

Initially neither CBS nor NBC had done much in news broadcasting. NBC saw itself as performing a noble mission in creating the first national network, but at the same time it was reluctant to appear too powerful too influential.

The passage of the Radio Act of 1927 had come amid congressional concern that a single corporation—namely, RCA—might dominate the flow of information on the airwaves. Thus, the **emphasis of the Radio Act was on the responsibility of local station owners to serve their communities**; there was no mention of networks and their duties. In keeping with its low profile, **NBC did not set up a service to regularly report on or comment on national news.** It merely broadcast important public events—such as political conventions, Independence Day ceremonies, and speeches. The networks would soon establish the position of “Director of Talks.”

At first Paley followed NBC's lead. CBS covered official functions to fill time while trying to seem public-spirited and responsible. Like NBC—it broadcast countless campaign speeches as well as the presidential election returns in 1928.

But on Inauguration Day in March 1929, Paley began to appreciate the public appetite for news programs. CBS and NBC devoted the entire day to Herbert Hoover's White House reception, motorcade, swearing in, and inaugural ball. The two networks were rewarded with the biggest combined audience up to that time, 63 million listeners.

Paley saw that news programs could attract listeners. But he also recognized that CBS's prestige “would depend to a considerable extent upon how well we could provide” radio news.

CBS News was organized more by fluke than design. Back in 1931, CBS press releases had been emblazoned with the slogan “Columbia—The News Network.” Yet at that time CBS News had neither editors nor correspondents. Instead, a half-dozen public relations men rewrote wire copy for announcers who had been selected for the quality of their voices.

News programs consisted of bulletins, public ceremonies, talks by prominent citizens, and only intermittent analysis by legitimate journalists such as H. V. Kaltenborn.

Behind the promotional facade, however, CBS was steadily increasing its commitment to news. An attentive listener could detect the shift: CBS began to interrupt its programs more often for news bulletins than did NBC. In 1931, CBS broadcast 40 special events as compared to 256 on NBC's two networks.

Lacking any background in news, Paley took many wrong turns in the early days. Paley blundered by providing a weekly slot for Father Charles E. Coughlin, the demagogic Roman Catholic priest. This was not an altruistic gesture on Paley's part. Coughlin had been broadcasting his unsavory views since 1926 on WJR, NBC's Detroit affiliate, which was owned by the right-wing extremist George Richards. In 1930, Coughlin wanted to extend his reach and contacted WMAQ, CBS's station in Chicago. Paley, who was eager to snare WJR as a CBS affiliate, agreed to put Coughlin on the CBS network to please George Richards. Moreover, Coughlin bought the time and thus provided CBS with a tidy annual revenue.

But the radio priest grew increasingly inflammatory; his railing against "international bankers" carried the ugly whiff of anti-Semitism. In April 1931, Paley had no choice but to cancel the arrangement with Coughlin.

Although Paley never again gave his sponsors such editorial leeway, he let them have significant control over news by allowing single-advertiser sponsorship of certain programs. BUT by being able to buy entire programs instead of time slots of sixty seconds or less—which did not become customary until about 1960—advertisers on CBS could choose which journalists they would sponsor. (NBC's policy was even worse. Its roundup of world news in the 1930s was produced at the Sun Oil offices in Philadelphia by the company's public relations department.) If an advertiser did not like what was said on its news program, the journalist in residence lost his sponsorship—and often his slot on the network as well.

Klauber and Paley gave commentators in those early days considerable leeway in expressing their opinions, which were usually liberal. CBS commentators derived their freedom from being independent operators. There were no news editors at the network to supervise them.

Except for a brief three months when the Cunard Line sponsored his program, Kaltenborn had not appeared on CBS since 1930 only in unsponsored time. In 1936, at the age of fifty-eight, he was still being paid the standard fee of \$50 per broadcast, \$100 a week. Despite his network fee, Kaltenborn was allowed to endorse Roosevelt. In 1936 and 1937 he broadcast reports on the Spanish Civil War that pointedly reflected his loyalist sympathies—at a time when the United States stood aside while the Germans and Italians helped Franco in his revolt against Spain's elected government.

Both Paley and Klauber were growing more uncomfortable with editorializing on the CBS airwaves. In 1936 the American public was overwhelmingly isolationist—from Midwest conservatives who recoiled at involvement with Europe to liberals who believed that rearmament would cut into the money available for the liberal reforms of the New Deal.

