The question of the independence of the CBC in the Second World War—A historical analysis.

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THE QUESTION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CBC
IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR --
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by
Serjit Kaur

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through
the Department of Communication Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

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1982
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DEDICATION

To my late father, Jora Singh; my mother, Gurnam Kaur; my late brother-in-law, Bant Singh; and sister, Gurcharan Kaur.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge and wholeheartedly thank my Committee: Professor Hugh H. Edmunds for his clear, insightful and practical contributions; Dr. Stanley B. Cunningham who gave me an appreciation of the philosophy of research and his detailed and valuable criticisms; and Father Thomas I. Kelly who encouraged me to be painstaking. I am also indebted to Sarah B. Allen for proof-reading my thesis at short notice.

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INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is a public corporation established in 1936 by parliamentary mandate to provide a national broadcasting service for Canadians. By virtue of the 1936 Broadcasting Act, the government has the power to appoint the CBC Board of Governors, its Chairman and Vice-Chairman and the General Manager and Assistant General Manager (the last two on the recommendation of the Board). Minutes of the Board are filed with C. D. Howe, the Minister of Transport who is "spokesman" for the CBC in Parliament. The Board's policies may be discussed by the cabinet; and all accounts and records are available to the Minister, who may demand detailed financial reports at any time. All by-laws passed by the Corporation, moreover, must be approved by the governor in council before they become effective.

The framers of the Canadian Broadcasting Act 1936 gave the CBC wide powers not only over its own but all broadcasting in Canada, and considerable financial leeway. And they undoubtedly intended the Corporation to exercise these powers without interference from or influence by the government.

Although the CBC was generally praised for the quality of its programming during the Second World War, its relationship of independence from the government was questioned.
What was to prevent the government from packing the Board with its partisan policies? Examples of supposed ministerial interference cast doubts on the Corporation's integrity, which should have been spotless because of the CBC's dual responsibility: to provide public programming and to regulate itself and private broadcasting.¹ There had been controversies over the role of the CBC during the war. R. B. Tolbridge suggested that the CBC became little more than a "front" for the wartime Liberal government - a "ministry of Truth," in the Canadian context.² "People who admit that in theory the CBC is independent of the government may argue that there is, in fact, a pretty close tie-up."³ On the other hand Frank W. Peers argues that:

The CBC was exercising control in accordance with general standards set down by Parliament, yet the network was not operating as the official voice of the state and certainly not speaking for the government of the day.⁴

For the first three years of the war (from 1939 to 1942) the CBC was sometimes characterized as a propaganda medium for the government. Much of the fault might be attributed to the role of the General Managers during that time - Gladstone Murray, James S. Thomson and Dr. Augustine Frigon. They certainly did not represent totally the mainstream of CBC thinking, but their opinions on the functions of the corporation in wartime, influenced its policy.

This study intends to deal with the relation of the CBC to the government during the Second World War from 1939
to 1945. A historical analysis will be made of the material printed in the form of Parliamentary Debates, Special Committees on radio broadcasting, CBC documents and contemporary materials found in books and magazines.

One problem will be discussed: Did the CBC play a partisan political role during the Second World War (1939-1945)?

I.1 The Research Design

The object of this study is historical analysis. To solve the above mentioned problem, the relevant literature will be surveyed. The material to be researched will consist of the CBC's Annual Report, Special Committees on radio broadcasting, parliamentary debates and contemporary material found in books and magazines.

Chapter I deals with the history of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation from 1928 to 1939 and presents a detailed analysis of the CBC itself. In it is included the controversial broadcasting (George McCullagh) incident and the CBC "White Paper" of 1939 which also deals with controversial broadcasting.

Chapter II, the Position of the General Manager, W. E. Gladstone Murray from 1939 to 1942, is evaluated. The position of the General Manager was a crucial one.

Chapter III deals with the problems Gladstone Murray had to face. Of these problems Alan B. Plaunt's resignation
and CBC internal problems are the outstanding features discussed.

Chapter IV discusses the programs and ministerial problems faced by Gladstone Murray.

In the same way James S. Thomson is evaluated in Chapter V.

Chapter VI discusses the period (1943-1944) when the CBC was without a General Manager to manage its affairs, and describes Dr. Frigon's term as General Manager of the CBC from 1944 to 1945.

Finally, the Summary and Conclusions are presented in Chapter VII.
Introduction


3. Ibid., p. 299.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING FROM
1928-1939 - THE AIRD REPORT

In order to discuss the above mentioned chapters it is necessary to go into some historical detail.

Canadian radio legislation was actually initiated in the early 1900s. Under terms of the Wireless Telegraph Act of 1905, no person could establish a wireless telegraph station or use any apparatus for wireless telegraph without a license granted by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Though the controlling Minister may seem a strange one to the modern viewer, it merely reflected the then practical implications of radio.¹

In 1913, a new Radio Telegraph Act was broadened to include "radio telephone" devices, and in 1919 the first license was issued to the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company which began to broadcast experimentally over XWA Montreal. Private commercial broadcasting stations were first licensed in 1922 and by 1927 every province had radio coverage through 75 private commercial broadcast stations.²

The Government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King appointed a Royal Commission on December 6th, 1928. Its function was "to examine" into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control

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and financing thereof." This was the first formal recognition by government of the potential benefits and risks to Canada of the medium of radio broadcasting.

The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Air Commission) consisted of four members: Sir John Aird (as Chairman), Dr. Augustine Frigon (as Vice-Chairman), Charles Bowman (as Assistant) and Donald Mason (as Secretary). Aird was the President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Bowman was the Editor of the Ottawa Citizen, Frigon was the Director of the Ecole Polytechnique for Montreal and also Director-General of Technical Education for the province of Quebec and Mason was Chief Inspector of Radio, Department of Marine and Fisheries, Ottawa.

The Royal Commission did a thorough investigation of the radio situation. They visited Europe and found similar inquiries being conducted. They also visited Great Britain and the United States. In addition they held public sessions in 24 Canadian cities and conducted conferences with nine provincial governments.

The Royal Commission reported "unanimity on one fundamental proposition: Canadian radio listeners wanted Canadian broadcasting."

On September 11, 1929, the Commission submitted its findings and recommendations to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The over-all tone on political consideration
weighed heavily in the Aird Report. The constitutional question of legislative competence was in doubt in certain provinces. New Brunswick and Quebec stated that they considered provincial jurisdiction to be competent under the British North American Act. In voicing its feelings Quebec stated: "The Government of the Province of Quebec does not intend to waive its rights of jurisdiction which had been granted to it by the BNA Act and this insofar as radio broadcasting is concerned." New Brunswick insisted that constitutionally the provinces are not subject to any legislative executive interference in dealing with the subject of broadcasting, except in time of war . . .

The Aird Report strongly favored the control of broadcasting both in programs and representation on the governing board. In short, the Aird Commission had wanted federal jurisdiction over technology and licencing, and provincial autonomy over programming. Revenue was to be collected from: 1) licence fees, 2) indirect advertising (sponsored programs), and 3) subsidy from federal government.

I.I Canadian Radio League

On December 8, 1930 in Ottawa the Canadian Radio League was formed with Graham Spry as Chairman and Alan Plaunt as Honorary Secretary to advocate a revised radio system based on a modified version of the Aird Report.

The League's platform was: "public ownership of high-
power outlets; private ownership of low-powered local community stations; competition in program production; leasing and exclusive control of transmission circuit by the national organization."\(^{11}\)

The aim of the Canadian Radio League was to see the "proposal of the Aird Report realized."\(^{12}\) But, the opponents of public ownership were dissatisfied. They argued that for "both the public and the government that nationalization would be expensive, inefficient and unfair to the private operators and would deprive Canadians of the programming they had come to enjoy."\(^{13}\)

Premier Taschereau, of Quebec, was dissatisfied with the Aird Report. He contested the validity of the Radio-telegraph Act under which the Dominion Government regulated and controlled radio communication. In early 1931, Quebec together with New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan asked the Supreme Court to give a ruling on the following questions by means of using Section 35 of the Supreme Court Act:

1. Has the Parliament of Canada jurisdiction to regulate and control radio communication, including the transmission and reception of signs, signals, pictures and sounds of all kinds by means of Hertizian waves and including the right to determine the character, use and location of apparatus employed?

2. If not, in what particular or to what extent is the jurisdiction of parliament limited?\(^{14}\)

The case which had arisen because of a testy dispute
between Premier Taschereau and the Federal Government, was decided in favor of the federal regime, whose case had been supported before the high court by the Radio League. An appeal was lodged with the Privy Council, which in early 1932 upheld the previous decision and paved the way for action.

The Prime Minister, R. B. Bennett, proposed that a committee of the House be established to consider the Aird Report and "a complete technical scheme of radio broadcasting from Canada."¹⁵

1.2 The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission

The government appointed a parliamentary committee on March 2, 1932. The committee after exhaustive investigations discarded the Aird Report and recommended the creation of a commission which should:

1. Regulate and control all broadcasting in Canada, and

2. Carry on the business of broadcasting in Canada.¹⁶

This commission, as presented, had no independence from the government. The commission was in fact set up to come up with the creation of a corporation that would have maximum independence from the government.

"Prime Minister Bennett wasted no time in responding to the committee report with legislation and first reading of the new broadcasting bill (Bill 94) was given just one week after tabling of the report."¹⁷ Although a Conservative,
he embraced the philosophy of public ownership espoused by Aird, Spry and their supporters.

In favor of public ownership, Bennett said:

First of all, this country must be assured of complete control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such, radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened...

Secondly, no other scheme than that of public ownership can ensure to the people of this country, without regard to class or place, equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of radio broadcasting...

Then there is...the use of the air...that lies over the soil or land of Canada is a natural resource over which we have complete jurisdiction under the recent decision of the privy council (and) I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not reserving it for development for the use of the people.¹⁸

An attempt to place broadcasting in Canada under federal parliamentary control and authority was made with the passing of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act in 1932. On May 26, 1932 the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act became law.¹⁹

The Act established the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), a salaried three-man body. Its members were: Hector Charlesworth, Editor-in-Chief of the influential Saturday Night as chairman; Thomas Maher, a forestry engineer and businessman from Quebec, as Vice-Chairman; and Lt. Col. A. W. Steel, a radio engineer and technical advisor to the
government. It was hoped that the three-man commission would be able to assume the policy formation function and eliminate political interference in broadcasting.

The CRBC "had powers to regulate and control Canadian broadcasting on the one hand and to carry on broadcasting on the other," and therefore had responsibility for such matters as the issuance of station licenses and channel allocations. Generally, the Act placed the existing stations under a new regime, one which theoretically would allow the Commission to take over all broadcasting in Canada, subject to the approval of Parliament. Funding was to be provided from parliamentary appropriations, not by monies paid directly through licence fees or advertising revenues. The "extent of the Commission's technical and programming responsibility was not matched by its corporate powers: it could not, for example, borrow money or make its own budget or staffing decisions."^{20}

But the CRBC was soon in trouble:

It is probably no exaggeration to say that the CRBC was doomed to failure from its very inception. There were, firstly, serious financial, administrative and political weakness in the provisions of the legislation itself. But, the commission's problems were not merely structural; they had much to do with the personalities of the three men who were now appointed to carry out the new national broadcasting mandate.^{21}

The CRBC faced problems in its daily operation due to its lack of independence from the Parliament. The CRBC was
dependent on Parliament for its finances. However, since the CRBC personnel were subject to the Civil Service Act under Section 4 of the Broadcasting Act of 1932, this restricted the elasticity in salary schedules to attract qualified people to run its activities. In 1933, this legislation was changed so that only clerks and minor employees were affected under the Civil Service Act.\textsuperscript{22}

The CRBC was also dependent on Parliament for its yearly budget. The budget was determined on the license revenue which was paid to the Department of Marines and Fisheries under provisions of the Radiotelegraph Act of 1913.

Prior to the 1932 Broadcasting Act policy formation was left in the hands of the Cabinet. In an effort to eliminate political interference in broadcasting, the 1932 Act established a three-man commission with the hope that they would be able to assume the policy formation function.\textsuperscript{23} In fact, internal divisions, working at cross-purposes, and ill-defined responsibilities prevented the three full-time commissioners from achieving this objective.\textsuperscript{24}

In February 1934 a parliamentary committee was appointed to examine the affairs and structure of the CRBC. While conducting its study a number of events took place.

1.3 The 'Mr. Sage' Dispute

In 1935, a series, 'Mr. Sage' appeared over the radio which, although in dramatized form and not labelled as party
broadcasting, was unmistakably anti-Liberal in tone. 25

The 'Mr. Sage' broadcasts, six in all, were dramatized propaganda vehicles featuring a staunch, smalltown Tory (Mr. Sage), who discussed the election issues with his friends, praised Conservative policy to the skies and delivered himself of some rather offensive remarks about the Liberals in general — and Mackenzie King in particular. What raised the hackles of the Liberals — and even some skeptical Conservatives — was not the purely partisan nature of the broadcasts, but the fact that the programs were produced in part with commission facilities, went out over some CRBC stations and were not identified as their political sponsorship, giving many people the impression that they had the commission's blessing. 26

Fear of government control of Canadian Broadcasting arose in some newspapers. For example, the Winnipeg Free Press (a Liberal paper) voiced its concern publicly. Although this had been the first time radio had been used for political ends yet the future of Canadian Broadcasting was at stake. In addition, the radio, had been used to campaign in a manner it had never been used before. Questions such as "What would Parliament do with the broadcasting system at its next session?" 27 were asked by both the newspapers and the public.

Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal opposition, in his final campaign speech prior to the 1935 election said, "I will do all in my power to see to it that no man in future generations has to put up with that sort of thing through a medium over which a P.M. and his government has full control." 28
1.4 Parliamentary Committee Reports

On May 25, 1936 the Parliamentary Committee presented its final report to Parliament. It stated, "that a commission of three cannot be moulded into a unit that can formulate and execute policies successfully." The Committee recommended that the Broadcasting Act of 1932 be replaced by a new Act. The new Act should:

.. place the direction of broadcasting in the hands of a corporation with an honorary board of nine governors chosen to give representation to all parts of Canada, this board to operate through a general manager and an assistant general manager, who will be responsible to the board for the conduct of all business of the Corporation.

It also recommended that the Corporation should be given exclusive control over:

1. The character of all programs, political and otherwise, broadcast by private stations and the advertising content thereof.

2. All wire line network used for carrying broadcast programs.

It believed that Government participation should be continued for three reasons: as a supplement in commercial broadcasting to provide more continuous entertainment for listeners than would be possible under a purely commercial system; to organize more widespread distribution of programs than would be likely to obtain under a purely commercial system; and for ensuring nationwide broadcast of events of national and international importance. Concerning political broadcasting it was recommended:
1. That dramatized political broadcasts be prohibited.

2. That full sponsorship of all political broadcasts be required.

3. That the limitation and distribution of time for political broadcasts be under the complete control of the Corporation, whose duty it shall be to assign time on an equitable basis between all parties and rival candidates.

4. That no political broadcasts be allowed on an election day or during two days immediately preceding same.33

In November 1936 the second Canadian Broadcasting Act was passed. Accordingly, the three man commission was replaced by a new body, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (CBC).

When the CBC was born in 1936 out of the experience of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, its mandate was clear: to develop, sustain and attract the commitment of Canadians to a national broadcasting system. Both public and private broadcasters were to be married in a single system controlled and regulated by a public body - the CBC - in the national interest of all Canadians.34

The CBC was to be headed by a nine-man Board of Governors appointed by the Governor in Council. Members were appointed for three years, paid an annual honorarium and could be removed for cause. Executive functions were to be carried out by a General Manager and Assistant General Manager.

The Board of Governors was expected to take on a more important role in the formation of broadcasting policy. The Board, in fact, supplanted the cabinet as policy maker in the field of radio broadcasting. The Corporation had
control over the function of networks, the nature of all programs and advertising and political broadcasts. All applications concerning licences, frequencies and power increases had to be referred to the Minister by the Corporation.

The Corporation had considerable freedom in stations, producing and purchasing programs, hiring staff and acquiring property. The revenue collected from licence fees was to be paid to the Corporation.

The dilemma of functions between the Board and the General Manager was finally overcome by the appointment of a permanent Chairman of the Board. This created a more logical division of responsibility between the Board's Chairman and the General Manager of the Corporation.  

J. E. Hodgetts states:

The Chairman will have the support of his Board for all policy decisions in the controversial realms of the public interest and this should create a buffer between partisan influences and those responsible for day-to-day administration of the Corporation.  

In his unpublished M.A. thesis, R. Paul Gilmore states: "However, the Act did little to define the relationship of the CBC to parliament and plagued both the Liberal and Conservative parties as long as it was in force."  

The responsibilities of each Minister and government are set forth in Section 3 and 8 to 10 of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936. (See Appendix I) With respect to political broadcast the Act states:
Section 22.

(3) Dramatized political broadcasts are prohibited.
(4) The names of the sponsor of sponsors and the political party, if any, upon whose behalf any political speech or address is broadcast shall be announced immediately preceding and immediately after such broadcast.
(5) Political broadcasts on any dominion, provincial or municipal election day and on the two days immediately preceding any such election day are prohibited.

1.5 Controversial Broadcasting: George McCullagh Incident

George McCullagh was a young man who, with the backing of a mining magnate, had bought two Toronto daily newspapers in 1936 and merged them in the Globe and Mail. His newspaper was rather friendly to the Ontario government of Mitchell Hepburn and critical of both the federal Liberal and the Conservative parties.39

In January, 1939, George McCullagh telephoned General Manager Gladstone Murray in Ottawa to apply for permission to arrange network time for a series of half-hour talks over the radio. Murray immediately informed Leonard W. Brockington, the Chairman of the Board of Governors, who was in Winnipeg. Brockington (the golden voice) advised Murray not to give permission to McCullagh to buy network time.40

While declining time to McCullagh, Murray wrote inviting him to take part "in our National Forum which is given on Sunday evenings at 10 o'clock and which is
distributed by more than 60 stations throughout Canada.  

McCullagh wrote a letter to Gladstone Murray on January 4, 1939, stating, "In my opinion this ruling is very unfair and greatly prejudices the right of free speech on a government owned system of communication."  

In his reply Murray cited "rulings recently approved by the Board of Governors regarding the sponsorship of non-party, controversial broadcasts:

1. No individual may purchase any network to broadcast his own opinion;

2. No profit-making corporation may purchase any network to broadcast opinions;

3. Properly constituted societies may purchase network time subject to the following conditions:
   
   (a) that the society accepts responsibility for the broadcast . . . ;

   (b) that each broadcast is prefaced and concluded by an appropriate announcement making clear the nature and auspices of the broadcast and indicating that equivalent facilities are available to opposing views on the same basis;

   (c) that there is no interference in normal CBC program arrangements;

   (d) that the broadcast is of sufficient popular appeal and interest to justify its inclusion;

   (e) that the broadcast is within the working and spirit of our regulations and not in violation of any law."

McCullagh was disillusioned at what he perceived to be the double standards of the CBC rulings. He felt it was "a serious violation of one of the pillars of democracy -
Before him George Drew (Leader of the Conservative Party) had been permitted to do what McCullagh was not allowed to do as a private citizen.

Dissatisfied at the rulings, the Globe and Mail stated that "dictatorship is on our doorstep by the grace of the (Prime Minister Mackenzie King's) government."

Reviewing the McCullagh incident C. D. Howe, the Federal Minister responsible for the CBC, said he had nothing to do with it. He emphasized that under the Broadcasting Act of 1936 the government was left with only a few powers: to appoint the nine governors of the CBC; to approve or disapprove of nominations for General Manager or Assistant General Manager; and to approve the by-laws of the corporation. The Minister of Transport, C. D. Howe, served as "the channel through which the board shall communicate with the government and with parliament."

There was no possible way by which the government could interfere with any CBC decision. Howe said he personally had often disagreed with the actions taken by the Board, but they had been put into effect.

McCullagh told the Radio Broadcasting Committee in 1939 that Mr. Murray had said that he (Murray) had presented the case in a manner that was "most sympathetic and attractive" to Brockington in Winnipeg. McCullagh felt that if there were a definite policy, why was it necessary for him (Murray) to present my application sympathetically?
But, "the CBC had decided that it would not allow on its own network the broadcasting of propaganda or opinion."\(^{51}\) However, these regulations were not printed or written down.\(^ {52}\)

Asked if he distinguished between 'regulation' and a decision of the Board, Brockington said:

... insofar as published regulations are concerned, that they would be regulations in effect that we will say restricted in the first place the action of private stations and generally laid down general principles. ... We may make 100s of rulings in the course of the year. We make rules that we will not take broadcasting of certain types. We make rules and regulations ourselves about all kinds of things. No company or corporation publishes the regulations that affect its own conduct and all its own business within the ambit of its own particular vitality.\(^ {53}\)

Brockington added:

... there were no personal, no political, no partisan desire to do anyone an injury. There was no biased discharge by our general manager of what he conceived to be our policy. Our policy has not been affected by anything but by two desires: one, to be fair to the people of Canada, without respect to class, creed, religion, political persuasions, nationality, race or any other of those things that divide us.

Our second policy has been, and will continue to be, we will try to protect the property of the people of Canada against either its improper alienations or its improper use.\(^ {54}\)

CBC was technically in the wrong. McCullagh had applied only to the publicly owned stations. He was free to use a network of private stations. Its face was saved through the very able presentation of its case by Leonard W. Brockington. Brockington, a man of wide culture and Liberal views, completely maneuvered McCullagh. But though McCullagh was
routed, the General Manager who had condoned the original refusal of time had his face publicly saved. That fall Brockington resigned. With the restraining influence of Brockington removed, strange things began to happen.

