## Contents

## Abbreviations, xi Principal Characters, xiii

- 1. Introduction, 3
- General Order 40 and the Emergence of Commercial Broadcasting, 1925–1930, 12
   American Broadcasting Through the Passage of the Radio Act of 1927, 12
   The FRC and the Reallocation of the Airwaves, 18
   The Emerging Status Quo and the Reaction of the Immediate Parties, 29
- The Broadcast Reform Movement I: The Payne Fund and Ferment Among the Educators, 38
   The Payne Fund and Radio Broadcasting, 1927–1930, 38
   The National Committee on Education by Radio, 47
   National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 52
   The Ventura Free Press Radio Campaign, 57
- The Broadcast Reform Movement II: Nonprofit Broadcasters, Civic Organizations, and Intellectuals, 63
   Edward Nockels, WCFL, and Organized Labor, 63
   Father Harney, the Paulist Fathers, and WLWL, 72
   Pacific-Western Broadcasting Federation and Gross W. Alexander, 75
   The ACLU Radio Committee, 80

## Contents

American Intellectuals and Commercial Broadcasting, 86
Harris K. Randall and the American Radio Audience League, 88

 The Broadcast Reform Movement versus the Radio Lobby: Arguments, Proposals, Programs, and Problems, 92
 The Broadcast Reformers: Critique of the Status Quo, Alternatives, and Problems, 92
 The Radio Lobby: Activities and Arguments in Defense of the Status Quo, 107

1930-Summer 1932: The Battle on Capitol Hill, 121
 Public Opinion and Congressional Attitudes on Broadcasting and Reform, 121
 Louis G. Caldwell and the American Bar Association, 130
 SR 129 and Commercial Radio Advertising, 139

- Autumn 1932-December 1933: The Battle for Public Opinion and the White House, 151
   Shifting Currents in Autumn 1932, 151
   The Battle for the Press, 163
   The Battle for the White House, 1933, 177
- December 1933-January 1935: The Statutory Consolidation of the Status Quo, 188
   Jockeying for Position in Early 1934, 189
   The Wagner-Hatfield Amendment and the Communications Act of 1934, 196
   The FCC Hearings in Autumn 1934, 210
- January 1935 and Beyond: The Ideological Consolidation of the Status Quo, 226
   The Collapse of the Broadcast Reform Movement, 226
   Free Speech and Ideological Closure, 239
- Conclusion, 252
   Rethinking U.S. Broadcasting History, 252
   Failure of the 1930s Reform Movement and Media Reform Efforts Thereafter, 260

Notes, 271 Selected Bibliography, 351 Index, 377