That process will go on and should go on until we eventually arrive at the most perfect mechanism for transportation that the human mind can conceive.

We are asked this morning to discuss the question as to whether a national culture is a by-product or an objective of national planning. The discussion of culture in any connection is difficult because it is one of those words which means different things to different people and which applies to values that are somewhat intangible. Were I to talk about such a product as the automobile, for example, that is something definite and tangible. We can think of it in terms of its separate parts. Everyone knows what those parts are—that it has an engine, chassis, steering apparatus, seats, and so on. We know what those parts are expected to do and each of us can estimate in his own way their effectiveness and the effect of the whole mechanism. We can form our own answers to such questions as these: Is it dependable? Is it safe? Is it beautiful? Is it economical?

When we begin to talk about culture we cannot be so sure of the meaning which others will attach to our words. To some it means manners; to others it means knowledge of certain things which everyone is supposed to know. To still others it is synonymous with civilization. Certainly there must be in all culture worthy of the name the elements of taste and appreciation. My idea of a definition of culture is a concept which includes the entire

life of a people insofar as that life is undebatably excellent and happy. We need not ask that anyone shall agree with us as to the meaning of culture but we do have a right to ask him in the name of culture to do what he sincerely thinks in his own heart is best. If we can get the masses of the people to dedicate themselves to do what in their own hearts they think best, there will be advance and growth. If they will ask themselves the simple questions: What is true? What is right? What is good? What is beautiful? and will seek to answer those questions in their own way, the outcome will be a national culture in the truest and finest sense.

The first axiom in that process of building a culture—and a culture is always in the process of building—is freedom of thought and freedom of speech. That freedom is by all odds the greatest achievement of modern times. Nothing in our mechanical civilization with all its great inventions compares in significance with the idea of freedom of speech and thought. It is the foundation of all scientific and technical advance which has made possible the mechanism which carries radio into our homes. Without freedom of thought and speech we could not have had these things. Without freedom of thought and speech we cannot have their social and political equivalent. We cannot make in social and political realms the progress which we have made in the material realm. The idea of freedom of thought is the first of three great ideas which underlie modern civilization.

The second of those ideas is the idea of progress. For untold centuries the human race went along with the thought that tomorrow would be like today and yesterday and that everyone would do exactly as his father had done. But gradually there began to develop the idea that there could be progress. I do not mean progress merely in the sense of the material things of life. Much more fundamental is the progress which can be made in the lives of men, in their personal growth, in their tastes, attitudes, and in their ways of conducting themselves within the family, the neighborhood, the state, the nation, and the larger family of nations.

Horace Mann, whose centennial as the first chief state school officer in America we shall celebrate in 1937, went about this country talking and writing on the improvability of man. It is highly significant that a great teacher, a great writer and orator

had to go about preaching the improvability of man, that he had to talk to parents, speak in schoolhouses and before legislatures, and to issue circulars and periodicals to get the people to recognize that the lives of men could be improved thru the process of education. The idea of progress is second only to freedom of thought. Freedom of thought made science possible. The idea of progress made the common school possible. The first great development of the common school came during the 1890's and when that generation which was in the schools in the 90's came onto the scene of action, America had a period of the most rapid advance which has ever been known in any civilization.

The third of these three great ideas which underlie modern civilization is still relatively new and little understood. It is the idea of planning. It is closely related to the other ideas. It requires freedom of thought and it requires a willingness to believe that progress is possible. In the first phase of its development, planning has dealt too largely with space. We have laid out our country crudely. We have divided it into states, into sections, into cities and towns, looking only at the immediate need. We have not given enough attention to the time factor. The result has been waste. Things have had to be done over many times because of a lack of foresight. Planning considers a problem in its totality; it looks forward for a year or two years or ten years or fifty years or even for hundreds of years, and this is particularly important in the development of a national culture.

We may build a machine in a day; we may grow a crop of grain in a season; we may even grow a forest in a generation; but a national culture is a product of longer and slower growth. It is culture that makes the difference between men and beasts, between a weak and brutal people and a strong and noble humanity. It is made up of the ideas, the skills, the habits, the manners, the institutions, the social patterns, and, most of all, of the feelings of the people. All the activities of a people, all their decisions and institutions, will come eventually to reflect their fundamental feelings and in turn to shape those feelings. The depreciation of a national culture is, therefore, far more serious than the depreciation of a national coinage. If it is important that those who manage our coinage and our money and banks shall be inspired with the spirit of trusteeship, it is doubly important that the spirit of trusteeship should govern the manage-

ment of radio broadcasting, the greatest medium which exists for the spread of human culture.

Our present American radio setup which puts radio broadcasting in the hands of private radio monopolies deriving their revenue from advertising, is dead set against each of these three fundamental ideas which underlie modern civilization. Genuine freedom of thought is impossible when the machinery thru which thought must flow on a national scale is in the hands of monopoly groups supported by competitive business enterprises who have an immediate interest in keeping the facts from the people. The very points at which facts are most needed if the people are to govern themselves wisely are the points at which freedom of speech is most certain to be denied.

For example, one of the great needs in American life today is a realistic regulation of the powerful corporate groups which are constantly seeking to dominate government and to exploit the people. The necessary reforms are impossible so long as radio broadcasting is financed by advertising, paid for by the drug trade which resists regulation, paid for by the public utilities which are seeking to maintain their excessive charges for service, paid for by parasitic industries seeking to make money from the weaknesses and indulgences of men and women. If we do not deal with these fundamental issues our civilization will crash over our very heads, and if they are to be dealt with intelligently, the people must have the facts. Most of our people are still living in the Stone Age so far as their knowledge of politics and sociology is concerned. We have done relatively little to correct this condition during these years when our civilization has been on the very brink ready to go so far over the cliff that it may be impossible to bring it back and to reestablish it. The very idea of freedom of speech over the radio is inconsistent with the idea of making profits.

May I pause to say parenthetically that I can conceive of no greater violation of trusteeship than the way the radio groups have exposed the child mind to commercialism. For untold centuries we have regarded the mind of the child as sacred, to be protected by the parents who love him, by the church with its dedication to the eternal verities of life, and by the teacher who is licensed by the state to teach the truth and who, like the parent, is motivated by desire for the child's welfare. For the first time

in human history we have turned over this tender child mind to men who would make a profit from exploiting it—to men who have no real understanding of the consequences of their acts for if they had, they would hang their heads in shame and make their apologies to generations yet unborn. If you wonder what the effects of radio broadcasting are on the child mind simply listen to the conversation of children. Notice the words they use, the songs they sing, their attitudes, and manners. You will discover that the advertising agency is taking the place of the mother, the father, the teacher, the pastor, the priest, in determining the attitudes of children.

One of the primary traits of a civilized person is sincerity. It is hard to define the difference between the individual who is sincere and the one who has what I describe as the smartalecky attitude. Yet probably the very survival or defeat of civilization hinges there as to whether the masses of our people shall be motivated by sincerity or by this flippant smartalecky "thinking" that sounds good, that sells goods in the cheap and superficial sense, but which has no relation to the fundamental spirit and purpose which has made life in America what it is.

It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of abusing the child mind in this way. The minds of children can be so filled with triviality, vulgarity, flippancy, and insincerity that it will be almost impossible for them during their entire lifetimes to overcome the effects of these attitudes which are built into the very fibers of their beings during the formative years. There is no occupation they can pursue, no relationship which they can maintain with their fellows which will be unaffected by these fundamental tastes and attitudes. Their family life, their choice of vocation, their relations with their fellows, their political decisions, will be colored by this vague, indefinite, but tremendously powerful subconscious self which is being built up by what goes into their minds and which is certain eventually to come out. We may well fear the suppression of important facts because the owners of radio do not wish the public to have those facts. Perhaps we should fear even more this debasing of the child mind.

The present radio setup in the United States is also inherently inconsistent with the idea of progress. In the end the character of an institution will be determined by the ultimate test which is applied to its operation. What is that ultimate test for commercial-

ized radio? It is this: Will it pay in dollars and cents? Will it make a profit for the advertiser? and the bigger the profit the more he will be willing to pay for time on the air. The primary questions are not: Is it true? Is it right? Is it good? Is it beautiful? but, Will it pay? and if making it pay means the destruction of progress and the negation of culture, progress and culture will go by the board. America today is operating on a momentum which was acquired in the days before radio. It is operating on a momentum which the people acquired before the motion picture began teaching crime and gambling and the cheap and flippant attitude toward the verities of life. No one knows what will happen when this country comes into the hands of those who have been exposed to the propaganda of the moneychangers and to the debasing material which they have broadcast into the lives of the people.

Likewise the commercial operation of radio on the basis of advertising support is inconsistent with planning. Sales and profits are things of the moment. The salesman wants what he can make now. He is not thinking of tomorrow. He wants the best hours on the air when the largest number of people are free to listen. This hand-to-mouth policy is inconsistent with far-sighted planning. The common school on the other hand is an example of far-sighted planning. It does not expect to make a profit today or at the end of the month or even at the end of the year. It looks ahead for a generation and in the end yields a vastly larger service because it does look ahead and make provision for the future.

American culture which has brought this nation farther in a brief space of time than any other nation ever traveled in a similar period has been planned in the home, in the school, and in the church. Shall we now turn the management of our culture over to the moneychangers whose mismanagement of business and industry has so nearly wrecked our civilization and who are in a fair way to wreck it completely if the people do not soon again exert their rights?

The elements which make up radio broadcasting can be so planned as to make a positive contribution to American life. They can be deliberately set to arouse ambition, to develop taste, to spread information, to encourage people to study and to participate actively in the intellectual, artistic, and civic life of the nation; or they can be deliberately set to make people satisfied with triviality, to leave them unawakened to industrial wrong and

political stupidity, groping as blindly in the midst of confusion as tho these modern instruments for the spread of enlightenment did not exist. Whether radio is to do one or the other of these two things will not be a matter of accident. They will not be by-products; they will come because someone wants them and works at the task of bringing them about.

May I suggest in closing that if we wish to make the most of radio broadcasting we devote ourselves to certain fundamental principles. The following statement of principles is like that which I suggested some two years ago before the Parliamentary committee in Canada which was then studying the entire subject of radio broadcasting in the Dominion.

First and foremost, all air channels to belong to the people free from any suggestion of ownership by private parties. This question has never been fully decided by the American people. The question has never gotten to the Supreme Court in its ultimate form. Let us hope that when it does there will be no question as to who owns the air.

Second, listener interests and needs to determine programs. We have a billion dollars invested in our receivingsets. With all the inflated values in the studios and equipment, the capital of commercial broadcasting is not over one hundred million dollars. On the financial side alone the listener should be supreme. Yet for all practical purposes the listener is still disfranchised in the determination of radio programs.

Third, cultural uses of radio to precede commercial uses. In spite of the public interest clause in the Radio Act of 1927 the consistent interpretation has been to place the commercial uses of radio above the cultural uses. It is simply impossible consistently to get the best hours when the most people are free to listen for the best uses of broadcasting.

Fourth, the assignment of radio channels to be so managed as not to destroy state sovereignty. It has been one of the astounding facts of these years that this principle has been so almost universally unrecognized, that there has not been in a single American state a governor who would fight thru to the last ditch for the rights of the people whom he represents and whom he is sworn to serve. State sovereignty in any real and effective sense under today's conditions is impossible without this right to have some control over the voice that reaches out into the homes of the

people of the state with a possibility of informing or of misinforming or of keeping from them the information which they should have.

Fifth, the child mind to be safeguarded from selfish exploitation. No one should be allowed to advertise anything to the child mind. We should look upon the effort to go over the heads of parents, the church, and the school, to the child mind with something of the horror that we would look at the poisoning of a spring or well. It is not something to be exploited in the name of private gain, I care not how good the product may be. The fundamental issue is whether we are going to expose the child mind or conserve it as the most precious heritage of the race.

Sixth, freedom of speech to be safeguarded from interference by either commercial or political forces. You have heard that fine description of the way they manage their political campaigns over state-owned radio stations in Wisconsin. That spirit and that method of management extended to every locality and to the nation as a whole would transform political life in America. It would substitute intelligence for demagogery; it would give us the facts we need to deal wisely with the complex issues of our day. The local communities and the states are the training fields for national leadership. We need to conserve the political and cultural vitality of the locality.

Finally, let us always remember that a culture or a civilization exists fundamentally in people's minds and if it does not continue to exist in their minds and in their feelings, it will soon cease to exist at all. If we are to have freedom of speech it will be because people want freedom of speech and are willing to exert themselves to maintain it. Today nine-tenths of the people of the world live under governments where the hands of the clock have been turned back and where the lamps of learning have been turned low or put out so that freedom of speech does not exist. Let us insist upon maintaining in our democracy these fundamental ideas of freedom of speech, of progress, and of planning.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: We have a small amount of time left for the discussion of an extremely interesting and important subject. Thru all education everywhere we always have the problem of preserving local initiative and freedom, which have been set forth so well here this morning, while at the same time cooperating in plans which may bring

any of these new devices of education with all of their efficiency to the attention of the public. I am sure there are many of you who would like to participate in this discussion.

MR. JAMES RORTY (New York, N. Y.): I represent the censorship committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, and I wish to raise this question: What machinery is provided for passing resolutions to express the net view of this Conference?

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: It has not been made clear what the intention is as to that. I think it will be made clear later.

MR. RORTY: I worked for about twelve years as an advertising copy writer and I fought that racket inside for perhaps twelve years; I have been fighting it outside for the last four years. In view of what has been said about advertising and about culture, perhaps I can express myself most briefly by quoting a view which I state in connection with this in a book which I have just published.[4]

> I have tried to show that the advertising business has wrought a far more profound havoc upon our people than most of us realize. I have tried to show that this business perverts and stultifies our essential instruments of social communication; that its fantastic economic wastefulness is the least important aspect of its viciousness; that this leering, cajoling, bullying caricature of truth, decency, service, education, science, is something that a sane and vigorous people must reject in its totality, on pain not merely of economic chaos but of cultural death.

I wish to say in relation to what Dr. Davis has said that I accept his point of view on this question. I think that he permitted himself an understatement at one point. He suggested that the educators might well claim a portion of the air. Does that really express an educational philosophy? Does not that really express the inferiority complex of educators in relation to the present state of society? I suggest that the educational function is ridiculous if it does not claim leadership. When you approach a child, do not say, "What would you have me teach you, my child?" You know the content of life. It is your business to introduce the child to the content of society in his relationships to the individual and society. I suggest that instead of asserting a partial claim upon the air, educatorship might well claim 100 percent interest in the air, that the use of this major social instrument, unless the whole concept of culture is to be made ridiculous, is a function of education and cultural leadership, and that the educators might well realize that they are themselves in a parlous position, that they are in a position where the people of this country (by that I don't mean the middle class people who are active in movements of this sort, but I mean the miners and the textile workers, I mean the masses of this country) are beginning to ask just what is the function of education in this country; they are

[4] Rorty, James. *Our Master's Voice—Advertising*. New York: John Day Co., 1934. 394 p.

beginning to look at Germany and they are beginning to ask themselves if the process will bring what we saw brought forth in Germany. That process was, I point out, an educational process; it, too, had plans. They called it in Germany "rationalization." The process we are facing now is again a process of rationalization. Against that process of rationalization, not planning, I present a different point of view, which is the point of view of revolution, and I suggest that the educators will very, very soon have to decide whether they are going to function in the social and political processes of America as a cultural agency exploiting people or as the nucleus of the cultural wing of a genuine revolutionary process.

MR. JAMES F. COOKE (Presser Foundation, Philadelphia, Pa.): I have just returned from a two-thousand mile trip by motor visiting educational institutions in the Middle West, and on the way I heard a group of boys singing, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of Dillinger, of thee I sing." It simply meant that a brigand has become the most publicized person of our times thru the press, thru the movies, and thru the radio, and it merely indicates what great power is given to the radio in this connection. A nation is as strong as its ideals and no stronger, and I believe that we are way, way behind our present times in not recognizing the power of the radio as a cultural agent. If I am not mistaken, the radio was first introduced as a cultural agent in Hungary. Once in Budapest at the Hotel Gellert I took off the little radio receiver and a program came in in three or four different languages, and it had a very, very powerful effect unquestionably, upon the Hungarian people.

This paper by the gentleman from Wisconsin has made a very great impression upon me, because it would seem to some of us that the movement is so big and the problem is so big, that it seems like a mouse moving a grand piano, but apparently in Wisconsin they have done something which has made a step which will lead to direct results; that is, they are offering the commercial broadcasting stations real competition.

As one who has been familiar with the musical side of this work, I know that broadcasting has had a very great effect upon the value of musical culture. It was at first thought that broadcasting was going to ruin musical education in America. Quite the opposite is the result. You may be surprised to learn that in the piano industry, the factories at the present time are very largely working full capacity and they are hunting around for new workers to make more pianos, whereas in the radio industry in many instances many of the big factories are working only about 20 percent of their capacity, altho their business is 100 percent over that of last year.

All commercial broadcasting is not bad in this sense. The radio has convinced a great many business people in America who could not be

reached in other ways that good music is a thing which holds a totally different position from that which they imagined. It cost Mr. Ford, it is said, some seven million dollars to find that a thing of beauty had a great commercial value. Now that is an asset. In other words, he made a car that got you there inevitably but it was an ugly thing, and he lost some seven million dollars before he found that the thing that was the matter with it was a thing relating to beauty. Now Mr. Ford has engaged the entire orchestra of the Detroit Symphony to play twice daily during the whole time of the Chicago Fair. At least he has made that advance, and I feel that commercial broadcasting has had this reactive effect upon the body of American business men and that when the time comes for a more definite educational control of radio in America they will be very much more receptive.

MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER (Los Angeles, Calif.): I am a Methodist minister from Los Angeles, also executive manager and secretary of the board of the Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation, Ltd., of California, now dormant. I would raise a question here as to the purpose of our Conference, with a possible view to our directing our present discussion. Are we to look forward toward the establishment and declaration of a policy in which we can agree with respect to the application and use of broadcasting? Can Mr. Morgan answer? I don't believe this question is answered definitely in the pamphlet.

MR. JOY ELMER MORGAN: It is answered on page 9, if you will look in your program, at the committee which makes its final report—the Committee on Fundamental Principles Which Should Underlie American Radio Policy.

MR. ALEXANDER: And this Conference contemplates establishment of a policy in which presumably we shall hope to agree with respect to public policy regarding control of broadcasting in the United States?

MR. MORGAN: I assume it has that opportunity.

REV. M. J. AHERN, S. J., (Jesuit Colleges and High Schools of New England, Weston, Mass.): I have been engaged in religious work on several commercial stations in New England. There never has been a trace of censorship on anything that I have said or done. They never have requested it. We have absolute freedom. We couldn't have more if we ran our own station. I simply state that as a fact, because there are two or three fundamental things we have to remember here. I don't want to put New England before the rest of the world, of course. I come here as an individual representing the Jesuit Colleges and High Schools of New England to learn the ideas of other individuals in this matter. I cannot commit these Jesuit Colleges and High Schools to any policy. Anything that is adopted here is adopted as a policy for me to present to these organizations. Several people whom I have met thought that I came here to commit all the Jesuit Colleges, of which there are three

or four in New England with something like five thousand students, with several hundred instructors, which of course I cannot do.

There is another thing that we ought to remember and that something ought to be said about. I don't think, ladies and gentlemen, that if you purge the air of all the deleterious programs for children, you do away with the bad effects of such things on the children's minds. I think we have always got to look to the education of the parent. The reason motion pictures have bad effects on the children, the reason deleterious radio has bad effects on the children, is simply because of the improper supervision or because of no supervision on the part of the parent, and I think whatever we agree upon as a policy we must have that in mind. The great difficulty with the bringing up of your young today is the want of supervision in the home. The church and school can work until their fingers are worn to the bone, and unless the home cooperates in the proper way they really have very little effect. I think we should not lose sight of that in what we want in the way of control.

I think what they have in Wisconsin is admirable, but just try and get it from the politicians.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: I assume from that that there are no politicians in Wisconsin.

DEAN F. W. BRADLEY (University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.): The words that you have just spoken bring me to say that we should expect from this Conference a pretty clear-cut idea of a program with which to go before the public. I cannot speak for any of the schools of South Carolina, but I should like for us to formulate such a plan as may be put before them as a rational and acceptable one, aimed at just these evils which we have heard about and of which we have all been so conscious for many years. I feel sure that we can come to some agreement, it doesn't make any difference whether it is the best one or not.

DEAN W. S. SMALL (College of Education, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.): I am interested in some of the statements by Mr. Morgan, and first for information I should like to ask one or two questions. He has painted a very sad picture, and I have no doubt a correct picture of the content of the minds of the children on his block, and I suppose that is a typical block, and he attributes that to the movies and the radio. He might also include, I am sure, the comic strip and a number of other things. But after all is said and done, who has produced this culture out of which have come these things? The people who have produced that culture are the product of these refined and beautiful influences which he has cited as the matrix of the older generation. The older generation is responsible, I judge, and I am not at all sure that the school and the church and all of those things that have produced the dire results that our present civilization is witness to are

very much superior to the present conditions. Even the radio may have something to be said for it. I am wondering just what the logical conclusion of this thing is. The conditions, educational, religious, social, economic, which produced the older generation have produced the individuals and the type of mind which have made all of these present agencies. What is the conclusion?

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: I would be tempted to call on Mr. Morgan except that I think perhaps it would be a good thing to allow other persons who may wish to participate to continue the discussion. Mr. Morgan will have opportunity to speak later.

DR. JAMES A. MOYER: I should like to ask whether Father Ahern implies by his discussion that the method of "blocking" radio broadcasting isn't worthwhile trying in order to avoid objectionable broadcasting in the early evening hours?

FATHER AHERN: I think it is. I know definitely from my experience in New England that it does. We have that "blocking" system beginning at six o'clock and spaced all the way to eleven o'clock, and some of the things are provided particularly for the children. I think you agree with me that we get very good cooperation at least from the main stations in Boston. They have given me so far everything I have asked for without any qualification or censorship whatever.

CHAIRMAN ZOOK: I take it that even those who are interested in the various sides that there are to this problem are interested also in lunch, and we will adjourn this session now for that purpose.

The meeting adjourned at twelve-fifteen o'clock.

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

MAY 7, 1934

The meeting convened at two-fifteen o'clock, Dr. William John Cooper, George Washington University, presiding.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: This is the second meeting of the Conference of the National Committee on Education by Radio, a committee which was established some three years ago after a call had gone out from the Secretary of the Interior to those colleges which were disgruntled or not satisfied or thought there might be something to gain by coming to an organization meeting. We held such a meeting in Chicago on October 13, 1930, and I had the honor to preside at it. After the meeting had advanced and discussed its problems somewhat, it was left in the hands of a committee to decide what organization should be effected. The result was that this particular kind of a committee was asked for and the organizations were named in the resolution. All that I had to do with it then was to appoint the first commission and to secure $1000 from the Payne Fund for a Committee organization meeting. After that every matter that came before the Committee was in its own hands.

I am very glad that it has held such a meeting as this. It is a good thing to evaluate what radio has done and to outline the keynote for the following meetings.

At the present time we are very much interested in listening to an address of about fifteen minutes by Dr. John Dickinson, who is Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

RADIO AND DEMOCRACY

JOHN DICKINSON

Assistant Secretary of Commerce

More than two-thousand years ago Aristotle, the first scientific student of politics, observed that a state cannot be governed by the public opinion of its people if its citizens are too numerous to be reached by the voice of the same speaker. Because of the truth of that observation popular government was condemned for hundreds of years to the narrow boundaries of towns and small cities. It was the invention of printing, with the resulting possibility of rapid communication of the written word over wide areas, that in the long run made possible popular government as we know it,

on a nationwide scale. For popular government means essentially government by discussion, persuasion, and the conviction that results from discussion and persuasion, and it cannot function unless there is available a rapid medium of communication thru which such discussion can go on.

Such a medium on an effective scale first began to be supplied by the development of the newspaper press in the nineteenth century. It was this which made popular government in the modern sense possible. The coming of the radio has completed the process, and by an undreamed-of miracle of science has restored popular government in Aristotle's sense to a modern nation of continental expanse. When the people thruout the length and breadth of this vast country sit at their firesides and listen to those inspiring messages in which the President of the United States has from time to time during the past year explained the development of his program to the people, we at last find realized the conditions of a true democracy, for all the people of the country are actually within sound of the voice of their leader and in a position to consider and reflect upon the program which he brings before them.

The dramatic spectacle of the whole nation listening in unison to the voice of the President should bring home to us in concrete form the meaning and importance of radio today. It is the voice of the nation. No farm is so remote, no mine or ranch so distant, no home so poor, but what, overcoming all obstacles of rivers, mountains, lakes, and seas, this mighty voice can penetrate to those fastnesses and bring its message, the same message that at the same time is being brought to all the rest of the country, to the factories and the cities and the ships on the sea. But what message? That is always the question. What message is so important that in this way it shall be communicated by the power of modern science to all our people? The cleansing qualities of a furniture polish? The virtues of a liver pill? Possibly; but even so, what other national messages shall our people hear from the air?