V. R. Hill states in his criticism of the CBC that in November 1939, McCullagh went on the air again with six talks on "Canada at War". Nationwide criticism of the series was so marked that it was extended, with six additional speakers giving one broadcast each, to make the public think that McCullagh had been merely one in a series. That this was not the original intention was clearly shown by the fact that the extension was not arranged until public clamor grew too marked to be disregarded.

In July 1939, the CBC issued A Statement of Policy with Respect To Controversial Broadcasting. Because of its white cover it was nick-named the CBC "White Paper" by political parties. (See Appendix II)

The "White Paper" was divided into four sections:

A. Party Political Broadcasting During a Dominion Election Campaign.

B. Party Political Broadcasting During Provincial Election Campaigns.

C. Party Political Broadcasting in the Period Between Election Campaigns.

D. Non-party Controversial Broadcasts.

In a sense the "White Paper" stated that broadcasting was highly expensive and it was not within reach of all.
Obviously, therefore, the purchase of networks to broadcast opinions was not a privilege which could be shared equally by all citizens. The policy of the CBC was to prevent the air from falling under the control of wealth or any other power. The full interchange of opinion was one of the safeguards of free institutions. The right to answer was implied in any democracy. Far from being a restraint on free speech, the Corporation's policy was, therefore, believed to be an assurance that liberty of discussion was preserved and that all main points of view were fairly presented. The air belonged to the people, and the constant aim of the CBC was to have the principal points of view on questions of importance heard by the people as a whole.\(^59\)

On July 21, 1939, the *Globe and Mail* voiced its opinion over the "White Paper:"

There is no denying the fact that the political ruling, the banning of individual opinion from the airwaves and the assumption of complete control over private networks are all of Mr. Brockington's design. . . . The CBC's chairman is a brilliant apologist, all of whose talents are directed toward the justification of his own arrogance. Sincere he may be. So is Hitler.\(^60\)

The Globe's criticism and foremost concern was on the question of time. According to the "White Paper" the government party would get more free time in an election campaign than any other party. The question of free time was based on the unfairness of the "White Paper."
But, the *Ottawa Journal* of July 24, 1939 saw the "White Paper" in a different light. It said, "what happened was that the parties themselves got together and agreed upon the amount of time each party should have."\(^6^1\)

The statement of policy was published by the Board of Governors. There was a change made in the policy with respect to controversial broadcasting on January 20, 1940. The following resolution was passed by the Board of January 22, 1940:\(^6^2\)

That in view of wartime conditions, which were not taken into consideration when the Board's policy with respect to the provision of free time for party political broadcasting was drawn up, it is felt that it is not expedient to put such a policy into practice at the present time or during such time as a state of war exists.

Subsequently there was a conference between the management and the party political leaders and after consultation with all members of the Board by telegram the policy was changed and the change confirmed at a meeting on the 15th of April, 1940, where it was resolved:

That in order to confirm the result of the telegraphic reference of the management requesting amendment of the resolution on the provision of free time for party political broadcasting at the Board Meeting of January 22nd, 1940, the amended resolution read as follows:

> It is agreed that free time during a federal election shall be granted to political parties according to the conditions laid down in the booklet entitled "Statement of Policy with Respect to Controversial Broadcasting."\(^6^3\)

But, on January 22, 1940 at their meeting, the Board
of Governors had "agreed that paid political or controversial broadcasting on CBC stations, networks or hookups, except during elections, be suspended for the duration of the war." The board was the only body empowered to make any change in policy with respect to controversial broadcasting.

The parliamentary committee inquiring into the C.B.C. in the spring of 1939 unanimously recommended in its report that both in dominion and provincial elections party broadcasting on networks should be on a sustaining basis. That is to say, that the C.B.C. should arrange to provide free time to spokesmen for the established political parties and that no time should be sold over networks during such election campaigns.

Our statement of policy was enacted in July 1939 before the war. And after the war, when we changed our policy in this respect in January, 1940, it was the feeling of the members of the board that in time of war the main purpose was to have a united public opinion behind the public effort to win the war, and that it was not the proper time to engage in controversial broadcasts which might endanger the unity of the country. We thought that our policy, on account of the war, might properly be suspended during the war. Before our statement of policy was enacted, stations were free to sell time to whoever applied for it, and it was only as a corollary to our decision that the former state of affairs had to remain in force.

Gladstone Murray, the then General Manager, was left to face the wartime problems.
Chapter I


2 Ibid., p. 6.


6 Aird Report, p. 6.

7 Ibid., p. 6.

8 Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, 1929, p. 25.

9 Ibid., p. 24.

10 The Canadian Radio League, Vancouver: In the archives of the University of British Columbia, October, 1930.

11 Ibid., p. 3.

12 David Ellis, Evolution, pp. 5-6.

13 Ibid., p. 5.


15 Debates, May 3, 1932.

16 As quoted in the May 3, 1932 Debates.

17 Debates, May 18, 1932.
All information concerning this statute as given here and elsewhere in this paper is to be found in Parliament, Statutes of Canada, 1932, 22-23 Geo. V, C.3 to C.9 inclusive.


David Ellis, Evolution, p. 9.

Statutes of Canada, 23-24 George V, 1932, ch. 35.


Ibid.


David Ellis, Evolution, p. 15.


Ottawa Citizen, October 14, 1935.

Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, 1936. Minutes of Evidence. Ottawa: King's Printers, 1936, pp. 783-786. Hereafter cited as Special Committee

Ibid., p. 784.

Ibid.


Debates 1936, pp. 785-786.


Broadcasting Act 1932, Statutes 1932, p. 141.


45 Quoted in the *Debates*, January 16, 1939, p. 24.


49 *Special Committee 1939*, p. 337.


51 Brockington to Special Committee, 1939, p. 47.

52 *Special Committee 1939*, pp. 47-48.


57 A Statement of policy with respect to controversial broadcasting, Ottawa: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Printers, July, 1939.


60 Globe and Mail, July 21, 1939
62 Special Committee 1942, p. 160.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., pp. 162-162.
CHAPTER II

ONE MAN RULE: GLADSTONE MURRAY (1939-1942)

The position of the General Manager was a sensitive one. According to the Broadcasting Act of 1936, the general policies were laid down by the Board of Governors in the form of by-laws and the executing of those policies was the responsibility of the General Manager under Section 6, which stated:

There shall be a general manager who shall be chief executive for the Corporation and who shall be appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Corporation.

Section 7 authorizes as Assistant General Manager. It stated:

There shall be an assistant general manager of the Corporation who shall be appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Corporation.

The General Manager, Gladstone Murray, was faced with much of decision-making power originally intended for the Board of Governors:

Obviously, with the Board (of Governors) sitting only six to seven times a year, the General Manager was compelled to assume what really amounted to policy forming functions.

Murray under all these pressures had immense ability and had an exceptionally impressive record. Gladstone Murray was
British Columbia born. He founded the McGill Daily in 1911 while attending that University. Later he went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. During World War I he served in both the infantry and the Royal Flying Corps with unusual distinction and was very badly wounded. He became famous for an exceptionally daring and chivalrous act in dropping a wreath on the grave of Baron Von Richthofen, the noted German ace. Following the war he served as special correspondent for the London Daily Express, became Public Relations Officer for the League of Nations Union, and entered the service of the British Broadcasting Corporation. There he founded that organization's two famous publications: "The Listener" and "World Radio." He was put in charge of BBC's "Spoken Word" and "Empire News", politics, talks, adult education, school education, religion, international and political departments.\(^5\)

His "extensive knowledge and experience," say E. Austin Wier, "were of untold value in the first five years of the CBC. Murray was highly imaginative and demanded a high standard of artistic achievement. He loathed overstatement, and insisted on fostering Canadian talent.\(^6\)

While his creative genius was immediately apparent, other traits were not: a weakness at administration (that later caused his downfall) and his social conservatism. Murray was very much the ex-British officer, dedicated to
to the Imperial tie and the subordination of the civilian to the military during wartime.

Even before hostilities broke out between the European powers in September 1939 he had disagreed with Alan Flaunt (considered the most influential of the CBC governors) over the role of the corporation. Murray wanted a "closer relationship with the government, for patriotic reasons, for greater clarity and simplicity in administering the broadcasting system and also because of his recent relationship with members of the Board of Governors, especially Flaunt (who was an isolationist) and Brockington. Murray took matters into his own hands; he by-passed the Board of Governors and discussed CBC problems directly with C. D. Howe, the Minister responsible for the CBC.

R. B. Tolbridge stated that a few weeks after the declaration of war, there were direct dealings not between the Board and the government nor between the General Manager and the government proper, but between the General Manager, Gladstone Murray and Mr. C. D. Howe, the Minister of Transport in what appeared to have been sometimes official, and sometimes personal consultations.

But years later, Ernie Bushnell, the Acting General Manager, was accused of "disgraceful conduct" in Parliament for having kept George Nowlan, the Minister of National Revenue and Minister responsible for the CBC, informed while Alphonse Ouimet, the General Manager; was away sick.
Defending himself Bushnell said:

To my knowledge, every General Manager of the CBC from Gladstone Murray, Dr. Thomson, Dr. Frigon, Mr. Mason, was obliged to consult with the appropriate minister from time to time.

He added:

Does this suggest or imply control or a misuse of authority? It does not, and to my knowledge this kind of day-to-day communication with extremely rare exceptions has never been abused or taken advantage of by any minister, and the chances are that no matter who the minister may be or who the president of the CBC may be, this getting together in one form or another will go on. . . . Proper channels of communicating are one thing; interference is another.

There was talk of the government 'take over' of the CBC as the British government had assumed control of all but the purely entertainment function of the BBC.

Murray argued:

. . . that in practice, for a few weeks after the impact of war, the management dealt with the government . . . I kept in telephone consultation daily with the Chairman of the Board of Governors, and tried to work it on that triangular basis: . . . Meanwhile there was constant communication on the one hand between me and the Minister, and on the other between Mr. Brockington, Mr. Nathanson and Mr. Godfrey.

What Murray seemed to argue here was the truth. According to Murray, what mattered during wartime was the day-to-day problems and not following correct constitutional procedure. His attitude towards CBC policies was wrong. On the whole, there was no clear-cut policy of any sort laid down by either the Board or the government, for the CBC to follow during
wartime. But, then, Murray did not have to do what he was doing.

On October 16 the Board of Governors met. But, to date, the government had not extended its authority on the CBC. Meanwhile, the General Manager was dealing directly with the Government or at least, with Mr. Howe. Murray was on the right track to make CBC an arm of the government.¹⁴

He might have succeeded had he not made a tactical mistake - he tried to block the formation of a Toronto union without the authority of the Board by issuing an internal memorandum warning employees that the government would not agree to such a formation. The Prime Minister, Mackenzie King, told the press that "only the Board of Governors could decide CBC policy."¹⁵

The CBC was becoming, through negligence of the Board and unregulated action of its General Manager, to all intents and purposes a department under the day-to-day control of Mr. Howe.¹⁶

Although Murray did not succeed in destroying the independence of the CBC, there is evidence to suggest that he did, much on his own, try to make the CBC an arm of the government.

We get another side of Murray's life from William Stevenson's book,¹⁷ A Man Called Intrepid: - The Secret War. Stevenson points out that Murray had become involved
with Stephenson, a member of Royal Canadian Engineers, in 1940 not only as an old friend, but in his capacity as CBC head. The CBC put up large transmitters in Camp X, the Spy school (one of the transmitters was the largest in the world). The Camp X faked documents and passed itself off as a radio relay transmitter. "The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation told the townspeople of neighboring Oshawa that it was putting up radio aerials, this to explain some of the strange activities." Murray did not explain his connection with Camp X to the Board of Governors.

Murray himself confessed the danger of Camp X. "Despite its Boys-Own-Adventure tone, the Complex had a deadly purpose." 'Factories' grew for production of false documents, camouflaged explosives, and all the paraphernalia of the spy trade that were life-and-death equipment, not romantic toys, to these silent invaders.

"Camp X also known as the 'Magic Group'; conjured up illusions and laid false trails." It was headed by Makelyne, a hero to British schoolboys before the war, one of the great magicians of all times and a master at the part of deception. From Camp X he flew to all corners of the world, creating non-existent armies, dummy cannon, trick air bases, and false fleets.

Obviously, V. R. Hill did not agree to Mr. Murray's participation in the Spy School and attacked him as a public
relations man who had "the faculty of being all things to all men" but could not say a firm "no".24

2.1 Insistence Upon Non-Partisan Control of the CBC

Gordon Graydon, the leading Conservative member of the committee, refused to endorse the Radio Committee's report on the grounds that it did not go far enough. He said that during the previous (1942) session the radio broadcasting committee brought down a report to the House, in which the Board of Governors was censured. They were not censured as much as he would have liked to see them censured. He thought they should have been asked to resign. However, everyone did not agree with him, and the result was that they were not specifically asked to resign. Even at that, he thought the hint should have been good enough.25 M. J. Coldwell (leader of CCF) wanted the General Manager dismissed.

It looked as if Mr. Murray would have been fired had it not been for the intervention of Howe. According to an article, "Backstage at Ottawa" in the Maclean's magazine:

Both Mr. Murray and the Board were censured, to be sure, but the story which Ottawa hears about this is that last-minute intervention by influential people, including Hon. C. D. Howe and the Canadian Legion, caused a modification of the original proposals regarding the firing of Mr. Murray and that party loyalty baulked at any drastic steps in regard to the Board of Governors, which would reflect too harshly on the Government.

Mr. Howe was a member of the parliamentary committee . . . but attended only one session of its deliberations - the final session prior to the adoption by the committee of the final report.26

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The committee insisted that the independence of the Corporation from partisan control must be reaffirmed, and that the government should strengthen the Board by appointing persons selected for their outstanding ability and genuine interest, and not because of any political affiliation.

2.2 Political Broadcasting

As late as May 19, 1942 the question of political broadcasting was still present. The 1939 Committee discussed it; the 1940 Committee discussed the same issue and the 1942 Committee faced the same problem. No one was clear as to what could and could not be broadcast. Mr. R. B. Hansell of the CCF said that it appeared that there were three special sections to section 22 of the Canadian Broadcasting Act that governed political broadcasts:

(3) Dramatized political broadcasts are prohibited.

(4) The names of the sponsor or sponsors and the political party, if any, upon whose behalf any political speech or address is broadcast shall be announced immediately preceding and immediately after such broadcast.

(5) Political broadcasts on any dominion, provincial or municipal election day and on the two days immediately preceding any such election day are prohibited.27

This seemed to cover pretty well the sections governing political broadcasts. It was understood that it was against regulations to broadcast a political speech from a public platform. Doubts remained, however, as to whether a broadcast...
was political or not as indicated in Hansell's question:

I should like to know what determines a political broadcast. I can quite understand if a broadcast is given in the name of a political party that the leader of the political party speaks. Obviously that is a political broadcast; but here is an individual who comes out and he talks on some political subject. What is to determine whether or not that is a political broadcast?\(^{26}\)

The CBC "White Paper" was the authority on political broadcasts, and Mr. Coldwell questioned its authority.

**FOREIGN BROADCAST:**

There was the question of foreign broadcasts brought into Canada, by Germany, Italy and the Vichy over the CBC. What, if any steps were taken by the Board of Governors to direct the officers of the Corporation to meet these broadcasts? Mr. Rene Morin, defending the Corporation before the 1942 Special Committee, said that he was not aware that the matter was ever discussed before the Board of Governors; but he knew that they had made broadcasts and given out information through a large number of speakers. The CBC had broadcast whatever the Information Board asked them to. Broadcasts were organized also on an American short-wave station directed to France; but there had been no direct answer to the short-wave broadcasts coming from enemy countries.\(^{29}\)

The Winnipeg Free Press, in an editorial on this subject headed "The Nazi Radio and Canada," said:

But surely it lies within the capacity and the duty of the government and its organizations to take positive steps to counteract their possible ill effects upon the morale of the Canadian people.\(^{30}\)
There was one thing which should be decided. Was the CBC going to be an instrument of political broadcasting on its own initiative or was that to be the function of the Board of Information of the Dominion government? It was certainly not the job of the CBC to provide effective propaganda or counter-propaganda against these broadcasts. The government should have been aware of what was going on, and it was the function of the Board of Information to counteract that. In time of war the Radio Corporation must have a settlement of policy as between them and the government with respect to foreign political broadcasts. But, the 1942 Committee found out there had been no conference between the Board of Governors and the government to settle that question of policy.  

Rene Morin, the Chairman of the Board, pushed the blame on to the General Manager, Gladstone Murray. "It was not the field of the General Manager to decide upon the question of policy as between the Corporation and the government in wartime. The General Manager's duties were very strictly defined and they were defined as carrying out the policies laid down by the Board of Governors."  

In addition, the General Manager was no longer the General Manager of the Corporation. He had been displaced from that position by the by-laws of 1941. The executive committee was now, according to the by-laws adopted and

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approved, the body to manage the affairs of the Corporation. But, the executive committee had not yet been appointed (See Chart A).

Murray was also faced with the resignation of Alan B. Plaunt, a member of the Board of Governors and in addition faced internal trouble in the CBC.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

1 The Canadian Broadcasting Act 1936. Chapter 24, 1 Edward VIII, Statutes of Canada, 1936, p. 143. All information concerning this statute directly quoted or otherwise is to be found in the Statutes of Canada.

2 Ibid., pp. 38-39.

The duties of these two officials are enumerated by by-laws 6, 7, and 8 which were amended in 1941:

By-laws 6, 7 and 8, setting forth the duties and responsibilities of the General Manager and the Assistant General Manager were amended by the Board at their meeting on March 24, 1941.

By-law 6(2) providing for the employment, dismissal and renumeration of the officers and other employees of the Corporation was cancelled.

By-law number 7 setting forth the duties of the General Manager was cancelled and a by-law providing for the establishment of an executive committee in accordance with the provisions of section 3(7) of the Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936, was substituted therefor.

By-law number 8 setting forth the duties of the Assistant General Manager was cancelled and a new by-law setting forth the duties of the General Manager, the Assistant General Manager, and providing for the appointment of a controller of finance was substituted therefor.

These by-laws were recommended by the Minister of Munitions and Supply and approved by the Governor General in Council on April 29, 1941.

The same year (1941) amendments to the broadcasting regulations were made. These revisions were conditioned by the following factors:
(a) The desire of the corporation to make its regulations fit the constantly changing conditions of the radio medium;

(b) To have only such regulations as were genuinely considered essential to legitimate control over radio in Canada and susceptible to appropriate enforcement.

He was general manager from September 22, 1936 to 1942 while Dr. Augustine Frigon was assistant general manager.


Special Committee, 1942, pp. 3-4. Minister responsible in the House of Commons for CBC: From November 2, 1936 to June 11, 1941 was the Minister of Transport, C. D. Howe, he was also afterwards the Minister of Munitions and Supply. From June 11, 1941, to the end of the war was the Minister of National War Services.


Debates, June 23, 1959.


Ibid.
One such example was aired on the 3rd of May, 1942 which was broadcast from Berlin in French, directed to Canada at 8:04 p.m. It began:

You will now listen to a talk on the new political aspirations of Europe. Dear Canadian listeners, it is once again in France, the country of your ancestors, that great political events have taken place, whose far-reaching effects can hardly be sufficiently stressed.

And then it spoke about the reorganization of the French Government, the appointment of Pierre Laval and in the highest possible terms of his work:
We also stress the fact that Mr. Laval has always been against war. It was he who smoothed out the existing misunderstandings between France and Italy in 1935. It was he who had the courage to oppose desperate resistance to England's war policy.

The Winnipeg Free Press on May 14, 1942 quoted Cante de Gueydan from Radio Paris (that is in occupied France):

"The British Empire is breaking up, and falling apart on every side. It is not, however, for lack of using the most daring process of propaganda because sincerity is not to be spoken of. Remember that to bolster confidence Churchill did not hesitate to state personally before the parliament of Canada, on December 30, 1941: Even as I speak, an important battle is being fought at Djelabia, and I am very hopeful. Twenty-four hours later, General Ritchie had once again lost 120 tanks, and Churchill's hopefulness was changed into assurance of defeat. The British premier was well aware, however, that, notwithstanding the power and the number of troops engaged in North Africa, things were not bright. But the truth would have deprived him of the hope he fondles: to obtain men by the organization of conscription in Canada and, thereafter, send these soldiers to any part of the globe where British interest might be endangered."

30 Ibid.
31 Special Committee 1942, p. 93.
32 Ibid.
33 The by-laws were passed on March 24 and approved by Council on April 29, 1941.
CHAPTER III

ALAN B. PLAUNT AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS:

GLADSTONE MURRAY

Throughout Gladstone Murray's term as General Manager the CBC was faced with internal as well as external problems. These problems started as early as 1939 and carried on until 1942. Alan B. Plaunt, member of the Board of Governors, resigned in August 1940, when the CBC was faced with administrative problems with Gladstone Murray.

3.1 Plaunt's Resignation

On August 30, 1940, Plaunt addressed his resignation to C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply and sent a copy to Mr. King, the Prime Minister (see Appendix III).

I feel that, as a public trustee, I should not continue to accept responsibility for the internal organization and executive direction of the Corporation when I have long ceased to have confidence in it. I do not mean to suggest that I consider the general framework of the Broadcasting Act inadequate. On the contrary, it is generally agreed that the Act provides an admirable framework for the development of a non-partisan, business-like, and effective system of national broadcasting.