As network news bulletins increased in the early 1930s, newspaper owners had grown nervous. They felt that by broadcasting news before it hit the streets in the newspaper, radio cut into newspaper circulation and advertising revenues.

A series of events heightened this anxiety. The first was a fire at the Ohio State Penitentiary in 1930 that took 320 lives. In the middle of the tragedy, a convict grabbed a microphone linked to a CBS affiliate for broadcasts by the prison band. For several hours he relayed a graphic account to the CBS network, complete with the screams of prisoners burning to death.

In March 1932, events propelled CBS into the lead again when the Lindbergh baby was kidnapped. Both CBS and NBC heard the news from a tipster; NBC held back until the newspapers hit the stands while CBS broadcast the news immediately. Throughout the weeks of the drama, live radio bulletins beat the newspapers day after day.

Afterwards, newspaper publishers began urging the wire services—AP, UP, and INS—to stop supplying news reports to radio broadcasters. In April 1933, the services succumbed to the pressure and boycotted the networks. CBS had an opportunity to fulfill its frequent claim of being the number-one news network by organizing its own news-gathering service. **Yet it wasn't until General Mills offered to help underwrite the service that Paley gave the green light.**

ahead. The terms set by General Mills were enticing: if CBS kept the costs to \$3,000 a week or less, the cereal company would pay half and be sole sponsor.

Klauber assigned the task to Paul White, a star reporter at United Press who had joined the public relations staff at CBS. Within a few months White assembled a corps of some six hundred reporters, most of them part-timers, in major cities around the world. As the teletypes clattered with reports from the new service in the autumn of 1933, CBS broadcast three news programs every day and scored some respectable scoops. It was a classy operation befitting Paley's command to be first and best. NBC, on the other hand, gathered its news on the cheap, hiring one harried public relations man to work the phones overtime and feed news bulletins. CBS hired newscaster Lowell Thomas, as well as to Walter Winchell, who broadcast gossip and crime tidbits every Sunday night.

The newspapers responded to CBS by threatening to drop radio listings from their pages, although few actually did so. Far more ominous was the publishers' retaliatory lobbying in Washington for more stringent government control of radio in the new Communications Act. The threat struck at the networks' ability to survive.

In December 1933, after a series of meetings among the networks, wire services, and newspaper publishers at New York's Biltmore Hotel, the so-called Biltmore Agreement was announced. CBS would disband its fledgling news organization, and the networks would pay for a Press-Radio Bureau as a subsidiary of the wire services. No item released to the networks by the bureau could exceed thirty words, and the networks were permitted to broadcast only two five-minute newscasts daily, one after nine-thirty in the morning, the other after nine at night. The bureau could allow the networks to offer news bulletins only if they were of "transcendent" importance, and the bulletins had to direct listeners to newspapers for more comprehensive coverage.

The Biltmore Agreement fell apart within a year, but not because of CBS. A group of renegade stations, among them WOR in New York, refused to knuckle under and aired newscasts forbidden by the agreement. Moreover, the wire services eventually got greenlighted and sold their material directly to the radio networks, bypassing the Press-Radio Bureau.

One of the great ironies of CBS is that what started as a public relations ploy by Paley and his aides eventually became one of the most prestigious news organizations in the world. The turning point came when Edward R. Murrow's broadcasts from Blitz-ravaged London filled America's living rooms and helped bring the nation out of its isolationist mood. Murrow not only reinforced the journalistic principles that had been laid down in fits and starts at CBS since the early 1930s, he came to symbolize the integrity and independence of the news division.

Since the infant CBS News Service had folded in 1933, the network had reverted to a skeleton staff of publicity men funneling news copy to announcers. Paul White took charge of covering special events, while Murrow threw himself into scheduling talks. CBS always guaranteed his speakers time on its own station in New York, but otherwise Murrow and his assistant spent their time **convincing** stations to carry the talks.

Demand for radio news was increasing as America nervously watched the Fascist dictators in Europe consolidate their power. Hitler had attained absolute dominance in Germany in 1933 and was rearming. In 1936, as Mussolini completed his invasion of Ethiopia, Hitler marched into the Rhineland and Franco launched his uprising in Spain. Observing the co

ing crisis in Europe, Klauber decided CBS needed someone in charge who would know the territory and understand the significance of what was to come.

CBS's man in Europe at the time was forty-eight-year-old Cesar Saerchinger. A former newspaper reporter, Saerchinger had been with the network since 1930, booking dignitaries for broadcasts to America. Every Sunday at noon he came on the air to say "Hello America" and broadcast a quaint feature from London.