It is my opinion that by far the larger part of the radio programs offered to our people will be and must always be recreational in character, using the word recreational in its broadest sense, as opposed to the immediately utilitarian, and this is altogether as it should be. They will be recreational in the sense that they will consist dominantly of musical offerings because radio is a form

of sound transmission, and the form in which sound is and always will be most agreeable and desirable to the human ear, is music. Music is recreational in that it has no immediate utilitarian purpose and operates to allure men's attention from the dull monotonous grind of routine labor to the refreshment and stimulation which come from touching off the springs of unused emotions and unexerted powers of imagination. It is recreational in the sense that it gives pleasure as no mere transmission of intelligence or information can ever do, but this does not mean of course that it is only an idle pastime. Everything depends on the nature and quality of the music as is true of other forms of recreation as well.

There is no recreation or sport which does not hold out possibilities of arousing and exercising valuable traits of personality and character if properly pursued. In certain quarters today there is a tendency to belittle those forms of art which seek an escape or release from the prosaic realities of life. Such a view is, I submit, short-sighted, in that it fails to see that from escape and release thru art can come and do come new strength and inspiration to face realities. Every art, like every sport, develops and trains attitudes and powers which can be immensely useful in building individual character and social culture, and this is especially true of music. It is an old, trite saying, which in a machine civilization we are too prone to forget, that the men who write the songs of the people exert a greater influence than those who write their laws. Therefore, the character and quality of the music which, thru the radio, enters as never before into the texture of our national life is of the highest importance for our future. It does much to set the pace and tempo of our life, to describe the limits of our emotions and interests, and to modify the character of our responses and attitudes.

There can be no doubt as to the improvement which has been noticeable during the past several years in the musical programs offered over the radio. There is room for further improvement. In this connection one fact should be emphasized which is often overlooked. Appreciation of good music, as of other forms of art, is largely a matter of habit. People who have never heard good music will almost certainly not appreciate it when they first hear it, just as they will not appreciate anything else which is new and strange and which, by its novelty and strangeness, arouses at first a certain antagonism. Too much weight should not, therefore, be

given to expressions of opinion thru straw votes or otherwise which might seem to indicate that good music is not desired by radio audiences. Whether it is desired or not can only be discovered after the audience has grown accustomed to it. The degree of popular interest which has in fact been expressed in the better musical programs is greater than might have been expected in a country like our own with practically no musical tradition behind it, and offers excellent promise for the future.

This Conference today is devoted primarily to the subject of radio and education. I have spoken to this extent of music not merely because of the dominant part which I believe it must always play in radio programs, but also because I believe it constitutes one of the most important channels thru which radio can contribute to national education. Every vehicle of communication, like every art, has its own special mission. Lessing taught us long ago in his *Laokoon* that we must not expect one art to do the work for which others are better adapted. We should always bear this in mind in considering the part which radio can play in education. Inevitably, I believe, the radio is better adapted to those types of educational effort in which the emotional and dramatic have a part than to those which consist of the mere transmission of intelligence. This does not mean of course that its usefulness is limited to education thru music. Far from it. It does mean, however, that there are fields in which it cannot compete in effectiveness with the printed page or the visible diagram. I believe that in these fields radio can, however, be put to very effective use in stimulating and arousing interest and in calling public attention to the interesting character of many fields of study which are apt to be otherwise overlooked. Granting that the radio cannot compete with the textbook or the classroom in doing what the textbook and the classroom are better fitted to do, radio can, by means of proper programs, awaken an awareness of the fascinating problems of science, history, literature, and philosophy which may lead to greater appreciation and understanding of what the textbook and the classroom have to offer.

Everything depends, as I have said, on whether or not proper advantage is taken of the special possibilities of this medium of communication. Interesting progress has been made in this direction. For example, the technic of presenting some subject in the field of economics, law, or government over the radio in the form

of a conversation or dialog, represents a great advance over the classroom method of a lecture or address. The play of the dialog, the suspense involved in the question-and-answer method, contribute that element of the dramatic on which radio depends so greatly for its effectiveness.

In the past six years there has been an increase in the amount of educational material put upon the air. Especially noteworthy have been the programs on government, sponsored by the American Political Science Association; on law, sponsored by the American Bar Association; on economics, sponsored by the Brookings Institution; and on labor, sponsored by the Workers' Education Bureau. Some of these series have been so well received as to warrant their continuance over a period of years. Undoubtedly there is a field for radio education which we are beginning to find. How effective radio education proves to be will depend predominantly on whether ways are found to make it effective. The mere fact that a program is educational in character does not in and of itself mean that it will be effective over the radio. The coming of the radio throws down a new challenge to our educators to develop technics to which radio is adapted. There is still need that educators should exert themselves in this direction. The permanence and degree of their success will depend on the measure and extent of their cooperation in experiment and research. It is along these lines that the major effort should for the moment be concentrated in order that radio education may not be discredited by a plethora of poor programs before it has had a full and fair trial.

The Radio Act of 1927 requires the Radio Commission, in considering applications for a license, to take into account the character and quality of the service offered by the applicant from the standpoint of the public interest. This gives the Commission an opportunity to assess the nature and value of the educational programs offered by the different stations of the country. From the standpoint of the public interest, the presentation of educational programs is of the highest importance, and in the exercise of its powers the Commission should take this importance into account. But, obviously, the Commission is not an educational body. It has neither the equipment nor the responsibility for developing proper technics of radio education. If educational programs are to have their proper weight in determining the public interest in the maintenance of a station, the technic of radio education must be de-

veloped by the educators of the country themselves. Accordingly, every effort should be made thru the cooperative action of educational institutions and of the various learned societies to develop by experiment and research types of programs which, when put on the air thru one or more stations, will so justify the importance of radio education as to entitle the participating stations to claim that they are serving the public interest. For this development the needed amount of time on the air must be made and kept available.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: We are now to listen to an address by the chairman of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. Canada is a country of even vaster areas for its population that we are, of more difficulties in the way of broadcasting than we have, and at the same time a country of much smaller population than this country. Mr. Charlesworth.

RADIO IN A COUNTRY OF VAST AREAS, DIVERSE COMMUNITIES, AND SMALL POPULATION

HECTOR CHARLESWORTH

Chairman, Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission

Anything that I have to say on this interesting subject of radio as an instrument of culture in a democracy will be based not so much on theory as on our own practical experiences so far in Canada.

This morning I heard a gentleman say that he would sooner be in charge of radio and directing the force of radio than be a college president. I smiled to myself for a moment and then reflected that college presidents are having a great deal of trouble themselves these days.

I was christened by an admiring reporter (I suppose he was admiring) a year and a half ago as a "czar of radio." It was a ruinous expression. I have always taken the trouble to correct it and to say that my position was merely that of plenipotentiary for the listener, and it is from that standpoint that I have endeavored to carry on the work of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission so far as we have gone.

In speaking of radio as an instrument of culture in a democracy, I think I should say something about the kind of a democracy

that I speak for. I wish I had with me a map of Canada just to show you what the problems are. Let me illustrate by this fact: Here in the city of Washington we are about directly south of the city of Toronto where I lived for many years, and Toronto is at least 1200 miles farther west than our most outlying city, Sydney, Nova Scotia. On the far Pacific Coast we project much farther into the Pacific than you do at San Francisco. So you get a picture of this enormous country we have to reach by coverage and a country which tho thickly populated in spots, as in the Montreal area, the Toronto area, and to a slight extent the Winnipeg area, embraces a little more than ten million people; you realize the enormous gaps to be covered in any system of nationalized radio, and you get a glimpse of the reasons which brought about nationalized radio, because under the system which depended entirely on advertising for support it was the tendency of the advertiser to go merely into the thickly populated areas and to neglect the vast reaches which I call the starved areas, to neglect them especially in these days of depression when our great grain growing provinces of western Canada have been very much reduced in power to spend money at all. It was that which really brought about nationalization in Canada. The mere fact that the radio enterprise under private auspices was confined to a band beginning somewhere in the district of the city of Montreal and ending somewhere at Windsor opposite the city of Detroit made it imperative that something should be done to make use of this great invention for the transmission of cultural ideas available to the rest of Canada.

I was rather proud, when I looked at your program, to notice quotations from Merrill Denison, E. A. Weir, and E. A. Corbett. All those gentlemen are Canadians and acquaintances of mine, and one of them is a very close friend indeed. The mere fact that you quote these men on your program indicates the amount of intensive thought which the intellectual class of Canadians has given to this subject.

I was a newspaper editor and a publishers' executive who had gone deeply into radio from the musical standpoint, which had been mainly my hobby, when I was asked to take this position. I had a great deal to learn about it, but the aim I set myself and which my fellow commissioners have set themselves, was to take hold of the opportunity of using radio to bring about a finer spirit

of national unity in our scattered country. Your statesmen have their own difficulties in the United States in that respect. In a country where you have great gaps of country hardly settled at all, the isolated community is a much greater problem.

Let us take the portion of Canada that lies east of Boston—Nova Scotia—populated originally from New England before the Revolution, and by the French, and later by large incursions of Highland Scotch. The province of New Brunswick is almost a recreation of the state of New Jersey, created by the New Jersey Loyalists. Prince Edward Island is a little province partly Acadian, and there are many Acadians and French Canadians in New Brunswick. Then we have the vast area of the province of Quebec, the oldest center of musical culture on the continent of North America, with cities dating back to the early years of the seventeenth century and with a vast and ever-increasing French-Canadian population, for that is the country of large families still, where a wife with seven children is afraid she has not done her duty for the future of her race.

Then we have Ontario, largely founded by Loyalist stock from the United States, with later incursions of British, Irish, Scotch, and Germans. Then the wealthy mining regions of Northern Ontario with almost every known nationality. Then we get into the prairies. A sense of the variegation of population in the prairies came to me over twenty years ago when I was in Winnipeg and I was walking down the street and saw in a saloon window (they had saloons in those days) a sign with twelve languages on it, and at the bottom was English. These languages meant "Largest glass of beer in town for five cents." That was told to the public in eleven different languages besides English. That is characteristic of all our prairie provinces, altho of course the governing classes are predominantly British, and especially Scotch. Then you get into the mountain country, British Columbia, and you find that many old English families settled there.

With all these different communities, each with its individual angle of approach, each with its own ideas of culture, you have a wonderful field of work if you may bring them together by the agency of radio, if you may bring them to know each other better, and that in the main is what we are aiming to do.

The Aird Commission, which originally investigated this question, spoke of radio, so far as we were concerned, as something

which by interchange of programs should endeavor to make the different sections of Canada understand each other. We have gone just a little way, but that is the main thing that we have done.

I had my reward for what we were attempting to do last autumn when I was in Sydney, Nova Scotia—which, as I have told you, is a long way off—when a local member of Parliament for that city got up and said, "When I voted for this bill I didn't know just what it meant. I voted for it, but last night I was sitting in my study, I turned on my radio, and I heard a beautiful program from Regina on the prairies, nearly three-thousand miles away, I heard another program from Calgary, still farther away, and they were as close to me as the villages out here of Waterford and Glace Bay; they came into my study as tho they might be there. Then I realized what radio meant and I realized what the Commission might ultimately do for this country in binding it into a cohesive whole."

As I say, our efforts in dealing with all these diversified populations and bringing them together have been largely tentative, but we have made a start, and we have done so by trying to interest one section of Canada or the other section of Canada in the cultures of the various communities.

We naturally have a number of programs that come out of a big producing center like Toronto that very much resemble the ordinary commercial program. The same is not quite so true of Montreal where there is a very old French musical culture and many artists are employed by the government of that province to develop a musical talent. I think it has been a surprise to the people of Canada that there was such a very fine degree of artistry in that province, and such charming music.

There being two languages in Canada and two very strong racial strains, naturally there are certain political differences. We are hoping to overcome that by this medium of introducing the English-speaking people of Canada to the French people thru the most delightful thing they do, their music, to ameliorate those differences which are largely the creation of politics. Moreover, we have the backing of all the educationists of Canada in the fact that we have found a medium whereby the children of the English-speaking provinces on whom thousands and thousands of dollars are spent teaching them French, may learn French thru the ear as well as thru the eye. It is a fact, as I suppose you know

in your high schools and your colleges where you teach French, that your pupils can pass a very good written examination in French grammar and French composition, but when they try to speak it or read it aloud it doesn't sound like French at all.

Our work is under investigation at Ottawa today, and one prominent gentleman interested in education pointed out the fact that at last Canada is learning its French thru the ear as well as thru the eye as the result of radio.

But we do more than that. We are using the folk songs of the foreign populations of the West. We have some very beautiful Russian programs in the native Russian, delightful music delightfully sung. If any of you have seen Balieff's *Chauve Souris* you may get some idea of the things that we give on these programs. We use Ukrainian choirs and novelties of that sort whenever we can pick them up, and we do that not merely with a view to making our people understand the foreigner better but to promote that spirit of brotherhood which is the basis of all nationality.

As I think I said to you before, we started from scratch some eighteen months ago. There was no machine like ours, certainly not in Canada, and we had very limited resources to go on—we still have very limited resources. In starting a new machine, whether in a great capital like Washington or in a small capital like Ottawa, there is the inevitable red tape which seems to be the lifeblood of the civil service. Of course, we weren't as badly off as Lloyd George relates in his book of Reminiscences which I recently read, when he was made Minister of Munitions. Just because it was a new department and a new departure, he found after it had been created that some department of civil service couldn't find any regulation whereby he could be allowed any furniture, so when Colonel House came to visit him he had only a table and a chair, and there was an altercation between Colonel House and himself as to which should use the chair. We weren't up against red tape to that extent, but we have had a good deal of bother of saying, "Well, there is no precedent for this, there is no precedent for that." However, we managed to get under way.

I believe in your discussions you have had a good deal of apprehension about the politicians. I want to say a good word for the politicians. The anticipated political interference that we were told must be expected has not eventuated at all. I am as willing to let a politician into my office as a pianist, I make no distinction

on that point, but I find the pianist a much more aggressive person than the politician. [Laughter.] I don't think I am a very formidable person, I don't think it is because they are afraid of me, but as a matter of fact my experience with our politicians (and I don't think they differ very much from yours) is that if they think you are trying to do a good job they let you alone.

Of course, in our Commission we have two functions. We not only have charge of broadcasting, but we have charge of all the functions that are performed by your own Federal Radio Commission, and we found it necessary to deal with the allocation of wave lengths and problems of that kind, because these questions had been allowed to stand during the period of transition when the country was trying to make up its mind what it was going to do. We found that a much greater problem really than getting under way our nationalized programs.

We have also found opposition from the private interests. That was to be expected. The private interests for some reason or other are very much in favor of what they call the middle-of-the-road policy with regard to programs. I was delighted to hear Dr. Dickinson, not in those terms but to the same effect, intimate that there had to be a start with good music and with desirable elements of culture like that and the people would learn to like them when they got to know them better.

I found among the advertising agencies, especially during the investigation of our work in progress at Ottawa, that some of them resent even the fact that one of your great networks runs without advertising that beautiful broadcast of the Philharmonic Orchestra of New York which we were privileged to carry thruout Canada this past winter, also the broadcast of the Metropolitan Opera House. I think they thought it was a retrogressive step on the part of a cigaret concern in the United States to adopt that operatic broadcast for purposes of advertising. Anyway, they argue with me that the people are the sole judges on program matters, that the only way for us to do our work properly is to proceed on the basis of information gleaned from telephone surveys. My own opinion about the telephone survey is that it is of no more value than is the personal house-to-house canvass in politics. I remember in my own city of Toronto a Scottish Liberal was running, and he had made a house-to-house canvass that convinced him that he was going to have a very large majority there,

and he was beaten by almost the same number. He was asked his opinion of the election, and he said, "I have no opinion but this, that there are ten thousand monumental liars in North Toronto." [Laughter.]

I don't know whether it would be fair to say the same about these telephone tests that they insist on before a program is permanently put on the air, but I think they are no more valuable than the house-to-house canvass in politics.

The general experience we have had is that when we were giving anything good, and we have been able to give good things of Canadian origin as well as availed ourselves of some of your best cultural features on the United States networks, the response has been even finer in the rural districts than it has been in the cities. The other day we produced before the committee in Ottawa a letter written by a farmer in a little place miles and miles from a railway, in which he said that he had heard, every Saturday afternoon in the wintertime, the Metropolitan Opera House on the air, and he said, "My wife and I cried to think that we could have this privilege. We are both musical, and you have brought it right to us."

In the face of appreciation like that coming from the lonesome places, we feel that we are doing something and we feel that some day it is going to get bigger and bigger, it will be a memorable thing, and we will not have labored in vain.

So far as education in connection with radio is concerned, from the outset we have had the cooperation of all the universities in Canada. As soon as it was known that the Parliament intended to appoint a broadcasting Commission, all the universities got together and formed a committee on radio. They came to me and said, "What can we do to help?"

I said, "The first thing is to arrange your university addresses so the average man can listen to them with pleasure. That means not merely in the arrangement of your material, but in the voices of your broadcasters. If you will pledge yourselves to me that these broadcasts will be interesting from the technical standpoint of broadcasting, you can have anything that we can give you in the way of time, within reason."

They did that, and from every university in Canada there have been interesting broadcasts. They have even discussed on the air in Canada the subject, "Why Continents Float." I didn't know

they float, but that broadcast was put on in such an interesting way that everybody understood it.

We have enlisted the Professional Institute of Civil Service, which contains very many able men, and they have been letting the people right thru Canada know just exactly what the departments are going to do. At Christmas time, for instance, the postmaster general asked us to tell the story of a letter, with a view to getting people to post their Christmas parcels in time and assist in avoiding the congestion of mail. We sent out two or three of those broadcasts, and it was of material help. At the same time it brought people a realization of what a government department meant.

Under the auspices of the Young Men's Canadian Club of Montreal we have had something like thirty-six fifteen-minute addresses by public men in various parts of Canada, all of whom were speaking on some specific thing relating to Canadian life, some phase of it; sometimes it would be on the matter of foreign politics, as to how it affected Canada. The fifteen-minute address, if you can get a man to put it in proper form, is very valuable; people will listen to that more readily than to a half-hour address.

Last summer we really got to a working basis on our national and regional networks, and I think we have succeeded in giving the people of Canada a fuller sense of what their country means, of what the machinery of their government means, and what their privileges as Canadians are, what their outlook as Canadians will be, than they ever have enjoyed before.

We have made mistakes, but we have tried to rectify them. We have handled the difficult matter of free speech without treading on anybody's corns. I am not going into that because it is a difficult subject at all times, but if you will handle it with common sense, it isn't nearly so troublesome as you may think.

Our rules are pretty firm on abuse, scurrility, and slander. The mere fact that such rules exist has cleaned up two campaigns. There was a campaign in one part of Canada where most abusive, dirty campaigns had been proverbial. The same people were running again this time and it was absolutely clean, just because that authority was there, to shut them off the air and cancel the license of the station if they permitted slander and scurrility.

There are many things I could talk about, but I want to make way for somebody else.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: We appreciate very much the addresses by Dr. Dickinson and Mr. Charlesworth and the experience which these men have had.

The next subject is: "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for the Cultural Use of Radio?" Does it rest on the broadcasting station or on the broadcaster or on the person who happens to have a chance to buy time on the air? The first address on this subject will be made by Dr. Charles R. Mann, director of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

C. R. MANN

Director, American Council on Education

I am inclined to answer the question which Dr. Cooper has put up to us categorically. The responsibility for the cultural use of radio seems to me to rest where the responsibility for all cultural development in the United States rests, namely, on the sovereign people. Of course a sovereign people must have administrative agencies like the Radio Commission or the broadcasting companies, to which responsibility for operation is delegated under policies defined by the people.

Before making any comments on the administrative agencies which might be made responsible for the quality of radio broadcasting, I would remark that this same problem was considered at great length by the National Advisory Committee on Federal Relations to Education, as concerns ultimate responsibility for the nature of the social purposes of education. That committee reached a practically unanimous conclusion, namely, that the responsibility for the social processes of education must remain with the people, and that any administrative setup or organization which does not leave the final control of the social processes of education with the people violates the American tradition and the American way of doing things.

It seems to me that that same principle may be applied to the radio. From the remarks of the commissioner plenipotentiary from Canada who just preceded me, I imagine that they have made considerable progress in Canada in developing cultural pro-

grams that are sanctioned by the instincts and intuitions of the Canadian people.

In this country it seems to me that a very good start has been made, of an experimental sort, and personally I should like to have this question worked out experimentally. I refer to the work of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. I think that organization has proceeded in a very intelligent way, because it has first secured a certain amount of time from the broadcasting companies, and then it has distributed that time among a wide variety of agencies that stand for particular types of culture. The programs of "You and Your Government," for example, were worked out with a group of political scientists; another series of programs on the subject of "The Citizens' Councils" was worked out with a special committee devoted particularly to The Citizens' Councils on Constructive Economy; the present series on art in America is worked out by a group that are experts in and particularly concerned with art development in America, and so on. That committee has selected a large variety of special groups in this country and secured their cooperation in developing programs each of which is of particular interest to one particular group. By that process you bring before the people for such consideration as they may care to give, the points of view of a great many different specialized groups. Thus under guidance of a central committee that is searching the country for particularly qualified groups in different areas of culture and is getting their cooperation, you are experimentally trying to find out what kind of program makes for culture, relying for the answer on the results that you actually get with the people. It seems to me that in this way we may experimentally develop a type of control that would be thoroly in harmony with the principles of popular sovereignty as related to education. Personally I shall be very glad to see that sort of system develop experimentally, provided always that the control of the system rests ultimately with the people.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: The next speaker on the program who will attempt to answer the question, "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for the Cultural Use of Radio?" will be Mr. Otis T. Wingo, Jr., executive secretary of the National Institution of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

OTIS T. WINGO, JR.

Executive Secretary, National Institution of Public Affairs

Consideration of the question, "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for the Cultural Use of Radio?" at the present stage in the development of American radio broadcasting—a stage which finds educators generally dissatisfied with the uses of the radio—involves application to the problem of the best method to be followed in the more satisfactory development of radio as a cultural agency in our democracy.

A practical approach to the method which can best be followed in developing radio as a cultural agency is found in a recent address by an authority on radio education who declared,

> In the last analysis American radio will go where the American public wants it to go. If the people continue to be satisfied with their radio fare, it won't be changed, either by broadcasters or by government. If educators can succeed in producing and offering programs the people will want, they will be broadcast, either by broadcasters or by government. If the American people, in their comparative youth as a nation have not risen to a level where they regard broadcasting as a cultural opportunity, the government of that people will not take control of radio for that purpose either in modified form as in Great Britain, or in complete form as in Russia. It might seize it for purposes other than cultural, but you can't force intellectuality down democracy's throat unless it opens wide its mouth, and so far its teeth have been tightly clinched.
>
> So unless we have a political upheaval which will prompt seizure of radio by the government for its own purposes, and I don't believe that is imminent, I think we are faced with two possibilities: first, a continuation of the present system; second, a system in which ample opportunity will be provided by law for the broadcasting of public services such as education.[5]

If the latter possibility is realized, it must be thru a translation of the wishes of the American people themselves into governmental action which will bring the greater attention to educational and cultural uses of the radio which we all desire. Immediately two roads present themselves as paths to the realization of the change. First, a demand by the American listening public for a change in the radio broadcasting service which would bring the desired uses. The other road is concerted action on the part of America's

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[5] Tyson, Levering. *The Future of Radio and Educational Broadcasting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. p. 20.

educational group to effect the change in the American radio law that would permit those ends.

Immediately, it must be recognized that in spite of the large dissatisfaction with present broadcasting practises we are not free to declare that there is sufficiently widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the people at large which would be necessary to warrant governmental action. In this connection it must be recognized that two of the most effective instruments for the molding of public opinion are the press and radio itself. We cannot, of course, expect the molding of the desired opinion by means of the present broadcasting facilities as that might be injurious to their own existence, and the use of the press at this point must not be exaggerated because of the still confused relationship between radio and the press.

Therefore, it would seem evident that the first road to a change, that is, the translation of a determined and widespread public opinion into governmental action, will not be sufficiently practical in a successful attainment of the educational and cultural goal. We must necessarily take the other road which would see cohesive action on the part of America's educational groups cooperating in a concerted program that can be presented to the proper governmental agencies and be offered publicly in a request for general support.

Cooperation and concerted striving for more adequate educational and cultural radio services have unfortunately been lacking in the American picture. I would not presume to go into a discussion of the reasons behind the absence of an inclusive cooperation, but I do want to offer to you a suggestion which I think might be incorporated in the report by your committee on "Fundamental Principles Which Should Underlie American Radio Policy." That suggestion is this: in order that the many attitudes and approaches to educational broadcasting may be brought together in a practical, constructive, and concerted program, may I propose that this Conference's committee request the President of the United States, who fully recognizes the importance of the radio, to appoint a nonpolitical and nongovernmental committee of educators who have had practical experience in the field of educational broadcasting to consider those many approaches and attitudes which characterize the present picture and to recommend to the President and to the new Communications Commission the pro-

gram which their consideration reveals as combining realization of educational and cultural goals with a recognition of the practical problems that exist in American radio service.