I would have taken this step early in the year had not my colleagues given me some reason to hope that the serious defects revealed by the reports prepared, at their unanimous request, by Mr. J. C. Thompson, C. A., and myself would be remedied. I have however, finally been obliged to conclude that such is not the case.
To Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, he sent a copy of his resignation and a covering letter in which he wrote:

When council has accepted my resignation, I should greatly appreciate your having a brief announcement given to the Canadian Press.3

In a lengthy letter to Rene Morin he stated his reasons:

. . . the Board as a whole is unwilling to face the realities of this situation; two, that because of major defects, rapidly becoming chronic, the Corporation is not properly organized adequately to fulfill its function in the war emergency or in the post-war period; three, that in these circumstances, it is unlikely to survive and develop on the lines conceived by Parliament; and finally, that having done my upmost to persuade my colleagues to take decisive action, I am left with the last resource of resignation in order to underline the need for it.4

He outlined his reasons as follows:

1. Steps not taken to remedy defects revealed by reports.
2. Defects preclude proper functioning in War period.
3. Development as intended by parliament prejudiced, and
4. Resigning to emphasize need of decisive action.

On September 5, 1940 Howe wrote Plaunt:

While I heard rumours to the effect that you are not in agreement with your colleagues on the Board on matter of administration, I had no idea that you felt so strongly on the matter as your letter now indicates. Under the circumstances I have no option but to recommend to my colleagues the acceptance of your resignation, which I will do within the next few days.5

On October 23, the Winnipeg Free Press6 published Plaunt's letter of resignation to Howe. Mr. Morin, the Chairman of the Board of Governors, said there was no justification for the act he was quoted in the Canadian Press dispatch:

Act Held Unjustified

Rene Morin, chairman of the Board of Governors of
Broadcasting Corporation, said last night it was the relief of the board that there was 'no justification' for the resignation of Alan B. Plaunt of Ottawa from the board.

"Mr. Plaunt made a number of recommendations to the board," said Mr. Morin. "Several of these recommendations had already been acted upon, and on a motion of Mr. Plaunt himself, the remainder were left over for the next meeting of the Governors. However, Mr. Plaunt resigned about a month before the meeting." 7

Alan B. Plaunt, in a letter to Mr. Rene Morin, corrected that impression. He said:

I think I should bring to your attention a factual inaccuracy in the October 23rd dispatch of the Canadian Press which quotes you in part as follows:

"... and on a motion of Mr. Plaunt himself, the remainder (of the recommendations) were left over for the next meeting of the Governors. However, Mr. Plaunt resigned about a month before the meeting."

The minutes of the April and August meetings, as well as the carefully prepared letter I sent you on August 30th, clearly show that my motion was made at the April meeting and that the committee thus established was to report definitely to the next meeting, which was that held in August. 8

On November 26, 1940 Mr. Rene Morin wrote a letter to Mr. Howe in which he stated:

Mr. Plaunt was away during the whole month of May and after his return it was arranged for the Special Committee to meet on July 1. Unfortunately, ... the Committee did not find the time necessary to hear from Mr. Plaunt as explanation and illustrations which were to complete his report. 9

3.2 Causes that Led to Plaunt's and Pickering's Resignation

A number of reasons led to Plaunt's resignation (see Appendix III). One of the issues was Murray's salary and allowances. Murray was disappointed with his salary of
$13,000: The Assistant General Manager, Dr. Frigon, was paid $12,000. The Board of Governors in 1937 paid Murray $1,500 for entertainment. Travelling expenses were not to be included in this. In March 1939, this allowance was increased to $4,800 per year. C. D. Howe, the Minister, was apparently not pleased. In April 1939, Murray submitted a claim for $1,003 to cover "special expenditures made for services in obtaining statistical and other information relative to CBC coverage and public reaction." This was approved by the Board of Governors, the treasurer therefore authorized payment. The Auditor General's department raised questions on the payment but the claim was not withdrawn.

In June 1939, Murray submitted another claim for $955 covering special expenditures in the period April 12 to June 28. Murray was advised by the treasurer to reconsider the claim. Murray did not submit the claim. 10

This power was given to the Assistant General Manager. This brought about an extraordinary division of responsibility for the bylaws sub-section (b) stated that the controller of finance - who was the Assistant General Manager, not the General Manager - was to report directly to the Board of Governors or the executive committee on all matters relating to the business of the corporation including revenues and expenditures, salaries and relations with staff and
business dealings with the clients of the Corporation and on all such matters as the Board of Governors or the executive committee may request. Strangely the Assistant General Manager had, in reality all the power of the General Manager. It is questionable whether the General Manager was still the chief executive and was still the man in control.

Furthermore, the controller of finance was the Assistant General Manager himself (for economic reasons). If a separate controller was appointed, it meant another salary of $5,000 or $6,000. It was felt that for the moment the Assistant General Manager could fulfill the functions without extra cost.

All this seemed to show that the charge Alan B. Plaunt made when he resigned that the internal affairs of the Corporation were becoming chaotic was borne out by the evidence that control of the CBC was not in the right place. In fact, it became more chaotic after the resignation in 1940 and, therefore, Mr. Plaunt's resignation was certainly justified.

In his resignation letter to C. D. Howe, on August 30, 1940 Plaunt wrote,

Briefly, I feel that, as a public trustee, I should not continue to accept responsibility for the internal organization and executive direction of the Corporation when I have long ceased to have confidence in it.

Another issue was the role Canada was to play if war
broke out in Europe, and the implications for CBC program policy. Plaunt was in favor of Canada staying out of the war. If there was war Canada should have a friendly relationship with the United States. As war approached Plaunt with Adrien Pouliot, a new member of the Board of Governors, urged that the CBC should insist upon complete objectivity in the news and commentaries, to "avoid the impression of fashioning opinion before the meeting of parliament." Plaunt and Pouliot felt that Canadians should get both the American and British versions of the news.

The mutual suspicion between Plaunt and Murray came into the open at the outbreak of war. Plaunt thought that Murray was using the war as an occasion to work directly with the Minister of Transport, to evade the policy and supervising function of the Board of Governors, and to sidetrack the reports that he and Thompson were preparing.

On September 4, 1939 Mr. Plaunt telephoned Pickering, the Program Director from Montreal, to inquire how the situation was going. In the course of his conversation he made two observations on the special measures being taken by the CBC. The first observation involved the constitutional position of the Board. Plaunt felt that the Board should remain in control of broadcasting until its legal position was changed by definite action in the form of an amendment to the Act or by Order in Council.
Plaunt also questioned the ruling made by the CBC that Canadian stations should not carry news or commentators originating in the United States. Plaunt pointed out that as a result of the ruling Canadian listeners had tuned in on American stations where they frequently got the news faster.\textsuperscript{21} Pickering passed on the suggestions to Murray.\textsuperscript{22}

Murray made no special comments to Pickering but addressed a letter to Plaunt in which he outlined Plaunt's comments as "unmeasured structures."\textsuperscript{23} Mr. Plaunt raised the issue squarely with the General Manager who retracted the charges and withdrew the correspondence and destroyed the documents in the presence of Pickering.\textsuperscript{24} Pickering was wholeheartedly disappointed with Murray and had lost confidence in him. He, therefore, resigned on October 2, 1939.

3.3 The Plaunt-Thompson Reports

In October 1939 the Board of Governors received the Plaunt-Thompson Report. The Report was divided into two main sections: Financial Administration and Present Organization and Departmental Functions. Plaunt and Thompson examined the organization and functioning of the headquarters department located at Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto.\textsuperscript{25} The Report recommended that all administrative and executive departments be centralized at either Montreal or Toronto. A legal head office at Ottawa was to be confined
to accommodation for the Board, the General Manager, the Assistant General Manager in one city. Previously one was in Ottawa while the other remained in Montreal. The Report recommended that the duties of the Assistant General Manager be enlarged so that he may assist the General Manager in the administration of all departments and activities, having in mind the national character of the organization. In order to inform the General Manager of all activities of the Corporation, all department heads should report to him. A revised plan of administration was submitted (See Charts C and D).

The Corporation's income was limited to revenue derived from licence fees and commercial revenues. The amount that was available for artists' services and program production was limited. Until the Corporation could come up with more revenue, capital expenditure, it should be cut down and more money was to be spent on production. Therefore, the Report recommended that the treasurer be designated as financial controller, with enlarged duties and responsibilities. The Report recognized that in order to improve the quality of sustaining programs additional expenditures of money was essential to take care of the following: better standards, adequate rehearsals, increased production staffs and higher remuneration and greater departmentalization with skilled artists in charge of music, drama, education and other phases
of program production.\textsuperscript{28}

In the course of their survey and discussions with various officials it was apparent that in many cases there was a lack of clear definitions of the duties and responsibilities of certain officials and senior members of the staff and also their status in the organization. Proper channels of communication between members of the staff, officials and the management should be clearly established, so that the head of one department would not be giving instructions to a member of the staff of another department. In order to achieve the above the then secretary's department was to be abolished and its functions undertaken by the proposed executive secretariat and the proposed financial controller's department, respectively. Finally, the Board, the Report recommended, should review the rates charged for commercial programs and if necessary increase the rates.\textsuperscript{29}

3.4 The Plaunt-Thompson Report Shelved by the Board

In May 19, 1942 Mr. Morin explained to the 1942 Proceedings, that the Plaunt-Thompson Report was received by the Board in October 1939. "We gathered the general idea of the report and found that there was nothing which required urgent action."\textsuperscript{30} But later, at their January 22 meeting the Board decided to take action on two of the recommendations.
Our accounting had been made on what we call a cash basis, one of the recommendations of the Thompson Report was to change to an accrual basis. We decided we would follow this recommendation. Our depreciation had been provided for in a certain way. The Thompson Report recommended another method of providing for depreciation and we decided that our accounting would be done in compliance with the recommendations made by Mr. Thompson. That is two particular points where we took action. We decided also not to take action on the centralization of the offices in either Montreal or Toronto.

They also decided not to take action on the centralization of CBC headquarters:

That is a matter which was postponed on account of the war. We all agreed the recommendation is a very sound one, but we did not have the accommodation either in Toronto or Montreal to do that and during the war we felt it was important that the head office should remain in Ottawa; so we decided to leave the main office in Ottawa and postponed action on this recommendation until after the war.

In Parliament in November 1940, Mr. Coldwell of the CCF asked for a parliamentary investigation of Plaunt's charges. He said that Mr. Alan Plaunt's charges were very serious. In his letter of resignation he had stated that he had long ceased to have confidence in the internal organization and executive direction of the Corporation. In Plaunt's view the present conditions seriously hampered the Corporation from fulfilling its functions in the war emergency, and prejudiced its survival as an effective instrument of national unity afterwards. Mr. Coldwell added:
Now that radio is an important weapon of war it is deplorable that this great service has been allowed by the responsible minister to deteriorate to the extent that a gentleman, whom the Winnipeg Free Press describes as being "one of the oldest and staunchest supporters of publicly owned radio in Canada" has resigned...

Finally - and this must be said by someone - there are the most disquieting stories in circulation regarding the competence and so on, of the general manager. A reputable journal like Toronto Saturday Night no doubt refers to this in its last issue when it says:

And after poking around it seems that there is a mess in the management and policy of the C.B.C., that a public airing will probably do good.

If this is true, then the sooner parliament looks into the matter the better.34

Supporting Mr. Coldwell, Mr. Graydon said, "I call upon the government now to see that we have a special committee this session to deal with the matters which were raised by Mr. Plaunt in his letter of resignation."35 John Diefenbaker speaking for the Conservatives, supported the idea.36

Immediately after the meeting of the Board of Governors on November 25, 1940, the following resolutions were passed:

That the Board regretfully noted the retirement of Alan Plaunt and felt impelled to deplore the publicity given in the CBC on the retirement concerning matters which it believed were of internal policy solely for consideration by the Board as a result. (See Chart E).

In view of the publicity and critical references concerning the executive management, all members of the Board assembled to declare their full and complete confidence in
the General Manager, Gladstone Murray, and the Assistant General Manager, Dr. Augustin Frigon, believing moreover that the opportunity should be taken to express the Board's appreciation and gratitude for the distinguished service they had rendered to the corporation over this trying period. What prompted this resolution was probably the publication of the letter of resignation by Mr. Plaunt.

On March 24, 1941 Gladstone Murray's powers as General Manager were curtailed. These powers involving technical engineering, commercial relations and financial matters were given to the Assistant General Manager. What really caused the loss of confidence in the General Manager? What had happened between November 26, 1940, and March 24, 1941, to make the Board change its mind? On November 26, 1940 the Board has expressed its complete confidence in the General Manager but then on March 24, 1941, the division of powers took place and the by-laws were changed. Perhaps there was a lack of confidence in the General Manager's business ability.

Mr. Rene Morin, the Chairman of the Board of Governors, explained that the business of the Corporation had grown tremendously; that it was beyond the power of one single individual to supervise or to have control of all the different and varied operations of the Corporation; that the administration would be considerably improved if the General Manager...
Manager concentrated his activities on certain particular matters, and if other matters like technical engineering, commercial relations and financial matters were placed under the jurisdiction of the Assistant General Manager, Dr. Augustin Frigon. The Board decided to pass a by-law to that effect. Morin was in fact covering up the mistakes made by Murray. It was true that the CBC had grown tremendously but what was not true were the reasons Morin gave for the delegation of powers between Murray and Frigon.

But yet it never entered into their minds to deprive the General Manager of his authority as chief executive. It was a "delegation of power to the Assistant General Manager which was made with his approval, and it may even be that it was made at his suggestion. He did not object to it." Whenever the Assistant General Manager made a decision on matters which fell under his jurisdiction, even if it was in the regular course of business, he may, but did not have to, confer with the General Manager and have his approval. So that both of them, when they reported to the Board, made reports which had the approval of both officers. There never appeared to be any difference of opinion between them in their reports to the Board of Governors.

The General Manager and the Assistant General Manager had to sit with the Board at all their meetings. Subsection
(f) of section 8 of the amendments reads:

The General Manager, the Assistant General Manager and the controller of finance shall be present at all meetings of the Board of Governors and the executive committee unless their attendance is excused by the chairman or presiding officer.43

On April 25, 1941 Plaunt wrote his feelings about CBC to Claxton. He felt that the Board's latest decision threatened the Constitution of CBC and would destroy the work he and Claxton had put in for five years.44 He wrote:

Whether it is to be formally stated or not, the Executive Committee has already assumed some of the functions of management, as previously conceived, reserving itself the right, for example, of veto on all appointments, salaries, increases of salaries and the like.

In other words, we are practically back to the defects which wrecked the Radio Commission and which you and I in particular, and the Parliamentary Committee of 1936 and the Act in general, set out to avoid, viz. divided managerial control; and no clear line of demarcation between policy and management. . . .

For my own part, of course, I care not in the slightest what goddam fools of themselves Nat, Morin and Co. make. But I do care about this enterprise, a) for its own sake, and, b) because I believe that our Act provided a model framework for a publicly-owned business, which surely is of some importance to the future of democratic government in this bloody country. And I cannot help feeling that once they have formally altered the set-up we so carefully contrived it will be almost impossible to get it restored.

In a postscript he added:

I'm sorrier than ever now that you didn't find it possible to get the matter raised in caucus last session.44

In May 1941, the Canadian Forum reflected Plaunt's views on the business interests that stood to gain if the CBC
structure was weakened:

It is a remarkable fact that, for reasons which can scarcely bode well for the public system of broadcasting, the general manager, certain key members of the board, the Hon. C. D. Howe, and representatives of the private broadcasters are all actively agreed on one principle: that a parliamentary investigation should be resisted. . .

Who is responsible? Primarily, the board of governors, a board at present dominated by men whose enthusiasm for public ownership in general and for this project in particular, may, perhaps, be judged by the fact that the chairman is the head of a St. James St. trust, and the vice-chairman (really the dominant influence) is the key figure in Canada's moving picture industry, an industry with which, of course, a successful CBC would very directly compete.45

On September 12, 1941, Plaunt died. His friends, Coldwell and Claxton were determined that a parliamentary committee on broadcasting should be established.

3.5 Vacancies and the Board

After Plaunt resigned, the vacancy was not filled for a long period (see Chart F). This appointment was under the jurisdiction of the Government and the Board of Governors had nothing to do with it.47 The responsibility was apparently shifted from the Board's shoulders to the Government. As far as the Board was concerned "no official demand"48 was made meaning the Board of Governors had passed no resolution asking the Government to appoint a successor to Mr. Plaunt.49

Since the vacancy was not filled the Executive Committee could not be appointed. A finance committee was in operation.50 The finance committee was financing "without authority,
except the authority of the Board." It could not make
decisions. It merely had to make reports to the Board
and the Board would make the decisions.

There was a real necessity existing for the setting up
of an executive committee to replace the financial committee.
But nothing had been done since April 1941 to date. The
reason for the appointment of a financial committee was that
the Board had "reason to doubt the competence of the manager
in certain financial affairs." Those who ran the financial
committee were assumed qualified enough. Mr. J. W.
Godfrey was a lawyer, Mr. N. L. Nathanson was a business-
man of great reputation, while Rene Morin was "in charge
of about $90 million of other people's money" which he
administered for them in trust.

Peers states:

The board never proceeded with the appointment of
an executive committee - it was waiting for the
government to appoint an Ottawa resident to the board
in Plaunt's place - but it did appoint Frigon as
controller of finance while he continued as Assistant
General Manager. The new by-laws were so worded
that Frigon would report directly to the board in
the exercise of his increased responsibilities.

It must be said that the Board of Governors's work was
affected by the way vacancies were filled, or rather not
filled properly (see Chart F). General Odlum, a member
of the Board, last attended a meeting of the Board on June
1, 1940, but was only replaced on March 17, 1942, twenty-
two months later. Moreover Mrs. Nellie McClung had been
unfortunately prevented by illness from attending a meeting of the Board since November 26, 1940 and consequently had not attended a meeting in 20 months. During the year and a half ending in March, 1942 the Board was without the effective services of three members out of nine. In addition wartime programs and external problems involving the Ministers in charge of the CBC added confusion to the CBC policies and power.

In addition to this Murray faced problems with the scheduling of programs and the changes in ministerial powers.
Chapter III

1 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting 1942, Minutes of Evidence. Ottawa: King's Printers, 1942, p. 1092.

2 Plaunt Papers. Letter from Plaunt to C. D. Howe, 30 August 1940.

3 Ibid. Letter from Plaunt to Mr. King, 30 August, 1940.

4 Special Committee 1942, p. 125.

5 Plaunt Papers, Howe to Plaunt, September 5, 1940.

6 Winnipeg Free Press, October 23, 1940.

7 Special Committee 1942, p. 121.

8 Plaunt Papers, Plaunt to Morin, November 2, 1940.

9 Special Committee 1942, pp. 49-50.

10 Plaunt Papers. Memorandum from CBC Treasurer, H. Bladwin to Pickering July 13, 1939.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 103.

13 Ibid.


15 Plaunt Papers. Telegraph from Pouliot to Murray August 24, 1939, with copies sent to Lapointe, Morin, Frigon and Plaunt. Also letter from Plaunt to Prime Minister King, August 25, 1939, a copy of which was sent to Pouliot.

16 Ibid.

22 Pickering explained to the Special Committee of 1942 that on a few occasions when Plaunt was unable to reach Murray he would speak to Pickering who would pass on the message, p. 934.

23 Ibid.

24 Plaunt Papers. Pickering's Memorandum of Interview with Murray, September 18, 1939 and Memorandum to Plaunt October 10, 1939.

25 Special Committee 1942, p. 576.

26 Ibid., p. 593.

27 Ibid., p. 592.

28 Ibid., p. 582.


30 Ibid., p. 71.

31 Ibid., p. 72.

32 Parliament, House of Commons, Debates 1941, Coldwell, pp. 64-5.

33 Ibid., p. 64.


36 Ibid., Diefenbaker, p. 225.

37 Ottawa Journal, November 26, 1940.

38 Ibid., November 27, 1940.

39 Special Committee 1942, May 25, p. 139.

40 Ibid., p. 139.
The decision was taken at the prompting of the minister.


Mr. Morin told the 1942 Special Committee, p. 95.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 942, Its members were: The Chairman, the Vice Chairman and Mr. Godfrey.

May 20, 1942.

Special Committee 1942, p. 96.

Ibid.

Ibid., He was chairman of Famous Players Corporation.

Ibid., p. 96.


Special Committee 1942, p. 96.
CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS AND MINISTERIAL PROBLEMS:
GLADSTONE MURRAY

Gladstone Murray during his term as General Manager also found problems concerning program broadcasting and regulations and the change in ministerial responsibilities during the war.

The regulation of programing was placed in the hands of the CBC by the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936. While under the Act the CBC issued regulations of a general character applicable to all broadcasting in Canada, it did not otherwise interfere with the freedom of choice in programs of privately-controlled stations suitable for covering local area, but coverage of wider regions was almost entirely dependent upon the CBC networks. ¹

4.1 Program Broadcasting and Regulations Under the CBC

Since November 2, 1936, the national program service had been expanded by the introduction of new activities and an enlargement of the scope of the service generally. ²

A balanced schedule of programs was developed and no one type of program was allowed to outweigh others (see Table 1). More emphasis was paid to musical programs such as
symphony concerts, little symphony or string symphony concerts, vocal and instrumental recitals, choral concerts, and various instrumental ensembles. Special consideration was also given to encouragement of Canadian symphony orchestras and of ensembles of a recognized professional standard.

To encourage creative writing of distinctively Canadian plays the CBC instituted its first National Drama Contest. A series of Shakespeare's plays were also broadcast. Talk shows, news, current topics and book reviews had greatly increased. Actual broadcasts and special events had a dominant place in the schedule of national programs. The main attraction was the descriptive commentaries and associated programs on the occasion of the Royal Visit.

The number of programs broadcast per month showed a continued increase. By the end of 1938 over 1,600 programs per month, totalling over 600 hours, were broadcast. This increase meant that more Canadian talent was utilized. During the winter season of 1938-39, the average number of network hours per week was 77, with an average of 16 3/4 hours or 30.4 per cent devoted to commercial programs, and 60 1/4 hours or 69.6 per cent devoted to sustaining (non-commercial) programs.