At the end of 1936, CBS and NBC had gone head to head covering the dramatic love affair of England's King Edward VIII and Wallis Simpson, an American divorcee. Murrow, coordinating in New York, helped Saerchinger break into the network and scoop his rival by announcing the king's abdication. **But in this first competitive test from Europe, NBC overall provided faster, more expert coverage than CBS.**

Murrow was brought in to head the European efforts. The post in London was purely administrative. Murrow would continue to find politicians and other guests and organize broadcasts, using newspaper reporters as hosts on the air. Murrow hired William Shirer, a reporter for International News Service, to help him make the arrangements. Shirer was dismayed when he learned that his first assignment, on direct orders from Paley in the early autumn of 1937, was to follow the Duke and Duchess of Windsor to Munich and persuade the duke to broadcast for CBS when he visited New York afterwards.

As Hitler tightened his grip in the autumn of 1937, Murrow and Shirer became increasingly frustrated that they were unable to broadcast on CBS themselves. Shirer later wrote that Paley believed "for us to do the reporting ourselves would be to commit CBS editorially. Paley and the rest of the brass in New York simply would not listen to the pleas of Ed Murrow and me to broadcast the news ourselves. The idiocy of it staggered me." Paley's refusal, in the face of compelling events, to allow Shirer and Murrow on the air resulted from his literal interpretation of the policies he and Klauber were preparing to unveil in Paley's December speech. They were sensitive to any appearance of an editorial position.

Once again events forced CBS into making a commitment to full-fledged news broadcasting. Throughout the early months of 1938, Hitler brought increasing pressure on the leaders of Austria to submit to Germany. Shirer correctly saw that if Hitler achieved annexation of Austria's native land it would be the end of Austria for the duration of the Third Reich. By now stationed in Vienna, Shirer had inside information on Hitler's machinations that he tried repeatedly to get on the air. Each time he was rebuffed. Instead, the brass in New York instructed him to line up children's choirs for "American School of the Air."

On March 13, 1938, the German Army marched into Austria. Shirer called Murrow from Vienna to tell him that "the opposing team has just crossed the goal line." Max Jordan, NBC's man in Vienna, was out of the country, so Shirer knew he had a shot at the only eyewitness report of the event. He raced to London while Murrow flew to Vienna. This time, CBS agreed to give Shirer some time. **His account, broadcast from London late on Saturday night, March 12, marked the first time a CBS news staff member was allowed on the air with a report from the field.**

In the following hours, Paul White and his small staff improvised wildly to cover the story. There was no studio for news broadcasting at CBS, only a suite of offices on the seventeenth floor for the Special Events and Talks staff. White ordered a makeshift studio in the office next

door by having blankets tacked to the walls for soundproofing. Newspaper reporters contacted by CBS in various European cities offered periodic updates.

NBC's Jordan meanwhile had rushed back to Vienna, where he was scooping CBS with on-the-scene stories. Murrow was unable to secure a facility in the city to transmit his own report. He blamed his failure on NBC's exclusive contract with RAVAG, the Austrian broadcasting service. In fact, as Jordan later wrote to a colleague in New York, once the invasion took place, NBC's contract was moot, since the chiefs of Austrian broadcasting had been immediately dismissed by the Nazis. "Everything was upside down in the RAVAG building during those days, and if Columbia had only been on the job, they probably could have gotten the same treatment we did," wrote Jordan.

Paley concluded that CBS needed a way to "not only get the news but dramatize it." At that moment, as he has recounted many times, "out of necessity and competition I invented 'World News Roundup'—the model for broadcast newscasts for decades to come. By my recollection, he called Klauber at CBS headquarters to describe his vision of a series of reports from European capitals, switching quickly from one to the next.

But Robert Trout, CBS's main news announcer at the time, recalled that the idea for the roundup emerged from an impromptu seventeenth-floor discussion Sunday morning, March 13: "Paley said to me, 'Why don't we put several of these reports together and just make one program?'"

Whether Paley deserves the credit for thinking of it, he seized on the idea. At first Klauber had to tell him that CBS engineers thought the plan was impossible. "Goddammit," Paley recalled saying, "there's no reason in the world I can think of why it can't be done. It has to be done. You go back at them." When Klauber called back, they had found a way.