If carried out, that suggestion for a Committee of Inquiry on Education by Radio will, I believe, bring us to the long delayed conclusion of fruitless discussion as to a definite program to be followed. We all want the achievement of perfection or as close to perfection as is possible in the development of our civilization's culture. However, it will be much more practical for us to proceed in our application to this important problem in the spirit of effecting the best result that is possible at this time, in a program that will bring action now and not later.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: The third speaker on this program as rearranged, representing Dr. Kathryn McHale of the American Association of University Women, is Mrs. Harriet A. Houdlette, research associate of that Association.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

MRS. HARRIET A. HOUDLETTE

Research Associate, American Association of University Women

Dr. McHale was very sorry indeed not to be present at this Conference today, but she has asked me, as research associate in adult education, to say just a few words based upon the practical experience of our branches in 630 different communities in the United States.

As you probably know, the American Association of University Women is an organization of 40,000 members, chosen from 245 colleges of the 650 colleges and universities which are open to women in the United States. This group has for its express purpose the maintenance of high standards in education. Our branches are alert not only to opportunities for maintaining high standards in education, but opportunities for raising standards in education, and with this aim they have thruout these branches an extensive program of adult education in study groups and communal activities.

We have heard here today that radio is the most important agent for adult education at the present time, and I think we are all agreed that it is, and yet such groups as ours find it exceedingly

difficult to get increased use of the radio for cultural purposes because of the difficulties of the commercial control which has already been mentioned in this meeting. Our accomplishments sound very small when we listen to what has been achieved in other countries thru other methods. So far as our group is concerned, a group interested in practical education, only eleven branches out of the 623 have actually participated in radio programs. Buffalo and Canton, New York, have had musical programs and have been able to broadcast them. Orlando and Miami, Florida, groups have had broadcasts in the fields of child psychology and parent education. These programs have been mostly just a short series of a few broadcasts. Montevallo, Alabama, has cooperated with the college radio program in that city. Omaha, Nebraska, has had a civic program. Ponca City, Oklahoma, has had four broadcasts relative to the educational crisis. Spokane, Washington, is now conducting a series which is called "The Family Council." Of course, most of these programs have been rather grudgingly given out of commercial time. Minneapolis, Minnesota, has tried a different method. Some of you already know of that. Our branch there got up a petition against two objectionable programs for children, which they circulated among other women's clubs. The bulletin *Education by Radio,* published by the National Committee on Education by Radio, has printed that petition and many groups have signed it. The results have not been great, but it shows that public opinion is being aroused.

Because of our interest in high standards in education, I should like to express for my Association the hope that this Conference will result in a definite plan, a plan looking toward legislation for the control of the radio, a plan which we might present to our national Association for endorsement, and a plan which then might be carried thruout our branches of 630 in number and our 40,000 membership.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: The discussion will be continued by the director of the education bureau of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, taking the place of Dr. James N. Rule, who was unable to be present. Mr. Bristow.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

WILLIAM H. BRISTOW

Director, Education Bureau, Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction

I should like to take just a little different viewpoint on this problem that has been discussed this afternoon. If radio is as important as we all think it is and as we have expressed ourselves on it, then I think it is probably deserving of greater attention both from the standpoint of our colleges and our secondary schools and our elementary schools. It is quite clear that by and large in effecting any nationwide policies on the radio we are not going to get very far unless the people are articulate and sensitive and understanding. It seems to me that we might make an approach on some lines such as these; certainly from the standpoint of the colleges and the teacher training institutions we could give more time to a study of radio as a social force if it is as important as we all think it is, so that people might become aware of the problems involved, so that they might know what is involved in this whole problem of radio control and radio broadcasting, and also so that they might register what they themselves think concerning this very important means of communication.

I should say that also we could do very much at the present time in connection with this increased interest in the whole program of adult education, to come to a point where people could learn to evaluate at least on some level various types of offerings on the radio. I would go so far also as to say that in the secondary schools as a part of our program in social studies or in some other part, we certainly could give as much consideration to the study of the radio as we are now giving in many schools to the study of motion pictures. People need to be sensitive, they need to understand what is involved, they need to have at least some basis on which to evaluate, and when they have that and we provide some means of making them articulate, certainly a great many of the abuses and difficulties of the radio will disappear. I think that is important, no matter what kind of control we have in radio. If we have governmental control we will need that same understanding, that same appreciation, and that same sensitivity.

I suspect those of us who are responsible for teacher training programs and for the organization of school programs within a

state are not now appreciative of the importance and the force of the radio, and that we do need to give much more concern to it. In only a very few states at the present time are we willing to spend money to better programs or even to help teachers, to help adults, and to help other groups to work with programs that are already available. Until such time as we do consider it as important as some of the other things which we are doing, we probably shall not be able to make as much progress as we should like.

I think the way has already been pointed, as far as the secondary school is concerned, in the investigations which have been made of the motion picture. I think we have there something which would be very helpful to us in developing materials, constructive materials, which might be used by classes in the evaluation of radio programs as well as in using the radio program as a supplement to classroom instruction.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: Dr. George F. Bowerman, librarian of the Public Library, Washington, D. C., will continue the discussion.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

GEORGE F. BOWERMAN

Librarian, Public Library, Washington, D. C.

I represent not only my own library, but in a certain sense the American Library Association, because I am a member of the library broadcasting committee of the American Library Association.

One often thinks that his own particular line of work is the most important one. I have said that the library has the greatest possibilities as an adult education agent of any existing agency. This morning the emphasis on the radio made me momentarily question that, but Dr. Dickinson has said the printed page is still important and always will be, and that helps me to bring back my confidence in the library as a going concern and as a concern with possibilities.

The public library's middle name is cooperation. We always cooperate with every other cultural agency that is working to bring about the ends that we also have in view. When we see an agency like radio that has in it great possibilities for working to

the same end that we have, we want to help it along. When we see it undermining the things that we want to do, then we are also concerned.

On the cooperative side, the American Library Association and libraries generally have noted the work of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and the libraries of the country have cooperated with that agency. We have been gratified to see the success that Dr. Tyson has had in getting more and more cultural interests represented in those programs. The library in sticking to its last has provided the booklists in order that the public interest would not be confined to the fifteen-minute program or the half-hour program, as the case may be, in the hope that many who listen would also read the books listed by us.

The committee on library broadcasting of the American Library Association has latterly been most concerned with radio programs for children. One entire meeting of the children's section of the American Library Association at the conference in Chicago last October was taken up, in combination with the library broadcasting committee, with the question of radio programs for children. Most of the efforts that have been made by individual libraries to get good radio programs, in the hope of driving out or transferring the interest from bad programs, have been individual and not very successful, but now the ALA committee is concentrating on children's programs again in cooperation with the various other agencies, the Child Development Institute, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Child Study Association, the National Recreation Association, the Camp Fire Girls, the Boy Scouts, and so on, in the hope of drawing up children's programs that may have access to the air in the same way as the programs sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education.

Our contacts indicate that even with the present form of commercial control, when good programs have been presented, time has been made available for them. Probably the motive is self-interest. The broadcasting companies do not want to be put out of business or be taken over and controled governmentally. They have, therefore, been open to the suggestions of offering some good programs, to put it on the lowest terms. We also hope that they are not solely devoted to the dollars that they may get, but that they also have some real interest in cultural matters.

The American Library Association certainly has not taken any position as to whether there should be governmental control of radio as the ultimate best method of handling the problem. For the present, at least, we are opportunists and try to get the best we can with the present setup.

This committee of which I speak will bring forward a program at the Montreal session of the American Library Association in June, for further discussion. It has been suggested that when the plan is worked out it may be presented to one of the foundations for realization, for of course no one library can set up a national radio program for children.

Some of us have tried to have our individual libraries produce local programs, and they have been reasonably successful, but we have not ordinarily been able to get the best time on the air. Speaking particularly for my own library, we did have a series of programs of book reviews which were reasonably successful, but we were not successful in getting them put on at a time when people most wanted them. That, I think, is the greatest difficulty. Perhaps it was an unsalable time that we were able to get. It was four-forty-five to five o'clock when the government employees in Washington had not yet reached home, and so they could not hear our broadcast. There were only a comparatively few people who were able to get it. Most of the letters we received were of commendation, but some wrote, "Why not have your programs at a time when we can be at home to hear them?"

When I was invited to speak here I was not asked to make any definite statement as to what the attitude should be on the question of control from the point of view of libraries.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: Mr. Wallace L. Kadderly, United States Department of Agriculture, San Francisco, California, is the next speaker on this subject.

OREGON'S STATE-OWNED BROADCASTING STATION

WALLACE L. KADDERLY

United States Department of Agriculture

This morning I came here with some rather definite ideas with respect to what I was going to say this afternoon, but after listening to this morning's program I went away with some other

thoughts in mind. For this reason I am going to depart from the topic listed for discussion, and I do this in the hope that you will be interested in some experiences of a radio station with which I was very happy to be identified for eight years, eight very full years, years of experiences and hopes and aspirations. Some of these hopes and aspirations were realized, I might add.

Let me make clear that I am not here to represent that station; I merely speak out of my experiences with it. I am talking about Station KOAC, out there in the state of Oregon, a station that is unique in that it is the only publicly-owned and operated station in the entire United States operating with as much as 1000-watts power with unlimited time. It is now operated as a unit within the general extension division of the Oregon System of Higher Education, and that system, as many of you know, embraces the University of Oregon, Oregon State College, the University of Oregon Medical School, and the three state normal schools.

Let me cite just a little history, rather significant history, I think. In 1925 KOAC was on the air three nights a week with a total weekly time schedule of about six hours. Today it is on the air twelve hours daily, except Sunday. In 1925 the budget assigned to the station was about $1400; this year the net budget is about $20,000, and I might add that this figure doesn't give a true picture of the situation because in addition to the salary cuts taken by all members of the faculties out there, the members of the program staff of the station voluntarily placed themselves on a three-fourths time basis, and deliver about one and one-fourth or one and one-half time in terms of the normal time load. In 1925 the staff of KOAC was the equivalent of two men whose services were donated, you might say, by the departments of which they were members. Today there are eleven on the staff, and they are paid entirely from the radio budget.

When the station was set up in 1925, several definite objectives were established. I will not attempt to describe all of them. I will say this, however: We conceived of the radio station as one means of reaching the people of Oregon with the services available from Oregon State College, at that time the only institution from which programs were drawn. The interests and welfare of our people were scrutinized and our programs were built to serve their interests. Those interests, as we knew them, predominated our thinking. In brief, we established programs to serve

very definite groups of our society, in addition to those programs designed for *all* classes and groups that in the aggregate compose the state's population.

To make a long story short, KOAC's program schedule thru the years included representatives and services from all the publicly-supported institutions of higher learning, many of the denominational and privately-endowed institutions of learning, state officials, boards and commissions, and many organizations of a semi-public nature devoted to the public welfare, such as the Red Cross, the American Legion, the Corvallis Ministerial Association, to mention only three. I think it is safe to say that today our educational and civic leaders look upon that radio station as a very precious public resource.

Now I have consumed most of my five minutes in outlining a very sketchy background. In the few moments remaining I wish to list categorically a few things that out of my experience seem quite essential to a further development of KOAC as a great publicly-owned radio station.

First, maintenance and expansion of a program staff that is education-minded, composed of people who are not only experienced in building programs that might be termed educational and cultural, but experienced as well in radio technics.

Second, the development of a plan that will make available to the radio station the best minds in all our institutions of higher learning—a plan that will do away with the present system of utilizing some of those best minds on a basis that compels them to prepare and deliver their radio contributions as an overload. In other words, I am saying that some of those best minds are now being utilized in the radio programs but that with very, very few exceptions they make their contributions in addition to heavy teaching or research schedules.

I might go further and say that I visualize for KOAC and similar stations a staff of program contributors devoting, for periods at least, their full time to radio presentations, and with due weight given to development of methods of presentation as well as to program content.

I have mentioned only two of several essentials, as I see them. I must stop. In conclusion, I can say with assurance that out in Oregon there is now established a station with ideals and objectives, a station that is desirous of bringing to the people of that

state a service and information that will not only interest them in the practicalities of life, but also assist in the development of unprejudiced minds to the end that our complex social, political, and economic problems will receive an intelligent and fair hearing.

There is one great obstacle, right now, to a realization of those objectives and ideals—money. In the fact that those ideals are set up and that a lack of money is apparent, we find an explanation of the loyalty of that program staff out there in Oregon. They are not only holding the lines; they are pushing forward until better times and a better public understanding will come to the support of the station and build, on what is now the finest radio facility of its kind in the country, what we hope will be an outstanding example of a publicly-owned radio station in all that the term implies. All the facilities are there except money.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: Next is Dr. Maurice T. Price, sociologist and specialist in the sociology of international relations, Washington, D. C.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CRUCIBLE OF RADIO

MAURICE T. PRICE

Sociologist, Washington, D. C.

It is quite possible that the question before our Conference this afternoon will not be an academic one much longer so far as higher education, and even part of high-school education, is concerned.

It is no longer premature to suggest that radio may cause a revolution in higher education. Several years ago, when the educational and cultural possibilities of radio were first envisaged, there were most optimistic predictions that broadcasting from our colleges and universities would raise the educational and cultural level of the entire population at an unprecedented rate. Those predictions did not materialize. Why? Because, among other reasons, they implied a cooperation among educators in different parts of the country which was contrary to the sociological traits of teachers as a class, and they required a use of radio networks not then commanded by any one college or educational institution.

Two things are changing that situation. One is the entrance of the high-powered, 500,000-watt station which will enable any

one educational institution to reach the entire country without the use of networks and without the necessity of any great cooperation from the educational institutions of the country. The second is the dawning realization that comprehensive examinations are superior to examinations within each college course and at the end of each course. And a third is on the horizon, namely, the possibility of push-button attachments on radio receivingsets which will indicate to the broadcasters how many sets are listening in.

The consequence of these two or three factors, is that within a very short time there may be the most fundamental crisis in higher education that this country has yet faced.

If present appearances are not deceptive all you may have to do to usher in that crisis will be to let one institution in the Middlewest secure a high-powered, 500,000-watt station, start broadcasting its required and more stereotyped college courses under the most interesting lecturers it can find, and admit radio listeners to its comprehensive examinations in different parts of the country for a fee very much less than its present tuition fees.

When that happens what will those college boys and girls and their families do who now must make heavy sacrifices in order to pay tuition fees and the high costs of board and room away from home, sometimes in expensive urban centers? Will they continue to make such sacrifices in order to secure the usual *informational* courses of our institutions of higher learning when similar but superior informational courses of lectures can be heard over the radio, in their own homes and farms, with no charge except to those who take the annual or semi-annual comprehensive examinations?

Even if the attendance upon some classes within the colleges should be maintained for a while, would our state legislatures and denominational bodies keep up their expensive building plants in present educational institutions? If one or two or more universities of the air make available to the country a full set of college lecture courses, will these state legislatures and denominational bodies allow our present thousand or so colleges and universities to continue to pay teachers from $2000 to $10,000 a year to offer the same courses in the same way in single college classrooms? Rather, will they probably *lend their influence to the educational*

use of radio, merely as a means of cutting their own educational budgets!

The way in which colleges and universities all over the country have continued to construct huge institutional plants in spite of the development of radio is truly an anomaly. The necessary adjustment will no longer be delayed by burying our heads in the sand.

So far as these schools, and perhaps the senior high schools, are concerned two things are likely. First, some colleges will survive by returning to their long-neglected function of teaching pupils how to think instead of what to think. That cannot be done as effectively, if at all, over the radio. And many of our present teachers are unfitted for it. It requires small discussion groups and individual consultation. It may be expensive, but the expense will be eminently worthwhile if it can develop minds flexible enough to handle the problems of our contemporary civilization—providing war or the next depression leave us with a civilization.

In the second place, a certain number of technical, scientific, and social science schools will doubtless be supported for the laboratory training of students and for maintaining specialists who will devote their time to research, writing, occasional seminars, and occasional broadcasts.

As for the public, if the universities of the air are wise enough to employ a thoro-going radio pedagogy, there should indeed be an opportunity for every class of people, from the leisured manual worker who spends five or six hours at his craft, to the ambitious intellectual, to really get acquainted with the cultural heritage of mankind *on a level suited to his capacity.*

If our speculative predictions have even a small element of truth in them, the time has come for our colleges and universities to face the revolutionary implications of radio before they are hurled into the vortex of these bewildering changes.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: The question is now open for discussion from the floor.

DR. JAMES A. MOYER: I am not sure that I understood exactly the meaning of the representative from the state department at Harrisburg in regard to the teacher training institutions. I doubt whether we have enough information now in regard to the use of radio for elementary

instruction so that a recommendation could be made to those in charge of teacher training institutions that instruction of that kind should be in the curriculum. Is it the intention of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction to inform its teacher training institutions that instruction of this kind ought to be given? Reference was made by a speaker to the need of further research work of very much the same kind that we had been doing with motion pictures to determine educational values, and until thoro investigations are made of the educational values of radio for elementary work, definite curriculum suggestions can scarcely be made to the teacher training institutions.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: Mr. Bristow is not here now; if he returns we will ask him to answer your question.

MR. B. H. DARROW (State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio): I have listened to the answers to this question with a great deal of interest, but I want to give in a word some answers from my own state. I think the state department of education in Ohio says that at least a part of the responsibility for the cultural use of the radio depends upon it. I am certain that Dr. Rightmire, president of the Ohio State University, says that a portion of that responsibility rests upon his institution. He said that with great feeling to me just this past week during the Radio Institute in Columbus.

In the next place, I am sure that the parent-teacher associations of the state of Ohio, 1030 in number, are in rather general agreement, at least insofar as they are thoroly acquainted with the proposition, and they are being rapidly made so. They feel that a part of the responsibility for the cultural use of radio depends upon them. Our newly organized Ohio Radio Education Association, which plans to be a clearing-house for all of those groups which I have mentioned, plus all sorts of organizations which have an educational program in the interest of the public good, will pool their resources of all kinds in order to bring about the greatest results in the state of Ohio.

One or two things I want to mention in that regard. A state department of education, I think, should have some part in virtually every venture, for this reason: That whether they realize it or not, sometimes the college campus thinks too entirely upon the basis of the college level and does not get down to what I think is a point of much wider as well as deeper service, those in the high schools and those who are adult in years but haven't so much training. I think we are going to find increasingly that our adult education is going to be pretty largely of a high-school level.

The state department of education feels that its greatest responsibility, I believe, in the state of Ohio is in field organization, and during just the last few months we have helped the emergency schools administration put on a radio emergency school, which at the present time has

something over 2000 registrations. But frankly, when we have a radio chairman in each of our thousand parent-teacher associations and when the Ohio Radio Education Association has a more complete and harmonious program, including various other organizations such as the Federation of Women's Music Clubs, the Federation of Women's Clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis, and so on, then I believe the state department of education can do the most and perhaps the parent-teacher associations can render their greatest service in being the link between the overhead organization and the people in each and every community. I see great possibilities in that. We have already made some progress. I won't take any more time at the present moment but I would be glad to talk with any of you personally.

I might say that while we feel we have only made a beginning in the state of Ohio, yet we have spent $100,000 worth of cash money and we have caused to be spent more than a half million dollars of the time of commercial radio stations, so that our proposition, started by the gracious help of the Payne Fund, has had much time and thought put into it.

I am in favor of working this thing out harmoniously. It will be well to remember that the people in some other phases of broadcasting perhaps have just as good purposes and aims as have we, the educators.

At one time I represented the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, and everywhere I went they thought I had something insidious to put across. I never did have, and I felt hurt and sometimes angry at always having that thing to face. So I believe we will get farther if we work in harmony.

MR. JAMES RORTY: I would like to speak briefly to the subject, "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for the Cultural Use of Radio?" because I think the clear and forthright discussion of that responsibility has been evaded in the discussion that I have heard today. The answer has been made that the responsibility is with the sovereign people. It seems to me that it should be added that educators are professional people, that they have a responsibility to their profession, to the tradition of their profession, and that in evaluating what we call culture on the air, education on the air, they have the clear responsibility to say what is good in their opinion, what is bad, and then recommend to the sovereign people that what is bad be eliminated and what is good be improved and increased.

We have in this room people who have had a long and varied experience with the effort which the last speaker has mentioned, of being sweet and harmonious with commercial broadcasters. Perhaps I misunderstood the nature of his observation, but that effort has been pursued for some time. I submit that its results are not heartening. You have on the air education and culture in microscopic quantities, relatively, to the amount of sales talk and to the amount of advertising-sponsored

broadcasting which cannot be considered, on the whole, to be in any sense positively and creatively cultural or educational. The sales talk is demonstrably anti-cultural, anti-educational. The contrast can be clearly stated by saying that in the field of public health education the first act of a serious educator would be to wipe out of the air the whole business of food, drug, and cosmetic advertising as we have it today. I can testify as an advertising writer of some twelve years' experience that that kind of copy, some of which I wrote myself, not in that particular field but I have written radio script, is in no sense calculated to be honestly educational; it is calculated to shape and control the mental, moral, and ethical patterns of the population of the radio audience into profitable conformity with the profit-motivated interests of the advertiser, and that is what it does.

Futhermore, I point out that as long as the radio is for all practical purposes business-owned, business-administered, and business-censored, it is rather absurd to talk seriously of education or culture on the air. It simply does not make sense, because as it stands any serious discussion of many vital current problems is quite impossible under our American system of broadcasting. I mention an example. It is impossible, with major stations, to get any genuine public discussion of the fundamentals of birth control, which is a major issue now being debated in Congress and about which the population is not privileged to hear free and forthright discussion on the air, with the exception of a few minor stations of negligible audience.

I mention the whole question of the control of food and drug advertisers. We have had in Washington this last six months the largest lobby in history. I am told by competent observers that it is four times as big as any other lobby in history. That lobby has effectively emasculated the Tugwell bill, the residual Copeland bill. At the moment it has a few teeth left in it, but I shall be very much surprised if the Senate passes it. If the Senate passes it then I am reliably informed that the patent medicine racketeers have it blocked off in the House anyway.

Now as long as you gentlemen, educators, make believe that you are actually functioning in the interests of education while you are permitting this dominance, this complete control of the genuine educational process, which is going on over the air, going on every minute, (the effect upon the population of advertising-sponsored broadcasting is huge compared, I think, to the amount of education brought about by formal education in the colleges and schools) and as long as you make believe that you are accomplishing something by plastering a little education over this false front of commercial propaganda, exploitative propaganda, what Thorstein Veblen calls doctrinal memoranda, you are trading on that range of human infirmities which blossoms in devout observances and bears fruit in the psychopathic wards, you are unworthy of the responsibilities

as professional men to continue to take a stand against advertising on the air. The only way you can meet it is to demand some form of government ownership. Until you do, in the face of the masses of American people you will be ridiculous.

MR. JAMES F. COOKE (Presser Foundation, Philadelphia, Pa.): I have been very much interested in what Dr. Price has called the revolutionary implications of the radio in connection with college work. It is inconceivable to me that the radio can jeopardize in any way the college work of the present or of the future, because it is quite largely supplementary. Every educator knows that the student requires an intimate, human, individual contact to a very large extent to bring about a maximum accomplishment. We all know the work that has been done here in America thru correspondence schools, but after some thirty-five years of correspondence schools they are still secondary.

Take, for example, the matter of the big talking machine companies' attempt to instruct students in voice. They have put thousands and thousands of dollars into wonderful records by the very finest teachers, and those records have always been obtainable with excellent textbooks, but they never have been successful. There also has been a very splendid effort upon the part of certain manufacturers, certain publishers, to issue records for language, and those to a certain extent have been valuable. A student has had what would come over the air to him and what the Germans call *Zunge* technic, the technic of the tongue which comes thru the repetition of these terms, but still there is only a certain kind of student that can take a record of that kind and advance.

Lord Northcliffe, the great journalist in England, made an attempt many years ago to issue a magazine known as *Knowledge*. Here is the fundamental thing which affects this whole situation. The magazine *Knowledge*, if I am not mistaken, had a circulation of something like a million and a half with the third issue, and then there was an immediate decline because it is human for all students to lose their interest without the contact of a personal teacher. The teacher must be there, and there is only the very rare student who goes on without him. After a year and a half *Knowledge* disappeared entirely and Lord Northcliffe's famous adventure came to nothing.

I think the radio will prove a very great supplementary force in connection with all education. It is bound to do that, but as to its effect in annihilating the existing colleges I could hardly imagine that that would ever come to pass.