4.2 CBC During Wartime

The personnel of the Censorship Board of the Dominion Government in 1939 included a senior officer of the Corporation
to look after the interests of radio broadcasting. Immediately after the outbreak of war, CBC transmitters and the short-wave stations were placed under guard by the R.C.M.P. to prevent sabotage.\(^5\)

The aim of the Censorship Coordination Committee was to interfere as little as possible with the ordinary avocations of life and the enjoyment of property. All stations were required to supply in advance of broadcast full particulars as to all talks scheduled, including title and nature of the talk and the speaker stations were requested to submit their manuscripts in advance and secure permission to broadcast. All foreign language broadcasts were prohibited. All stations were required to submit their news copy of the Censorship Board. Broadcasting from public meetings was prohibited.

On January 1, 1941, the CBC inaugurated its own News Service. It maintained newsrooms at Halifax, Montreal (which provided news in both French and English), Winnipeg, Vancouver and a central newsroom in Toronto. The News services of the Canadian Press and the British United Press were delivered to the CBC newsrooms, where they were edited and rewritten in a style suitable for radio announcing.\(^6\)

News broadcasts and programs with special reference to the war occupied a considerable portion of national and regional network time during 1940 and 1941. With the CBC unit in Britain and close cooperation with the British
Broadcasting Corporation, it was possible for the CBC during the past year to give special emphasis to programs to and from the fighting services, exchange of greetings between war guests in Canada and their relatives in Great Britain, and other specialized war-service activities. During this period, too, the General Supervisor of Programs for the CBC journeyed to England to assist the BBC in restyling its short-wave broadcasting to North America.

Although war-effort broadcasting had come into the forefront during the past year, other phases of CBC activities had not been forgotten. Musical programs, from symphonic concerts and opera to variety, band and dance music, occupied over 55 per cent of the total number of hours of broadcasting. The other 45 per cent were devoted to news, drama, talks, sports, women's activities, children's features, religious broadcasts, public-service programs, war-effort programs, etc. (see Table 2). Included among these features were the greatly extended farm broadcast services, adapted to the requirements of the various regional interests. In the field of school broadcasting considerable development took place during the year, and the successful experiment in British Columbia, where the Corporation has worked very closely with the Department of Education was gradually being extended to other regions.

All religious broadcasts were supervised by the National
Religious Advisory Council comprising representatives of the principal religious denominations in Canada. This Council cooperated in arranging two half-hour network broadcasts on Sundays, and through local councils arranged morning devotional periods each weekday in the various regions.  

In 1941 care was taken to provide well-balanced programs with music and variety amounting to about 51 per cent of the total. News, drama, talks, actuality broadcasts, children's programs, religious programs, public service broadcasts, sports and women's activities, form the remainder of the broadcast schedule (see Table 3). An important development since the outbreak of war was the increase in the number of overseas broadcasts. These were picked up at the CBC short-wave receiving station at Ottawa and re-broadcast from there or recorded for later inclusion at more suitable times.

In 1942, of the spoken-word programs in a representative month, 2,565 covering 769 hours, or 69.9 per cent of the time allotted to this type of program, were broadcast by live talent; 826, covering 256 hours, were recorded programs; and 212, covering 80 hours, were transcribed (see Table 4).  

Without new rules to replace those drawn up by the Board of Governors on controversial broadcasting, the program department of the CBC was being forced to operate, during a complicated period, without any clear cut and established
directions from above. Through lack of established policy few wartime talks were being presented directly and definitely by the CBC itself on its own initiative. The programs were at times not related or well thought-out to support the war effort.

Because the provisions of the "White Paper" were suspended, the CBC restricted air time to be used for partisan politics under Murray's rule. However, members of the government contributing to the war effort were not so excluded. Since there was no coalition government as in the First World War, all the members of the government also happened to be Liberal. Therefore, Liberal members of Parliament spoke some seventy-five times over CBC stations in 1942, while opposition members spoke only five times. (By 1941 Britain had a coalition government so this was not a problem with the BBC.) In provincial politics Colonel Drew (the Ontario Tory leader) and Premier Patullo (Tory premier of Nova Scotia) were refused air time in 1941. Premier Bracken of Manitoba was not a Liberal but as a Progressive had close ties with the Liberal Party (this did not prevent him from becoming Tory leader in 1942). He had no problems getting access to the CBC - until he became a Conservative.

As will be noted in Chapter V the convention which chose Bracken as Tory leader was refused permission to
speak over the national network. The Board and General Manager (Dr. Thomson) refused on the grounds that such a speech had not been done before and might cause precedents, which was at least partly true - the 1940 Conservative convention had not been broadcast. Unfortunately, Thomson buckled under Tory outrage and allowed the new leader to make a speech, after the convention. This only made things worse because it was so blatantly inconsistent. How did one leader differ from the other?

With the Liberal's background of many of the Board of Governors, (see Chart F) because the Liberals were the government, and a war was on, and there were no guidelines on political programming - certain decisions on programming tended to be favorable to the Liberals. But this is not the same things as saying that the CBC became an arm of the party in power.

The 1942 Conscription Plebiscite (Section 4.4 of this chapter) was another example of Mackenzie King's manipulation of the CBC. The CBC had manipulated the freedom of experience by allowing only "yes" material to be aired. The CBC may have been morally wrong but it reflected the will of Parliament, not just the cabinet, in its action on the plebiscite.

It is true that the government did attempt and sometimes succeeded in influencing the CBC. The resistance of CBC
officials indicated the opposite of a subservient relationship.

LaFleche attempted to interfere with the CBC in 1944 (see Chapter VI) when he cancelled a talk on New Brunswick's mental hospitals following a complaint by the province's leader. After public outcry the CBC rebroadcast the program.

4.3 The Ministers

During the Second World War CBC was not a department of the government. It was an independent corporation, operating under the governing statute, the **Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936**. The responsibilities were exercised only in accordance with the provisions of the statute.\(^\text{11}\)

From November 2, 1936 to April 8, 1940 the spokesman for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the House of Commons was the Minister of Munitions and Supply, C. D. Howe was the spokesman. Since July 11, 1941 the spokesman had been the Minister of National War Services, James Garfield Gardiner (see Charts G and H).

Ministerial responsibility as set out in the statute in connection with the Canadian Broadcasting was divided between the Minister of National War Services on the one hand and the Minister of Munitions and Supply on the other. How did this division of Ministerial responsibility come about?

In order to understand this we have to go back to the **Broadcasting Act of 1936** and the **Radio Act of 1938** (formerly

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known as the Radio Telegraph Act). The later Act provided the licensing and control of all classes of radio stations, including broadcasting stations, with certain power being vested by that statute in the Minister of Transport.

Under the provisions of section 2(d) of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, the term "Minister" meant the Minister of Transport. So that originally the Minister of Transport exercised certain powers under the Radio Act of 1938 and also under the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936.

On July 8, 1940, the duties, powers and functions vested in the Minister of Transport with respect to broadcasting under the provisions of the Canadian Broadcasting Act were transferred to the Minister of Munitions and Supply. On July 25, 1940 the duties, powers and functions vested in the Minister of Transport under the Radio Act of 1938 were included in the duties, powers and functions which were transferred to the Minister of Munitions and Supply. There were in fact two separate orders in council.

On July 11, 1941 the Governor General In Council ordered:

The powers, duties and functions vested in the Minister of Munitions and Supply, under The Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936 with respect to broadcasting, are hereby transferred to the Minister of National War Services.

On the same day J. T. Thorson was appointed Minister of National War Services (J. G. Gardiner had resigned).
Consequently the definition of the term "Minister" in section 2(d) of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, now referred to the Minister of National War Services, except in respect to the powers that still remained with the Minister of Munitions and Supply under the Radio Act of 1938 and which were not transferred to the Minister of National War Services. It may therefore generally be said that the definition of the term "Minister" in section 2(d) of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, now referred to the Minister of National War Services in respect to broadcasting and to the Minister of National War Services in respect to broadcasting, and to the Minister of Munitions and Supply in respect to licencing. The latter minister continued to be the radio licencing authority.12 (See Chart G and H.)

The following were therefore the responsibilities of each minister as set forth in the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936:

1. Minister of National War Services

Section 3 (1): There shall be a corporation to be known as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which shall consist of a board of nine governors appointed by the governor in council and chosen to give representation to the principal geographical divisions of Canada.

In connection with that it was the Minister of National War Services who made recommendations to council with regard to the appointment of members of the Board of Governors.13
(2) The governors in council shall designate one of the governors to be the chairman and one to be the vice-chairman of the corporation.

(5) Each governor shall hold office during good behavior for the period of his appointment, but may be removed for cause at any time by the governor in council.

(6) In the event of a casual vacancy occurring on the board, the governor in council shall appoint a person to fill such vacancy for the balance of the term of the governor replaced.

Then, the statute set out a number of matters which were within the power of the Corporation. But there were two that touched the matter of governmental responsibility:

(b) establish, subject to approval of the governor in council, such stations as the corporation may from time to time consider necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Act.

(n) acquire private stations either by lease or subject to the approval of the governor in council by purchase.

Section 9: The Corporation shall not seek any concession, right to privilege from, or enter into any negotiations or arrangement with any British or foreign government with regard thereto, without having first obtained the consent in writing of the Minister.\textsuperscript{14}

2. Minister of Munitions and Supply

The Minister of Munitions and Supply was generally concerned with the matter of licencing. Section 11(4) dealt with the powers to cancel or refuse to renew any licence. The Minister also had power under section 14(1) to "deposit from time to time in the Bank of Canada" the monies received from licence fees.
Section 24(1) was perhaps an excellent illustration of how the division of ministerial responsibilities came about and it also indicated the reason for it. When the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, was enacted, the Minister designated in section 24(1) was the Minister of Transport. He was acting, in section 24(1), in his capacity as the radio licencing authority by virtue of the provisions of the Radio Telegraph Act, which was the Radio Act of 1938. The matters referred to in section 24(1) were technical and they continued to be within the jurisdiction of the radio licencing authority. On June 11, 1941 the duties, powers and functions with respect to broadcasting were transferred to the Minister of National War Services from the Minister of Munitions and Supply. Licencing functions were not transferred, and they consequently remained with the Minister of Munitions and Supply.15

Why did the government deem it necessary to divide the ministerial responsibilities on June 11, 1941 since there had been no division of responsibilities from 1936 until that time?

Mr. Thorson explained to the Special Committee in 1944 that one of the purposes of that order in council was to bring under the jurisdiction of the Minister of War Services various agencies of public information. The order in council, set out the reasons. The Department of National War
Service Act, 1940 (4 George VI, chapter 22, section 5, subsection (d), provided that the Minister may, with the consent of the Governor in Council, coordinate the existing public information services of the government and originated or employed other means in order that the same may be used in the most efficient way for the utmost aid from the people of Canada in the national emergency which had arisen.  

In the interests of the war effort it was expedient to provide for the more effective co-ordination of radio broadcasting film activities, and the promotion of tourist business in Canada, with other public information services of the government.

For this purpose it was expedient to transfer the Minister of National War Services the powers, duties and functions vested in the Minister of Munitions and Supply with respect to broadcasting, in the Minister of Trade and Commerce to film activities, and in the Minister of Transport with respect to the promotion of tourist business in Canada, and to transfer the control and supervision of the Canadian Travel Bureau to the Department of National War Services.

The Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, and the provisions of the Public Service Rearrangements and Transfer of Duties Act transferred to the Minister of National War Services...
the following:

(a) The powers, duties and functions of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, with respect to film activities, under the National Film Act, 1939, are hereby transferred to the Minister of National War Services;

(3) The powers, duties and functions of the Minister of Transport, with respect to the promotion of tourist business in Canada, are hereby transferred to the Minister of National War Services, and, to that end, control and supervision of that branch of the Department of Transport known as the Canadian Travel Bureau is hereby transferred to the Department of National War Services.  

4.4 The Plebiscite Campaign

The 1942 Conscription Plebiscite had been cited as another example of Mackenzie King's manipulation of the CBC. In 1939 King had promised not to introduce conscription; in 1942 he held a nation-wide referendum to release him from his promise without committing him to introduce conscription. The Speech from the Throne opening the 1942 session of Parliament was made on January 22. "My Ministers," it read, "accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting methods of raising men for military service.

The CBC gave permission to delegated Members of Parliament to speak in favor of the referendum which was to be held on April 27, but said that those wanting a 'no' vote had to buy time on private stations - thereby practically eliminating any opposition from the airwaves.
On February 13, Andre Laurendeau, secretary of La Ligue, wrote the first of several letters to Dr. Frigon, the Assistant General Manager, asking him whether it was the intention of CBC to give proponents of a 'no' vote an equal chance to be heard on the network. Frigon replied:

Our services are offered free of charge to all recognized political parties, and according to a policy which was adopted almost three years ago. I feel that so far we have observed, in this regard, a strict neutrality.\textsuperscript{21}

Maxime Raymand, a Liberal Member of Parliament, summarized in the House of Commons the correspondence between Dr. Frigon and La Ligue. He said that Dr. Frigon had told La Ligue that he could use individual private stations, but the Corporation's regulation did not permit it to rent its stations to individuals wishing to deal with political or controversial matters.\textsuperscript{22}

Andre Laurendeau, the secretary of \textit{La Ligue pour la Defense du Canada} writing on anti-conscription in his book \textit{La Crise de la Conscription} (1942) recalls that on February 24 Dr. Frigon replying to Laurendeau's inquiry that the policy governing election broadcasts should not apply, stated:

I shall deem it a duty to convey to the proper authorities the remarks contained in your letter of February 18. In view of the importance of the plebiscite and the peculiar conditions of the campaign which will be waged on this issue, it is quite possible that our Board of Governors will place a special interpretation on our regulations.\textsuperscript{23}
Although Frigon had said that the matter was under consideration, yet it was not solved by the Board of Governors. The Board met on April 15. The matter was already solved by then.

On April 13, Mackenzie King wrote to Ligouri Lacombe citing that only speakers nominated by the four major parties would be given free time on the networks. These were Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister; Richard Purpee Hanson, Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons; John Horne Blackmore, Leader of Social Credit; and M. J. Coldwell, National Chairman of C.C.F. Party. All of the four supported a "yes" vote.24

The Canadian party, which secured a considerable number of votes in the last two by-elections, when it had two candidates, was denied the use of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's facilities, while a second party, which had only one candidate, and a third party with no candidate at all in the four last by-elections, were both given free time over the Corporation's network, the upkeep and maintenance of which were paid for by Canadians.25

Writing to Ligouri Lacombe, a member for Laval-Two Mountains, King stated that the government had no authority to give orders to the CBC but the broadcasts had been worked "by arrangement with the Corporation." But Frigon was placing the blame on the government in a telegram to Laurendears on April 8. He stated: "In significance with instructions
received from the federal government, our Corporation has placed at the disposal of the administration a certain number of periods on its various networks for the use of speakers... Eight half-hour periods will be allotted on the French and English networks."

Where did the truth lie? Was it in the Prime Minister's letter or in the telegram sent to Andre Laurendeau by Dr. Frigon, a director of the CBC? Dr. Frigon stated that his instructions were formal and definite. Who gave him those instructions? One sentence in the Prime Minister's letter provided the answers:

The question as to whether a party is recognized from the point of view of broadcasting, I understand, is one which is settled according to a formula worked out by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in consultation with all the political parties prior to the last general election.27

Adrien Pouliot, a CBC Board of Governor, put the blame entirely on the government on April 15 stating that the decision was taken directly by the government, whose prerogative it was.28

This action, which appears mean-spirited in retrospect, left scars on French Canadian relationships with the rest of Canada and probably did not influence the vote in the slightest; Quebec voted overwhelmingly against and English-Canada voted overwhelmingly for, as predicted.29 However, the CBC should not be condemned outright. Support for a "yes" vote was almost unanimous in the Parliament to which
the CBC was supposed to be responsible. In fact, two of the parties (the Conservatives and Social Credit) thought the referendum did not go far enough - it did not introduce conscription outright. If CBC had given conscription opponents a forum, it would have found itself under attack from all sides. If there was any party that was hesitant about the referendum it was the Liberals themselves; some of the senior cabinet Ministers had resigned over the issue. One of them was P.J.A. Cardin, the senior Quebec Minister since LaPointe's death, was a man better known for his devotion to patronage than for his statesmanship. The second man, Chubby Power, the wartime Minister of National Defence for Air, advised the Liberals to "forget all about conscription. Nobody is interested in it," he said. The CBC may have been morally wrong but it reflected the will of Parliament, not just the Cabinet, in its action on the plebiscite.

When contrasted to the influence of his successor Murray's influence is clear. A number of causes led to Murray being "kicked downstairs" to become "Director General of Broadcasting" for Canada in August, 1942. Murray's conflict with Leonard W. Brockington, the Chairman, and Alan B. Plaunt, member of the Board of Governors, a report on CBC management which criticized Murray's administration; the resignations of Plaunt, Edward A. Pickering had left the Prime Minister's office in 1938 and joined the CBC staff

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and Donald Buchanan, National Film Board, Ottawa; a drinking problem which was known, if never mentioned, and finally, a damning criticism of the 1942 Radio Committee Report for taking the meaningless position of Director General he assumed in 1942. After less than a year of doing nothing, of being put on a lonely shelf and of being ignored, Mr. Murray resigned in February 1943 to become a policy counsellor in Toronto to foster and promote free enterprise. His firm, "Responsible Enterprise" was given backing by thirty leading businessmen and industrialists, including the head of the Royal Bank, and the presidents of International Nickel, Imperial Oil and Massey-Harris.

As Peter Stursberg comments:

Bill Murray was a great man. Put his weaknesses on the one side of the scales and his virtues on the other and there can be no doubt of the result. They weighed heavily on the right side - 'on the side of justice, on the side of inspired leadership, on the side of devotion to a principle in which he believed and for which he prepared himself and many of those who were privileged to work with him to defend at all costs. William Ewart Gladstone Murray had, . . . the qualities and qualifications of a fine architect and the skills of a master mason.'

Yet, in May 1941, V. R. Hill called Murray a fickle man. "Caprice," he wrote "is a luxury not to be indulged in during wartime; where that caprice is shown to be definitely illiberal, it becomes even more of a luxury in a war devoted to preserving democratic processes."

But Peter Stursberg defends Murray despite his faults:
Maybe his towel slipped occasionally, but not often enough to warrant the ignominious treatment he received of being kicked downstairs, of being transferred from the post of general manager to the hastily conceived and meaningless job of director general.40

If C. D. Howe had succeeded in running the affairs of the CBC during Murray's time it was because Murray was a weak General Manager. As far as the administration of the Corporation was concerned, Murray allowed Howe to interfere in internal problems.

Dr. James S. Thomson, a member of the Board, who was also President of the University of Saskatchewan, became the next General Manager.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

1 Canada Year Books, 1939 to 1942, pp. 725-729.
2 Ibid., p. 728.
3 199 Dramas were received from all parts of Canada.
4 Year Book, 1939, p. 729.
5 Ibid., p. 728.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Special Committee 1942, pp. 2-7.
12 Ibid., p. 2.
13 Ibid., p. 3.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., p. 4.
16 Ibid., p. 5.
17 Ibid., p. 6.
18 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Debates, January 22, 1942, p. 2.


22 Andre Laureudeau, La Crise de la Conscription (1942). Quoted by Maxmie Raymond in the House of Commons, pp. 4514-5.

23 Debates, June 17, 1942, p. 3422. Letter from King to Ligouri Lacombe, April 13, 1942.

24 Ibid., p. 3422.

25 Ibid. Letter from King to Ligouri Lacombe.

26 Ibid.

27 Le Devoir, April 21, 1942. Also see Frank W. Peers, p. 330.

28 J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, Broken Promises, p. 171.

29 Ibid., p. 164.

30 Ibid., p. 122.

31 Ibid.


33 Peter Stursberg, Mister Broadcasting, p. 103.


35 Peter Stursberg, Mister Broadcasting, p. 103.


37 Ibid.

38 Peter Stursberg, Mister Broadcasting, pp. 103-104.


40 Peter Stursberg, Mister Broadcasting, p. 104.
CHAPTER V

BACK TO NORMAL: JAMES S. THOMSON (1942-1943)

James S. Thomson, President of the University of Saskatchewan, was appointed as a member of the Board of Governors to take the place of Leonard Brockington on April 15, 1940.

On September 5th attempts to "shore up" the CBC were being made by Rene Morin, the then Chairman of the Board of Governors. He wrote:

_I do not see that so far anything has occurred to seriously hamper the corporation from fulfilling its function properly, although I understand that, holding a different view, it was proper for you to serve your connection with it. . . . Your decision may reflect on the Board which I preside (sic) but your sincerity cannot be doubted and . . . it will not affect . . . my regard for you._

James S. Thomson disagreed, "I deplore this action," he said. "The place to fight for your views is from within. I, myself, am so strongly sympathetic with these views, so far as I am able to understand them fully, that I fear I shall have to do a good deal of solitary fighting in the position which you are about to vacate."

It is interesting to note the way in which Thomson was elected General Manager. After the resignation of Gladstone Murray, Dr. Augustin Frigon was on the top line to succeed
him as General Manager and E. L. Bushnell as Assistant General Manager. These two seemed to be the most logical choice.⁴ (See Chart B.)