That Sunday night, March 13, at 8:00 P.M.—the very heart of prime time—Trout introduced the first roundup, with live reports from Murrow in Vienna, Shirer in London, and newspaper correspondents moonlighting as CBS broadcasters in Paris and Berlin. The broadcast made a huge splash. Paley was elated. He asked for a second roundup two days later and a third more after that. But he was unwilling at that stage to commit to a regular, much less a daily, roundup.

Indeed, even after CBS's triumph with the roundup, Paley fretted about the cost of news broadcasting. Following the *Anschluss*, Winston Churchill made one of his dramatic and perceptive speeches in the House of Commons about the dangers ahead. Shirer was so impressed and called Paley to ask if Churchill could repeat the speech on CBS. Paley, who considered Churchill an acquaintance, agreed to give him fifteen minutes, but when he added that CBS could pay Churchill only \$50, Shirer was stunned. Churchill was making \$1,500 a week from his syndicated newspaper column and commanded thousands of dollars for his freelance articles. Shirer complained that CBS's fee was insufficient. Paley replied, "Explain to Winston that it will be a sustaining program, that is, without commercials. Tell him fifty dollars is our standard fee for 'sustainers.'" "

Churchill was delighted at the opportunity to appear on the CBS network, but upon hearing how much he would be paid, he responded, "Tell your boss I'll be happy to do it for five hundred dollars." Shirer thought that reasonable. CBS's profits for the year, at all, ran to \$3.5 million. But Paley refused to pay it, and Churchill never made his speech on CBS.

In September 1938 the Nazis partitioned Czechoslovakia. This time Kaltenborn was at the anchor desk in New York. From CBS's Studio Nine he sat before a microphone, stitching together nearly two hundred reports from European capitals for eighteen straight days. He delivered more than a hundred analyses, pausing now and then to nap on a nearby Army cot. American listeners were riveted. Murrow and Shirer seeped into the national consciousness. Murrow emerged from his thirty-five broadcasts during the Munich crisis as a bona fide broadcaster and CBS lost no time in exploiting the publicity value of his new prominence.

This time there was to be no turning back. In mid-1939, Paley authorized White and White in New York and Murrow overseas to build a staff capable of covering the widening storm. They turned to eloquent, sophisticated writers from the world of newspapers. Ed Severeid, twenty-six years old, was an editor at both United Press and the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Elmer Davis, a freelance writer, and Charles Collingwood and Howard K. Smith of United Press had all been Rhodes Scholars.

Suddenly news was in demand. Listeners couldn't get enough of it. Advertisers wanted to be identified with it. In early 1939 the World News Roundup, appearing twice daily by the hour, acquired its first sponsor. "From now on we will be sponsored by Sinclair Oil," Murrow announced to his troops. "You will get seventy-five dollars each time we are on the air." Replied Severeid, "Ed, we are recording this great human story. Is this right to take money from this oil company?" There was a moment of abashed silence. Then Murrow said, "You get used to it."

Now Paley became the most ardent booster of CBS News. During the invasion of Czechoslovakia he had a radio with him at all times, always tuned to CBS. Paley permitted newscasts to be scheduled across the board at the same time each day, while newscasts on NBC suffered from poor time periods and erratic scheduling.

Now that CBS News had a staff of its own, White, Klauber, and Paley laid down further standards comparable to those of the best newspapers. The news was to be edited and broadcast only by members of the CBS News staff. No outsiders were permitted to broadcast the news, even if it was sponsored. News analysis would be permitted, but only after news reports; and as in a newspaper's editorial page, the analysis would be clearly defined as such.

However, journalism was subordinated to the dictates of business in CBS's ban on the use of tape recorders—a policy on which Paley brooked no opposition. The rule was designed to protect lucrative entertainment programs on NBC and CBS: Paley and Sarnoff reasoned that if performers like Bing Crosby could record their programs they might try to distribute them on their own, eliminating the need for network middlemen.

When CBS invoked the ban for news as well, Murrow and Shirer tried repeatedly to persuade Paley to change the policy. They pointed out that atmospheric conditions would prevent any number of live broadcasts from getting through. They told him that by recording events as they happened throughout the day, they could assemble a report that would bring listeners what newspapers could not: the sounds of troops marching in the morning, an ambassador's protest in the afternoon, a fiery speech by Hitler in the evening. Moreover, they urged that using recordings could enhance their ability to cover a war. "In order to

broadcast live, we had to have a telephone line leading from our mike to a shortwave transmitter. You could not follow an advancing or retreating army dragging a telephone line with you," Shirer told Paley. "With a compact little recorder you could get into the thick of it and capture the awesome sounds of war." The argument, Shirer later wrote, "seemed so simple so logical. But Paley was adamant."