MR. ARMSTRONG PERRY (National Committee on Education by Radio, Washington, D. C.): One of Mr. Kadderly's remarks that appealed to me was that the Oregon State College had everything in connection with education by radio except money. It impressed me because it is a typical situation. All over this country we have institutions and

educational groups interested in education by radio and having everything except money. Strange to say, in most of these situations there seems to be no adequate planning for getting the thing which they lack, namely, money. It seems to be ignored that education has very substantial financial resources. Education in America has a capital investment of over ten and a half billions, not millions, but billions of money; it has an annual budget of over three billions of dollars. It is perfectly obvious that if education were to assume responsibility for education by radio to the extent of reallocating perhaps 1 percent to 2 percent of its resources, the country could have all the education by radio that any group could possibly desire.

In addition to that, the philanthropists of America are donating approximately fifty-two millions of dollars a year for education and welfare work. A very small percentage of that would give education by radio a substantial start.

The work so far, as far as philanthropies are concerned, has been borne by just two or three philanthropies, and they have made magnificent contributions to the subject.

I would be glad to hear, Mr. Chairman, from representatives of education and philanthropy and other interests here whether it would not be possible out of this Conference to bring some constructive thinking along the line of financing education by radio.

MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER (Los Angeles, Cal.): Mr. Chairman, I think that Mr. Perry has brought us back onto the track. Certainly the National Committee on Education by Radio had something in mind when it asked this question, "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for the Cultural Use of Radio?"—our present topic. I don't believe we have stuck to this question. Might it not be rephrased this way: "On Whom Rests the Responsibility for Education by Radio?" Which raises the question, "Who should pay the bills for education?"

Mr. Perry has suggested the state and philanthropy as possible alternatives. Protestantism used to be very vitally interested in education, but the function of the church in education has been taken over by the state, as of course we all know, to a very large extent; and the Protestant church is withdrawing from the educational field. There remains the question, therefore, of who is going to pay the bills, or at least who ought to pay the bills. If the state should pay the bills for education generally, the state should pay the bills for education by radio; if the church should assume a responsibility for education, the church should pay its share of the bills for education by radio; if philanthropy assumes obligations of education, then philanthropy should assume responsibility for paying the bills. In education by radio, however, we have a new bid for a new type of support. It comes from business, from industry. In America today broadcasting unites two altogether different services—

the dissemination of entertainment, propaganda, news, and opinions with the sale of publicity in the form of advertising. The former is inseparably related to our national culture. The latter is merely the marketing of a ware. Of course education that is supported by business and advertising is poisoned by it. Instead of operating on the principle that radio was made for the people, the industry operates on the principle that the people were made for the broadcaster. Perhaps education should expect and accept a certain amount of charity from the strictly commercial broadcaster, but we can hardly afford to make of radio culture permanently a shop for sales and profits.

I don't know whether or not we are prepared to give final answers at this time as to who should pay the bills. I have my own very strong convictions developed after years of experience, and perhaps if it isn't out of order to say so, after going thru all four corners of perdition in connection with research in the actual field.

MR. HARRIS K. RANDALL (Civic Broadcast Bureau, Chicago, Ill.): I would like to bring together two or three interesting points on this subject of the responsibility for the use of radio. Commissioner Lafount had occasion to tell the National Association of Broadcasters very pointedly about three years ago that the responsibility for radio programs of all kinds rests upon the licensees. They cannot dodge that responsibility or shift it to anyone else. That is, indeed, almost a necessity. It is just as necessary in England where the British Broadcasting Corporation as the sole licensee must retain the final responsibility.

Now, if (as I believe everyone here would agree) the responsibility for education by any medium ought to rest with educational institutions, then it almost necessarily follows that the educational institutions which are to bear the responsibility for education by radio must become licensees. That does not mean that each institution must have its own little transmitting plant. Many a radio licensee nowadays is using someone else's plant. But the institutions must control their own educational broadcasting, under licenses issued to them—not to some company whose electrical apparatus happens to be in use for carrying it.

The other point that I wished to comment on was the statement that radio is owned by commercial interests. That should be taken in connection with Mr. Morgan's very pertinent statement that the investment of commercial interests in radio does not exceed 10 percent of the investment of the listening public. If then we remember that radio includes not only the transmitting machinery, but the receiving machinery, it is certainly not accurate to say that radio in America is owned by commercial interests. The machinery of radio is owned 90 percent or more by the public in their homes. The rights of access to the air are owned by nobody else but the public or by governmental agencies, so that it is far more nearly accurate to say that radio is now publicly owned.

As to the transmitting apparatus—a mere 10 percent of the total—it makes very little difference who owns or operates it, so long as he does this electrical work properly and is properly paid for it. But as to who shall control the program traffic on the channels under government grants of authority, that is a problem where the future of civilization itself may be involved.

We must, therefore, come ultimately to recognize that a good radio licensee is any agency or body which is suitable to be held responsible for programs on one or more channels at certain times, whether or not that body has or wants any transmitting apparatus of its own. I believe that is really the only fundamental principle on which we can harmonize the facts which have been brought out here.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: Dr. Moyer, you were asking a question of Mr. Bristow, who was out at the time. Will you ask him again?

DR. MOYER: I was inquiring in regard to the statement of Mr. Bristow as to the policy of the state department at Harrisburg in regard to instructions to teacher training institutions about training courses in the use of radio for elementary instruction, and as to whether the Pennsylvania department was prepared to require such methods courses in the curriculum, or whether the attitude of the department was merely that more information was needed on this subject, especially such as we now have about the educational value of motion pictures, and that when we have worked out satisfactory methods of radio instruction, we ought to be prepared and ready to approve curriculum changes in the teacher training institutions?

MR. WILLIAM H. BRISTOW: We have been looking for that information. I might say that we have not gone as far with teacher training as you indicate, that is in motion pictures, but we do believe it ought to be in the program just as far as fundamental equipment is concerned for teaching. We also are looking for suitable material which can be used in high schools on the evaluation of the radio, as has been done with the moving picture, but it is not a part of our required course. It is quite fundamental to the development of a state program of radio, and something could be done about that right now.

DR. W. W. CHARTERS (Ohio State University, Columbus): Speaking to Dr. Moyer's inquiry, it may be interesting to know that the British Broadcasting Corporation in Great Britain has sponsored courses in radio education in the teachers colleges of the United Kingdom, and these are now being offered. The principle which actuated the teachers colleges was that radio education was an integral and very important part of the school program, and should, therefore, be included in the curriculum for the training of teachers.

The British Broadcasting Corporation has gone a step farther in connection with their adult discussion groups. Of these there are about

twelve hundred in the British Isles, and their effective operation requires the presence of excellent discussion leaders. To this end the Corporation has established during the summer for some years past a center at which selected lay leaders in the discussion groups are brought together for a two weeks' course on the technics of discussion leadership.

Dr. Moyer undoubtedly will discover that there are ample materials in England for the carrying on of such a course in the teachers colleges of the United States, and this can be supplemented by materials which are easily available in this country.

This is especially true since it would not be expected at the beginning that more than a unit within a larger course would be devoted to the study of this question.

I might say further that the radio division of our own bureau would be willing to help any teachers college in the assembling of such materials for reference and discussion.

CHAIRMAN COOPER: This subject for discussion will be concluded by the Reverend Russell J. Clinchy, Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, of Washington, D. C., who was unavoidably detained.

ON WHOM RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CULTURAL USE OF RADIO?

RUSSELL J. CLINCHY

Minister, Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.

My only suggestion is a simple one, and is from the standpoint of one who is dealing with adult life continually. The radio as such should consider the fact that it is a power of education in America today allied with practically only one other factor in its field, the moving picture, and should take just as seriously as the public school its responsibility for education.

If I were to make a practical suggestion it would be to have radio consider itself just as serious a factor in education as the public school does, and then to be judged upon such a plane. If our public schools should even attempt to put on one-half of the radio program as part of the curriculum, the entire community would rise up in protest, and yet in a factor which in reality is more of a power in education today than is the public school, there is no such protest because of the curriculum which the radio puts on. Until we as parents, as leaders, and as educators, make the people realize that they are dealing with a power of education, I do not see any

possibility of getting at the heart of this problem as to what the curriculum of the radio is in comparison with the curriculum of the public school.

As was undoubtedly brought to your attention today, something that has been done by the BBC is of interest. I have been especially interested in one series of the British programs with which I have become familiar. When last year they sponsored a program presenting religion across the radio as an educative force, when they spoke to the British people of how several eminent people in the British Isles thought of religion and its relation to the concerns of life, they began these broadcasts, as I remember them, with a broadcast by the Archbishop of Canterbury and also by Cardinal Bourne of the Catholic church, and then followed it up with eminent people of the British churches and presented a really great program of education based as fully upon the curriculum as would be the public school.

My only theory about that is that as a convinced Jeffersonian I think we have got to begin to understand that the basis of democracy rests somewhat upon Plato's idea of an aristocracy of the intellectual, what we mean in the dictionary sense of the intellectual and not in the colloquial sense, because fundamentally democracy lives and survives and grows and has vitality as we recognize the power of educated leaders within it. I cannot understand Jeffersonian democracy without Thomas Jefferson, and because there is a Jefferson in a democracy which recognizes that power of a mind and spirit in such a man, democracy has a better hold upon the vitality of the people and has a better soil in which to grow. Therefore, I fully and consciously believe that those of us who are interested in the growth of the democratic principles must begin to recognize that until we can put over the radio the aristocracy of the intellectual life in America, the future of the democratic ideal is at stake. I am sure that there is not one of us here today who has any serious dealings with the American mind but who understands that the vast majority of Americans absorb their ideas rather than work them out thru the thinking process, and until we can get into an actuality of a recognition like that, our democratic ideal and democratic hope is dimmed. But if we can understand that the best among us, no matter who we are, or what the group is, do absorb ideas and ideals just as much as the masses do and that we must depend, therefore, upon the

presentation of the group mind being brought to bear upon the best of our intellectual considerations, we will improve the great mass of the democratic ideal among us. And until we begin to consider the radio much as we consider other things, as a public utility, only on the basis of education, putting it on the same basis as the public school, demanding the same criterion of worth and curriculum, we are not going to reach the possibilities of radio or we are not going to control the cultural environment which our raido creates. To consider it in that way it seems to me is a very great advantage for a group like this.

MR. ALEXANDER: Would the Conference be interested to learn that the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee is reported planning to bring out the Dill-Rayburn Federal Communications Commission bill Wednesday or Thursday? It may be that this group would like to say something to the Interstate Commerce Committee, or to Mr. Dill, or Mr. Rayburn, before the bill is passed or voted on. The hearings by the House Committee on the bill began this afternoon and will continue for ten days or two weeks, I understand.

The meeting adjourned at four-twenty o'clock.

TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

MAY 8, 1934

The meeting convened at ten-ten o'clock, Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, regent, school of foreign service and vicepresident, Georgetown University, presiding.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Ladies and gentlemen, the duties of the presiding officer do not suggest a speech or an address at this time. May I, however, be permitted to make one observation. As I read the accounts yesterday and the comments in the various newspapers, it seemed to me that the special significance of this Conference lies in the fact that it is being held by independent citizens become aware of the potentialities attaching to the use and to the abuse of radio as a powerful factor in the formation of public opinion. The function of the press in distributing the printed word has acquired an acknowledged importance as an essential element in safeguarding liberty in a democracy. The amazing and far more extensive diffusion of the spoken word by radio has now raised problems and conceivably may engender conflicts in the future comparable to the great historic contests attaching to the defense of freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and freedom of the press. And I suspect that the day is not far distant when probably the cinema, too, will present problems which no longer can be ignored. All three, press, cinema, and radio, are so intimately and so powerfully connected with the welfare of the nation as a whole and so directly affect the public interest that some measure of social control would seem to be inevitable, at least if we accept the implications of social responsibility arising from a franchise to conduct a public utility.

Little by little I think the use of the radio is clarifying in people's minds as being affected with a public interest.

The duties incumbent upon me are merely administrative. The first speaker this morning is Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, who will speak to the question, "Radio as a Cultural Agency in Sparsely Settled Regions and Remote Areas." Dr. Morgan.

RADIO AS A CULTURAL AGENCY IN SPARSELY SETTLED REGIONS AND REMOTE AREAS

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority

Some years ago the English writer, G. Lowes Dickinson, spent a year or two in Japan and China, and on his return he wrote an account of his observations. Among other things, he discussed the trend of public taste in Japan. He said that everywhere in Japan there were indications of a day when taste in architecture, in fine arts, in personal manners, in personal dress, was at a very high level. There were everywhere vestiges of discriminating fineness, and yet he did not find in Japan at the time the sources of good taste. He said that as commercialism had swept over the country, as factories had been built, the new expressions of life were generally ugly. He tried to find an explanation for this tremendous change. His explanation was that the Japanese breed had somehow fundamentally changed, that probably the old race had died off and a new race of cruder makeup had taken its place, because he said there seemed to be no source of fine taste in the present regime.

In my opinion Dickinson's explanation was in error. I suspect that the genetic strains in Japan have not greatly changed. I suspect that at all times the number of persons who have had exceptional discrimination has been limited. As is customary generally, fine taste little by little achieves recognition and following, and little by little builds up authority for itself, so that those who have good taste come to be the arbiters of affairs.

Then when there is a social revolution, when those in authority lose control and the average mass of men suddenly throw up new leadership, that leadership is apt to be provincial, it is apt to have a certain strain of ability that brings it into power; as, for instance, commercial ability in Japan. That power without a background of discipline expresses itself in crude ways. It may be centuries before the occasional occurrence of discriminating taste can again win a position of power and authority in Japan and again establish that quality which has made the whole world admire the fine things in Japan in art, in fabrics, in personal manners, in landscaping, and in many other fields.

We often hear it said that in music the Europeans have very much better taste than Americans. We hear it said that the every-day worker in Europe is acquainted with opera, is acquainted with good music; that the Italian laborer at his work will be whistling an opera. We have almost been made to believe that there is something in the European climate that makes people appreciate music in Europe as they do not in America.

Observing the sources of music in Europe, one notes that to a very great extent music in Europe is endowed. Little by little those who have had capacity to discriminate have come into positions of authority in the musical field, they have been given power to create music, and the music that has been available to the public is that which has been furnished by people of exceptional taste, of exceptional discrimination. It has been made available to the public often thru endowed opera, thru concerts supported by municipalities or other organizations, but nearly always with people of authority and discrimination in charge.

What would happen if those people were not in charge? In going thru Europe I visited those places where there was music without discipline—the country fairs, for instance, where music was on a commercial basis. There I found almost invariably the crudest of American jazz predominated. Even proximity to a great educational institution does not save the day. Under the walls of Oxford each year is held the traditional Banbury Fair, commercially operated. American jazz holds full sway.

The point that I am making is this: Leadership in almost any field is rare, almost by definition, because the leaders are those few who are in the van. On a lower level, leadership might be on a correspondingly lower level, but on whatever plane we live the few who are farthest ahead are the leaders. That is true in public taste. Always there are a few men and women with greater discrimination, with greater imagination, with finer taste than the mass, and slowly the public comes to recognize that superiority by placing that leadership in power, unless there are forces preventing it.

It may be, sometimes, that some almost accidental force may be so in control of a situation that standards of taste are fixed possibly for generations or for centuries, not by discriminating leadership but by some other factor. At any time, the industrial leadership of the country is largely occupied; it has already found

its place. If a new opportunity comes, the existing leadership does not generally flock to that new opportunity because it is already engaged, and if there is vitality and vigor that has not had its opportunity, it will tend to pick up the new issues as they come along. For instance, we find an example of that in moving pictures. The moving pictures appeared on the scene at a time when our metropolis abounded with men of vigor but without cultural background. They were in all sorts of fields. For instance, if one goes into the wholesale districts of New York he finds scores or hundreds of little wholesalers, vigorous men of European descent, without much cultural background, who are trying to break into some field where they can be independent, where they can make their own way commercially. They are feeling their way in all fields. One of these fields happened to have a very great national significance, that of moving pictures. The men who took hold of it were some of these men of peasant background, without much cultural discrimination, but exceptional in energy and in business keenness. Commercial gain was almost the sole incentive, and by one of the peculiar twists of fate, that industry had more capacity to educate the American public than almost any other agency in our national life. It was by a peculiar twist of fate that a tremendous educational implement was put into the hands of people who had almost no sense of social responsibility, whose sole concern was commercial, and thru that peculiar circumstance the whole color of American life, of American standards of values, has been profoundly revolutionized and debased. The fate of our nation culturally seems to have rested, to some extent, upon that accident of invention combined with an accident of immigration and an accident in the distribution of commercial opportunity.

We are facing a time today when we must choose (we always have to choose, but today more than ever) between rugged individualism, the uncontroled exercise of personal initiative on the one hand, and social planning and control on the other hand. The moving picture industry is perhaps the most critical case in all America where purely commercial incentive combined with vigor and energy and shrewdness has affected the cultural temper of the country. It is the most crying case where it is extremely necessary that discrimination, that ethical control, that social control, shall be exercised over industry, and shall give it its direction.

The radio industry is a similar example. The old and tried leader-

ship of the country to a large degree was otherwise occupied, and this field was left for those who were seeking outlet for rugged individualism. It is on a higher plane possibly than moving pictures, because it has associated itself with older industries, and those older industries had a more stable personnel that combined cultural values with commercial interests, and yet the superiority is not tremendously great.

I spend little time listening to the radio. A week ago Sunday, I sat down for an hour in the evening and I moved back and forth across the range trying to find something that was not trivial, something that was not cheap. In that whole range of wave lengths, here and there I found something that was innocuous, but scarcely anything that was great, scarcely anything that was the work of a master. Nearly all was trivial and very much of it debasing.

I am to speak on radio as a cultural agency in sparsely settled regions and remote areas. I think that a cultural characteristic of any rural region is an unrecognized sense of inferiority. Persons or groups of persons who are in the less favorable position economically and socially come to consider themselves as inferior and to crave to be like the superior person. I have been among Indian groups in the past, and I noticed that the words used by white men had a dignity in the eyes of those Indians which their own language did not have. The very fact that a race is considered superior gives to its language or institutions a dignity in the eyes of the race which regards itself as inferior.

It is characteristic of rural regions that the people having less contact with life feel less sure of themselves, and whatever comes to them from the great world has an authority and dignity that makes it more readily acceptable. The radio is one of the principal connecting links between the urban and the rural worlds and its influence upon rural people especially is tremendous. Trade names enter quickly into their common speech; phrases, standards, and appraisals are accepted as coming from good authority. Whatever is trivial, whatever is debasing or commonplace, will leave its influence as coming from superior authority.

It is, as I say, something of a trick of fate that these most powerful instruments that ever were invented for the transmission of culture fell into the hands of people with commercial interests only, and not of cultural purpose. I think, as we look at it, we are

facing one of the great crises of our national life in these three elements that the Chairman mentioned: the newspaper, the moving pictures, and the radio. To some extent the newspaper had the same origin. The newspaper of a generation ago could pay only very low wages; its reporters often were not men of culture; often they were men of the street who picked up the job and could find the news and report it. The reporter knew all the prize fights that came to town; he knew the police headquarters; he knew some of these things, but his cultural background left much to be desired. And yet, because of the setup of the newspaper, he became the medium for transmitting culture to the American people. We have these three cases where the commercial motive, using the cheapest means available, came to give character and form to our national life as almost no other institutions could.

From what I have said you may guess that I am something of a revolutionist, and I am in this respect. These agencies that are giving character and form to, and are determining the set of mind, the set of personality of our national life, are too important to be controled by commercial considerations. I believe that there is only one right answer to the whole situation. You may say it is such an impossible answer that we cannot consider it, and yet I believe there is only one right answer, and that is that the newspaper, the radio, and the moving picture should not be operated for profit, that they should be operated as social services, just as our public schools. They are just as truly educational institutions as our public schools. We look at them differently, I believe, simply because by historical accident they have come to be differently established. Suppose our public schools had been established on a purely commercial basis in the same way. There might be no charge to the public for our public schools; the teaching staff might be supplied by the toothpaste manufacturers or patent medicine manufacturers a certain amount of the time; and they would have textbooks describing the values of toothpaste or patent medicine. A child might then be free to go to any school he should choose. The schools would be furnishing what the public wanted, and the one that furnished the most habit-forming drink would be in greatest demand, and the one that had the most salacious movies would have the patronage.

If the public schools for a century or for a generation had happened to grow up in that way they would represent vested interests,

and any effort to change them to another basis would be looked upon as an interference of the government in business. It would be looked upon as improper. Fortunately, our public schools have been saved from that fate, but our radio, our newspaper, our moving picture, are none the less determiners of culture. That is what the public school is—a determiner of culture. The movie, the radio, the newspaper, are determiners of culture, perhaps to a greater extent than our public schools, and I say there is no other right answer than that those great dominant determiners of culture should be free from commercial control.

That does not necessarily mean they should be under government control. Our universities are of different kinds. We have universities that are almost free from government control; they are endowed institutions, which I think is well. Under the present temper of government—I mean by "present" the last hundred years—it might be a very serious matter if government should control the radio and present our programs. The possibility of using it for political purposes might be serious, and yet in some way or other I believe it is our duty to see that these great instruments of social control, of cultural determination, shall be free from the profit motive, as most of our hospitals are free, as most of our universities are free, and as our churches are free.

As to our rural regions, in the Tennessee Valley 2.5 percent of our white rural population has access to radio; about .5 percent, I think, of our Negro population has access to it; so that at present the radio audience is very small. Perhaps it is fortunate. That audience can be developed. In our Tennessee Valley program I believe that education by radio could become a very great force. I doubt whether such a program ought to be under the Tennessee Valley Authority. I think that there would be the danger of government propaganda. The picture I have had in mind that I would like to see carried thru would be this: that we could get a board consisting of well-known educators, public-spirited men in various fields, to manage an educational radio; that a radio station might be established which would reach the entire Tennessee Valley area, with possible hook-ups elsewhere; and then thru the cooperation of the state university, of other agencies, that a program might be put on that would be an experiment in radio as a cultural medium with social controls and not commercial controls.

We have made studies of the cost of such a station, of the range

it might have, of how it might work. I think there is no doubt but that its program could be fully made up of good material, and I think it would become a great educational force.

As to its financing, I do not see how it could be financed except as our universities or colleges are financed, by private contributions.

As to the need for it, I think there is no doubt. As I said, our rural regions look to the leadership of the centers of population. The rural population is less sophisticated.

I think a change of temper must come thru our American life. I think that is the heart of the New Deal, that whoever has control of the vital interests of people shall use that control in a spirit of trusteeship and not primarily in a spirit of profit. That must be done with radio, and I am hoping that from some source or other we shall be able, outside of government control, to have set up in our region an experimental educational radio which will have its due proportion of entertainment, but which will be controled always by that discrimination which constitutes cultural leadership.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: We have heard the implications of radio influence domestically. The next paper will lead to the logical complement of that thesis; it will be presented to us by Miss Heloise Brainerd of the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., who will speak on the subject, "Radio as an Instrument of International Cultural Relations."

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING BETWEEN THE AMERICAS

HELOISE BRAINERD

Chief, Division of Intellectual Cooperation, Pan American Union

What I have to say deals with what is actually going on rather than with the potentialities in this field, as I am not in any way professionally connected with radio broadcasting and do not know very much about the technicalities.

The Pan American Union sees in the radio an immensely potent instrument for carrying out the purpose for which the organization was created—the furtherance of better understanding and friendly relations between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. As we in the United States become more familiar with the music

and other cultural contributions of the Latin American nations and they with ours, we shall have a bond of mutual appreciation on the highest level, which will enable us to reconcile many differences along other lines. The Union, therefore, desires not only to broadcast in the United States programs dealing with Latin America but to bring such programs direct from the Latin American republics. Of course broadcasts coming from Latin American stations will be heard also in the other Latin American countries, and this is very desirable because these southern nations are not as well acquainted with each other as one might suppose. In addition to programs of a cultural type, it will be very enlightening to put on the air the addresses made by distinguished speakers at inter-American conferences and other events of international interest.

The Pan American Union has already done a good deal in this field, principally in the way of making Latin American music known thru four or five concerts a year. Up to the present time sixty-nine concerts of music by Latin American composers have been given at the Pan American building by the Army, Navy, and Marine bands of the United States, with Latin American artists assisting, and these not only have been broadcast thruout the United States by the Navy Station NAA and by NBC, but also thru the powerful short-wave station at Schenectady have been transmitted to the Latin American countries. As a result of the Pan American Union's efforts, music from Latin America has gained a decided vogue and is featured regularly by practically all the radio stations thruout the United States. The Latin American sheet music which we have for loaning is in great demand by schools, women's clubs, and other organizations.