But, personal politics and anti-French sentiments played an important part. A member of the CBC Board of Governors, Rev. Cannon W. E. Fuller (in November 1942) saw the whole affair of choosing a new General Manager as English and French⁵ not the best man for the job. Speaking to Ernest Bushnell, who was the program director, Fuller said,

With the French Canadians opposing the war, it would be disastrous. You know, Bush, all the unrest this would create in wartime, all the fuss over conscription. We're not going to have that man, Frigon. I know the chairman is going to propose him, but we'll move an amendment and we'll make you general manager.⁶

Fuller was putting forward his views which he used later to influence the choosing of the General Manager. To Fuller the problem was not who the best General Manager was but who definitely should not be the next General Manager. He saw Frigon as a problem, not an asset yet later on in 1944 Frigon did become the General Manager. Fuller was certainly wrong in his judgment.

On the other hand, Dr. Frigon was anticipating becoming General Manager. But, the Board of Governors by-passed him and chose James S. Thomson as the General Manager and Dr. Frigon continued as Assistant General Manager.⁷ Between the Assistant General Manager and the General Manager the Corporation was particularly fortunate in having a man of Dr.
Figon's experience, and particularly because he was a scientist, a doctor at the University of Paris, as well as a specialist in radio engineering. He was also a French-speaking Canadian who had a special knowledge of problems connected with the Province of Quebec with which Dr. Thomson had no intimate acquaintance. In addition to this he had a close and intimate knowledge of the financial operations of the Corporation and the disposal of its personnel.  

The Board of Governors unanimously felt that one of their own members, Dr. James S. Thomson, had exactly the qualifications, and they approached him with an invitation to accept the position of General Manager. Dr. Thomson was president of the University of Saskatchewan, and he felt unwilling to give up his office there.  

Yet there were reservations concerning Dr. J. S. Thomson's appointment. He was appointed General Manager for one year, although he was said to be a good administrator and a friend of public ownership, he scarcely conformed to the sense of the word "Canadian" evidently intended by the committee when it listed the preferred qualifications for the post, since he was only hired in Canada for nine years.  

There was no reason for the Board to appoint Thomson as General Manager for only one year. It was evident that Thomson had taken leave from the university for one year only.
This clearly showed that he would not be available for the office of General Manager after his one year term was over. In addition, there were able and capable men like Dr. Frigon and Ernest L. Bushnell, Supervisor of Programs, who could have become the General Manager without problems. Yet Thomson was chosen. Was this an easy way out for the Board of Governors? It certainly looked as if it was.

Thomson would get the same salary he received at the University of Saskatchewan - $7,980, plus a living allowance of not more than $3,000. Frigon, the Assistant General Manager, would receive $12,000. As can be seen the Assistant General Manager was to be paid more than the General Manager. Was the Board more interested in the salary of the General Manager than finding an able and capable General Manager?

Thomson's tenure, although brief, had immediate effects on programing:

With "CBC Discussion Club," originating from cities across Canada, followed by two parallel series running on the English and French networks, "Of Things to Come" and "Opinions." The CBC also instituted the National Labor Forum.11 Some of the commentaries on international affairs, particularly by Watson Thomson of Winnipeg in the series "Weekend Review," were vigorous and controversial enough to arouse protests from the Globe and Mail and other Conservative sources.12 It appeared that under the new General Manager the number of broadcasts on controversial subjects was being
stepped up.13

Dr. Thomson's achievements were many. The CBC expenses for 1943 were up quite a bit above 1942. There was diversity of causes. There was an expansion of services, but also there was a mild form of inflation overseas. Costs had risen in most departments of activity. For example, in programs, the CBC had spent more on artists, than on the station network, that represented simply the hiring of more lines. The same was true of engineering and included in that was a good number of costs of material. The costs had generally gone up for everything.14

Costs of administration had gone up, by roughly $1,000 to $25,000. Dr. Thomson explained that the CBC was involved in an action with Gooderham and Worts in respect of a lease that had been entered into by the former Canadian Broadcasting Commission. The CBC had to take over the liabilities of that commission, and there was an action raised against the CBC in which an award of $25,000 damages was made against the Corporation. Now that decision of the court had been appealed and the appeal had been heard. What the CBC put in really was a counter appeal, because the pursuer did not think he had received enough damages and he appealed against the $25,000 award. Consequently, the CBC put in a counter appeal challenging the ground of action. That appeal and counter appeal had been heard and they were before the court.
for judgment. Consequently the CBC had to set up a sum of $25,000 to meet that contingent liability. 15

In 1942, considerable discussion about cooperation among the various government agencies, such as the information agencies, the Wartime Information Board, and the CBC was debated by the Committee. During Dr. Thomson's time much was done to bring about closer cooperation between these various information organizations of the country. Dr. Thomson told the 1944 Committee:

In co-operation with the War Information Board, and certainly with their knowledge, we had a meeting with the publicity representatives of all the various interests involved - government departments and wartime boards. We asked that they should communicate with us when they had any particular requests to make, that they approach us with regard to any program they wanted to put across. Always, inevitably, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has to assume the responsibility of judging where the programs are to go, what place we are to give to this and what place we are to give to that. There is, . . . a rather limited amount of time at final disposal of the network. You take the vital hours of the day, from about say 7 o'clock in the evening until somewhere around 11 o'clock at night. Everybody wants to get in there. They have important programs to put over. It may be that the women's service wants to have a recruiting campaign. They want to publicize their particular branch of the service. It may be that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board want to say something to the people. It may be that the army wanted to put on the army show, to give some kind of publicity to the army and to provide entertainment for the people. In addition to that, we have other features of a very popular character. I think, frankly, the public would get very weary if they had to listen all night long to program after program publicizing this or that element in the war effort. 16
Thomson was obviously sensitive to the charge that the CBC was a party instrument. In a speech in Halifax, early in 1943, he referred to Leader of the Conservative Party, Arthur Meighen's, criticism and said, "Never since I took over my duties, have I had the slightest attempt made on the party of any government official or Minister of State to influence the policies of the CBC." Frank W. Peers puts the blame on the Governors:

Many of the governors were well-known Liberals, and it was perhaps natural that they thought like party Liberals. No members of the Board were known to be sympathetic to any other party. In 1942 and 1943, the governors were not a very distinguished group, and Morin was not a strong chairman.

During his term Thomson had helped move the CBC in the direction of greater freedom and expression. Thomson undertook the main burden of explaining and defending the CBC's actions before the Parliamentary Committee in June and July of that year. He did a good job before the committee, but he decided he wanted to return to the University of Saskatchewan at the end of his year. In explaining his intention to the Prime Minister, Thomson said that he was really interested in only 25 per cent of those matters in the CBC requiring his decision; at the university, he was interested in 95 per cent.

5.1 **Organization**

As far as internal organization of CBC was concerned
there was very considerable criticism made in the correspond­
ing committee about what was called "divided management and
divided control," and when Dr. Thomson became General Manager
one of the first things he did was to ensure there should
be no longer any continuance of divided control. And while
he hoped he had been wise enough to delegate responsibility
he had endeavoured so far as possible to maintain control
over the whole organization including financial control. To
his mind the treasurer's duties were very clearly defined.
He (Dr. Augustin Frigon) was the treasurer; that was to say,
he paid on authority; he received on authority; he was account­
able to Dr. Thomson for all such transactions. His books
were duly audited under the terms of the 1936 Broadcasting
Act by the Auditor General's department. 22

Dr. Augustin Frigon, the Assistant General Manager told
the 1943 Committee of a better relationship between the
Assistant Manager and the General Manager. He said that
instead of reporting directly to the Board, as he had done
the previous year, he now reported to the General Manager.
Dr. Frigon added that it was a pleasure to work with a man
of his frankness, broadmindedness and ability. Notwithstand­
ing the handicap of having to operate from Ottawa, Montreal
and Toronto simultaneously, he had managed to keep close to
the General Manager, so that there was no need to worry about
division of authority. 23
When Dr. Thomson took over the duties of General Manager a reversion was made to the original by-laws whereby the General Manager was re-established as being in general control and he assumed a unified responsibility for the entire work of the Corporation including the supervision of finance and the direction, employment and assignment of personnel.

Dr. Thomson and Dr. Frigon were in continuous consultation with one another and all matters of general concern to the corporation were regularly discussed. Dr. Frigon was given responsibility for technical, engineering matters and supervision over CBC's French-speaking programs. Dr. Thomson retained under his own personal supervision the detailed administration of both finance and personnel.24

The organization of the Corporation was subservient to the purpose for which it was constituted; by the provision of the 1936 Broadcasting Act, Section 8, "The Corporation shall carry on a national broadcasting service within the domain of Canada." It was very clear that the CBC had a national responsibility for bringing so far as that was possible a service of broadcasting to the entire Canadian public.

The CBC had to maintain two networks, one in the English language and one in the French language. There were places where the bilingual character of the population presented particular difficulties and the CBC had endeavoured to maintain
something of a broadcasting service in both the French and English languages to cover the same area. There was a changing interest from one section of the country to the other and while broadcasting could be one of the most powerful instruments making for national unity, at the same time the CBC had to provide for the provincial and sectional interests. While the CBC had organized two national networks, it also had divided the country into five regions for broadcasting corresponding to the geographical divisions of the country - Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies and Pacific. In each of these regions the CBC had set up an organization under a regional representative, corresponding in a broad way to the main divisions of the CBC work. These main divisions of CBC work were: programs, engineering, commercial, press and information, station relations, finance and staff.

The largest of these was the program division which was subdivided into news, talks, religious and institutional broadcasts, drama, music, education, and features. The engineering division was concerned with all matters of a technical character which were exceedingly important in the direction of broadcasting. The commercial division was concerned with the large number of relations that were maintained with commercial organizations who used the facilities of radio for advertising purposes. Press and information dealt with the important and as yet relatively
undeveloped part of CBC which was concerned with the support that the written word must give to the spoken word.  

52. Arthur Meighen Incident  
The incident involving Arthur Meighen was the only serious mistake during Dr. Thomson's tenure. During December, Arthur Meighen, who was stepping down as leader of his party, was to address the Conservative leadership convention in Winnipeg, and the party asked the CBC for permission to broadcast a talk by Meighen over the national network to mark the occasion. After consulting the board, Dr. Thomson turned down the request with the explanation that it was CBC policy during the war not to allow partisan broadcasts outside election times. Conservative reaction was predictably swift and hostile, and the CBC was accused of being a tool of the King government. This was not, of course, the first time that the public broadcasting authority had been taken to task by members of the Conservative Party; the difference now was that the condemnation was addressed to the whole structure of broadcasting, not just the CBC, and was seen to be a reaction not of individuals, but of the party itself.  

In 1944 Arthur Meighen claimed that:  

... the radio of Canada has been for years, is today, and Mr. King intends it will continue to be the effective monopoly, tool and instrument of a partisan government headed by himself.  

At the Winnipeg Convention, Meighen delivered a stinging attack on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The
convention committee, said Meighen, 'we're not only refused free use of this radio, which is granted to every Cabinet minister on demand, but, after offering to pay regulate charges for time, they were again refused.' Thomson based his refusal on a "White Paper" issued earlier by the CBC which announced that political controversy would not be permitted over the radio in time of war. Since the proceedings of a Conservative convention could not be other than controversial, and the Liberal government was bound to be attacked, those proceedings it appeared, had to be kept off the air. Meighen waxed ironic about this puerile and discriminatory type of censorship. "The button never seemed to be turned against those prepared to praise the government over the CBC," Meighen added, indeed they were paid to do so out of public funds. But "we of the Conservative Convention of this Dominion cannot be heard and we cannot pay to be heard." Thomson admittedly had made one concession. "... as if to expose the grossness of his discrimination (he) announced that while he will not permit Canadians to listen to your leader of today, he will under certain conditions permit them to listen to your leader of tomorrow, and then dares to tell us that in order to be heard, our future leader must not attack and must not abuse - in other words, he must speak under the direction of the Chairman of the Radio Commission." What did all
This charge certainly was true. Although there was no coalition of the government during wartime in Canada the opposition was allowed to be heard under the party banner and not as an individual. But then Dr. Thomson was wrong in his decision. If one leader of a party can be heard then Meighen could certainly be heard too.

When questioned by the Committee on "... controversy some time last fall over the refusal of the CBC to broadcast the Meighen speech at the Winnipeg convention," Dr. Thomson explained:

The first application that was made by the representatives of what I believe was then the Conservative party was made to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation prior to my assuming the general management. It was done during the regime of Mr. Gladstone Murray. On October 7, Mr. R. B. Hanson approached the general manager, who then was Mr. Gladstone Murray, asking that some kind of advance publicity should be given for the forthcoming Conservative Party Convention. There were to be two speakers, The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, and Mr. Milner. As I at that time was the prospective general manager I was also consulted. Both Mr. Murray and I were of the opinion that this was a rather important question and we resolved that it should be a matter for the Board of Governors' policy. Consequently the Board of Governors was consulted. .. The governors decided that while on the whole they would like to accede to this request it was a new departure that might lead to innovations, and they decided that the request should not be granted. .. It had already been decided by the Board of Governors that political broadcasting between elections on a paid basis should not be carried on during the period of the war. So that on two grounds I had to refuse this request, (a) that I could hardly give on a paid basis what already had been refused on principle on a sustaining basis; (b) that the
Board of Governors had already decided that it would be an innovation in policy to grant publicity to a forthcoming political convention. 33

Was Meighen's speech controversial broadcasting? If it was, what was controversial broadcasting and what was not? Dr. Thomson, said, "It was very difficult to decide." 34 But who was to decide whether it was controversial or whether it was something that should be said. Are only things to be said that are favorable to the government? Was no criticism allowed to go out over the air, over the public radio broadcasting system?

Dr. Thomson, while defending the CBC's position, said that the subject might be controversial. Dr. Thomson had no statement of policy with respect to controversial broadcasting because no such statement of policy had been published. 35

Dr. Thomson said he considered controversial broadcasting as political broadcasting and quoted section 44 of the statement of policy. He added that broadcasting was a changing and expanding art. The best method of presenting controversial material would naturally be evolved out of experience. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was not necessarily attached to any particular form. It already used a variety of methods, including debates, forums, commentaries and round-table discussions. It intended, however, to experiment with other forms of presentation. For example,
a series of half-hour talks, in which a different speaker in each broadcast expressed his views on vital subjects, was tried out. Balance and fairness would be secured over the series as a whole rather than through the inclusion of two or more speakers in each broadcast. It was hoped this would permit a greater freedom and vigour in discussion without sacrificing fair presentation.\(^{36}\)

Defending the CBC position on controversial broadcasting Dr. Thomson said that there was never any request made that the actual proceedings of the convention should be broadcast. If such an application had been made it could not have been granted by the censorship regulations of Canada, which forbid any speech to be made from any political public platform and broadcast over the air. The request that was made was to have two preliminary broadcasts made, drawing attention to the convention and also giving some kind of information to the people of Canada about the new policy that had been adopted by the Conservative Party at the Port Hope meeting. Dr. Thomson thought undoubtedly it would have been a political speech. It was delivered by a political leader prior to a political convention, and undoubtedly it would have been a political speech.\(^{37}\)

At the Committee hearing Dr. Thomson was asked: "What is controversial broadcasting?" He had replied, "It is difficult to decide." Mr. Ross was not pleased with the
answer and had some harsh words for the CBC. He said:

Well, now, who is going to decide whether it is controversial, whether it is political, or whether it is something that should be said? As I said before, are only things to be said that are favorable to the government? Is no criticism allowed to go out over the air, over the people's radio broadcasting system? I think that is something that must be decided better than it has been decided before. Dr. Thomson in his statement at another meeting here said he thought that these discussions of one kind and another from time to time were good. I also think they are good. I think the people should know more of what is going on than they do. The only people who have the use of the air politically these days are ministers of the Crown and the Prime Minister. I think it is perfectly right the Prime Minister should have the use of the air in order to try to exhort the people of this country to more effort. I think it is right also that the ministers should have the right, but it is very difficult for any minister, as a matter of fact, to make an address over the air these days without being partisan. I think it is perfectly right that the other parties should have the same privileges on the air as the ministers have.  

5.3 Programs in Wartime

In arranging their programs the CBC encountered a wide diversity of tastes and interests. The CBC had to meet the listening public on a variety of levels, and endeavor to strike some kind of happy balance between them. One difficulty in broadcasting was the fact that the CBC was continually providing programs for a great unseen audience from where (overseas) there was no immediate verbal or audible response.  

In 1943, the radio, like every other instrument of
public information was regarded as having an important function and responsibility for directing the public mind, and was continually sensitive to the changing needs of the changing hour. In relation to the war, the CBC had a two-fold duty. Firstly, to seek to support the tremendous enterprise to which Canada was committed, by providing information and stimulating the public mind. Secondly, to give to the Canadian people some kind of leisure from the tensions and preoccupation of war.

5.4 News

The program of great importance during wartime was news: the best instrument of public information itself. The public during wartime turned eagerly to the radio for news, particularly about the changing aspects of the war. "At best, our news bulletins can only be summaries, but in their preparation and broadcasting it is necessary to bring a sense of great responsibility with high standards of integrity, and an appreciation of proper values."

The CBC received their news services from two main sources: The Canadian Press and the British United Press dispatches. The CBC had no news-gathering agencies of their own, but it had set up newsrooms at Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. The main central newsroom, so far as English was concerned, was situated in Toronto, while the main centre for French news was located in the city of Montreal.
The CBC daily put out three types of bulletins. First, there was the national news summary at 10 p.m., E.D.T., both in English and French, which were broadcast across the two networks. This was a national feature which commanded the widest interest and had a very extensive listening audience. For the Prairie and Pacific regions the CBC also had a later national bulletin from 1 to 1:15 a.m., E.D.T.  

Second, there was regional news which endeavored to combine news of national and international interest with items of particular relevance to the region over which it was broadcast. From time to time throughout the day the CBC also had short three- or five-minute bulletins which kept the listener up-to-date with the lastest information. Third, news broadcasts from the British Broadcasting Corporation were broadcast daily in English and French.  

Dr. James S. Thomson resigned in November 1943 leaving Dr. Augustine Frigon as Acting General Manager of the CBC from November 1943 to November 1944.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter V


2 Ibid., p. 313.

3 Ibid.


5 Ibid., p. 165.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting - 1943. Minutes of Evidence, Ottawa: King’s Printers, 1943, p. 37.

9 Ibid., p. 18.


12 "Canadians Pay for This," *Globe and Mail*, October 20, 1942.


14 Ibid., p. 146.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., p. 100.

18 *Globe and Mail*, January 22, 1943. Thomson made a similar statement to the Ottawa Club on April 15.


20 Ibid., p. 337.

21 Ibid. Interview with J. S. Thomson, June 1, 1967.

22 Special Committee 1943, p. 158.

23 Ibid., p. 62.


25 Ibid.


27 Ibid., p. 144.

28 Special Committee 1943, p. 38. Most of these sections have been taken from Dr. Thomson's speech.

29 Ibid., p. 38.

30 Ibid., p. 37.

31 Ibid., p. 145.


33 Special Committee 1943, p. 92.

34 Ibid., p. 109.


36 Ibid., pp. 99-100.

37 Ibid., p. 110.
38 Ibid., p. 108.

39 Ibid., pp. 27-41. Most of the information concerning wartime programs is taken from Dr. Thomson's presentation to the 1943 Special Committee.

40 Ibid., p. 28.

41 Ibid., p. 28.

42 Ibid., p. 29.
Dr. Augustin Frigon was a commissioner for the Aird Report 1928. He was a distinguished electrical engineer, director of l'Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal and director-general of technical education for the Province of Quebec. For some years Frigon had been chairman of the Electrical Commission of the City of Montreal, and previously he had been a consulting engineer for the Quebec Public Service Commission. Frank W. Peers added, "Perhaps as a result of his experience with such public bodies in Quebec, Frigon tended to mistrust any form of public ownership."  

As a commissioner of the Aird Report Frigon visited England. Frigon was interested in BBC engineering developments, and felt that technically the British were well ahead of the Americans. He also visited other European countries with the commissioners. Frigon, with his particular concern for Quebec, was especially interested in the German system. On his return to Canada Frigon observed that there would have to be provincial cooperation in arranging programs, and he contrasted the European view of radio as a medium for
moulding public opinion and tastes, with the American attitude that radio was solely for advertising and entertainment. Weir praises Dr. Frigon:

Dr. Augustin Frigon of the Aird Commission was a greatly underestimated man; he was remarkably well-informed, fearless, a bit stolid, but extremely resourceful in putting his case forward and completely sincere. He had a good sense of humor when the occasion required, and inexhaustible patience.

In 1936 Dr. Augustin Frigon became Assistant General Manager to Mr. Gladstone Murray. According to a memorandum Dr. Frigon was to assume "special responsibility for the organization and the work of the corporation in French-speaking Canada." E. L. Bushnell was named head of the program department although "Western Division" was still in parenthesis after his title. For all purposes it meant that he was in charge of English language programming while all the French-language programming would be left to Dr. Frigon. Dr. Frigon was to receive $12,000 salary.