Fortunately for CBS, Murrow, Shirer, and other CBS News correspondents were resourceful enough to catch at least some of those "awesome sounds" for their listeners. In so doing they followed the precedent set by H. V. Kaltenborn, who had first broadcast battlefield sounds with a microphone during the Spanish Civil War. The CBS newsmen in London were helped by the fact that the nighttime bombings coincided with CBS's live broadcasts at 1 A.M. London time.

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In their desire to satisfy advertisers, NBC and CBS relinquished control over programming. The advertising agencies now made the decisions, not only about stars, scripts, and formats but about placement in the network schedules.

In CBS's radio newscasting, the principles set down late in 1937 by Klauber and Paley were proving difficult to enforce among the network's independent-minded commentators. Paley's interpretation of the network's rules was neither consistent nor entirely understandable to his subordinates. Certain opinions were grounds for dismissal; others, equally strong, he would permit. These confusions were further compounded by the war.

In March 1939, Kaltenborn's style proved too much for his sponsor, General Mills, who dropped his program. Other advertisers too protested to Paley that CBS was trying to push the United States into war. Roosevelt dispatched the head of the FCC, Lawrence Fly, to complain about the network's coverage. Klauber sent Fly packing, telling him that CBS would report the news as it saw fit. But Paley was spooked. The majority of Americans remained isolationist, and the government began making threatening noises about taking over broadcasting in the event of an emergency.

In this tense atmosphere, when the very control of American radio broadcasting had suddenly become an issue, Paul White issued an internal CBS memo outlawing the word "commentator," which he said had come "to connote the expression of a personal editorial opinion which is beyond the purview of those upon whom were called to analyze the news," Henceforth, the term would be "news analyst."

On September 3, 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. The pressure on American broadcasters increased when Stephen Early, the White House press secretary, publicly warned that radio was a "rookie" in handling war stories and must behave as a "good child." This patronizing yet ominous warning prompted Paley, Sarnoff, and their chief executives to hold a day of discussions about the role of the networks in wartime. Obviously intimidated, they declared their intention to return to normal programming as quickly as possible. "Those opposed to this view," the *New York Times* wrote the next day, "contend that radio is confronted with its first chance to cover a war in the 'public interest, convenience and necessity,' and should do it in a 'big way.' It was made clear yesterday, however, that this is the opinion of a minority."

Newspaper columnists at the time speculated that yet another factor ((in the Brown dismissal may have been CBS's wish to avoid controversy during its four-year-old fight with the FCC chairman, James Lawrence Fly. From the start, after his appointment by Roosevelt in 1939, Fly had launched a campaign against monopolistic practices at the networks. He and others in Washington were concerned that the networks dominated local stations and dictated the programs they broadcast.

At the end of 1940, Fly was sufficiently alarmed to tell Roosevelt that the networks "are prepared to seek the destruction of the Commission if any substantial network regulation is attempted." The following March, Fly sensed the pressure being brought on the White House by broadcast reformers and urged the president to authorize release of a new set of rules restricting network operations. Under the proposed new rules, NBC had to divest itself of one of its two networks. CBS had to scuttle its "option clause" giving the network the right to take over any time period in a local station's schedule. Publicly, Paley charged that these actions would "torpedo" the existing structure of broadcasting and lead to government ownership.

In May 1943 the Supreme Court upheld the FCC's right to regulate. Two months later, RCA sold its Blue Network for \$8 million to Edward Noble, the owner of WMCA in New York, who had made a fortune manufacturing Life Saver candies. The new network was rechristened ABC.

The FCC's regulations loosened CBS's stranglehold on its stations, although the network still dominated large portions of the radio schedule. But breaking up the two NBC networks was a classic case of good intentions leading to bad policy. RCA's ownership of a second network had applied a gentle brake to commercial impulses. The Blue Network was an outlet for Sarnoff's high-minded ideas on public service. It was supported by profits from the mass market Red Network. The presence of NBC Blue forced image-conscious CBS to either match or surpass programs catering to selective tastes. Selling NBC Blue to a third party brought the collapse of this system in which self-interest helped preserve the public interest. ABC had to pursue mass audience programming to build its business, and all three networks became even more driven by commercial forces.