Other programs that have been broadcast from time to time at the Pan American Union include the address made by former President Hoover before the Pan American Commercial Conference in 1931; the ceremonies held in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of Bolivar's birth in 1933; the address made by President Roosevelt on April 14, 1933, setting forth his Latin American policy; a statement by Secretary Hull on April 14, 1934; and many others. The Union has also encouraged and assisted other institutions to put on programs of Pan American interest. In 1931 and 1932 our representative served on the Spanish subcommittee of the National Advisory Council on Radio

in Education, which attempted to plan a series of programs dealing with Spain and Spanish America, but for which, unfortunately, funds were not available. It was found, however, that government stations in Mexico and Colombia and private stations in Cuba and Venezuela were very ready to cooperate in putting on musical and literary programs for rebroadcasting in the United States, and doubtless more distant ones could have been utilized also.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that many of the Latin American countries are paying considerable attention to educational broadcasting. About a dozen of them have government-controled stations which put on programs of cultural value such as concerts and lectures. Six of these countries have informed the Pan American Union that they broadcast material designed for schools. Argentina has a variety of educational programs, and makes certain interesting provisions governing all broadcasting, such as prohibiting any but public health officials from giving talks on medical subjects, limiting the amount of advertising and of "canned" music—this in order to keep up the quality of programs—and prohibiting descriptions of horse races, which in Argentina occupy the same place in public interest that prize-fighting does here. Bolivia puts on programs designed especially for high schools. Cuba has a "University of the Air" and during the last two summers has conducted a "Summer School of the Air," to broadcast progressive educational ideas. Uruguay also has a "School of the Air." Guatemala's government station broadcasts six and a half hours daily and has equipped the normal, secondary, and some other schools with receivingsets. The broadcasting done by the Mexican Department of Education has several interesting features: special programs devoted to farm matters, hygiene, and the like, are directed to the rural schools and rural population, which are the object of particular care by the Mexican government; for urban schools a varied program is provided, including the daily "educational newspaper"; for teachers professional courses are given, including demonstration classes; and for the general public there are study courses supplemented by correspondence, enroling a large number of students. There is a "home hour" in the morning for mothers and in the evening for fathers, besides programs of general character.

The development of educational broadcasting between the American republics in the wider sense of the word "educational"

is assured by the fact that by proclamation of the President of the United States five short-wave channels have been allotted for the exclusive use of the republics which are members of the Pan American Union. The plan for the use of these channels calls for the installation of a fifteen-kilowatt short-wave transmitter in each capital with a special provision for reaching all the republics with programs between 6PM and midnight. The situation of the republics is ideal for radio transmission as there is but little difference in time among the several countries, and the power needed for north and south projection is only one-third of that required for east and west projection. The Seventh International Conference of American States meeting at Montevideo, Uruguay, last December, adopted a resolution urging the several governments to install as promptly as possible the equipment necessary for utilizing these assigned frequencies. It also directed the Pan American Union to formulate a plan for the assignment of the time during which these frequencies are to be used, and to recommend to the governments the types of program best adapted to fulfil the purposes of these international broadcasts. The Pan American Union is proceeding to carry out these instructions, and it is to be expected that in a relatively short time, since so many of the Latin American governments already have national broadcasting facilities, it will be possible for Americans, sitting comfortably in their homes, to listen to music from the Opera House in Buenos Aires, an address by the President of Chile, or some other program from the far South.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: In view of the fact that these two addresses have raised certain interesting problems, I believe the best procedure for us would be to hear immediately the report of the first group, "Government Regulation," under the chairmanship of Mr. James Rorty of New York. If the house agrees, we will have the discussion immediately following each report.

MR. JAMES RORTY: I served as a pinch-hitter as chairman of this group and made every effort to be careful that the findings of the group expressed the consensus of opinion of the group rather than my own personal view, which was somewhat more radical than that of the group assembled.

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSING "GOVERNMENT REGULATION"

First, this group goes on record recommending that a thoro, adequate, and impartial study be made of the cultural and technical implications of the broadcasting structure to the end that specific recommendations can be made for the control of that medium to conserve the greatest social welfare value.

Second, this group recommends that the proposed study include a consideration of the opportunity offered by the principal national broadcasting systems for the full development of educational and cultural radio programs.

Third, because undesirable advertising has exceeded reasonable bounds both in regard to the amount and more especially the kind of copy, we urge that the study also include the possibility of government regulation including the censorship of advertising.

Fourth, that the investigation consider the problem of securing educational broadcasting facilities for public stations operated by states and regions, and for groups representing specific interests such as labor, education, religion, and political parties.

MR. RORTY: These recommendations have been put at the disposal of Dr. Crane and were discussed this morning, and the net result I believe will be presented this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The two papers previously read, plus these specific recommendations, are now open for public discussion.

MR. JOS. F. WRIGHT (University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.): I am not clear on this point: Is there to be a commission appointed by the President of the United States, or by this group, or what group?

MR. RORTY: I may say that that question was debated by the group, that the general recommendation was adhered to rather than a specific recommendation, that other groups, since the questions involved interlock more or less, made more specific recommendations which you will hear, and I think more specific recommendations are embodied in the general recommendation.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I am sure that some of the questions raised by the first speaker, Dr. Morgan, call for comment.

MR. RORTY: I was struck by what seemed to me certain confusions in Dr. Morgan's thought about the explanation of the debauchment of radio and of the motion picture as a medium of social communication. Dr. Morgan suggested that the reason that we got bad moving pictures was because in default of the old and tried cultural leadership of the country the motion picture industry fell into the hands of first or second

generation immigrants, and so forth. I point out that radio fell into the hands of old and tried leadership, American leadership, represented by, for example, Owen D. Young, and that the net result on the air in that cultural result was perhaps a little worse than the product of the Hollywood *ex-pants makers,* so I do not think that the explanation putting the burden upon the inferior cultural leadership of the first and second generation immigrant stock is a full explanation.

I further would ask Dr. Morgan why he considers the motion picture exceptional. Does it not represent merely the standard exploitative technic of a capitalistic economy in an acquisitive society applied in a cultural field? We have examples of our old and tried American cultural leadership represented by Boston bankers in promotion of Kreuger securities, and many other examples that I might cite.

Again, I do not think that there is any important distinction between an exploitative technic applied in a cultural field such as radio and moving pictures and the standard technic as it appears in big business, or in little business for that matter, in a capitalistic economy.

I would further suggest that Dr. Morgan's admission of "Red" tendencies is interesting to a person like myself whose admission is a little more explicit and goes a little farther, and I would be very much interested if he is really convinced that the enterprise represented by the radio field represents in any sense a radical enterprise tending toward social revolution, or whether, in contrast, it represents simply the application, the somewhat delayed application on the American scene, of the phenomenon which we have studied in Germany known as rationalization. That phenomenon in Germany led quite clearly and directly to the phenomenon which we now know as Nazi Fascism in Germany and as Mussolini Fascism in Italy.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Would Dr. Morgan care to make any comments?

DR. MORGAN: I wouldn't make any comment at all; that is, I don't know that I would, except for the fact that I am afraid some remarks I made might be quoted in view of my being associated with the Administration. I personally believe that America has a political philosophy of its own, with which I am very heartily in sympathy, and I would say that the American political philosophy is distinctly pragmatic. Americans are not afraid of a capitalistic order as such. Wherever the capitalistic determination seems to be socially motivated they are for it. During a good many years Henry Ford seemed to the American people to be serving their purposes, altho it was very distinctly a business despotism, and so long as it was socially motivated in the opinion of the American people they were heartily in favor of it.

To go to the other extreme, our public-school system is definitely communist, that is, it has the communist technic in furnishing the people what they need regardless of whether the individual can pay for it, not

only furnishing it, but compelling them to take it under compulsory education. That is distinctly the technic of communism. Our fire departments have the technic of communism. The service is furnished to all the people regardless of whether they can pay for it.

There is a story I sometimes tell of an experience at the Chicago World's Fair when I was a small boy, where there was a little rugged individualism mixed in. The Turkish government had its exhibit of Turkish culture at the World's Fair. Among other things, they had a little Turkish fire department there. The building next door caught fire and the Turkish fire department rushed out, met the manager of the building, and the manager of the Turkish fire department said, "How much? How much?"

The manager didn't quite understand and the Turkish department manager said, "No money, no squirt." [Laughter.] That was rugged individualism expressed in another field.

On the other hand, our post office might be called state capitalism or socialism, where the public is furnished the service but is charged for it.

In the manufacturing field we have largely held to private initiative. The American genius is to disregard political theories and political slogans and labels and to try to handle each particular factor as that factor can be best handled, regardless of theory. The reason that I think we are justified in selecting some of these dominant cultural controls and treating them differently than we do others is because the issue is greater. If automobiles are too high-priced, then we may walk, but if radio and the newspaper and moving pictures are exploited for profit, there may be a debasement of national character there that is so important that we are justified in isolating those and giving them a social control and not bothering about what social theory was involved, just as we didn't bother about it with reference to Henry Ford, we didn't bother about it with reference to the fire departments, we didn't bother about it with reference to the public schools. We tried to treat each particular problem in the way that that particular problem could be best handled, and as long as America handles itself in that way, as long as it is perfectly pragmatic and doesn't bother about slogans and meets each issue as that issue can be best treated, we will have a sound national economy, I think. That in general is an answer.

Miss Katharine Terrill (Congregational Education Society, New York, N. Y.): Dr. Morgan pointed out that the commercial development of radio and moving pictures was an unfortunate accident in our national economy. If I understand you, Dr. Morgan, you said these were accidents. We have these accidents of the moving picture and of the radio. Just now Dr. Morgan says that we can be pragmatic, that we need not bother about social theory. But, it seems to me that social theory is extremely important when the disregard of it leads to such unfortunate accidents

as the commercialization of the motion picture and the radio. In other words, is the present development of the motion picture and the radio an unfortunate accident, or is it the logical outgrowth of our capitalist system? Therefore, must we not investigate very carefully the social theory that underlies such developments when they concern our whole educational system, our whole way of life?

I should like to have that question answered.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Dr. Morgan, I gather, believes that he has sufficiently indicated his point of view.

DR. MORGAN: I think so. I might add that I think that the factors in our life are too varied to put them all into one pattern, and that we will have a richer and fuller and better life if we try to meet the issues as they come up by the methods that would best handle that particular issue than if we try to treat all issues by a single pattern when life is too varied, too complicated, to do it, and I think we would greatly impoverish our national life by trying to treat all issues according to any single pattern of political theory. I think that applies on both sides, that the attitude taken by certain business interests that the government must have nothing to do with business is trying to put all of our life into a certain pattern, the attitude that government must take care of all business interests is trying to put it into another pattern. I think to try to force all of our national life into any one pattern would result in a lack of variety and lack of adaptability that would not give us the richest and fullest life we need.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The report of the second group, "In Whose Hands Should Broadcasting Be Placed?" will be made by the chairman, Mr. Walter E. Myer, Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSING "IN WHOSE HANDS SHOULD BROADCASTING BE PLACED?"

It is the sentiment of the committee which considered the question "In Whose Hands Should Broadcasting Be Placed? [Groups with motive of profit, culture, or politics predominant]" that broadcasting should be in the hands of groups whose predominant motive is the promotion of culture. However, the committee is aware that we do not have now in the United States a broadcasting system of that ideal sort, broadcasting being in the hands of those whose motive is profit. They recognize of course that there are a number of stations which operate from the educational motive but these are not the stations which command a hearing from the millions of radio listeners of America.

The committee does not advocate so revolutionary and difficult

a project as complete and immediate change of our broadcasting system by the creation of a complete governmental monopoly. The committee does not advocate at present the substitution of anything like the British system for that which prevails in this country. It does feel, however, that the people of the nation should be given the opportunity of listening to programs determined by groups which are dominated by the cultural motive. It believes that there should be developed a plan whereby stations with adequate facilities may operate under public authority and at public expense without broadcasting advertising.

As a means of bringing such a plan into effect, the committee by unanimous agreement brings in the following recommendations:

First, in the issuance of licenses there should be reserved and made available at such time as the states or regional areas wish to take them, adequate, full-time broadcasting facilities in each state or group of states cooperating.

Second, federal aid for these stations should be provided, in return for which the federal government would be given the privilege of using not to exceed a stated proportion of the time on the state or regional broadcasting stations, for national programs.

The committee feels that if this plan should be adopted, a considerable number of states, acting singly or in groups, would take advantage of the opportunity offered to establish and maintain adequate broadcasting facilities. It is the understanding that each of these state or regional stations would broadcast such programs as might seem best to serve the interests of the people of its territory. In addition it is understood that the federal government would use a portion of the time of each station and provide national programs comparable in character to those which are offered to the British public by the British Broadcasting Corporation. It is believed that enough of the public stations would soon be in operation to furnish facilities whereby the federal government could broadcast national programs to the people of the entire nation.

It is probable that the suggestion of such a plan will meet with opposition from those who are jealous of the prerogatives of private business organizations. Attention is called, however, to the fact that a program of this kind is not out of keeping with American tradition inasmuch as the social agencies and services

have traditionally been promoted and maintained in this country by public authority.

It is not the understanding of the committee that its recommendations if adopted would provide an ideal plan of broadcasting but it is felt that such a plan is practicable and would be a step toward the development of broadcasting with a predominant cultural intent. It would furnish to those who believe broadcasting might be conducted on a higher cultural level than that to which we are accustomed, an opportunity to test their faith by actual experience. Hence the committee recommends the adoption of its suggestion as a practicable program of immediate action.

MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER: What is the plan of discussion? Are you having time limits?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Yes, we have about fifteen minutes for each one.

MR. ALEXANDER: Is there to be discussion this afternoon of these reports?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Yes.

MR. ALEXANDER: Will there be a limit to the time this afternoon?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Yes.

MR. ALEXANDER: What time limit will there be?

DR. JOHN H. MACCRACKEN: Two hours.

MR. ALEXANDER: I have a statement which friends of the organization I represent in California would like to have made and which I have been requested to make by persons here. I don't know whether this is the time to make it or not.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I think we are quite within the time limit. I think, however, the right order would require us to get the other reports done, and then, if it is the wish of the house, when our regular business is finished we will return to a general discussion. Is that satisfactory?

MR. ALEXANDER: Quite satisfactory to me.

DEAN W. S. SMALL (College of Education, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.): The observation I have to make on this report is in no sense an objection to the report. It has to do with a very fundamental thing, however; that is the use of a term. You can kill a dog with a bad name and you can convert a good name into a means of opprobrium. I question the use of the word "cultural" in this sense in this report. It is not at all improbable that this may be seized upon by the very clever and highly paid publicists of the opposition and used quite as effectively as "professor" has been used with respect to the New Deal. I have no further comment to make other than that if some word meaning the same thing can be found that isn't open to the kind

of misrepresentative attack that "cultural" is open to, it would be a very salutary thing to adopt it.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That is, purely in a constructive sense, to avoid the possibility of satire.

MRS. MELONEY (Herald-Tribune Magazine): I should like to know if the gentleman has a substitute.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It has been asked of Dean Small if he has any name that could be substituted to describe the intangible quality called culture.

DEAN SMALL: Unfortunately I have not. I only make the observation that if a word or phrase could be found to take the place of that it would be very salutary.

MRS. MELONEY: I think the educated people in this country would be prepared to fight for the word "culture." I think it is a very simple word.

MR. HARRIS K. RANDALL: I would like to ask whether I correctly understood the report of this group that it was a unanimous report. I think I saw several people present who did not commit themselves one way or another.

MR. MYER: It was the understanding of myself and the secretary that it was generally accepted, that at the time action was taken there was no dissent. As a matter of fact, Dr. Tyler asked me if the report I originally wrote was unanimous, and I said yes, but if objection is raised I think that part can be omitted.

Answering the other question, it seems to me that part of this is explanation to this body here, and the only part that is really a recommendation of the committee is this very small part where the term "cultural" does not appear.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I believe that it would be the policy and the opinion of the organizers of the Conference that if there were a minority report of substantial account it ought to be taken into consideration.

MR. RANDALL: I am here as the representative of a body of people in Chicago which I am not at liberty to commit to any program they have not considered. I don't know that any of them would be opposed to this particular recommendation, but it does not seem to me that it ought to be called a unanimous report. If there was any proposal made in the group meeting that it was to be so reported, I didn't hear it.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I believe the point of view is probably easily reconciled with the report. This Conference was not organized, as I understand it, to make, at this time, any definite, precise recommendations, but largely to mobilize opinion and get the facts and point the direction toward a definite report or definite recommendation later. Dr. MacCracken, was that so?

DR. MACCRACKEN: Yes.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It is more at this time in the nature of a fact-finding meeting for the exchange of opinion.

DEAN F. W. BRADLEY: If the enemies of this report, Mr. Chairman, are not any more successful in laughing it off than have been the enemies of the New Deal in laughing off the New Deal, I think we may be of good cheer.

MR. JAMES F. COOKE: I have been very much interested in the report of the speaker representing the Pan American Union because I have made many trips from Philadelphia to hear the concerts given by the orchestras of the United States government, played by government bands, given by the Pan American Union very largely for radio broadcasting. I don't know whether it was Dr. Rowe or Franklin Adams who told me when he got two representatives of the various governments to the south of the Caribbean Sea together and they started in on a debate, it usually ended up with daggers, but when they began to give the music of those two different countries it always ended up with smiles. In other words, if the representative from Venezuela heard the music of the representative from the Argentine or from Mexico or Colombia, they all agreed that it was very beautiful music. Altho the debates resulted in nothing, the music resulted in a fine concord of opinion.

I am very curious to know how many in this group are actually musicians, who know music, because music is 80 percent of broadcasting at the present time. I wonder if you would raise your hands and let me know how many of you have been professionally engaged in music. (About six or seven responded.)

Radio is nothing more than a conduit, a pipe-line, running from reservoirs, let us say, of desirable culture or from objectionable culture. We have the very finest music in the world perhaps 20 to 40 percent and the rest is musical swill which is poured into the homes of America, and I believe that Americans, judging from the sales of radio apparatus from the reports of radio manufacturers, are becoming very much disgusted with what they are getting in the musical field.

I believe in connection with this subject there is a very great danger in radio in that it becomes peculiarly passive; in other words, the people sit back and listen to whatever they hear and it becomes a kind of mental or spiritual musical bath which they enjoy for the time being and then forget about. In all education one ounce of participation is worth several tons of appreciation. I feel, therefore, that the radio has in a certain sense been a barrier to culture in the fact that it does not stimulate the amount of participation, the amount of actual study that should be done; it merely gives to millions of people a very pleasant experience, something to pass away the time, and is then soon forgotten.

The direction of this, which is one of the greatest forces in modern life, toward actual culture may be very productive. I know in the musical

field, the field in which I am peculiarly interested because I have been a professional teacher (I have been president of three of the largest music companies in America, I am the president of a large musical foundation, and for twenty-five years I have edited the most largely circulated musical magazine in the world), I see certain things in radio which perhaps a person who is not in the musical field and has not had this musical contact might not see. I see a great social possibility. Music has an emotionalizing effect, and in the development of character, perhaps the promotion of ethics over the radio with the emotionalizing effect of radio, the radio may be something of such vast significance that our whole governmental life may be changed.

FATHER AHERN: Isn't it true in your experience that in the last eight or ten years radio has increased musical participation?

MR. COOKE: It has decidedly. I think the effect has been more beneficial than destructive. As I said yesterday, the fact that the radio factories are only working a very small percentage of capacity and the piano factories far and wide are working not only to capacity but are hunting around for many more workers to extend their businesses, is an indication of the splendid work that the radio has done in promoting, in activating music study.

FATHER AHERN: Isn't it a significant fact that nearly $60,000 was contributed by radio alone to the New York Philharmonic?

MR. COOKE: That is very true, in small amounts of five cents to a dollar.

MR. WEAVER W. PANGBURN (National Recreation Association, New York, N. Y.): I want to suggest that if the report of group B was not entirely unanimous, it was about twelve for to one against and it is only fair to say that it was so nearly unanimous that it was virtually so.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That would be a question for the members of the committee to decide. If there was a minority it is quite according to Hoyle, if they wish, to submit a minority report.

MR. RANDALL: Mr. Chairman, whether it is a minority of one member or of 40 percent that does not concur with the majority report, I should say it is entirely up to the minority whether they care to submit a minority report or not. If they do not submit a minority report it should by no means be assumed therefrom that they concur with the majority.

MR. MYER: I think there is a misunderstanding. I said if it was not unanimous that does not have to go in.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: If there are no more comments with regard to the second report, we will proceed to the report of the third group, "Protection of the Rights and Provision for the Needs of Minorities," to be presented by the chairman of the group, Reverend Charles A. Robinson, S. J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSING "PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND PROVISION FOR THE NEEDS OF MINORITIES"

We thought that the word minority was to be understood in the sense of group minorities rather than class minorities, the group signifying an organized minority. Under this heading might come such minorities as political, religious, musical, educational, agricultural, according to localities, and the like.

Dealing first with the rights of minorities, we thought that this could not be adequately treated without also considering the rights of the majority. At the very outset we thought it necessary to disrupt the fallacy that seems to be very commonly propagated, namely, that the people get what they want. In answer to this fallacy we decided, after somewhat lengthy discussion, that the people could not get what they wanted so long as they had not constantly the possibility of choice, and at the present time the possibility of choice is frequently denied to them. You might just as well say that a person is getting what he wants because he actually gets bank failures, graft in local politics, and similar infringements of his rights. It is not sufficient to say that a person is free to choose just because he can turn his dial and in this way change from one station to another. Even by this action he cannot eliminate advertising, for instance, if he so wishes, because he never knows at what time or over what station advertising may be broadcast. But if there were provisions made in the law of such a nature that either there would always be a station in every locality entirely free of advertising and yet giving a great variety of programs in the course of the day, or if there were certain hours of the day, both in the afternoon and evening, during which programs from various stations would have to be different and yet entirely free from any form of advertising, then there would be some possibility of real choice on the part of the listener. We came to this conclusion from considering the basic principle that a man's home is his castle, and that he and the members of his family have natural rights to their physical, mental, and moral integrity. These rights might, and in many cases would be infringed, at least indirectly, by the power of untoward suggestions, unless the individual were assured that at least certain times of the day, or on certain channels of the air, these rights were always to be respected.

As regards the broadcasting end, we thought that no minority should be excluded merely because it is a minority, but only for practical reasons. For example, in case there were not enough distributable broadcasting hours, every minority would have some time for the expression of its own views.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: You have heard the report. It is now open for discussion. The Chair hears no suggestion as to discussion. We shall proceed to the fourth report, namely that on "Cultural Values and Freedom of the Air," by the chairman, Dr. W. W. Charters, the Ohio State University.

DR. W. W. CHARTERS: The topic which was given to this group to discuss was an extremely broad one. It was "Cultural Values of Broadcasting and Freedom of the Air." Out of our discussion came three recommendations, and I shall adopt the policy in reading these recommendations, which for purposes of rhetoric were made extremely brief, of asking two of the members of the committee to say a few words about the background from which these were developed, and I shall speak about the third one.

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSING "CULTURAL VALUES AND FREEDOM OF THE AIR"

We felt in looking over the situation that one of the outstanding problems in the United States was to make the 120,000,000 people who are potential consumers of radio broadcasting programs conscious of the fact that radio broadcasting has very definite and powerful, social and cultural value. One who listened to the program yesterday morning would have realized that this group is completely conscious of these values. But when one gets out amongst the people who are not studying radio as carefully as this group here is studying it, it becomes quite apparent that the concept which they tie up with radio is seldom that of a cultural agency; it is rather radio and music, radio and jazz, radio and recreation. But radio and culture is something that has not been as fully recognized by them as the case demands.

This becomes perfectly clear as one observes the attitude of the European people and the European governments to radio and motion pictures. There is no question that the governments of Europe see very definitely the powerful services that radio can perform. The reason probably they have this feeling is that there is a much greater sense of insecurity among the nations of Europe, and

any agency that will make for the greater morale of their people or for the undermining of that morale becomes at once to them an object of the deepest interest.

We in our continental position have not had to consider political stability. We have not been forced to see the connection between radio and national well being. As a consequence we have allowed broadcasting to develop as it would. We have our commercial broadcasting agencies which put on programs without much regard to the cultural value of the programs they put on. We have many philanthropic, educational, governmental agencies that are putting them on, but nowhere do we have anything that corresponds to a national policy or even a national formulation of policy.

We felt that in reaching the 120,000,000 people one of the very best ways of reaching them would be thru the organized cultural organizations that we have in the United States, all the way from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the educational organizations, to Rotary and Kiwanis and other service organizations.

Therefore, we recommend that the President of the United States appoint a commission on the social and cultural values of radio broadcasting. This commission should be composed of members of the government and of social, civic, scientific, educational organizations of the nation and should report its findings in some appropriate manner.

We feel that it is of vital importance to the nation as a whole that the government should very clearly take a definite part in whatever formulation should be arrived at.

This is primarily, I should say, an educational program. If the representatives of these organizations that I have mentioned, scores of organizations, can help to formulate policies, to tie up radio with culture—two terms that go together as a hyphenated phrase—much would be done to lead the people at large to see that radio is primarily a cultural institution.

Second, we recommend that steps be taken to inaugurate an impartial study of the influence of radio broadcasting upon children, youths, and adults.

DR. CHARTERS: I should like Dr. Carr of the National Education Association to speak briefly on that subject.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That will come in the open discussion.