In December 1936 Dr. Frigon presented the CBC report to the Board of Governors. The report showed that only about 50 per cent of the Canadian population received good service from the CBC basic network during evening hours, although about 75 per cent received good service from one or more Canadian stations. Frigon submitted two plans to improve the situation. The first would provide service for about 87 per cent of the population at a capital cost of $2,200,000.
The second plan provided same percent at lesser cost. The Board chose the second plan.¹²

On January 4, 1937, Brockington formally submitted the plan which Frigon had outlined and which the board had conditionally approved.¹³

In the early summer of 1938, the CBC went through an organizational convulsion, as a result of which it split, amoeba-like into three parts: French-language broadcasting, English-language broadcasting, and the headquarters staff. The division along linguistic lines had always been apparent but now it had been widened to an unbridgeable chasm: all those concerned with French-language broadcasting moved to Montreal, while the program and operations department of the English network moved to Toronto. Dr. Frigon, who had been given "special responsibility for the organization and the work of the corporation in French-speaking Canada," accompanied the broadcasters to Montreal, as he was also in charge of engineering, the headquarters of the CBC was established in the Quebec metropolis.¹⁴

Towards the end of April, 1941 the Board of Governors appointed Frigon as controller of finance.¹⁵ The new by-laws were so worded that Frigon would report directly to the Board in the exercise of his responsibilities.¹⁶ Frigon was asked to transfer his base of operations from Montreal to Ottawa.¹⁷
6.1 Acting General Manager

In November 1943, Dr. Frigon became Acting General Manager, after Thomson resigned, for the Board of Governors had made no attempt to choose a General Manager. Mr. Ross told the 1944 committee:

... that we were not without a general manager at the present time because we had an assistant general manager, and that the Act or the bylaws provided that the assistant general manager act in his place. It is some considerable time since that position became vacant; and the duties defined in the Act and in the bylaws, of course, are rather different for the general manager and the assistant general manager. ... we have no need for a general manager.18

The minister, Mr. LaFleche, said he did not know and he had not heard of a recommendation from the Board of Governors to fill the vacancy. Since March 31 of 1943 the Board had met eight times, or about once very six weeks on an average.19

On the 1st of November the Board was faced with the task of making recommendations for the appointment of a new General Manager to succeed Dr. Thomson. The by-laws of the Corporation provide that the Assistant General Manager shall exercise the powers of the General Manager in his absence. Dr. Augustin Frigon, the Assistant General Manager, had been with the Corporation since its inception; he had been a member of the Aird Commission which investigated radio broadcasting in 1928 and made a report on which the present legislation in Canada was largely based. There was no doubt that he fully possessed the qualifications to manage the
affairs of the Corporation, at least until a successor to Dr. Thomson might be appointed.  

Mr. Gordon Grayden criticized government policy on CBC:

The CBC has lost the confidence of the people of Canada. I wish that statement were not true. I have been one who has believed that public ownership of our broadcasting facilities, working alongside our private stations, could be made a satisfactory method of handling this vital and delicate means of communication. Today public ownership in this field is being so seriously threatened that I am expressing grave concern that unless something is done right now, we are apt to have a complete collapse of the whole structure which was so well established in earlier days of radio.

The government had consistently set radio matters adrift in Canada. For years there had scarcely ever been a full Board of Governors sitting at one time. In one instance, the government permitted a vacancy to stand for eighteen months without filling it. At the moment there were two governorships vacant for three months; and of even more importance was the fact that there had been no General Manager since early 1943 when Dr. J. S. Thomson went back to Saskatchewan University. There had been talk of legislation to improve the corporation's structure; but the speech from the throne gave no hint that this was in prospect.

To the recommendations of the radio broadcasting committees from year to year the government had turned a deaf ear to many of their proposals. The fact was that radio was looked upon as Canada's most important departmental orphan.
Its constitution had never been properly clarified, and nowhere was there confidence in those directing its affairs. In the middle of this massive muddle a second network had been put into operation. In some quarters this move was being viewed with grave concern, largely perhaps because there was no confidence that the present structure of the CBC was in a position satisfactorily to direct anything in the nature of the new works.22

It was during Dr. Frigon's first month as Acting General Manager that L. R. LaFleche, the Minister of National War Services attempted to influence a program decision. In 1944 he attempted to interfere with the CBC. He interceded to cancel a talk show by Montreal Standard reporter, Kenneth Johnstone, on New Brunswick mental hospitals following a complaint by the province's acting premier.

Mr. James William Coldwell, National President of C.C.F. (1942-1960) objected to the interference by the minister. He said that there was, "Better and wider knowledge of the duties imposed upon the minister by the provisions of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936 might serve to dispel misapprehension concerning the real autonomy of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation." The minister had made a statement in which he said that the program announced had been "laid aside pending study of the plan by competent CBC authorities." Under what authority had he made a statement
on behalf of the Corporation cancelling a program which had been under consideration for some time? He wanted to know what authority the minister had for making any statement regarding the policies of the Broadcasting Corporation. He added that there were certain duties laid upon the Board of Governors under the Broadcasting Act, Section 22, subsections (c), (d), and (e), which very clearly defined the duties and one of them was that the Board of Governors should have full control of the policies and programs of the CBC.

Mr. L. R. LaFleche, the minister, said he made the statement to reassure public opinion. There was no authority for there was a statute which governed his powers. The authority to deal with programs and policies was clearly laid down in the Act. The minister on this occasion made an announcement which was entirely beyond his authority, and indicated that there was some interference on the part of the Minister with the Broadcasting Corporation, a very serious matter having regard to the autonomy of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The statement LaFleche made to the press on November 16, 1943 read:

The acting general manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation recently discussed with me an item "Of Things to Come" which had been proposed for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation program. The acting general manager stated that this item had not progressed satisfactorily and, indeed, that it had never been submitted to the Board of Governors. He added that he deemed it necessary to refer
the matter to his board and therefore, in the meantime, this item would be considered closed until the proposal had been properly surveyed and approved by competent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation authority. What the acting general manager told me was his own decision and that of no other person.27

Why did the General Manager discuss this with the Minister instead of with the Board? What was the nature of the objections to this particular program? LaFleche said that the matter had not been before the Board of Governors and that was the main objection. There was no authority to carry on with it.28

With the interference of the Minister, the CBC's creditability was further damaged, at some cost to Frigon's reputation. After public outcry the CBC rebroadcast the program, "illustrating that another attempt to exert political influence had been fumbled."29 As far as political issues were concerned these were small problems. If the government had control or heavy influence in the CBC, it would have been able to do better than that.

Could these problems have been prevented? Throughout the war the CBC was in a state of administrative chaos. The CBC may be said to have taken liberties with its freedom to experiment, for at one time (in 1941) it possessed a decimated Board of Governors, an executive committee which apparently existed only on paper, a General Manager who was not acting in that capacity, and an Assistant General Manager, who for
certain purposes, took the place of his superior. At the parliamentary level similar instability had marked the course of the CBC from the hands of the Minister of Transport, to Munitions and Supply, to National War Services to its present incongruous resting place in the Department of National Revenue. 30

Gordon Benjamin Isnor, M.P. (Nova Scotia) sided with the CBC and praised Dr. Augustin Frigon and his hard work:

... For my part, I take the stand that we have a good organization in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. I cannot agree with those who criticize it on the ground that there is not a head. It is true that at the present time the position of general manager is not occupied, but it must be remembered that this organization has existed for twelve years. We have always had a head, a board of governors, a general manager, and an assistant general manager. In private life, in a commercial business or in any other organization, when there is a vacancy the duties of the vacant office are discharged for the time being by the next in charge, and in this case that happens to be the vice-chairman or assistant general manager, who, I may say, is an exceptionally efficient operator, whose ability I believe is recognized throughout the country. He has done very good work in carrying out the duties of assistant general manager. I refer to Doctor Frigon. 31

6.2 Controversy and News

The policy of the Board in controversial and political matters was clearly laid down in the 'White Paper.' 32 The Board believed that the best safeguard of freedom of discussion was a policy which permitted opportunity for the expression of varying points of view.
The only censorship the CBC recognized was that imposed for security reasons by the official censorship directives which applied generally to press and radio alike. The CBC officials did, as a general principle, read through the scripts of talks and commentaries in advance of the broadcast, in order that they might give to the speakers advice and guidance and in order to see that they complied with CBC regulations and practice, and national censorship directive. In the case of experienced broadcasters who were thoroughly acquainted the CBC regulations and censorship directions, this precaution had been omitted. 33

By 1944, the CBC national network covered 90.5 per cent of the total population of Canada and 96.1 per cent of those homes in the dominion which had radio receiving sets. The national network, included a number of private stations and the coverage of its own ten stations was 80.9 per cent of the population and 85.4 per cent of the radio homes. 34

Dr. Augustin Frigon, the General Manager, told the 1944 Radio Committee that controversial broadcasts included "forum, discussion and political broadcasts." 35 Up to the fall of 1942, no political broadcasts were accepted on CBC network in the periods between general election campaigns, but private stations were free to accept such broadcasts as they desired.

It is false to say that we do not allow criticism of the government on the air. Those who spread
this statement must do so with a political aim. If, up to last year, we did not accept political broadcasts, it was simply to prevent our network across the country from developing into a political forum. As a matter of fact political speakers could have the use of the air at all times of the day on any one of some 79 stations throughout Canada, except during the two hours which are reserved for network broadcasts by the CBC. 36

In the winter of 1943, the CBC decided to offer the use of the national network to political leaders so that they might give an account of their stewardship to their followers and to other citizens who might be interested. Dr. Frigon told the 1944 Radio Committee:

Outside of wartime, our restrictions in respect to party political broadcasts are not intended to prevent people from expressing their views on such matters; they are meant to protect us from any possibility of our facilities becoming a political arena to the detriment of the general public. This is possible without restricting freedom of speech because other stations in Canada can be used individually for political purposes. 37

New commentaries were placed in the category of controversial broadcasts. Commentators were invited to make comments on national or international affairs. These commentators were allowed great latitude in expressing their views and whatever they said was to be considered strictly their opinion.

6.3 Political Broadcasts

The Board of Governors at their February 21, 1944 meeting approved of the issue of a new "White Paper." On March
15, the Board's "White Paper" was presented to the Committee of 1944. The 1944 "White Paper" was not discussed with any political party. The Corporation's policy with respect to political and controversial broadcasting, generally known as the "White Paper," was revised by authority of the Board of Governors, February 21, 1944. The basic principle of the "White Paper" was that party political broadcasting during a general election was to be on a sustaining or free basis. Revisions and additions were necessary on account of changing conditions. The policy with respect to Dominion general elections had since been extended to cover general elections for the provincial legislatures, and was granted for the first time for the Ontario Campaign, August, 1943. The division of time was made by agreement between the participating parties. This policy would apply to all future provincial campaigns. In civic and municipal election campaigns and in by-election campaigns, private stations and hook-ups of private stations were available. Political parties had been more clearly defined and under the revised policy political parties had been granted free time between election campaigns. Now two half hours per month were allotted to federal political broadcasts, and Canadian listeners had the benefit of listening to political representatives 24 times a year as compared to twice the previous year and none whatever up to January 1973. Similarly, a half hour
per month was allotted to provincial political broadcasts.

In May 1944, the Board met again. This time the Board doubled the amount of time that was to be allocated to the federal parties: two half-hour periods a month instead of one.40

There were only three new features in this new 'White Paper':

First - It provides for the granting of free broadcasting time to political parties between election periods, with the specific condition that in those cases manuscripts will not be reviewed, except in respect to our general regulations and to whatever the Canadian Bureau of Censorship may wish to do;

Second - The definition which the committee of 1939 had recommended for new parties is applied to political parties in the house.

Third - There has been a clarification of our interpretation of the policy in respect to provincial and municipal elections.41

The report of the 1944 Radio Committee gave a considerable amount of attention to programs. It stated that the program planning was perhaps the most difficult task before the Corporation, as all classes of the population and all sections of the country had to be catered to. The cultural and educational responsibilities as well as those of pure entertainment, had to be kept in mind. The schedule of radio programs contained everything: news, bulletins, actualities, talks, addresses, discussions, church services, school teaching, official communique, commercial advertisements,
music, drama, variety shows, sports news, and at present war news, and services of all kinds. In modern wartime, radio was a new and important weapon. Through it the changing aspects of the war were brought to the people at home and the folks in Canada were kept in touch with the Canadian troops overseas, and the troops in the United Kingdom and any battle theatres, were kept in touch with the folks in Canada. As a vital morale builder, the nation had no more powerful instrument.

Special mention should be made of the VBV Overseas Unit. The CBC now operated four mobile units overseas with a staff of six engineers. Regardless of personal risk to both correspondents and engineers, the units of CBC in the Field had given Canadians at home a graphic picture of the heroic part played by their men on the fighting front. For this the Committee congratulated and commended them.

The Committee recommended that their interest in the Corporation be protected in their absence and also recommended that men in the armed services when they return to civil life be given preference in employment in the CBC.

The matter of news broadcasts had been the subject of much comment and criticism.

The Committee was of the opinion that Canadian listeners were receiving a service that was not surpassed in any other country, and that the news was given with accuracy
and fairness.\textsuperscript{42} Early in the war, 14.8 per cent of all network broadcast hours were commercially sponsored. By 1945, 19.6 per cent of all network hours of operation were devoted to commercial programs. The major difference between the commercial and sustaining elements of program activities was that almost 20 per cent of the sustaining programming was devoted to news broadcasts, a classification which the CBC did not release for sponsorship.\textsuperscript{43}

6.4 \textbf{C.B.C. National News Service}

Since its formation in 1941, the CBC news service had been looked upon as a public trust. CBC news bulletins, and particularly the national news summary each night at 10:00 p.m., were heard in countless Canadian homes.\textsuperscript{44}

When CBC news service was organized, one of the basic policy directives given to the CBC editors for their guidance, was as follows:

\begin{quote}
Domestic political news must be treated with absolute impartiality and in controversial stories, both sides of the issue must be given equal emphasis.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

During the three years that the CBC news service had been in operation, many additional directives had been issued outlining the above policy in more particular aspects.\textsuperscript{46}

More space was devoted to Government news in CBC bulletins, than to Opposition criticism. This was because there
were more stories dealing with official policy, special statements from the many departments of government, such as the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. In addition, announcements by the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, had special news interest for listeners quite apart from any political considerations. In wartime the government carried a heavy burden of responsibility. The CBC, therefore, tried to present a fair picture of government activities and policies. The CBC gave reasonable space to the Opposition for criticism. As a non-partisan news service, it recognized that CBC bulletins should give reasonable space to such criticism.  

In 1944 the CBC editors exercised no political censorship over the news. Anything a political leader said, whether he was a government spokesman or a representative of an Opposition party, was said on his own responsibility. Although some remarks might have been offensive to some listeners, yet the CBC did not consider it its duty to pass judgment on such statements or modify their meaning. It was the responsibility of the CBC editors to present the statements accurately.

When the CBC news service was first organized, it was subjected to advance criticism from many sources on the score that it was merely a mouthpiece for the government. But the CBC was making an honest effort to present a fair presentation of domestic political news.
Chapter VI


3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 39.

5 Ibid.


9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 67.

11 Plaunt Papers, "Report to Board of Governors, CBC" n.d.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., Brockington to Howe, January 4, 1937.

14 Peter Stursberg, Mister Broadcasting, p. 72.


16 Ibid.
18 Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting 1944. Minutes of Evidence, Ottawa: King's Printers, 1944, p. 9. Hereafter cited as Special Committee.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 29.


22 Ibid., p. 23.

23 Special Committee, p. 23.

24 Ibid., p. 9.

25 Ibid., p. 10.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 11.

28 Ibid., p. 12.


31 Debates, February 25, 1944, p. 887.

32 Special Committee 1944, p. 30. It is based on the following principles:

1. The air belongs to the people who are entitled to hear the principal points of view on all questions of importance.

2. The air must not fall under the control of any individuals or groups influential by reasons of their wealth or special position.

3. The right to answer is inherent in the democratic doctrine of free speech.

4. Freedom of speech and the full interchange of opinion are among the principal safeguards of free institutions.

33 Ibid., p. 31.
The 1939 "White Paper" was discussed in advance with the political parties.

Special Committee 1944, pp. 553-4.


Special Committee, 1944, pp. 554-55.

Ibid., p. 265.

Ibid., p. 36.

Ibid., pp. 74-76.

Ibid., p. 74.

Ibid., CBC Internal Rules and Regulations, 1944.

Ibid., p. 74.

Ibid., p. 75.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Government interference in the internal affairs of the CBC have been isolated affairs. The series of 'Mr. Sage' in 1935 and George McCullagh in 1939 could be viewed as unfortunate incidents that involved the government. In fact, the first incident became a political issue because it was allowed to by the CRBC. The Conservatives used the radio to their advantage. But, then it was not war time, it was campaign time. Whatever programs one party aired on the radio, the party was responsible for. The opposition, the Liberals, could have bought time and gone on the air and counter attacked the Conservatives for their anti-Liberal broadcasts. This was certainly not government control of radio by any means even though some might view this as such.

The evidence weighs against the CBC. In the case of George McCullagh, publisher of Toronto Globe and Mail, the CBC was in the wrong. The controversy was caused by the CBC and not the government. If the CBC was right, (it was not) why did it, in November 1939, allow McCullagh to air six talks on "Canada at War"?

Finally, a CBC Statement of Policy with Respect to
Controversial Broadcasting (July, 1939) further diminished the freedom of speech of political parties and individuals. However, the government party was given more time for broadcast than any other party during wartime. This decision was taken by the CBC on its own. No government was involved in the decision making.

At the very beginning of the war it seemed as if the "White Paper" was totally put aside, but, that was because the General Manager, Gladstone Murray, wanted to do so. But in the later part of the war and in the years that followed, the "White Paper" was referred to increasingly and members of the program staff regarded it almost as a Bible.

This shows that it was the CBC which was, in fact, favoring the government and not vice-versa. The government did not control or dictate to the CBC at anytime. Decisions made in the case of George McCullagh and the "White Paper" were what the CBC felt were right and ought to be implemented. In the case of George McCullagh, the CBC felt it should not allow individuals to air their programs. On the other hand, the CBC allowed McCullagh time to air six talks on "Canada at War" as an individual. The CBC clearly used double standards. At one time, the programs were unfit to go on the air. At another time the same individual was allowed excess time. The CBC was, in fact, trying to satisfy the party in power, the government, without realizing that
It was hurting itself.

It is true that for the first three years of the war the CBC sometimes gave the appearance of a propaganda machine for the government. Much of the fault is attributed to the General Manager during that time, Gladstone Murray. He did not represent the mainstream of CBC thinking, but Murray's opinions on the function of the corporation in wartime, influenced its policy.

While his creative genius was immediately apparent, other traits were not: a weakness at administration (the later cause of his downfall) and his social conservatism. Murray was very much the ex-British officer, dedicated to the Imperial tie and the subordination of the civilian to the military during wartime. Yet while Murray may not have succeeded in destroying the independence of the CBC, there is evidence to suggest that he did much on his own to try to make the CBC an arm of the government.

Murray's influence in the more public sphere of wartime programming was more obvious. Most programs that discussed Canadian affairs were taken off the air, except if arranged by the office of the Director of Information - that is, the government.

However, before concluding that the CBC had become the puppet of a wartime government, one should remember a pertinent political fact. Such an enthusiasm towards Britain was not a quality of the party in power. It was the opposition
Conservatives, with their power base in Ontario, who were the enthusiasts of the Imperial connection. The Liberal administration depended on Quebec to maintain its strength, and Quebec was not enthusiastic about the war and less enthusiastic about Britain.

That Murray's policy was not the CBC's was seen through the resignation of two senior officials in the organization. Pickering was Assistant to the General Manager when hostilities started. When he saw that Murray was attempting to supersede the Board of Governors, he thought it should be made public through changes according to proper constitutional methods (such as amendment to the Broadcasting Act). Donald Buchanan was the Supervisor of Talks Broadcasts who resigned this key position on November 23, 1940, charging, among other things, an illiberal attitude toward broadcasting in wartime on the part of the General Manager.

Murray's influence is clear when contrasted to the influence of his successor. Conflicts with Brockington and Plaunt; a report on CBC management (authored by Plaunt and a Toronto accountant) which criticized Murray's administration; the resignations of Plaunt, Pickering and Buchanan; a drinking problem which was known but never mentioned; and a damning criticism in the 1942 Radio Committee Report, all these finally resulted in Murray being 'kicked upstairs' in August 1942 to become Director General of Broadcasting.
for Canada, a meaningless position which he forsook in 1943. His replacement was Dr. James S. Thomson, a member of the Board who was also President of the University Saskatchewan.

An inconsistency towards partisan politics also plagued the CBC, but such inconsistency was due to incompetence rather than plan. The CBC had put out a "White Paper" on political broadcasting in 1939 that decided what was acceptable for broadcasting on both public and private stations. After the war began, Murray (with the concurrence of the Board) seems to have decided that such guidelines would be irrelevant because of the war effort.

Because the provisions of the "White Paper" were suspended, the CBC restricted air time to be used for partisan politics. However, members of the government contributing to the war effort were not so excluded. Since there was no coalition government as in the first war, all the members of the government also happened to be Liberal.

The convention which chose Bracken as Tory leader was held in late 1942. The incumbent was Arthur Meighen, twice prime minister, possibly the most misguided politician in Canada. Unfortunately Thomson buckled under Tory outrage and allowed the new leader to make a speech, after the convention. This only made things worse because it was so blatantly inconsistent; moving Conservative frontbencher, Gordon Graydon, to ask, how one leader differed from the other.
With the liberal background of many of the Board of Governors, with the Liberals as the government, and with a war on, and no guidelines on political programming, certain decisions on programming tended to be favorable to the Liberals.

The 1942 Conscription Plebiscite was another example of Mackenzie King's manipulation of the CBC. In 1939 King had promised not to introduce conscription; in 1942 he held a nation-wide referendum to release him from his promise without committing him to introduce conscription. The CBC gave permission to delegated Members of Parliament to speak in favor of the referendum. This left scars on French Canadian relationships with the rest of Canada and probably did not influence the vote in the slightest; Quebec voted overwhelmingly against and English-Canada voted overwhelmingly for, as predicted. However, the CBC should not be condemned outright. Support for a "yes" vote was almost unanimous in the Parliament to which the CBC was supposed to be responsible.

It is true that the government - to be exact, certain members of the government - did attempt and sometimes succeeded in influencing the CBC but the continuing resistance of CBC officials indicates the opposite of a subserviant relationship.