DR. CHARTERS: The third recommendation:

We recommend that the Conference seek the introduction of a bill into the Congress of the United States for the appointment of a Congressional radio committee to make a thoro study of the present ownership and operation of radio broadcasting in the United States. This committee should develop a plan for a system of radio broadcasting which will more adequately develop the radio as a cultural and social agency in the United States. The committee should be composed of one representative from the Senate, one from the House, and ten others appointed by the President of the United States representing educational interests and other impartial representatives of the public who shall serve without pay. All necessary expenses of the committee should be paid for by the federal government.

DR. CHARTERS: Mr. Chairman, that is our report. Dr. Davis will discuss the last recommendation later.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The committee report is now open for discussion.

DR. WILLIAM G. CARR (Research Director, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.): I should like to urge your support of the recommendation of the group that a study be made of the influence of the radio upon children, youths, and adults. As Dr. Charters has stated, the chief outcome of the group's deliberation was the agreement that the central problem seemed to be an unawareness on the part of the American people of the possibilities of radio as a cultural institution. Surely the first step in creating such an awareness is the gathering of a volume of facts to demonstrate, to all who are interested in considering facts, in what ways and to what extent radio is, or may become, a cultural institution.

We must all agree, after having listened to the discussion of the last two days, that there are now available only scattered bits of information and hearsay; that there is a wide variety of opinions and judgments, often by no means in agreement; and that there is need for an adequate body of tested facts upon which a well-considered public policy with reference to radio as a cultural agency may be built. I doubt whether any proper policy can be developed in the absence of such facts.

We have in the radio a problem somewhat similar to that of the motion pictures. Both are growing, privately-owned businesses with great possibilities for constructive or destructive educational results. Some years ago there was initiated an investigation of motion pictures and youth. Recently the report of that investigation on the influence of motion pictures upon youths was placed before the American people. No one who follows educational literature can be unaware of that report. It has spoken with authority on certain facts about the effect of motion pictures

on children. Those striking facts have been sufficient to start in this country a movement, a public interest, which is just what we are seeking in radio. I believe it would go farther than almost any amount of exhortation in arousing public interest.

What the group is suggesting, as I understand it, is a study of radio education which would be similar in general to the study of motion pictures. It would attempt to answer such questions as these: What are the programs to which children are now listening? What is the content of those programs? What is the advertising content of them? What is the program content of them? What is the effect of radio on the learning of children—learning with respect to information, learning with respect to habits, learning with respect to emotions and attitudes and ideals? We are working in the dark until we secure a more adequate factual basis on these issues than we now possess.

Mr. James Rorty: The suggestion for a factual study interests me, particularly in the light of the analogy to the motion picture study which Dr. Charters was also connected with. I can prophesy quite confidently that if such a study is undertaken (and I think it should be undertaken) the radical movement will pile into it for all it is worth, highly critically, and challenge the framework of the judgment, challenge the concept of culture, and try to get a real study instead of a study such as the motion picture study which has been mentioned. The motion picture study had value, I do not deny, but its pretenses of objectivity obviously could not be sustained. I do not think that educators, if the point were put to them firmly, would attempt to sustain that concept of objectivity with respect to the motion picture study, and I question very strongly whether the study as proposed and as executed perhaps by the National Education Association would get to the bottom of the facts, particularly the economic determinants of the culture on the air as we have it.

Concerning the concept of culture, the point should be made that we do not have in this country a culture. When we say "we" what we mean is the particular group with whose interests we find ourselves identified. When the radical movement says "we" it speaks of hand workers, of manual workers, and of intellectual workers who have made common cause for the destruction of the capitalistic economy, for the capture and destruction of the state apparatus, and for the establishment of a workers' democracy. Now there is a fundamental contradiction in the point of view and a study such as proposed would be valuable only if the framework of judgment were clearly defined, if the economic issues were genuinely grappled with, if the fact that we have a fragmented civilization, with not one culture but many cultures and many definitely conflicting interests, were clearly recognized.

Dr. J. F. Marsh (President, Concord State Teachers College, Athens, W. Va.): I should like to make a few comments in general about our-

selves and the problems being considered. I have attended meetings of many groups like this, and I find there is as much disposition on our part to set up straw men to knock down as there is prejudice on the part of the supposed enemy to our cause.

I am here to say in regard to the remarks of the honorable last speaker that in my opinion even the low culture that we may have in America cannot be matched in good qualities by any other country in the world, regardless of what system of government or economics they may have. I believe the most cultured centers of America are where the capitalists have had the most influence. The lowest cultures of America are found where the capitalists, money if you wish to call it that, have not penetrated with their influence.

I live in a small town. The best thing that could happen for our culture is for a good chain store to come into that town. It is much more cultured than an untouched store that grows up without any of these so-called evil influences. I should be very glad to have the capitalists or someone put in an artistic or even an only fairly artistic theater. I think that the moneyed men of America are not as vicious as we think they are. The specific thing to which I would like to speak would be to recommend to our committee that we seek to have delegates from our organization admitted to all types of organizations representing movie owners, broadcasting stations, newspaper representatives, the national Chamber of Commerce, and the like, because I believe that such folks are good Americans and would be glad to work with us in the elevation of social culture in America.

The main point is that I think we should not draw down the window-blinds and decide that we have culture cornered within ourselves, but rather walk into every place interested in these problems, remembering that Americans are all about alike and are willing to do the square thing if they are convinced what is best for our country.

Dr. Jerome Davis: I arise to support all three of these recommendations. I think it is unanimously agreed to by all those who have participated in this Conference that the present radio setup is unsatisfactory at many points. In order to change this it is necessary to have a consciousness on the part of the American people of the tremendous significance of radio, and that the radio is just as important as the public education system. We believe that if the first recommendation for a national conference called by the President, representing all the educational-social agencies of the nation, were carried out, a national consciousness about radio and the need of a change would become apparent. Such a conference would be analogous to that on child welfare called a few years ago at the White House.

In the second place, we believe all the facts that can be secured scientifically about the radio and its social effect should be secured, and we

believe if money could be appropriated by some foundation to make possible such a study we would have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

In the third place, we believe that there must be governmental action to make a scientific study to determine what changes should be made in the present radio setup. We are unanimously agreed that changes should be made. What are the changes that we want? Rather than have just simply an ordinary political committee of Congress, we feel that if we could have a committee appointed by the President with representation by the House and the Senate, and yet with ten representatives from the educational and other social agencies in the United States, a nonpaid commission or committee, but which would have all the necessary funds so that it could hire experts to secure the data on which to base its report, we would create a program that might have a chance of effecting some real and genuine changes in the present radio setup.

I should, therefore, like to move formally the adoption of these three suggestions by this Conference.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It wasn't my understanding that there should be acceptation of any resolutions at this time, in the formal sense of moving the adoption and voting upon them. My understanding was that they were to be presented for discussion and that the Conference was not prepared definitely to go on record. Possibly Dr. MacCracken might clarify that.

DR. MACCRACKEN: The expectation was that these reports would be presented as the conclusions were reached last night for discussion here, and then they would go to the committee which was to draft a statement of sound American policy on the radio and that would come up for adoption this afternoon. At the same time, there is no objection, in case someone desires to do so, to express concurrence with the conclusions the groups reached last night.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I think, Dr. Davis, as this is not strictly under parliamentary procedure, this gentleman might have something to say before acting on your suggestion.

DEAN THOMAS E. BENNER: I want to speak to the point raised by Dr. Davis. It seems to me rather important that we note that there is some slight inconsistency (not necessarily inconsistency in logic, but inconsistency in strategy) if we compare, for example, the report of committee B with the first and third recommendations of committee D. This inconsistency the general committee might wish to harmonize in preparing its final report. It seems to me it might be much better to leave the committee preparing the final report free to harmonize the details. For example, committee B recommends a type of program which it seems to me offers a very helpful piece of strategy to reach public opinion and obtain public support for a national program for national and state

utilization of radio in the public interest. I should like the general committee to consider the possibilities of danger in the setting up of a committee that might be controled by special interests.

DR. DAVIS: I would like to answer those criticisms.

I don't think that there is anything inconsistent at all between the recommendation of group B and our own recommendations. If this Conference wishes to go on record in favor of some one particular program, that is quite satisfactory to me and I think to the other members of our committee. We only feel that these three additional steps would also be helpful, and we believe the appointment of this committee is safeguarded so that it would not be dominated by special interests, for it is to be appointed by the President of the United States and it is to represent educational and social agencies and impartial representatives, not representatives controled by profit-motivated companies.

My only reason for proposing adoption of these proposals now is that I find I cannot be present this afternoon, and since it has been ruled that it is in order I should like to move the adoption of these three recommendations by the Conference.

DEAN BENNER: May I ask Dr. Davis whether, because he is not to be here this afternoon, he asks adoption by the group as an expression of lack of confidence in the general committee?

DR. DAVIS: That is a very good come-back. I have no lack of confidence in the general committee, but I met for two hours this morning with the general committee and I know that our entire time was taken up with the formulation of a very excellent report and that that report is now being phrased for final presentation to the Conference. The time is so heavily mortgaged that I don't believe it is possible for the general committee to give consideration to all the proposals that have been showered upon it. We had this morning, I think, about twenty proposals which had to be read over as rapidly as possible and could not even be thoughtfully considered. There is a meeting of the National Committee on Education by Radio at noon and then the Conference meets at two o'clock. I don't believe there will be much chance for further consideration by the general committee. However, if the sentiment is that there is no time to consider it now and there would be time this afternoon, of course that is a matter for this group to decide.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Do I understand that Dr. Davis awaits the seconding of that motion? Dr. Davis has moved that these recommendations be adopted; comment has been made that there be more time to study these recommendations in detail.

DR. HENRY B. WARD (American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D. C.): I second the motion in order to have an opportunity to say something on it.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It has been regularly moved and seconded that

these three proposals as read be adopted—I don't think the word is adopted, but approved or concurred in—by this Conference. Debate is now in order.

DR. WARD: No one who has attended this Conference and listened as consistently as I have thru its deliberations can fail to be impressed by some widespread differences of opinion in detail. I was deeply impressed by the presentation of Dr. Davis at the beginning of our session. I have followed equally carefully the statements since that time. It seems to me that we have had, this morning, from Dr. Morgan as a brief interlude in his presentation of a special question, some emphasis on the desirability and indeed the necessity of social planning which justifies our commitment to certain activities in that direction at the present moment. We are interested not only in effects, which should be carefully studied, but in the influences which lie behind those and have brought the effects that are now beginning to be recognized. Unless we think of the future and consider what is to grow out of these influences before they have come to the point of magnitude that they may exceed our control, we are laying up for the people of America in another generation something that will not bring upon us the thanks that we feel to our forefathers in their establishment of this nation.

I am in general sympathy with the position of this motion, but I have a little doubt as to whether we should specify to the President the definite number and character of a group to be appointed, or to Congress, which we must remember is composed of representatives from all sections and from all shades of political life and of belief on various questions, exactly how such a body should be constituted as might most fairly and most thoroly investigate this problem. We have had studies made in a broad way of other questions, and I should prefer, if a commission is appointed by the President and arranged by Congress, to see this motion, if it is urged, indicate that the details are suggestive rather than determinative. It seems to me that would express the desire of this Conference better than a very definite pronouncement on number and character in these various elements in the motion.

DEAN BENNER: I would like to have it quite clear that I was not seeking to oppose these recommendations. What I was pointing out was that as a part of democratic, intelligent procedure it is rather important that we should not adopt here a series of reports whose details when brought together will be in such conflict or in such lack of harmony, at least, that they will become absurd. If we were discussing this item and all other recommendations together and were taking adequate time to do it we might be going somewhere, but we have seen many organizations with programs before them adopt ten different resolutions, each of which conflicted with the other in minor detail, so that the total outcome was nothing. That is the point that I have in mind. I would like to urge

the defeat of the motion not as a disagreement with the report of the committee but as an expression of the idea that it is wiser for us to permit the general committee to discuss these various reports and harmonize them at any point where they need harmonizing and then bring in a report which we can discuss and modify *in toto* as expressing the general sentiment of this group.

DR. DAVIS: I think our purpose was exactly what Dr. Ward suggested, that it was merely suggestive to the President. As a matter of fact, a motion which will be introduced this afternoon suggests the appointment of a committee to take these proposals personally to the President of the United States, and therefore that committee will personally express to the President that these are simply suggestions and that the details are not significant.

In the second place, with regard to the comment that has just been made, I would not have the slightest objection to that point of view if I thought that the committee really had any opportunity to consider these things. My point is that I don't think the committee now has a real chance or opportunity to harmonize these different reports. I don't think there are any inconsistencies at all in adopting these and any other suggestions that will be brought out later. If I am not mistaken, there is really no time left on the program for the committee to consider and harmonize all these proposals. Therefore, I think it is quite within order to adopt the proposals as suggested.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: In that case the Chair would have to rule that before the placing of the questions for final vote, the resolutions would have to be brought up and read again carefully in detail.

DEAN BENNER: May I ask whether Dr. MacCracken feels that the committee would have no time to prepare a report?

DR. DAVIS: That has already been prepared.

DEAN BENNER: Without consideration of the relationship of these various groups?

DR. DAVIS: They didn't have time to consider those.

DEAN BENNER: Since I do not have to leave at the close of this session, I am very much interested myself in seeing the whole matter discussed.

MR. WEAVER W. PANGBURN: To be fair to the other committees whose reports were given for discussion without reference to the possibility of adoption, to take one report and vote on that and virtually to ignore the three previous reports which were very seriously considered and debated for several hours, doesn't seem to me to be quite parliamentary or quite proper.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The objection will have to be met by the house. The gentleman has raised the question whether or not it is the wish of this body to make the discrimination involved in passing resolutions of

one committee without further consideration of the reports of the other committees.

DR. DAVIS: I rise to make an amendment.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The question has been called for.

DR. DAVIS: I should like to amend the original motion to read that we concur in all the committee reports and pass them to the general committee for their consideration and approval.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: That is a withdrawal of your original motion, Doctor, and a substitution of a new motion. Do I understand you offer this as a substitute?

DR. DAVIS: If someone is willing to second this I will do so.

DEAN BENNER: I will second it.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Dr. Davis withdraws his first motion and makes a substitute motion which is that the Conference concur in and approve the general sense of all the committee reports for transmission to the editing committee.

The motion was carried.

MR. JAMES F. COOKE: There is good in all things and I am afraid that there are some implications in this last report which, if they reach the ears of the broadcasting companies, might be misinterpreted.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: As I understand it, sir, they are still to be submitted to a drafting or editing committee.

MR. COOKE: I understand that.

The broadcasting companies, which, of course, will remain in control of the situation for a long time, have done a great many very wonderful things for art and for culture, for instance, the Damrosch school programs in the morning. While I am not connected directly or indirectly in any way with any broadcasting company, it seems to me it would be very unfair not to realize and appreciate what they have done. The Damrosch programs, the symphony programs, and other programs of an educational and artistic type are really contributive to the culture of America, and they have been done, I think, with very unselfish motives. Anyone, for instance, who has received the huge volumes of reports of the Damrosch morning school programs must realize that they have made a very considerable contribution to American education. These programs are merely a part of scores of similar noncommercial programs of a very high order which have been presented over the air for years.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: As there is no other regular business assigned to the program, the gentleman who wished to make a statement to the Conference has the floor.

MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER (Los Angeles, Calif.): Mr. Chairman and members of the Conference: I venture to say that possibly you will hear some information, if you have opportunity to remain just a few

minutes longer, which you will agree is of importance and of interest to all concerned with establishing a rational policy of control and application of radio.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell makes a statement to this effect:

> The machine age offers several instrumentalities of mass communication, among which are the press, the motion picture, and the radio. Each faces three theoretical alternatives, exploitation by governments on behalf of national or political groups, exploitation by commercial enterprise on behalf of private advantage or commercial expediency, exploitation by altruists and philanthropists on behalf of the common good.

We have here the three alternatives for control of broadcasting. There are no others, except combinations or modifications of these three: support by the industry, support by the government, and support by philanthropy.

I should like to speak in connection with the particular recommendation of committee B of the Conference, and in its favor. It recommends that the government—national and state—enter the field of broadcasting in competition with others.

I want to call your attention to facts that have led me to repudiate the proposal of support by the industry, and led me to lose faith in philanthropy as a possible channel of income to finance educational broadcasting. I do not believe complete federal monopoly is either practicable or desirable at this time. My reasons will take the form of a narrative of experience.

In California a corporation was set up in 1928 which represented quite largely the cultural agencies of the state. It is called the Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation, Ltd., of which I am the manager. The California Congress of Parents and Teachers, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, several colleges and universities, nine different religious bodies, and various other civic, social, educational, and professional groups had membership in it. The corporation is under the control of a self-perpetuating, autonomous board of directors, which originally included Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, and which represented various special interests in the cultural field. This corporation made application to the Federal Radio Commission for a fifty-thousand watt construction permit for broadcasting in the broadcast band, and it was granted with unlimited time. It made application for three high frequencies under another construction permit for international relay broadcasting and these were granted with use of maximum power and unlimited time. In other words, this corporation gained from the government concessions to build the most complete and powerful radio broadcasting station then in existence in the world . . . concessions said to be worth $5,000,000. It would have been constructed in Orange County, California, with studios in Los Angeles, drawing its program material from

educational and dramatic talent not only in the state of California, but elsewhere.

When it was learned by the economic powers that be that this had actually happened, you will be interested to know that they were immediately hostile. The Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles and special committees of certain industrial groups, let their influence be felt vigorously. They sent a representative here to Washington to appear against this corporation and against its proposed educational broadcasts. I have a copy of one telegram opposing us from the manager of the Chamber of Commerce to the Federal Radio Commission.

Senator Shortridge expressed their view when he said to the speaker, "I disbelieve in too much education for the people. Were they not ordained of God to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'?" This conspiracy of ignorance, domination, exploitation, is a very real problem of this Conference. Please note how it operated further in opposition to us.

Banks in Southern California told depositors if they contributed to the enterprise it would adversely affect their credit. A customer of one bank told me she did not dare to make her contribution direct to the corporation, so made out her check in favor of our attorneys who turned over the funds to us.

One or two educators and other leaders dominated by moneyed interests in the state were induced to oppose us, as, for example, one university president who sent a coordination officer to Washington who appeared before the Federal Radio Commission or its members against the enterprise, according to Commissioner H. A. Lafount.

It is a matter of public record that the Radio Corporation of America or its local representatives submitted affidavits designed to discredit us. Counter-affidavits, of course, are also of public record showing the falsity of the statements. There were other courses and procedures taken indicating that the invisible economic super-government was determined that there should not be a precedent set by a great eleemosynary, nonpartisan, nonsectarian, nonprofit-making corporation for educational broadcasting in this country, and that it should not operate.

It is interesting to note in this general connection who the directors of the Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation, Ltd., were. The original incorporators and others subsequently added included four college presidents, a superior court judge, the state superintendent of banking who had formerly been state superintendent of public instruction, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a prominent Catholic social worker, the executive director of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, a newspaper publisher, a wealthy orange grower who was organizer and first president of the California Fruit and Vegetable Growers, Inc., and certain other eminent citizens, all of whom were leaders in the social, educational, civic, and religious life of California.

These men and women had nothing to sell. Perhaps that was one of their weaknesses. They proposed to broadcast high-class performances, popular and technical, for general reception by the total public and for special groups representing special interests. Their stated intention included regular courses designed for reception in elementary and secondary schools, in institutions of higher learning, and for groups not organized into schools. The discussion of controversial issues of public interest was one of the definite plans of the enterprise. It contemplated the cultivation of the arts, the sciences, the humanities. It planned to minister to the public health, raise the level of intelligence, and foster the highest type of citizenry.

Not long after its incorporation, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, head of the California Institute of Technology, wrote of it: "If it can even partially obtain its goal, it will become one of the most important social agencies which this country possesses. It numbers among its incorporators some of the finest men of the West."

With full realization of the rigid limitations of radio, that the physical traits of the new giant of communication precluded broadcasting facilities for each class, creed, school, and group, this California corporation proposed to be an agency, a clearing-house, for programs of general and special interest for all who cared to use its powerful facilities in the public interest. From this concept it derived its name, "Federation."

In the *Atlantic Monthly* of April 1928, Dr. Robert A. Millikan wrote in praise of the nationalization of British radio. He said: "The program that is on the air in England is incomparably superior to anything to be heard here, for the English government has taken over completely the control of the radio." In public speeches he deplored the American commercialization of the art, speaking vehemently against it. He seemed intensely interested in the Pacific-Western Federation. On one occasion he sent the speaker to Santa Barbara to ask Henry Pritchett, formerly president of the Carnegie Corporation, for his cooperation. He communicated with the Federal Radio Commission on our behalf. I have a letter here in the file from him written in his hand from the Waldorf-Astoria under date of November 27, 1928, urging me to get in touch with officials and representatives related to the Carnegie Corporation in connection with the financing of this enterprise. But in the letter I noticed this, that there appeared to be strong influences contrary to us. There appeared to be a change developing in the attitude of Dr. Millikan.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company had made a grant of $3,000,000 to the California Institute of Technology—a great public utility subsidizing a private educational institution. Also, just within the last week I called up the California Institute to verify information to the effect that Dr. Millikan is a consulting physicist or engineer of the Western Electric, a subsidiary of the AT&T, owned 98.5 percent,

I believe, by it. Westinghouse and General Electric had donated valuable equipment to the California Institute. Certain immense corporations and several chief officers among the California utilities closely associated with the Institute were, therefore, in a favored position to exert influence. Moreover, the California Institute is governed by an executive committee, probably the principal member of which is head of the bank which, thru one or more of its branches, discouraged contributors from aiding the Federation, one of whom had said under oath before the Federal Radio Commission here in Washington that he could guarantee $500,000 for our Federation and that he intended to see the project thru. It will be remembered that this banker was, and still is, I think, a member of the Advisory Council of the National Broadcasting Company.

So in due time Dr. Millikan withdrew his support from the Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation which was a fatal blow to it, for without him and his cooperation the favorable consideration of philanthropy was out of the question. When it became known that Dr. Millikan's name, so wonderful to conjure with, had become detached from the Federation our hope of financing was crushed. Moreover, it ought to be recognized by this Conference that in the future, without the facts I am relating, this name may stand as guardian of the industry against a more rational policy in radio. Dr. Millikan holds a unique position with respect to education, science, industry, philanthropy, and government.

That is undoubtedly one reason it was deemed necessary by the industry to make him head of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, without any doubt whatever in my opinion, to subdue agitation against commercial domination of broadcasting and to establish, by manipulations of unsuspecting educators and others, a private association to foster education by radio, as a smokescreen behind which this powerful plutocracy could entrench itself and indirectly control even such education by radio as would ensue. I have some letters here from Dr. Millikan which strongly suggest to me that the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education is the creature of the financial interests. It would act as a buffer, a go-between, a camouflage. But you may judge for yourselves. Perhaps I am mistaken.

When the first radio address in the first series arranged by the National Advisory Council was given by its president, Dr. Millikan, he broadcast to the country that: "Any talk about the danger of monopolistic control on the ether . . . is not well considered." In his actual speech broadcast over a national network Dr. Millikan used the word "grotesque," which, however, does not appear in the address as printed. In spite of numerous revelations of commercial monopoly later substantiated by courts, he maintained that there was not "the slightest danger of its being created." This idea was "grotesque."

He made allowance, however, for one possible exception in his contention that there was no danger in monopoly. This, he said, "would be in the case of a government monopoly, maintained essentially by bullets," which, of course, goes to suggest a very adverse and a new attitude toward it. Dr. Millikan had become completely converted to commercialization of radio.

I do not believe for an instant that the president or any officer or member of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education is conscious of having been used by powerful financial interests to promote their own ends. It is unthinkable that Dr. Millikan and the others who stand so high in the sphere of American culture should have been consciously influenced in favor of commercialism and commercial expediency. However, notwithstanding the personal integrity of these men, certain forces have been at work on them. It is just here where we are made aware of the invisible hand operating thru education, religion, philanthropy, and government. And this Conference must assuredly identify and grapple with that invisible hand if it is going to achieve real results for our country. We must face the facts regarding the National Advisory Council and its origins, if we are going to escape the domination of the radio industry.

The Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation took up the financing of its project with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the J. C. Penney Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Twentieth Century Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, with the various other philanthropic foundations thruout the country, and with individual philanthropists, and found most of them to be as cold as steel. Some of them were doing everything apparently in their power to foster the use of commercial facilities for education. Dr. Millikan came out in a very frank statement in which he said something which I think is worth quoting, something I think this group ought to know as the policy of the National Advisory Council. I read now from a letter addressed to myself under date of August 6, 1930, signed by Dr. Millikan.

Speaking of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, he says, "It will operate with existing facilities, which it undoubtedly can do, without jeopardizing in the slightest the disinterestedness and integrity of education. Indeed, the Council would never have been formed had there been any danger from that source." This letter was written me in response to a communication I had sent him with documentary evidence as to the designs of the industry, "with a view," as explicitly stated, "to preserving the integrity, the disinterestedness, the inviolability of education and the educational enterprise," and for the purpose of obtaining adequate consideration of the Federation's claims and possibilities before such time as our invaluable construction permits should have expired and become lost to education and the public of America. Let's not forget:

The National Advisory Council is committed to "existing facilities," with the mixed values, the commercial control, and everything else that implies.