LaFleche attempted to interfere with the CBC again in
1944, when he cancelled a talk on New Brunswick mental hospitals following a complaint by that province's leader. After public outcry the CBC rebroadcast the program, "illustrating that another attempt to exert political influence had been fumbled" to quote Peers. As political issues go, these were relatively small problems. If the government had control or heavy influence in the CBC, it would have been able to do better than that.

Could these problems have been prevented? Throughout the war, the CBC was in a state of administrative chaos. The CBC Board, which should have at least formed guidelines and given some leadership, was thought to be weak because of the propensity for appointing Liberal nonentities. It was especially inconsequential in the decisive early years of the war: Chairman Brockington left in 1939, Plaunt resigned in 1940, and the great feminist Mrs. McClumg was ill and had to be replaced in 1942. Morin, successor to Brockington, was considered a weak Chairman. Besides the ouster of Murray, the general manager's position had its problems. Dr. Frigon (Assistant General Manager) had expected to take over but his promotion was blocked by three anti-French governors. The compromise choice, Dr. Thomson, delayed Frigon's appointment by only a year. Perhaps if the CBC had a more orderly internal organization it could have formulated a more consistent policy towards partisan
politics.

While there were attempts at interference during the war, most of these were due to unusual circumstances - the personality of Murray, the lack of any guidelines for political controversy, and insensitivity on the part of certain politicians. If the CBC can be blamed for anything it would be an awkwardness in its dealings with the Canadian political environment.
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**TABLE 1**

Classification of CBC Programs, Showing Percentage Distribution, Fiscal Year 1938
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TABLE 2

Includes time on the French network.
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<th>Grand Totals</th>
<th>Public Service</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Children's</th>
<th>Women's</th>
<th>Sport Resumes</th>
<th>Stock, etc., Reports</th>
<th>Market, weather</th>
<th>News</th>
<th>News events</th>
<th>News Commentaries</th>
<th>Spoken Word-Continued</th>
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Classification of CCC Programs for a Representative Month (November 1941)
### TABLE 4

**Classification of CBC Programs for a Representative Month**  
(November 1942)

Note: Dashes in this table indicate that no commercial programs were reported under those particular sub-items.

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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Semi-classical</td>
<td>188</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>34:20</td>
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<td>Light</td>
<td>844</td>
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<td>Dance</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>89:10</td>
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<td>Old-time</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>Band</td>
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<td><strong>Totals, Musical</strong></td>
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<td>Market, weather, stock, etc. reports</td>
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CHART A

The Power of the Assistant General Manager

MINISTER

BOARD

Murray (Director) (Resigned)

G.M. Murray 1939 Nov. 1942

No G.M.

Frigon 1943 Nov. 1944

A.G.M. Frigon 1945

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Chart B. Selection of General Manager, November 1942.

Minister

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Board of Governors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. James S. Thomson replaced W. E. Gladstone Murray</td>
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</table>

Dr. Augustin Frigon
(Assistant General Manager since 1936)

E. L. Bushnell
(Supervisor of Programs since 1939)
CHART D
CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Chart of Suggested Plan of Administration

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

EXECUTIVE LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE

CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

GENERAL MANAGER
ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER
(both at executive headquarters)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
Secretary to Board
Special Assistant
Private secretaries
Legal clerk
Personnel-General
Central registry

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENTS

General supervisor of programmes
Traffic manager
Commercial manager
Supervisor of press and information
Supervisor of station relations
Chief Engineer
Financial Controller

PROGRAMME DEPARTMENT
TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT
COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT
PRESS AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT
STATION RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT
FINANCIAL CONTROLLER'S DEPARTMENT
- financial control
- Accounting
- Budget
- Office management
- Revenue Surveys

REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

R.R.

BRITISH COLUMBIA REGIONAL:
- Programme director
- Press and information representative
- Engineer
- Cashier

Stations

R.R.

PRAIRIES REGIONAL:
- Programme director
- Press and information representative
- Engineer
- Cashier

Stations

R.R.

ONTARIO REGIONAL:
- Programme director
- Press and information representative
- Engineer
- Cashier

Stations

R.R.

QUEBEC REGIONAL:
- Programme director
- Press & information representative
- Engineer
- Cashier

Stations

R.R.

MARITIME REGIONAL
- Programme director
- Press & information representative
- Engineer
- Cashier

Stations

Note: The regional officials (e.g. regional programme director, regional engineer, etc.) report both to the Regional Representative as chief executive of the region and to the heads of their respective departments.

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### CBC STAFF FROM 1939 TO 1945

#### 1939-1941

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<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Gladstone Murray</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Augustin Frigon</td>
<td>Assistant General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. N. Stovin</td>
<td>Supervisor of Station Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W. O. Findlay</td>
<td>Assistant to Chief Executive Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. T. Odell</td>
<td>Executive Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. W. Morrison</td>
<td>Program Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. E. Keddy</td>
<td>Secretary to General Manager</td>
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#### 1942

<table>
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<td>Dr. James S. Thomson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Augustin Frigon</td>
<td>Assistant General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Donald Marison</td>
<td>Chief Executive Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. E. L. Bushnell</td>
<td>General Supervisor of Programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. R. Radford</td>
<td>Supervisor of Station Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. E. A. Weir</td>
<td>Commercial Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss V. B. Belcourt</td>
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<td>Mr. W. H. Brodie</td>
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<td>Capt. W. O. Findlay</td>
<td>Executive Assistant</td>
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</table>

#### 1943

The only changes was Dr. James S. Thomson who replaced Mr. Gladstone Murray as General Manager in 1943.

#### 1944

Dr. Augustin Frigon replaced Dr. James S. Thomson as General Manager and Mr. Donald Marison became the Assistant General Manager.
# Chart F

**Board of Governors of CBC**

1939 to 1945

**Nov. 2, 1939**

- Mr. Leonard Brockington, Chairman (Montreal)
- Mr. N. L. Nathanson (Toronto)
- Mr. J. Wilfrid Godfrey (Halifax)
- Mr. M. Adrien Pouliot (Quebec)
- Rev. Canon W. E. Fuller (Saskatoon)
- Mrs. Nellie L. McClung (Victoria)
- Rev. James S. Thomson (Saskatoon)
- Mr. R. Rowe Holland (Vancouver)
- Mr. E. H. Charleson (Ottawa)
- Mr. Alan B. Plaunt (Toronto)
- Mr. Rene Morin, Vice Chairman (Montreal)
- Col. Bovey (Montreal)

**1942**

- Mr. Rene Morin, Chairman (Montreal)
- Mr. N. L. Nathanson, Vice Chairman (Toronto)
- Mr. J. Wilfrid Godfrey (Halifax)
- Mr. M. Adrien Pouliot (Quebec)
- Rev. James S. Thomson (Saskatoon)
- Mr. R. Rowe Holland (Vancouver)
- Mr. E. H. Charleson (Ottawa)
- Rev. Canon W. E. Fuller (ill) (Saskatoon)
- Mrs. Nellie L. McClung (ill) (Victoria)
- Mr. Alan B. Plaunt (resigned) (Toronto)

**1943-1945**

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Appointment</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>Rene Morin</td>
<td>Jan. 23, 1940</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Wilfrid Godfrey</td>
<td>Nov. 2, 1941</td>
<td>Appointed to replace Col. Bovey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Canon Fuller</td>
<td>Nov. 2, 1941</td>
<td>Appointed to replace Msgr. Vachon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean Adrien Pouliot</td>
<td>Nov. 2, 1941</td>
<td>Appointed to replace Gen. V. W. Odlum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Rowe Holland</td>
<td>Marh. 17, 1942</td>
<td>Appointed to replace Alan B. Plaunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. H. Charleson</td>
<td>May 1, 1942</td>
<td>Replaced Rev. J. S. Thomson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard B. Chase</td>
<td>Nov. 2, 1942</td>
<td>Replaced Mrs. Nellie McClung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. T. W. (Mary)</td>
<td>Nov. 1, 1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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CHART H

MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR C.B.C.
1939 to 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Occupant</th>
<th>Date of Appointment</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Minister of</td>
<td>Clarence Decatur C. D. Howe</td>
<td>Oct. 23, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Minister of</td>
<td>Clarence Decatur C. D. Howe</td>
<td>Oct. 23, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Minister of Munitions and Supply</td>
<td>Clarence Decatur C. D. Howe</td>
<td>Oct. 23, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minister of National War Services</td>
<td>James Garfield Gardiner</td>
<td>April 9, 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Minister of Munitions and Supply</td>
<td>Clarence Decatur C. D. Howe</td>
<td>Oct. 23, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minister of National War Services</td>
<td>Joseph Thorarinn Thorson</td>
<td>June 11, 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-</td>
<td>Minister of Munitions and Supply</td>
<td>Clarence Decatur C. D. Howe</td>
<td>Oct. 23, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Minister of National War Services</td>
<td>Leo R. LaFleche</td>
<td>Oct. 7, 1942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Where more than one date is shown, the first indicates the date of first appointment to the present Cabinet and the last date of appointment to the portfolio held at present.
APPENDIX I

An Act Respecting Broadcasting - 1936
[Assented to 23rd June, 1936]
APPENDIX I

An Act Respecting Broadcasting—1936

[Assented to 23rd June, 1936]

His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as The Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936.

Definitions 2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,

(a) "broadcasting" means the dissemination of any form of radioelectric communication, including radiotelegraph, radiotelephone, the wireless transmission of writing, signs, signals, pictures and sounds of all kinds by means of Hertzian waves, intended to be received by the public either directly or through the medium of relay stations.

(b) "channel" means a wavelength or frequency authorized to be used for broadcasting;

(c) "Corporation" means the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

(d) "Minister" means the Minister of Transport;

(e) "private station" means any broadcasting station licensed to a person other than the Corporation;

(f) "Corporation station" means any broadcasting station owned or operated by the Corporation.

(g) "station" means any station licensed under the Radiotelegraph Act as a broadcasting station.

3. (1) There shall be a Corporation to be known as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which shall consist of a board of nine governors appointed by the Governor in Council and chosen to give representation to the principal geographical divisions of Canada.
Chairman and Vice-Chairman

The Governor in Council shall designate one of the Governors to be the Chairman and one to be the Vice-Chairman of the Corporation.

Tenure of office

The Governors shall hold office for three years, provided that of those first appointed one third shall be appointed to retire in one year, one third in two years and one third in three years.

Reappointment

Retiring Governors shall be eligible for re-appointment.

May be removed for cause

Each Governor shall hold office during good behaviour for the period of his appointment, but may be removed for cause at any time by the Governor in Council.

In case of vacancy

In the event of a casual vacancy occurring on the board, the Governor in Council shall appoint a person to fill such vacancy for the balance of the term of the Governor replaced.

Honorarium

The Chairman shall receive an honorarium of one thousand five hundred dollars per annum and if an executive committee is established by bylaw, each of the other Governors on such executive committee shall receive an honorarium of one thousand dollars per annum; other Governors of the Corporation shall each receive fifty dollars for each meeting they attend, but shall not receive more than five hundred dollars in any one year.

Expenses

All Governors shall be entitled to receive and be paid their actual disbursements for expenses necessarily incurred by them in connection with the discharge of their duties under this Act.

Quorum

Four Governors shall constitute a quorum.

Oath of office

Each Governor shall, before acting as such, take and subscribe before the Clerk of the Privy Council and shall file in the office of the said Clerk, an oath of office in the following form:

"I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR that I will faithfully, truly and impartially, to the best of my judgment, skill and ability, execute and perform the office of Governor of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and that, while I continue to hold such office, I will not accept or hold any other office or employment, or have any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, individually or as a shareholder or partner, or otherwise, in broadcasting or, in the manufacture or distribution of radio apparatus. So help me God."
4. The Corporation shall be a body corporate having capacity to contract and to sue and be sued in the name of the Corporation.

5. The head office of the Corporation shall be at Ottawa in the province of Ontario and the Corporation may establish branch offices elsewhere.

6. There shall be a general manager who shall be chief executive of the Corporation and who shall be appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Corporation.

7. There shall be an assistant general manager of the Corporation who shall be appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Corporation.

8. The Corporation shall carry on a national broadcasting service within the Dominion of Canada and for that purpose may:
   (a) maintain and operate broadcasting stations;
   (b) establish, subject to approval of the Governor in Council, such stations as the Corporation may from time to time consider necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Act;
   (c) equip stations with all such plant, machinery and other effects as may be requisite or convenient to permit of the same effectively receiving and transmitting for broadcasting purposes;
   (d) make operating agreements with private stations for the broadcasting of programmes;
   (e) originate programmes and secure programmes, from within or outside Canada, by purchase or exchange and make arrangements necessary for their transmission;
   (f) make contracts with any person or persons, in or outside Canada, in connection with the production or presentation of the programmes of the Corporation;
   (g) make contracts with any person or persons, in or outside Canada, to perform in connection with the programmes of the Corporation;
   (h) publish and distribute, whether gratis or otherwise, such papers, periodicals, and other literary matter as may seem conducive to any of the objects of the Corporation;
   (i) collect news relating to current events in any part of the world and in any manner that may be thought fit and to establish and subscribe to news agencies;
(j) acquire copyrights in any literary, musical
or artistic works, plays, songs, gramophone
records, news and other matter;

(k) acquire and use any patent, or patent rights,
brevets d'invention, licences or concessions
which the Corporation may consider useful for
the purpose of carrying out its objects;

(l) make arrangements or agreements with any or-
ganization for the use of any rights, privile-
ges or concessions which the Corporation
may consider useful for the purpose of carry-
ing out its objects;

(m) establish and support a pension fund for the
benefit of employees or ex-employees of the
Corporation, or the dependents of such persons;

(n) acquire private stations either by lease or,
subject to the approval of the Governor in
Council, by purchase;

(o) subject to the provisions of sections ten and
eleven hereof, purchase, lease, or otherwise
acquire, any real or personal property which
the Corporation may deem necessary or conven-
ient for the purposes of its business;

(p) subject to the provisions of sections ten and
eleven hereof, sell, lease, or otherwise dis-
post of, all or any part of the property of
the Corporation;

(q) do all such other things as the Corporation
may deem incidental or conducive to the at-
tainment of any of the objects or the exercise
of any of the powers of the Corporation.

9. The Corporation shall not seek any concession,
right or privilege from, or enter into any nego-
tiations or arrangement with any British or foreign
government with regard thereto, without having first
obtained the consent in writing of the Minister.

10. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act,
the Corporation shall not, unless the approval
of the Governor in Council has first been obtained:

(a) enter into any agreement involving any expen-
diture in excess of ten thousand dollars;

(b) enter into an agreement or lease for a period
exceeding three years;

(c) acquire any personal property, the cost of
acquisition of which exceeds the sum of ten
thousand dollars, or in any manner dispose
of any personal property having an original
or book value exceeding the sum of ten
thousand dollars.
| 11. (1) | No real property or private station shall be purchased, acquired, sold, exchanged or mortgaged by the Corporation except with the previous consent of the Governor in Council, and if the Corporation is unable to agree with the owner of any real property or private station which it is so authorized to purchase, as to the price to be paid therefor, the Corporation shall have the right to acquire the same without the consent of the owner and the provisions of the *Expropriation Act*, chapter sixty-four of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, shall *mutatis mutandis*, be applicable to the acquisition of such property by the Corporation. |
| Deposit of plans and description | Any plan and description deposited under the provisions of the *Expropriation Act* may be signed by the Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Corporation or by one of the Governors and the property shown and described in such plan and description so deposited shall thereupon be and become vested in the Corporation for the purposes of the Corporation unless the plan and description indicates that the property taken is required for a limited time only, or that a limited estate or interest therein, is taken; and by the deposit of such latter case, the right of possession for such limited time or such limited estate or interest shall be and become vested in the Corporation; |
| Compensation payable | The compensation payable in respect of the taking of any such real property or private station or of any interest therein, or of lands injuriously affected by the construction of any undertaking or works shall be ascertained in accordance with the provisions of the *Expropriation Act*, and for that purpose the Attorney-General of Canada may file an information in the Exchequer Court on behalf of the Corporation to all intents and purposes as if such property had been expropriated by His Majesty under the provisions of the said Act. The amount of any judgment upon such proceedings shall be payable out of the funds of the Corporation. |
| Cancellation or refusal of licence | If the Minister decides that the cancellation or refusal to renew any licence in the interest of broadcasting generally in Canada is desirable, and if such cancellation or refusal is not on account of any failure to comply with this Act or any regulation hereunder or the *Radio Telegraph Act* or regulation thereunder, compensation may be paid to the extent of an |
amount not exceeding the depreciated value of the licensed radio equipment requisite for the efficient operation of the station together with a reasonable allowance to cover the cost of restoring the premises to a tenantable condition for ordinary purposes.

In determining the compensation to be paid, no allowance shall be made for the value of a licence terminated by the taking over by the Corporation or the Minister of any private station, and no person shall be deemed to have any proprietary right in any channel heretofore or hereafter assigned, and no person shall be entitled to any compensation by reason of the cancellation of the assignment of a channel or by reason of the assignment of a new channel in substitution therefor.

12. (a) The Corporation may make such bylaws as may be necessary,

(i) to enable it to carry into effect the obligations imposed upon it by this Act;

(ii) to provide for an executive committee of the Board of Governors to exercise such powers as the bylaws may specify;

(iii) to provide for the appointment of advisory councils to advise it as to programmes;

(iv) to provide for the employment, dismissal, control and remuneration of such officers, clerks, and employees, technical or otherwise, as may be necessary for the transaction of the business of the Corporation.

(b) No such bylaws shall come into force or effect until approved by the Governor in Council, and no alteration, modification or repeal of any such bylaw shall have any force or effect until so approved.

13. (1) Notwithstanding anything in the Civil Service Act, chapter twenty-two of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, the Civil Service Superannuation Act, chapter twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, or any other Act of the Parliament of Canada, a civil servant who, at the time of his appointment to the staff of the Corporation under authority in that behalf conferred by any Act of the Parliament of Canada, is a contributor under the provisions of the Civil Service Superannuation Act, shall continue to be a contributor under the said Act; his service on the staff of the Corporation, in
virtue of an appointment as aforesaid, shall be counted as service in the civil service for the purposes of the Civil Service Superannuation Act, and he, his widow and children or other dependents, if any, shall be eligible to receive the respective allowances or gratuities provided by the said Act; and in the event of his being retired from his office or position on the staff of the Corporation for any reason other than that of misconduct, he shall be eligible, in accordance with the regulations made under the Civil Service Act, for assignment to a position in the civil service of the class from which he was so retired or to any other position for which he may have qualified or, in the alternative, to receive the same benefits under the Civil Service Superannuation Act as he would have been eligible to receive if he had been retired under like circumstances from the position in the civil service which he held immediately prior to his appointment to the staff of the Corporation.

Civil Service (2) Act benefits preserved
R.S., c. 22, s. 2

Any employee of the Corporation, who at the time of his appointment or employment under or pursuant to the provisions of this Act, holds a position in the "civil service," or is an "employee" within the meaning of the Civil Service Act, shall continue or retain and be eligible to receive all the benefits, except salary as a civil servant, that he would have been eligible to receive had he remained under that Act.

14. (1) The Minister of Finance shall deposit from time to time in the Bank of Canada or in a chartered bank to be designated by him to the credit of the Corporation:

(a) the moneys received from licence fees in respect of private receiving licences and private station broadcasting licences, after deducting from the gross receipts the cost of collection and administration, such costs being determined by the Minister from time to time;

(b) any appropriation granted by Parliament for the purposes of the Corporation; and

(c) any advances or grants to the Corporation which are authorized to be made from Consolidated Revenue Fund.
The Corporation shall retain for the purposes of this Act all moneys received by it arising out of its business.

The Corporation may administer all funds which may be placed to its credit in the Bank of Canada or in a chartered bank in accordance with the provisions of section fourteen hereof, and may administer all other sums and revenues which may be obtained by or given to the Corporation or derived from any other source, exclusively in furtherance of the purpose for which the Corporation is constituted.

The Governor in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister, may authorize the Minister of Finance to place to the credit of the Corporation working capital advances from any unappropriated moneys in the Consolidated Revenue Fund, but the aggregate amount of such advances outstanding at any one time shall not exceed one hundred thousand dollars, and such advances shall be repayable to the Minister of Finance on demand.

The Governor in Council may authorize the construction, extension or improvement of capital works of the broadcasting facilities of the Corporation in Canada and, on the recommendation of the Minister, may authorize the Minister of Finance to place to the credit of the Corporation from any unappropriated moneys in the Consolidated Revenue Fund such sum or sums as may be necessary to carry out such construction, extension or improvement of capital works: provided that the total amount which may be so authorized for the said purposes shall not exceed five hundred thousand dollars.

Such moneys so advanced shall bear such rate of interest and shall be amortized on such terms and conditions as may be fixed by the Governor in Council.

The interest and amortization charges on the moneys so advanced shall be a first charge on the revenues of the Corporation.

For the fiscal year 1936-37 the Minister of Finance shall deposit to the credit of the Corporation the net amount collected in licence fees during such year in accordance with paragraph (a) of subsection one of section fourteen hereof, less an amount equal...
to the amount or amounts paid out of Appropriation No. 226, 1936-37, for the purposes of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission.

19. The Corporation shall establish and maintain an accounting system satisfactory to the Minister and shall, whenever required by him, render detailed accounts of its receipts and expenditures for such period or to such day as he designates, and all books of account, records, bank books and papers of the Corporation shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Minister or of such person as he may designate.

20. The accounts of the Corporation shall be audited by the Auditor General of Canada and a statement of such accounts shall be included in the annual report of the Corporation.

21. No private station shall operate in Canada, as a part of a chain or network of stations except with the permission of, and in accordance with the regulations made by, the Corporation.