Then, also, in a letter to the president of our corporation, Dr. Millikan wrote, under date of January 27, 1930, of the first meeting of the National Advisory Council, as follows: "The most concrete and important facts brought to light at this meeting of the National Advisory Council were presented by Owen D. Young, who informed us that it was possible for any educational group which the Council might set up to obtain all the facilities for nationwide broadcasting that it could possibly use, without any expense whatever, the sole conditions being that the audience must be large and that the commercial companies which furnish the facilities are to have nothing to do in any way, shape, or manner with the broadcasting program. Mr. Young stated that their motives would be questioned if they were connected with it in any way whatever, and consequently the only safe way was to turn over this whole matter to an educational group whose motives would not be questioned." You see how clever was the part played by the master hand in industry. Obviously, to the undiscriminating, it would be illogical to duplicate facilities at conconsiderable cost when the national chains are available gratis to the educators themselves.

It may be very well known to you all, but I venture to say that most people are in ignorance of the fact that the National Broadcasting Company was organized at the suggestion of Owen D. Young, at that time chairman of the boards of the Radio Corporation of America and the General Electric Company. He selected Merlin H. Aylesworth to become its president. At the time Mr. Aylesworth was employed to take the presidency of the National Broadcasting Company, he was director of public relations or publicity of the National Electric Light Association. During Mr. Aylesworth's period of service with the National Electric Light Association as managing director, that organization engaged in an astounding campaign to influence the clergy, chambers of commerce, the press, all kinds of civic organizations, local politicians, college professors, superintendents of schools, and textbook publishers. As revealed by the Federal Trade Commission, it engaged in a conspiracy to shape the public intelligence thru unreliable statistics and one-sided propaganda on behalf of unregulated privately-owned utilities.

A sample of Mr. Aylesworth's policy is given in the Social Service Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 11, page 2, from which I quote verbatim:

> I would advise any manager who lives in a community where there is a college to get the professor of economics interested in your problems. Have him lecture on your subject to his classes. Once in a while it would pay you to take such men getting $500 or $600 a year or a thousand, perhaps, and give them a retainer of

$100 to $200 a year for the privilege of letting you study and consult with them, for how in heaven's name can we do anything in the schools of the country with the young people growing up if we have not first sold the idea of education to the college professor?

At a convention in Birmingham Mr. Aylesworth made this statement: "Don't be afraid of the expense. The public pays the expense."

I was asked to appear at the Institute of Statesmanship to debate with Merlin H. Aylesworth in Florida two or three years ago, and went across the country to present certain points of view, but Mr. Aylesworth failed to show up.

I think that it is highly important for this Conference to get a few of these facts, and I am quite positive that the National Committee on Education by Radio would be willing to have them appear in the record, even tho I may occupy extra time. The National Committee appears not only to be anxious to get important situations before the radio public, but before those who will determine public policy—before the responsible leaders of America. One thing it stands for is freedom to discuss controversial matters.

I offer immediately in application to what has gone before, this statement of Mr. Aylesworth before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee as recorded in its hearings on a communications commission bill some years ago:

"Since its formation, the National Broadcasting Company has done everything in its power to awaken the educators of this country to the possibilities of radio broadcasting in conjunction with the work of schools and colleges." Please recall his philosophy of education just indicated in connection with subsidizing the college professor to propagandize in favor of private utilities.

Can you remember that into this situation is fitted the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, set up at the behest of Owen D. Young and of those who represent the radio trust in this country? It was E. A. Ross who, speaking of giving retainers to educators in order that they might explain the benefits or at least look into the benefits of privately-owned, unregulated utilities, said that this was "corruption at the source of public action, that it was more reprehensible than the Teapot Dome scandal." And we must keep in mind now this picture, as we consider one alternative in the matter of support and direction of educational broadcasting. The National Advisory Council advocates for education the use of commercial facilities owned by the profit-making concerns and dominated by the powerful Radio Corporation of America. I for one oppose commercial control of education by radio, direct or indirect.

Let me call attention to one other fact here. I quote a few sentences from an editorial in the *Christian Century* of January 24, 1929:

> At the very time the Federal Trade Commission is making these startling disclosures of the propaganda ramifications of the past, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has uncovered a more sinister scheme on the point of starting operations, sponsored by Martin Insull, president of the Middle West Utilities Company, Colonel Robert W. Stewart, president of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, George M. Reynolds, chairman of the board of Chicago's largest bank, and some fifty more bankers and industrialists. The Industrial Conservation Board has been found occupying an entire floor of one of Chicago's newest skyscrapers and projecting the mightiest and most unblushing campaign to stop all opposition to private ownership that any country ever experienced. The new board announces eight immediate objectives, among them making every newspaper in the country commit itself in writing, and putting pressure thru the banks, according to the verbal explanation reported as given to the investigator from the *Post-Dispatch*, on those papers which support government ownership; all professors of economics in American universities are to be brought to Chicago to formulate an educational plan for the grade schools, high schools, and colleges; luncheon and church clubs are to be inundated with speakers; radio and movies are to be brought in line.

Mr. Aylesworth, according to the *New York Times* of a date similar to the date of the editorial in the *Christian Century*, is reported as being one of the organizers or officials of this same Industrial Conservation Board.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It will be necessary for you to close in two minutes.

MR. ALEXANDER: Mr. Chairman, it will be impossible for me to bring my statement to a conclusion in the next two minutes. I wonder if you don't want to have in your record this information. It is vital, if I may be privileged to express an opinion for your own sake, certainly not for my sake, that the Conference have certain facts relating to these matters which have so much bearing upon everything that any group of educators or disinterested persons might be concerned with as regards the public policy toward control and use of broadcasting.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: I think it is quite in order for the suggestion to be submitted to the organizers of the Conference and to the authorities for the inclusion of this statement. I see no difficulty in having you give to the stenographer any statement which you wish to make.

MR. ALEXANDER: I will be very happy to give to the stenographer the further statement, that it may appear in the record of the Conference and that will, of course, save you from any further time now.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: It is merely a question of time. There is to be another meeting at two o'clock and between now and two o'clock there is also to be a meeting of the National Committee on Education by Radio. We can allow you one more minute if you wish to finish.

MR. ALEXANDER: I don't need it if I may insert a statement in the record.

MISS KATHARINE TERRILL: May I move that this be incorporated in the proceedings and made a matter of record?

FATHER AHERN: I suggest the absence of a quorum. I don't think we can commit the whole Conference.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: In that case this could be left to the discretion of those who are editing the proceedings. The presence of a quorum is always a difficult question to determine; we have to find out the number of registered delegates and the number remaining.

MR. ALEXANDER: I will be very happy indeed, during the lunch hour or at any time, to give the rest of this statement to the stenographer and we may be adjourned now.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: If you are agreeable, it can be handled in that way.

MRS. MELONEY: Is a question in order? I want to know if there would be an opportunity for anyone to reply to any of the statements made by the speaker.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: Certainly, most assuredly.

MRS. MELONEY: At what time?

CHAIRMAN WALSH: The afternoon session gives opportunity for discussion from the floor. Any statement which was made here this morning, or at present, I believe can be replied to this afternoon.

MRS. MELONEY: There is much of good in there, but there are some questions that some of us would like to ask and certainly, as a newspaper woman, I should like to have an opportunity to make some reply.

CHAIRMAN WALSH: There will be an opportunity for you to reply as vigorously as you see fit.

I am expressing the minds of the organizers of this Conference, I believe, in stating that by no means do they accept any responsibility for the personal opinions of any of the speakers. That, of course, is understood. Nor does the Conference as such endorse any specific reference to personalities. That responsibility rests with the individual speaker.

If there is no other business, the hour of adjournment has arrived.

Upon motion regularly made, seconded, and carried, the meeting adjourned at twelve-forty o'clock.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT BY MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER

MR. ALEXANDER: I notice that the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, as one number in its "Information Series," has put out a pamphlet by Dr. Levering Tyson, director, entitled, *What to Read about Radio*. On page 20 is to be found this statement:

> There is vociferous campaigning against "commercial monopoly of the air." There are frequent fulminations against the "power trust" and the "radio monopoly."

. . . Many of us have practically arrived at the conclusion that it really doesn't make much difference where the ultimate control is vested, just so the open forum idea on the air is preserved to the American people.

Does this learned Conference imagine that there would be any genuine open forum proffered the American people by the privately-owned utilities?

He says there are only a relatively few instances of censorship which are emphasized and held out as common occurrences, whereas they are actually extremely rare. No disinterested or informed party could possibly maintain such a thing.

I judge from reading this booklet that it met with the hearty approval of Mr. Young and Mr. Aylesworth.

In a book entitled *Education Tunes In* by Dr. Tyson, one may read on page 76:

It seems reasonable to hope that industry will recognize the advisability of putting such programs on the air, will readily see that it is good *business* to do so, and will provide the funds necessary to engage talent.

On page 78 of this same book he quotes Mr. Young in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of November 15, 1929, in exalting the lust of power. Says Mr. Young, speaking of the American capitalist, as quoted by Dr. Tyson:

He works less for luxury than for power. His aim is primarily achievement. He will give away his money to universities and hospitals, but the power to embark on great enterprises he will not give away. And so I say to his critics, if this be materialism, make the most of it.

I have heard it said that greed of gain and lust for power—desire to dominate one's fellowman—is the greatest evil of America today, something we are compelled to cope with as a positive evil. Now note, if you will, how this desire for power operates.

The Radio Corporation of America was initially established for ship-to-shore communication and in connection with a radio patent pool. It is interested now, however, in motion picture production, distribution, and exhibition, in the phonograph industry, in vaudeville, in music production, in television, in manufacturing and selling vacuum tubes, in producing and marketing equipment for broadcasting and receiving, and in various other allied arts and industries, as well as telegraphic and cable communication and in radio broadcasting.

The Radio Corporation claims to own or control 3800 patents having to do with various phases of communication. This gives it a master hand in many affairs, social and political as well as scientific and industrial. Take the vacuum tube, it is the heart of the radio industry. As pointed out by an independent representative at a Congressional hearing, the radio tube as we know it today comes the nearest to being a cell in the

human brain that man has been able to devise. Every radio listener knows that vacuum tubes can hear and that they can speak. In television it is the tube that sees and then reproduces the image that it sees. Already tubes have been perfected that can distinguish colors. Uses to which the vacuum tube is put give some evidence of its relation to culture. Who controls the tube holds one of the keys to social and political processes. It is controled by RCA, AT&T, Westinghouse, General Electric—the mighty power trust, on the throne of which sits Owen D. Young.

The Radio Corporation is organized under separate state and national laws, for example, the Marconi Telegraph Company of New Jersey, the Radio Corporation of America of Argentina, the Canadian Marconi Company. It has absorbed 700 Keith-Albee theaters, the Orpheum chain of theaters, the Pantages chain of theaters, in addition to chains of vaudeville and motion picture theaters outside the United States, and legitimate theaters as well. It has purchased the majority of stock in the Film Booking Offices in America, Inc., the Victor Talking Machine Company, (The subsidiaries are so numerous as listed at Congressional hearings as to be difficult to recall.) The National Broadcasting Company, the Radio-marine Corporation of America, RCA Photophone, Inc., Radio Corporation of America Communications, Inc., General Motors Radio Corporation, Radio Music Company, RCA Victor Corporation of America, and numerous others.

After a joint announcement made some time ago by Adolph Zukor of Paramount-Famous-Lasky Corporation and William Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System that Paramount had acquired a half interest in Columbia, the announcement was made that the Radio Corporation had acquired the Pantages circuit, and failing in immediate negotiations to absorb the Fox and Zukor film interests, the Radio Corporation agent was quoted in the press as saying: "We are going ahead with our competitive program more competitively than ever, we are going to buy and build theaters, and what competition we can't swallow into our organization we will dynamite out of the field." This is the sort of thing a "power" economy requires. In any jungle, the most powerful rules. It is a vicious, social philosophy that is predicated upon the law of tooth and claw.

You have been hearing a general classification of the press, the motion picture, and the radio in one general category by numerous speakers at this Conference. The control of these three machine agents of mass communication is very largely in the hands of one and the same group of men in the United States.

If democracy perishes in the United States, as elsewhere, it will surely be because of the nonuse, the misuse, the abuse of these three powerful agents of mass communication—press, radio, movie. It will be because their industrial owners—their business exploiters—have failed to recognize their social mission, or failed to regard it. Just at this point lies the

world's greatest problem—our problem of problems. Radio had become a theater man's "business," a "profit-maker's tool," almost exclusively, even as the newspaper and the movie are cold commerce.

Let me call attention to testimony given by President Aylesworth of the National Broadcasting Company before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, in connection with music. The Assistant Secretary of Commerce here yesterday referred to someone as having said that whoever wrote the music of a nation wielded greater influence than those who made its laws. Mr. Aylesworth testified:

> I am going to loan $600,000 of it to the Radio Music Company which we have organized with two music publishers, one standard and one popular, for the protection of the radio industry, for the protection of broadcasting. It is necessary for us to be in the music business to protect ourselves. I might say that the movies have bought most of the music houses. We hold that this new music company will develop American music, American composers, for both educational music and for popular music. Nothing of that sort has ever been accomplished in this country. We think radio is the medium that can do it. All right, if radio is the medium that can do it we have to control the music situation. It is a simple business proposition, with a little touch of sentiment in it.

The Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation dug out of numerous documents of one kind or another all this information and a great deal more, years ago. It was sent to Dr. Millikan, to certain members of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, whose names were given the speaker by Dr. Levering Tyson, director. And material to the extent of thousands of pages was placed in Dr. Tyson's hands, showing the domination of the radio industry by a handful of gentlemen who have been called our "electric oligarchy." This Conference cannot afford to fail to take account of the facts underlying our present situation. Not to face them would be unfortunate indeed.

Unquestionably you will be interested in the so-called "public service programs" of the National Broadcasting Company which are furnished free of charge to associated stations as representing one alternative in the provision of educational programs for the American public. Being asked if such programs as those sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association, the Federal Council of Churches, the National League of Women Voters, and other leading organizations were for the purpose of benefiting the people primarily or for "popularizing the system," Mr. Aylesworth, head of the NBC, when questioned by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, replied that they were "good advertising."

In a different form the question was bluntly put by one of the Senators, apparently to preclude any misunderstanding: "And those public service programs are a part of the business game of popularizing your own company?" Mr. Aylesworth was asked.

"Yes," was his reply.

Again let me call to your attention that in this setting is placed the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. It is to the pecuniary interest of Owen D. Young, the Radio Corporation of America, and allied commercial interests to promote education, and I am wondering if we are going to be taken in by the offers that are made by commercial broadcasters. This policy conforms to previous official declarations that there is "no altruism" in the policies of the National Broadcasting Company. It raises, however, a much more serious question relative to the machinations of great financial interests desiring to manipulate social and cultural institutions on behalf of their own ends and their own subversive policies.

You have observed that high officials of the Radio Corporation and the NBC are frank in saying they desire to enter the field of education and boast of what they have done for the Federal Council of Churches, the Foreign Policy Association, and other such groups. Of course, the industry is discreet enough to agree that an independent body of educators should organize educational programs "so as to avoid the suspicion of propaganda." And then if convenient hours can be found, the commercial facilities will be made available to the alleged independent educators' organization.

Some far-sighted, cultural leaders, however, say that to properly appreciate educational material from stations operating for profit one should understand motives and know which programs are broadcast for the purpose of creating new markets for goods, which are intended to support or popularize the broadcaster, which are planned as propaganda for the proper geese, which aim to present felicitations and an atoning kiss to public opinion or the Federal Radio Commission, which contemplate the inhibition of public enlightenment and emancipation by flooding the ether with popular entertainment, counterfeit education, and asinine triviality, and which are actually designed for enrichment of human life.

I ask you, my colleagues and friends, is this another race to be won by throwing golden apples to allure the attention of the cultural leaders of America? Are we confronted with the old method of offering special privileges to our best leaders in our best institutions in the interest of commercial expediency and for the sake of eliminating such competition as they might afford in case they were to set up a broadcasting structure with facilities of their own?

Ownership of stations is the crux of the matter. Whoever controls facilities is bound to control their uses. Whoever controls or owns any vehicle of transportation can determine the direction in which it shall move, who will ride in it, how fast it will go, and what roads it will travel.

Armstrong Perry in a report sometime ago declared:

> The control of educational broadcasting at its source appears to be the most important element in education by radio at this time. The officials of public education have not found it possible to control educational broadcasting completely except where they controled the broadcasting stations from which the broadcasting was done.

If education is the responsibility of the state, then education by radio is the responsibility of the state, and the state must have its own facilities as every board of education has it own school buildings and equipment.

Senator Dill, speaking of the indescribable menace of private control of public opinion—private control of what the public sees, hears, says, and thinks (for pecuniary profit), referring in particular to the radio monopoly formed by or under the Radio Corporation of America—declared in the Senate:

> There never has been anything like it in the history of mankind. What it will mean and what it will do in the future affairs of humanity nobody knows. If this worldwide organization that is being built up is to be allowed to dominate the development of radio it will dominate the control of public opinion as influenced and developed by radio thruout the world in the years to come.

It is of interest to note that the Senator added: "I am talking about equipment, I am talking about the instruments used for worldwide communication." The ownership of facilities by the public is the determining factor. The state must have its facilities for education by radio.

Such a group as this must, of course, be interested in world peace. Therefore, you will be concerned with the following statement from Major General James G. Harbord, at one time president of the Radio Corporation of America, and I think, at present chairman of the board. He says: "The Radio Corporation of America has attained leadership in its field. Its organization was inspired by patriotism, its position has been won by courage, energy, and skill added to the patriotism which was its original inspiration."

In a stirring public speech the General defines patriotism. He is quoted as follows by a prominent resident of New York City:

> War represents a permanent factor in human life and a very noble one. It is the school of heroism from which a nation's noblest sons graduated into highest manhood. Individual preparation for national defense is necessary for the peacetime benefits that come to the people who prepare themselves for the efficiency that will come when your streets will again echo the tread of marching soldiers, your railways and your waterways again teem with men and implements of war assembling to protect the flag.

It should be kept in mind that the Radio Corporation, according to Colonel Manton Davis, at that time and I understand still executive

vicepresident and general attorney, is "an organization whose every important official and technician is a reserve officer of the Army and Navy."

The makeup and history of RCA is frequently spoken of as ruthlessly imperialistic but always in the name of patriotism.

Ellery Stone, president of the Federal Telegraph and Coastal Radio Corporation, when discussing the motives of RCA in its attempt to dominate world communications, observed: "Well, many a show, sir, has been saved by waving the American flag."

Here is another brief comment from General Harbord on an occasion of addressing the American Legion:

> There is a very considerable pacifist movement in our country. A large number of honest but in my opinion misguided people believe it possible in this twentieth century to bring about that permanent peace which has been the dream of all ages but which the Prince of Peace Himself failed to achieve two-thousand years ago. And in truth there is in war itself something beyond mere logic and above cold reason; there is something still in war which in the last analysis man values above social comforts, above ease, and even above religion. It is the mysterious power that war gives to life, rising above mere life.

Again let me call to your attention that it is in this setting that is placed the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. Is it possible this eminent body wants to be in the position of indorsement—direct or indirect—of such glorification of war, or to be implicated in it in any way?

If there were only ninety printing presses in the United States for all uses, the problem of public policy toward their control would be acute. Yet this situation actually prevails in radio broadcasting. There are only ninety broadcasting channels. In the United States radio has come into the power of one special interest to be administered for private benefit and is manipulated to render the people insensible while their pockets are picked and propaganda is injected into them. At its best this stupendous carrier of ideas, ideals, and culture has fallen into the hands of commercialism and is going to waste. At its worst, radio is being exploited with a view to the most reprehensible of all purposes, corruption of the public mind. And it is this situation which the National Advisory Council—consciously or unconsciously—is aiding to perpetuate. The commitment to "existing facilities" is tantamount to control of the ninety channels by the "electric oligarchy."

Mark you, the situation with respect to radio communication is dangerously different from that which holds with respect to either the platform or the press. Commercialism may exercise a baneful influence at either or both of these points, but there is no such natural limitation to either platform or press or motion picture as prevails in the wireless. The most pervasive method of communication known to man is strangely the most exclusive.

In no realm of social existence is private control, especially commercial monopoly, more menacing to the common interests of mankind and more manifest in our country than in this new agency of mass appeal. This Conference must not permit the arts of communication influencing so profoundly the course of human destiny to be yielded to special privilege and private pecuniary profit. It is simply unbelievable that one powerful group in the business field should totally control the radio traffic in intelligence, yet the unbelievable is taking place with amazing speed and cunning, the method being ownership of the vehicles of cultural intercourse, leaving other human interests to utilize these carriers only upon sufferance.

Looked at thru the eyes of common sense, broadcasting is a public function if such a thing exists, and it is for this Conference to determine that it shall be operated as such to the extent of putting the government in the broadcasting business to compete with the industry.

There are but few ways of escape from impending surrender of radio to commercial control. Soon, very soon, beyond any probable revision for many years to come, it will be decided whether commercial control of broadcasting even for educational purposes is to be legally perpetuated in the United States. Before the passing of the hour of opportunity something must be done. Cannot we have effective part in doing what needs to be done?

I am very sympathetic with having the President appoint a fact-finding committee to investigate the situation, but I venture to say that I wish the Conference were minded not to adjourn until we had taken action to commit ourselves in favor of public control of educational broadcasting thru the state as part of the pending legislation which is to be voted on in the Senate tomorrow or the next day. Cultural control of radio at its source is the only rational goal. Ownership of facilities is the essential factor in higher uses of broadcasting. A reasonable proportion of stations must be independent of the mixed values, the propaganda, and designing influence of private interests, or as concluded by all responsible statesmen and observers, the broadcasting of any material will be dependent upon the goodwill of a despotism.

In concluding this statement to the Conference, I ask the privilege of quoting from a report entitled "Socialization of the Media of Communication," which was presented by a committee at a Methodist seminar conducted by the denominational Board of Education in Santa Barbara recently. It indicates the psychological and philosophical presuppositions of a rational application and use of radio and other media of communication. Here is the quotation:

> Not only is man in interaction with material existence, but he lives and moves in an environment of ideas and personalities. It is by means of these social contacts

and the resulting exchange of concepts, sentiments, emotions, that cumulative racial experience is developed into a body of knowledge. Prevention of interaction between individuals and groups, or subversion of its normal operation, must inevitably give rise to confused and chaotic relations such as would result from interference with operation of the laws of chemistry and physics, were such a thing possible. That is, artificial, arbitrary checks, hindrances, distortions, applied to laws and forces normally affecting the relations between man and his fellows, constitute a problem of society—the main problem behind all others. Failure to recognize this problem is what has given rise to a present need of social revolution. Gradual and nonviolent change is conditioned upon culture and the free use of its tools. Cataclysmic change is usually the result of the repression of culture. When cultural processes are estopped, physical coercion with attendant violence often follow.

It has frequently been noted that each science presupposes some medium of interaction: astronomy postulates the ether; physics assumes principles of molar action and reaction; chemistry studies molecular relations; biology, organism; psychology, the interaction of stimuli and responses; and sociology presupposes intercommunication.

Human society reduces to interaction. Social organization reduces to intercommunication. History could by no means begin until language, the instrument of communication, had been developed. Social evolution must, therefore, be studied in its relation to the development of media and technics of communication, and social progress in its relation to free interaction and normal intercourse.

Language is the fundamental social institution. . . . The most primitive society would be unthinkable without speech, without words spoken and written. Obviously no institution such as the school is conceivable minus language. There could be no state, no church without it. There could be no industry, no science, no public opinion. In short, the arts, sciences, humanities would exist, if at all, outside the realm of society. They could have no being apart from communication. Those who talk of the "economic causes of war" or "biologic antecedents of crime" all are speaking of secondary matters. One thing alone is basic, one thing makes possible social organization—intercommunication.

And words are more than mere vehicles of communication of ideas from mind to mind. They are dynamic with powers of producing phenomena. They carry emotional content, stimulate action. Words are spirit and life. Words kill and they make alive. These forms of thought, these vehicles of emotion, these dynamic emanations of personality take precedence over other factors of collective life. Need for their unhindered flow is not a mere academic contention. Any plan for economic and social reconstruction which does not face present realities with respect to the state of intercommunication is naïve, futile, unsound, absurd.

Going a step farther, words themselves are subject to and dependent upon material carriers of one kind or another. The copper wire, the air or ether, the sound wave, the radio frequency, the light vibration, wood pulp and ink, the vacuum tube, the sensitive film and silver screen, the painter's canvas, the sculptor's marble, and other agencies play vital parts in the vast drama of interaction and intercommunication. For just as there can be no communication without language, so there can be no language without sound and light, ear and eye. . . .

Let us note that among the greatest of marvels which science has bestowed upon our machine age, none eclipses the mechanical devices, the machines of communication. No social situation can be rightly understood which does not take into account the manner in which scientific inventions in this field have made a new world for us and are continuously modifying every feature of life.

Modern civilization relates to these machines of mass communication so fundamentally that whoever controls them is in a position to virtually control human

society. Up to the point where physical circumstance does not interfere, ownership of these machines is tantamount to complete domination. While there are, of course, limitations to any private control of language, it does not have to be argued that he who has the power to manipulate what the eye sees, what the ear hears, what shall be the voice and expression of the people—the traffic in seeing, hearing, thinking, speaking—has well nigh absolute power. He who commands the machines of mass communication commands destiny. . . .

Together with other tools of production and distribution, the machines of communication, the instruments of speech and language, are also privately owned and privately operated for private advantage. In spite of the fact that above all other equipment known to man they should be a public possession, a racial utility, a human protectorate, they are actually manipulated by the few economic or political overlords. . . .

The vacuum tube, broadcasting, television, the telephone, telegraph, cable, the drama, concert, vaudeville, motion picture, talkie, phonograph, music publication, and other potent instruments of culture are being rapidly sucked into the vortex of commercialism and controled by one powerful financial combine.

It has been said that the ultimate alternatives to what this Conference may recommend, together with other similar proposals, may only be slavery or violent revolution, for America is surely in a mesh of "chains," chains which will not readily yield to any civil action, unless the proponents of culture see and seize the precious hour that still is partly theirs.

The report of the group which discussed the topic, "In Whose Hands Should Broadcasting Be Placed?" is designed to suggest the only practicable method to obtain relief. Philanthropy has failed. The industry is incompetent. The state must enter the field.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

MAY 8, 1934

The final session was called to order at two-ten o'clock, Dr. John Henry MacCracken, associate director, American Council on Education, presiding.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: A phrase that we hear very frequently on the lips of young people today is "So what?" It reflects very well the philosophic attitude of a generation where critics have exceeded constructive planners and where experiments have so often resulted in disillusionment rather than in success. We have reached the session of this Conference which might be called our "so what" session.

Looking at radio as it now is, we have examined the ideals that some of us have as to what it might be, we have discussed various aspects of technical questions in group meetings, and now we are prepared to ask what we should do in the light of all these circumstances. I think we have become pretty well convinced that we shall never make any great demand upon radio facilities for the ordinary routine instruction of the schools; the ordinary instruction can be almost as well if not quite as well done thru records as it can thru radio, the record now having been so perfected that the advantages of the human voice, which are many, in changing the atmosphere of the schoolroom and stimulating the interest of the pupils can now be secured almost as well from the record as it can directly from the radio, and the record has the further advantage of being always available at any given hour and being cheaper than radio broadcasting.

When it comes, however, to the use of radio as a means of stimulating interest, stimulating the imagination, putting the child in immediate, realistic touch with the larger world, radio has no rival. In this field it is an educational agent which has nothing to compare with it in effectiveness. For this purpose, space must be found and reserved in the radio broadcast bands for the educational use of radio.

When we go outside of organized instruction and consider the larger field of national culture and adult education we are confronted by the fact that has already been brought out in this Conference, that this is no one's responsibility. We have no organized agent as yet to give expression to national aspirations in the direction of culture. Even the concepts that we have been dealing with in these conferences are unfamiliar to a large part of our population. It is for this larger program, this program of developing a national culture, making use of this extraordinary agency of whose unlimited possibilities some suggestion has been given in these

last two days, that we have called this Conference and have given these hours to the consideration of these problems.

We are to hear now the report of the committee which was appointed to draft a statement of the fundamental principles which should underlie American radio policy in the light of the conclusions reached at the group sessions last night. This committee is composed of the eight chairmen and secretaries of the four groups, together with President Crane of the University of Wyoming as chairman and Mr. McCarty of Wisconsin as secretary. I will call on President Crane to present his report.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR G. CRANE (University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming): Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, in the interest of clarity and brevity I shall read the report as written, leaving any amplification or explanation to be given in discussion, if discussion reveals the fact that any such is needed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD UNDERLIE AMERICAN RADIO POLICY

Radio broadcasting, an instantaneous, universal means of communication, reaching literate and illiterate, young and old alike, exerts an inevitable educational influence upon American standards, ideals, and actions. This influence is either good or bad. It either improves or debases American standards. Radio broadcasting—this great, new agency—should be so guided and controled as to insure to this nation the greatest possible social values. The social welfare of the nation should be the conscious, decisive, primary objective, not merely a possible by-product incidental to the greatest net returns to advertisers and broadcasters.

To promote the greatest general welfare the following principles must be observed:

Listeners' choice—The wholesome needs and desires of listeners should govern the character, the content, and the relative extent and frequency of broadcast programs. Variety sufficient to satisfy the tastes of all groups of effective size should be provided. Material detrimental to the welfare of listener groups should be eliminated regardless of commercial profit. The present operation of commercial stations secures neither a genuine expression of listeners' choice nor an effective fulfilment of that choice.

Minority voice—Responsible groups, even the minorities, should

not be debarred from broadcasting privileges because of their relative size, for radio is but the amplification and extension of the individual's free speech and discussion.

Youth protected—Positive, wholesome broadcasts for youth at home and in schools should be provided. The impressionable, defenseless minds of children and youth must be protected against insidious, degenerative influences.

America's best—The control and support of broadcasting should be such that the best obtainable of culture, of entertainment, of information, of statecraft, shall have place on the air available to all the people.

Controversial issues—Discussion of live, controversial issues of general public concern should be encouraged for the safe and efficient functioning of a democracy and should not be denied a hearing because offensive to powerful advertisers or other groups.

If a universal means of communication is to be used for general social welfare it must be controled by the people's agency, which is government. A private organization is incapable of exercising adequate control. This need not imply full government ownership or operation nor should it preclude governmental units' owning and operating stations. Neither must offensive censorship necessarily follow any more than it does in the postoffice or the telegraph today. Government must be the umpire.

Finance—If these objectives for a national broadcasting program are to be realized, adequate support must be provided. The individual listeners whose investment in receivingsets is already 90 percent of the total broadcasting capital are deserving of the best possible programs. The government should cease incurring expense for the protection of channels for the benefit of private monopoly without insuring commendable programs satisfactory to citizen listeners.

If general public welfare is to be promoted by radio communication some specific recommendations immediately present themselves.

Impartial studies—Thoro, adequate, and impartial studies should be made of the cultural implications of the broadcasting structure to the end that specific recommendations can be made for the control of that medium to conserve the greatest social welfare values. These studies should also include: an appraisal of the

actual and potential cultural values of broadcasting; the effective means for the protection of the rights of children, of minority groups, of amateur radio activities, and of the sovereignty of individual states; the public services rendered by broadcasting systems of other nations; and international relationships in broadcasting.

Appeal to President—We recommend to the Conference the appointment of a committee to wait upon the President of the United States to urge that the recommendations of the Conference be put into effect by the President.

PRESIDENT CRANE: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report except the last separate resolution, which I think should be dignified by special and separate action later.

FATHER AHERN: I think it is very important for us to determine either officially or unofficially just what the representative status of this Conference is. We are gathered here by invitation, and I take it that a great many of us are in my position, that I came accepting that invitation in order to gather information to present to the groups that I represent, and as far as I am concerned personally I want it to be distinctly understood that my approval of this very admirable report does not commit the organization that I represent because I have no power to commit it. I should submit this report for discussion to these several groups and get their opinion because it is quite possible that they may suggest some changes or some deletions that might help the report, or the opposite. That is their privilege in a democracy.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: It is the understanding of the Chair that in voting for the adoption of this report you vote as individuals and not as representing your organizations in any way.

FATHER AHERN: The same would be true of that resolution at the end?

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Yes. Are there any questions or discussion?

DR. HENRY B. WARD: May I take the opportunity to suggest the addition of three words at one point of the report which, as it reads now, I think is contrary to the spirit of the report. There is mention of opposition, by inference, of advertisers, and I think "or other agencies" should be added because there has been opposition to certain doctrines by those who were powerful but were not advertisers. Do you see the point I have in mind?

PRESIDENT CRANE: You mean the question on controversial issues, which now reads: "Discussion of live, controversial issues of general public concern should be encouraged for the safe and efficient functioning of a democracy and should not be denied a hearing because offensive to powerful advertisers."

DR. WARD: "Or other agencies," because there are some who do not advertise that have opposed very vigorously.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I think, Mr. Chairman, as a point of order an amendment of this kind should properly come from the assembly, but I would not have the authority to insert it without knowing it is the voice of the assembly. Dr. Ward wishes to make an amendment to that effect, and if it is here acceptable certainly it would have to be acceptable to the committee.

DR. WARD: May I then formally, Mr. Chairman, move to amend by inserting the words "or other groups." I think "groups" is better than the word "agencies" which I used at first.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Is this amendment seconded?

The amendment was seconded by Father Ahern.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Is there discussion? All in favor of the amendment signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is carried.

DR. W. W. CHARTERS: I think a slight editorial deletion might be made under the caption of "Impartial studies." It reads, "Thoro, adequate, and impartial studies by federal agency should be made of the cultural implications of the broadcasting structure . . ." In the discussion of the committee this morning I think the idea was that those three words "by federal agency" should be omitted. I believe it would carry the idea just as well to say, "Thoro, adequate, and impartial studies should be made."

Shall I move to amend, or will you accept that as an editorial correction?

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: We had better take it as an amendment.

DR. CHARTERS: I move to so amend.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Is there discussion? Will those in favor of striking out the three words "by federal agency" in the paragraph on "Impartial studies" signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is carried.

MRS. WILLIAM B. MELONEY (Herald-Tribune Magazine): I should like to know if there is going to be in these reports an impartial recognition of the good that is done by radio. There is always a tendency when there is a corrective move on foot, to battle very hard, but I believe we will get farther—and I am thoroly in sympathy with anything this body can do to make radio a greater force for culture in this country—if we will not be entirely blind to the great good that it does.

I wanted this morning to reply to something which was said by the gentleman from California and, since it is in the spirit of this meeting to discuss a motion which might affect the future of radio, perhaps you will give me the privilege to do that at this point.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: At this point if you wish, but I thought we would take that up as soon as this report was out of the way.

MRS. MELONEY: It might affect some of those who are going to vote on this motion.

This morning, in his interesting report, the gentleman from California made a number of very personal comments on Owen D. Young and Merlin H. Aylesworth of the National Broadcasting Company. I have seen a good many movements such as this one in my long life and I think that they progress more steadily and accomplish more if the personal attack is left out and we deal with principles. However, since that issue has been raised, I felt that someone in this group ought to say something in defense of these two men.

I have never (it is necessary for me to say this) received any money in my life for any of my work except from publishing houses and universities, and from a few clubs before whom I have lectured. I hold no brief for any of the great industries or corporations, nor am I moved to speak from any personal, selfish reason. I do not think, tho, that because a man has been the publicity man or the public relations expert of a great corporation, he is thereby open to indictment or criticism from his fellow Americans. All big corporations and your universities and even the churches have found it necessary to have public relations departments, and I should regret very much to see that position held up to criticism, to *ipso facto* scorn. We have drafted some of the best minds of the country to work on public relations and a good many of them are in your profession and in mine. I should like to ask that the gentleman from California withdraw the references to the public relations work of Mr. Aylesworth.

As to Owen D. Young, I know of no man in this country who has tried to do more for education than Mr. Young. He has contributed his time, his money, and his talents in that direction; he has given largely of his money for the support of the Walter Hines Page College for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations, at Johns Hopkins; he has given to St. Lawrence University entirely out of proportion to his position with it. Finally, he has built in the small town of Van Hornsville, New York, a model experimental school to serve the whole community from the kindergarten to adult education. I know that he helped out of his own pocket to complete the furnishing of Madame Curie's laboratory so she could go on with her scientific research work, and to my personal knowledge he has maintained at least three students a year in fine arts who had graduated with honors but were poor and could not otherwise afford to go on with their work. Under these circumstances, it does not seem to me appropriate for a group of educators to allow to pass without protest a sweeping indictment of so useful a citizen as Owen D. Young. He may have made some mistakes in his life—and I know of no man who hasn't—

but his trend has always been upward. I have never been in his employ. There is no reason why I should make this statement to you except in the spirit of fairness. However, I think we are dealing with a field in which he is no longer active. He is no longer chairman of the board of the National Broadcasting Company. Furthermore, all of his main interests have been in the field of education. It seemed to me only fair to say that and I believe by fairness we are all going to get farther with this movement which is in its infancy and must be supported by fair-minded people.

Thank you for bearing with me so long.

DR. MAURICE T. PRICE: In this last section, "Impartial studies," a phrase has just been deleted which leaves it this way: "Thoro, adequate, and impartial studies should be made of the cultural implications of the broadcasting structure," and so forth.

I raise the question as to whether it might not be possible, if worded this way, for the Federal Radio Commission to say: "We are already doing that. It isn't necessary for it to be done again, and we will submit our recommendations to the President."

I raise the question as to whether, if we want a new investigation taking up the question in the large way in which it has been discussed here, we should not say so a little more explicitly.

MR. JOS. F. WRIGHT: I think we should be more specific and say that the study shall be conducted by a commission appointed by the President, more on the lines of Dr. Charters' recommendation this morning.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I think in the minds of the committee that drafted this that question was answered this way. First, this report, as the preface indicated, is hardly a formal report; it starts in more general terms. Secondly, your action on the reports of special groups this morning is taken as amplification of some of this report. I understand there was action taken this morning which approved some very definite resolutions, in fact if I remember rightly, about four different kinds of investigating committees, some of them very specific as to personnel. If this report is adopted and the motion now before the house is carried, I intend then to move the adoption of the final resolution which was adopted by the committee recommending that the Conference appoint a committee to wait upon the President of the United States to urge that the specific recommendations of the Conference be put into effect.

As I understand the intent of that motion, it is to represent to the President of the United States as clearly as possible the general purpose and intent of these resolutions and the other action taken by this Conference. I believe your committee believes that it was sufficiently specific.

DR. CHARTERS: Another safeguard would lie in this, that one cannot be too specific with facts, that these are recommendations to the National Committee on Education by Radio, and they, as practical administrators, ought to have the authority to consider all the recommendations and

work them over in such form that they might be most easily and satisfactorily handled with the President or with other agencies. I thought the spirit of the discussion this morning was to the effect that these were rather suggestions and expressions of opinion in a formal recommendation rather than something that would be binding with regard to form. The intent, I think, is perfectly clear. Perhaps that would be a second safeguard.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Is there any further discussion? If not, are you ready to vote on the motion to adopt the report except the last paragraph? Those who favor the resolution signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is a unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT CRANE: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the final formal resolution: "We recommend to the Conference the appointment of a committee to wait upon the President to urge that the specific recommendations of the Conference be put into effect by the President."

The motion was seconded.

FATHER AHERN: I am a little bit nebulous about the exact meaning of that resolution. As I understand the explanation given just before the vote, we are not very specific in this resolution. We are more specific in the resolutions for the four groups that sat last night. Do we want the President to put into force the specific recommendations that are not so specific in the resolution just passed, tho there are very specific recommendations from the four groups, and how far do we understand that the President is to be informed, after all, that what we have done here is merely a recommendation that would bind a very large group of people, or is that to be left to the National Committee on Education by Radio?

PRESIDENT CRANE: I cannot see much difficulty, because I cannot see any conflict in these particular recommendations. One is general, the other is in more detail, but we all agree in the principle of a thoro, adequate, and impartial study, and the difference is a possible difference of detail. One requires that there be one Senator, one Representative, and it seems to me that those differences are immaterial. It is evident from the sentiment expressed here that this group will not favor investigation by the present constituted Radio Commission, therefore, the sentiment is that a new, impartial, representative committee be formed—I think the former resolution mentioned that the personnel of this committee was to embrace cultural agencies and interests of all kinds. I must confess I can't see your difficulty when you take the whole ensemble, because I can see no conflicts in these various requirements.

FATHER AHERN: But that resolution is an essential rider on your report and it is not specific in that resolution (you used the word "specific") whether the specification is referred to this report or to the whole agenda of the Conference.

PRESIDENT CRANE: Do you wish the word "specific" omitted?

FATHER AHERN: No, I wish a clarification as to what the word "specific" means. What does it specify? What is in your report or also the reports of the four groups that reported this morning? You use the word "specific" in that resolution. I agree with what you say, but that being brought in at the end of this particular report doesn't necessarily include what was brought in this morning.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I apologize for and regret my dullness, as I have to frequently these days, in not catching your difficulty. Here is a general statement couched in general language. It is amplified further by your action adopting group reports which were more specific. Therefore, there exists, if you take the ensemble, a rather specific, definite recommendation from this Conference, as I understand it.

DEAN BENNER: Suppose it were to read instead, "carrying and making effective the principles expressed by the board"?

FATHER AHERN: The point is this, that we haven't as a group adopted the four group reports.

PRESIDENT CRANE: Yes we have.

FATHER AHERN: Then something is wrong.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I am misinformed then. I understood there was a general motion approving of the four group reports this morning.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: President Crane is correct.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I am not arguing for this particular motion or against any amendment.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: I think that clears up Father Ahern's question. The word "specific" refers to the specific recommendations in the group reports rather than to the specific recommendations in this report.

FATHER AHERN: If you make a recommendation to an executive officer of any organization and use the word "specific," the first thing he is going to ask you is, "What does this word 'specific' mean?" If you just have general recommendations you don't specify, except generalities, and he can in a general way throw them out.

DR. CHARTERS: I think that the point is well taken. I move that the word "specific" be left out and that it read: "We recommend to the Conference the appointment of a committee to wait upon the President to urge that the recommendations of the Conference be put into effect by the President." It is supposed that these recommendations will be organized in a form that would be acceptable to the President.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Dr. Charters moves that the word "specific" be stricken out and the motion is seconded. All in favor signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is carried.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Are there any other questions? If not, are

you ready to vote on this resolution? All those in favor of the resolution signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is carried.

MR. GROSS W. ALEXANDER: Perhaps I ought to reply to the criticism made of me a few minutes ago.

I heard it said sometime ago that a very famous highwayman and bank robber putting up at the home of a widow, tho not known to her, discovering her to be in economic distress, left her with several twenty-dollar bills; and I have also heard that that gentleman's name was John Dillinger. Perhaps we should tell the Department of Justice the good that Mr. Dillinger has done. As they proceed to catch him, if they do, it might affect the administration of justice in his case. Perhaps we are all good, in spots. I am positive the gentlemen referred to are.

I do not want to say that I have any scorn whatever for a "public relations" position, but only of the method in which that position was used by Merlin H. Aylesworth, as director, when he was with the National Electric Light Association, which was such a scandal in the eyes of the whole nation as revealed by the Federal Trade Commission some years ago.

I have no doubt in the world that Owen D. Young has done much good, very much good. I remember hearing Dr. Robert E. Speer also tell of how he visited his aged mother in Connecticut every month without fail; and I admire him for that. I think that there is a fallacy here, however, that might well be called to our attention in all cases, and it is this: that we seem to be oftentimes against all exploitation in general, in favor of every exploiter in particular; some of us seem to be against all war in general but in favor of every war in particular. If we are against commercial broadcasting in general, we cannot consistently be in favor of every commercial broadcaster in particular.

I am not in the least in question of the sincerity of either Mr. Aylesworth or Mr. Young. There is a sign on the road between Los Angeles and San Diego, a big billboard, advertising a real estate promoter, which blazons out these words, "Your security is my sincerity." I think that is pretty poor security. A good many real estate promoters in California have in one way or another been classified as unworthy of confidence; some, I understand, have sold lots in the bottom of the Salton Sea, down in Imperial Valley.

Another observation is this: In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I believe, there is a character called Simon Legree who was a very vicious type of slave driver, and there was a very wonderful man by the name of St. Clare. I submit to you that if every slave holder in the South, which is the country from which I have the honor of coming, had been like Simon Legree, slavery would not have endured as long as it did. It would have dissolved of its own evil. It was the St. Clares that perpetuated slavery, and, sad beyond words, it was the ministers and clergymen of the South, and

educators, and good men like Robert E. Lee who perpetuated slavery. It is also true that, today, the good people, the strong people, the respectable people are our chief problem.

I haven't the slightest doubt in the world but that this group here could solve completely the problem of unemployment, the problem of poverty. Who would stand in your way? The unemployed? The victims in the breadlines, in the insane asylums, or in the prisons, or elsewhere? Hardly! It is the men popularly regarded as "good" who are our problem, the mighty, the successful, the great. It is not the weak, but the strong who are our burden; not the fools, but the clever; not the bad, but the good. This is our odd anomaly.

I do not question the sincerity of Mr. Aylesworth or of Mr. Young, or of anyone associated with them, but I do believe there is a fallacy in the criticism that was made against myself by reason of my pointing out that they are unworthy of public trust in matters vital to our country, like control of public opinion. I do not believe anyone alive is good enough or wise enough to dominate the traffic in intelligence. Certainly not William Randolph Hearst or Owen D. Young.

DEAN W. S. SMALL: Of course action has been taken, but I am curious to know what that resolution really meant after all and who is to appoint a committee and from what body the committee is to be appointed to wait upon the President.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I would venture this interpretation: that this motion providing for a conference with the President of the United States, as I understand the formation of this Conference, would entrust the appointment of the committee and the arrangements for a conference with the President to the National Committee on Education by Radio. That would be my interpretation. That was not discussed by the committee. The committee passed this resolution, and I take it that when they did they had in mind that that would be the operation. This Conference is called by the National Committee on Education by Radio, of which Mr. Morgan is chairman. My interpretation would be that this mandate now rests upon him.

MR. J. M. JENSEN (Brigham Young University): I should like to ask if provision has been made for the publishing of these various reports and sending copies to members of the Conference?

DR. TRACY F. TYLER: Yes, the reports will be published and will be furnished to the members of the Conference.

PRESIDENT CRANE: I might ask if anyone here has suggestions as to what would be the proper personnel of such a committee in case the President of the United States would grant an audience. Those of us who have discussed it have felt that the committee should be representative, as far as possible, of the groups that are interested in the eventual possible values of the radio, that they should be men and women of prominence

and influence who can give the proper representation to this cause. I am sure that it is in order and members of the committee would welcome suggestions.

MR. ALEXANDER: Mr. Chairman, I don't believe it would be possible for us just on the spur of the moment to name a committee that would be the best committee that could be named. I therefore move that the Committee on Fundamental Principles Which Should Underlie American Radio Policy be requested to name the committee to see the President.

FATHER AHERN: I would suggest that the National Committee on Education by Radio be the proper body to name that committee.

DR. CHARTERS: Wouldn't that be automatic?

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Mr. Alexander's motion was not seconded, and Father Ahern's motion is now before you.

FATHER AHERN: I just made a suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: There is no motion before you, then.

DR. WARD: Before we adjourn there is one thing I believe those of us who have not been so intimately connected with this would like to put on record by expressing the thanks of this body to the National Committee on Education by Radio for their forethought in providing the program, in organizing the work, and in carrying it out in the convenient and effective way in which it has been put thru here. I think especial thanks might well be given to the secretary, Dr. Tyler, who has worked behind the scenes and many of us know has been both largely, and certainly successfully, responsible for our comfort and convenience. I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried by a rising vote.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: I want to say in response on behalf of the Committee that we feel a vote of thanks is due to the members of the Conference for their kindness in responding to our invitation and in coming to this Conference at their own expense and sitting so patiently thru all the sessions both by daylight and by candlelight. It certainly has been a hard-working group and one that was animated by an entirely altruistic purpose.

DR. TYLER: I should like to move that a vote of thanks be extended to the Interior Department for the use of the auditorium and the National Education Association for the use of their building last night.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Also may we express our appreciation to Mr. Charlesworth for his kindness in coming from Canada to lend an international flavor to this gathering. [Applause.]

MR. ALEXANDER: I believe we have omitted one thing that is well worth consideration for a moment or two. That is, if this committee goes to see President Roosevelt, would it not be advisable to request that he appoint on the new Federal Communications Commission a representative of education? The Federal Radio Commission has been constituted by, I believe, some sailors and soldiers, some semi-retired lawyers, an irrigation expert or industrialist, some of whom are men who could not represent well our higher values, including education, and now we are to have a powerful new Federal Communications Commission. Would it not be well at least to call to Mr. Roosevelt's attention the desirability of representation out of our group here in this new commission and perhaps in as large numbers as may seem feasible to him?

I so move.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MACCRACKEN: Is there discussion? All those in favor of the motion signify by saying "aye," opposed "no." It is carried.

The meeting adjourned at three o'clock.

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Mrs. M. E. Fulk, Ohio Radio Education Association, Columbus, Ohio
Captain S. C. Hooper, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Harriet Ahlers Houdlette, American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C.
Prof. J. Marinus Jensen, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
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