22. (1) The Corporation may make regulations:
   (a) to control the establishment and operation of chains or networks of stations in Canada;
   (b) to prescribe the periods to be reserved periodically by any private station for the broadcasting of programmes of the Corporation;
   (c) to control the character of any and all programmes broadcast by Corporation or private stations;
   (d) to determine the proportion of time which may be devoted to advertising in any programmes broadcast by the stations of the Corporation or by private stations, and to control the character of such advertising;
   (e) to prescribe the proportion of time which may be devoted to political broadcasts by the stations of the Corporation and by private stations, and to assign such time on an equitable basis to all parties and rival candidates.
(2) If the Corporation is unable to agree with the licensee of a private station as to the amount of compensation, if any, to be paid by the Corporation for the use of such station for the broadcasting of programmes of the Corporation, the Minister may fix an amount which, in his opinion, is fair and reasonable and such amount shall be paid by the Corporation to the licensee in full settlement of his claim to compensation.

(3) Dramatized political broadcasts are prohibited.

(4) The names of the sponsor or sponsors and the political party, if any, upon whose behalf any political speech or address is broadcast shall be announced immediately preceding and immediately after such broadcast.

(5) Political broadcasts on any dominion, provincial or municipal election day and on the two days immediately preceding any such election day are prohibited.

(6) In case of any violation or non-observance by a private station of the regulations made by the Corporation under this section, the Corporation may order that the licence of such private station be suspended for a period not exceeding three months and any such order shall be forwarded to the Minister who shall forthwith communicate the same to the licensee of the station and shall take such steps as may be necessary to carry out the terms of such order.

(7) The Corporation shall take such action as may be necessary to ensure that stations affected by its regulations shall have reasonable notice thereof.
23. (1) The Governor in Council may make regulations prohibiting or regulating the use of any machinery, apparatus or equipment causing or liable to cause interference with radio reception and to prescribe penalties recoverable on summary conviction for the violation of non-observance of any such regulation provided, however, that such penalties shall not exceed fifty dollars per day for each day during which such violation or non-observance continues.

(2) Such regulations shall be published in the Canada Gazette, and shall take effect from the date of such publication or from the date specified for such purpose in such regulations, and shall have the same force and effect as if enacted herein.

24. (1) The Minister shall, before dealing with any application for licence to establish a new private station or for increase in power, change of channel, or change of location of any existing private station, or making any regulations or changes in regulations governing the activities of private stations, refer such application or regulation to the Corporation, and the Corporation shall make such recommendations to the Minister as it may deem fit. The approval of the Governor in Council shall be obtained before any licence for any new private station is issued.

(2) The Corporation shall, each year, prior to the renewal or issue of the licences for private stations by the Minister review the activities of such private stations, and shall make such recommendations to the Minister in regard to their working, broadcasting or any other matter concerning such stations as it may deem desirable.

25. The Corporation shall, from the date of the coming into force of this Act, take possession of all property and assets and assume all the obligations and liabilities of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission.

26. The Corporation shall through the Minister submit an annual report to Parliament in such form as the Minister may prescribe.
27. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act, 1932, chapter fifty-one of the statutes of 1932, is repealed.

28. This Act in whole or in part shall come into force on a date or dates to be fixed by proclamation of the Governor in Council.
APPENDIX II

A Statement of Policy
of the
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
with respect to
Controversial Broadcasting
APPENDIX II

A STATEMENT OF POLICY
of the
CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
with respect to
CONTROVERSIAL BROADCASTING

Section A

Party Political Broadcasting During
A Dominion Election Campaign

1. In the forthcoming Dominion general elections all network party political broadcasting, other than hereinafter provided, will be on a sustaining basis. Accordingly, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will make available to the parties, without cost, periods of time for the broadcast of political addresses over national networks during the period of the campaign. Apart from the network broadcasts arranged by the Corporation and provided free to the parties, there will be no other national network political broadcasting while the elections are in progress.

2. The Corporation assumes this obligation as a function of public service broadcasting, in accordance with its general policy of encouraging fair and adequate presentation of controversial questions which are of public interest and concern. The CBC accepts as a responsibility of national broadcasting the task of bringing to all listeners within reach authoritative statements of the position and policies of the respective parties. Full discussion of the principal contending points of view on national issues is a vital part of the democratic process.

3. This service will involve the loss of considerable revenue not only to the CBC itself but to those privately-owned stations which participate in the plan. The arrangements are put forth in the belief that they will promote the best interests of democratic government. The national political parties will be given the opportunity of speaking to the people over the national network in accordance with factors other than simply their capacity to buy time.

4. It is felt that the political parties may welcome the arrangements as a means of avoiding unnecessary competi-
tion between themselves which often results in the purchase of time far beyond actual requirements. The provision of national network time on a free basis will relieve the parties of an expense which has rapidly become one of the most onerous features of modern political contests. The policy may thus help to reduce the cost of elections. There is also the important duty which the Corporation must discharge of protecting listeners from excessive political broadcasting to the exclusion of entertainment and other normal programme material.

5. In their principal features, the proposals are in accordance with the recommendations of the Special Committee of the House of Commons which considered broadcasting questions during the recent session. The Committee suggested that all network broadcasting in the campaign should be on a sustaining basis exclusively. The plan which has been adopted employs this method as completely as the Corporation feels is possible in a first attempt. The arrangements embody the same general principle which governs election broadcasting in Great Britain, modified in many important particulars to meet the requirements of the Canadian situation.

6. In framing these proposals, there has been recog-nition of the paramount fact that a Dominion general election is concerned with national problems. The arrangements will, therefore, facilitate the discussion of national, as distinct from local and sectional issues. The proposals are also based on the fact that a federal campaign is essentially a contest in which opposing political parties seek to secure the election of members of Parliament in order to control or influence the administration of the country's affairs. It follows, therefore, that the network broadcasting arrangements will be concluded exclusively with political parties, and not with individuals as such, however important their place in public life.

7. It is hoped that the political parties and the public generally will take into account the absence of precedent or guidance in coping with this unusual and difficult task. The plan which has been adopted has been considered the most feasible of all the alternative methods examined. The Corporation desires to administer it equitably and impartially, without fear or favour, to the dis-advantage of none of the parties but, it is hoped, to the benefit of each and of the country as a whole. Necessarily the scheme must be considered largely as an experiment. Whether it is employed in subsequent elections will depend on how satisfactorily it works in the approaching one. All that may be said at this time is that it is a sincere attempt to establish a more rational and democratic basis for the conduct of broadcasting in general elections.
The arrangements will be as follows:

(a) THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN:

8. The broadcasting arrangements for the campaign will come into force as of the date of dissolution, or, in the event of the date of polling being announced before dissolution, on a day to be determined by the Corporation, but not later than the date of dissolution. Prior to the date on which the broadcasting arrangements for the campaign come into force, the political parties may purchase time for network broadcasts in accordance with the policy governing party broadcasting in the periods between elections. On and after it, federal political parties will be allotted time free on the national network. As of this date, all reservations of time booked by the political parties on the commercial basis will be cancelled. On and after this date, for the duration of the campaign, the Corporation will reduce and perhaps dispense entirely with non-party broadcasts of a controversial character, especially those on economic, social, and political subjects which may become contentious issues in the elections.

(b) DISTRIBUTION OF TIME BETWEEN ESTABLISHED PARTIES:

9. The Corporation will set aside an amount of time on the national network sufficient to permit of adequate presentation of the policies of the political parties. The precise amount of time made available to the parties will be determined with regard, among other things, to the length of the campaign, the total periods purchased in previous general elections, and the effect upon broadcasting revenues and the disruption of programme schedules.

10. The time so set aside will be allotted, in accordance with a ratio which will be established for the purpose, among the existing political parties which are recognized in the House of Commons. The ratio will be based on a number of factors designed to give recognition to all the appropriate considerations which should be taken into account.

11. The first of these is the standing of the parties in the House of Commons at dissolution. This factor will give recognition to the relative strength of the parties as they emerged from the previous election and as they stand in the House at the conclusion of the parliamentary term.
12. The second is the popular vote secured by each of the parties in the previous election. This factor will give recognition to the support accorded each party in terms of individual votes cast, which is often substanti­ally different from the number of seats. This factor will in a sense correct discrepancies which are a common occurrence in the working out of the electoral procedure.

13. The third is the number of candidates officially nominated in accordance with the provisions of the Dominion Elections Act by each of the parties in the preceding cam­paign. This factor will give recognition to the scope of the campaign conducted by the parties, independently of the result achieved in terms either of seats or the popular vote. It will thus take into account the fact that new parties often have to conduct several campaigns as a gen­eral effort at political education and persuasion, before achieving a commensurate measure of national support.

14. The fourth is the standing of the parties in the House of Commons at the preceding dissolution. This factor will give recognition to the relative strength of the par­ties as they emerged from the election previous to the last. It will thus take into account party continuity and tradi­tion, an all important element in the life of our political institutions. By relating the formula to two, instead of one election, it will afford a safeguard against the undue effect of a landslide in the immediately preceding campaign.

15. The fifth and last is a factor designed to give recognition to the principle that the listener is entitled to an equal presentation of the points of view of all the existing parties. This factor would be divided equally among them. It may be said that each of the parties has something to offer the electorate, and that the electorate should be given an equal opportunity of judging as between them. This consideration would enter into the formula, but only as one of the several factors.

16. The formula may be said to have a broad basis, taking into account all the ascertainable and appropriate data. It will give due weight to the varying sets of cir­cumstances, but not undue weight to any single one. It places emphasis on party standing and party continuity, but equally on the evidences of popular support, and the efforts of the parties to enlist that support. It also recognizes that each party which has attained an established place in Parliament, regardless of its exact numerical strength, is of importance in the state.
17. The distribution which will result from this formula will be published at the commencement of the campaign. It is believed that it will appeal to the public as a fair basis for allotting the broadcasting time.

18. Having allotted the time to the parties at the commencement of the campaign as equitably as possible, there will be no revision of the distribution as the campaign proceeds. To avoid an accumulation of broadcasting in any one period, the parties will be asked to use the time in uniform proportions spread out evenly over the campaign. Apart from this, as much latitude as possible will be given the parties with respect to the choice of dates and hours. Necessarily there must be some consideration given to commercial commitments and the day to day conduct of broadcasting. A maximum of one hour for any single period has been considered desirable from the point of view, both of the listener and of the effective use of broadcasting time. Subject to this condition, the total time allotted may be divided into hour, half-hour and quarter-hour periods. In accordance with the practice of parliamentary debate and the usage in Great Britain, the last broadcast of the campaign will be assigned to the government party. Naturally, none of the arrangements herein set forth will modify any statutory provisions, especially those which prohibit dramatized political broadcasts and all political broadcasting on the two days immediately preceding the election.

(c) PROVISION FOR NEW NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES:

19. It is not the intention to limit the national broadcasts to only those parties which are recognized in the House of Commons. Such a limitation would subject to an unfair handicap new political parties which would thus be debarred from national network broadcasting regardless of the extent to which they might be an element in the campaign. Arrangements for broadcasting during the election which would deprive all but the established parties of the right to broadcast on a national scale might result in grave injustices. On the other hand, there would be no justification for giving network time to every new political movement which might choose to enter the arena, however little it might represent the thought and feeling of the people. The privilege would appear to be one which should be extended only to bona fide parties which are national in extent and which reflect a substantial body of opinion throughout the country. While it is impossible to lay down an exact definition, it is suggested that such a party would be one which, among other things, would:
(1) have policies on a wide range of national issues;

(2) have a recognized national leader;

(3) have a nation-wide organization established as the result of a national conference or convention;

(4) seek the election of candidates in at least three of the provinces, having a minimum number of 61 officially nominated candidates in the field (being approximately one for every four constituencies); and,

(5) demonstrate by the nature of its campaign that it had attained national proportions and significance.

20. If there emerge one or more new national parties which clearly belong to the category described, the Corporation will assume the responsibility of allotting an amount of national network time sufficient to bring to listeners an adequate presentation of the party's programme and policies. The periods of time so allotted would be over and above the amounts given to the existing parties. The addition of such supplementary time to a new party or parties would not, therefore, affect the allocation which will be made as between the established parties. It is understood, of course, that a new national party may come about from a union of political movements or groups. In the absence of clearly ascertainable data as to the strength of such a new party, the Corporation will necessarily have to decide the amount of time on its own responsibility, in the most equitable manner possible. In determining the precise amount, regard would be had to the time allotted to the existing parties.

(d) NETWORK SUSTAINING BROADCASTS WILL BE AVAILABLE TO INDEPENDENT PRIVATELY-OWNED STATIONS:

21. The national networks which will be provided free to the parties will be comprised of all stations owned by the Corporation and of all stations "affiliated" with the CBC networks. In addition, all independent privately-owned stations will be invited to carry the national broadcasts on a sustaining basis, as a measure of public service in consideration, in part, of the privilege of operating on a public franchise. The independent privately-owned stations which decide to carry the broadcasts will, of course, do so without charge. The cost of any lines necessary to include such stations in the networks will be borne by the CBC.
Independent stations desiring to participate in the series will naturally have to indicate their intention in advance and carry all the broadcasts. Obviously, it would not be possible to preserve fairness in the distribution as between the parties if the number of stations comprising the networks varied from broadcast to broadcast.

(e) SUBSIDIARY HOOKUPS WITHIN A PROVINCE:

22. In addition to the arrangement for free national networks for the national parties as set forth in sections (b) and (c), a further category of network broadcasting will be permitted. There will be available for purchase within each province subsidiary hookups comprised of such privately-owned stations as may wish to sell their facilities. CBC-owned stations, however, will not be available for inclusion in subsidiary hookups. The hookups will be arranged by and through the Corporation in its capacity as the network authority. No subsidiary hookup will, of course, be authorized during a period for which a national network broadcast is scheduled.

23. The purpose of these hookups is to permit the national parties to take care of regional campaign requirements. It is also to afford an opportunity to engage in network broadcasting on a limited scale to parties which have not attained national proportions, and which, on that account, would not be given time free on the national network. Such hookups will be restricted exclusively to stations located within the boundaries of the province in question. If hookups were permitted which included stations in two or more provinces, the parties would be driven by competition against each other to purchase semi-national and perhaps national hookups in addition to the national networks arranged free, thus defeating the objectives of the whole plan.

24. The CBC will seek to enlist the good offices of the political parties and of the private stations to keep within moderate limits the total amount of time sold and to see that all parties are treated fairly. In the event of it being impossible to achieve these ends on a basis of co-operation, the Corporation will take such measures as are necessary to obtain fair play and to protect the listener.
(f) LOCAL BROADCASTING:

25. Individual privately-owned stations will be at liberty to sell time to political candidates and parties for local broadcasts only, subject to the terms of the Broadcasting Act and the Regulations thereunder. Individual CBC-owned stations, however, will not be available for purchase. It is felt that the privately-owned stations will have ample facilities for meeting all the requirements of local broadcasting. The only exception to this rule will be in the case of the Corporation's station at Chicoutimi, in which district there is no privately-owned station which can provide facilities for local broadcasting.

26. As in network broadcasting, so in local broadcasting, it will be necessary to protect the listener from excessive political discussion, and the Corporation will accordingly see that due consideration is given to normal programme requirements. No individual station may carry a local political broadcast at the same time as there may be a national political broadcast.

27. Attention is drawn to the regulation already in force requiring each station to allocate time for political broadcasts as fairly as possible between the different parties or candidates desiring to purchase time. No privately-owned station, which sells its facilities for local political broadcasts, may decline to accept a broadcast on behalf of any party or candidate, unless to prevent an unfair balance.

(g) THE FRENCH NETWORK:

28. A special provision is made to meet the requirements of the French network. In conformity with the practice which has prevailed in other campaigns, arrangements will be made to permit of a translation, or companion or parallel broadcast in French, being carried in the Quebec region at the same time, or within a reasonable time after the national broadcasts.
SECTION B

PARTY POLITICAL BROADCASTING DURING PROVINCIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

29. It is the intention of the Corporation to extend to provincial election campaigns the principle of allotting free network time to the political parties. The application of the principle to provincial elections will, however, be deferred until after the approaching Dominion general election has been held. It is desirable to test the policy in one arena before extending it to others. If the plan proposed for the Dominion elections proves successful, a suitable modification designed for provincial purposes will be drawn up in the light of the experience gained.

30. If a provincial election should be held in the intervening period, networks would be available for purchase, and privately-owned individual stations, but not CBC-owned stations, would be at liberty to sell their facilities for local broadcasts. The Corporation would discharge its responsibility, preferably in co-operation with the parties and the privately-owned stations, of ensuring a fair distribution of time and of preventing an excessive amount of political broadcasting.

SECTION C

PARTY POLITICAL BROADCASTING IN THE PERIODS BETWEEN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

31. In the periods between election campaigns, the political parties may purchase network time.

32. In its statements to the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Radio Broadcasting, the Corporation did not indicate that it contemplated extending to the periods between elections the principle of allotting free network time to the political parties. The provision of free network time to the parties is feasible only in circumstances which permit of arranging a fair distribution between them. A fair distribution is possible of achievement only in a relatively brief period, such as during an election, when all the parties desire to use radio facilities, and when comprehensive and carefully planned arrangements can be made.
Between elections, however, the requirements and desires of the parties for broadcasting facilities vary greatly from time to time. On this point, the Parliamentary Committee reported as follows:

"Your Committee is also of the opinion that network party political broadcasting between elections should remain open to purchase, subject always to considerations of fair distribution and programme planning."

33. In the periods between elections, any established political party, whether federal or provincial, may purchase time, either on networks or over individual stations including those owned by the Corporation. Purchase is subject to the conditions that the party accepts responsibility for the broadcast, indemnifying the CBC against the possible consequences of libel or slander; that each broadcast is prefaced and concluded by an appropriate announcement making clear the nature and auspices of the broadcast; and that there is no undue interference with normal programme requirements.

SECTION D

NON-PARTY CONTROVERSIAL BROADCASTS

34. The Corporation does not believe in or practise censorship. It neither exercises itself, nor authorizes any private station to exercise, any restrictions on matter broadcast, other than those specifically set out in the printed Regulations issued by the Corporation in its capacity as the authority over all broadcasting in Canada.

35. The CBC is opposed to and shall resist any attempt to regiment opinion or to throttle freedom of utterance. It believes in the fullest use of the air for forthright stimulating discussion on all controversial questions. It believes that the best safeguard of freedom of discussion is a policy which permits the largest possible opportunity for the expression of varying and opposite opinions. It believes that as largely as possible all main points of view should be presented equally and fairly. In the view of the Corporation, these principles are not promoted by the sale of network time to individuals or commercial concerns for broadcasts of opinion or propaganda. They can best be furthered through the CBC itself providing time, free of charge, to competent speakers to present, without let or hindrance, the varying
points of view on questions of the day. It is, therefore, the policy of the CBC to place on the air broadcasts by informed, authoritative and competent speakers as a contribution to the discussion of current affairs and problems.

36. In conformity with this policy, the Corporation does not permit the sale of networks to individuals or commercial organizations for the broadcasting of opinions. This applies to all network broadcasts; it also applies to broadcasts over individual CBC-owned stations but not individual privately-owned stations. It extends, of course, to the purchase of networks for the broadcasting of commercial commentaries on current affairs. The policy necessarily applies to network programmes originating outside of Canada.

37. Non-commercial organizations or societies interested in public affairs may, however, purchase subsidiary hookups only. They may also, of course, purchase time on individual privately-owned stations but not on individual CBC-owned stations.

38. Such societies or organizations are those:

(a) which are established for other than commercial or quasi-commercial purposes, having objectives on social, educational, economic, philanthropic or other lines of general public interest and concern; and,

(b) which are in existence at present or which hereafter shall have been in existence for at least a year prior to the application for network facilities.

39. Purchase is subject to the conditions that the society or organization accepts responsibility for the broadcast, indemnifying the CBC against the possible consequences of libel or slander; that each broadcast is prefaced and concluded by an appropriate announcement making clear the nature and auspices of the broadcast and indicating that equal facilities are available on the same basis for the expression of opposing views; that there is no undue interference with normal programme requirements; and that the broadcast is of sufficient popular appeal and interest to justify its inclusion in the programme schedule.

40. During the period of an election, societies and organizations have the same purchasing rights as political parties. They will be permitted to purchase subsidiary hookups only, such hookups to be limited in scope to stations located with a given province, since a similar limitation is imposed on the purchase of subsidiary hookups.
by political parties during a campaign. During the period of the campaign, CBC-owned stations will be excluded from such subsidiary hookups. Such broadcasts shall also be subject to the same limits as are imposed upon political broadcasts by statute. No society or organization shall broadcast within forty-eight hours of an election.

41. The sale of hookups to societies or organizations under the conditions laid down above does not mean that only those bodies which can afford to pay for hookup facilities will have the opportunity to broadcast. On the contrary, it is the intention of the CBC to broaden the scope and character of the controversial broadcasts for which it provides time free.

42. The topics selected for the controversial broadcasts which the Corporation arranges on a sustaining basis are necessarily those of current interest, subjects of broad general importance being chosen for the national network. Regional broadcasts of this character will be developed. These will permit the discussion of important topics of more local interest. This development will also make possible a larger number of broadcasts of opinion without unduly burdening the national network. The choice of speakers is made with a view to selecting those who are attractive broadcasters and who are especially qualified to discuss the subject in question.

43. The Corporation's policy as stated above was outlined to the Parliamentary Committee, and was endorsed in the Committee's report as follows:

"Your Committee shares the view of the Corporation that network broadcasting of programmes of opinion on current affairs should not be available for commercial sponsorship, more adequate time to be provided free for this purpose. The Committee believes that the Corporation's policies respecting broadcasts of opinion are designed to ensure the largest possible measure of fairness and equality of opportunity. We wish to emphasize the importance of placing before listeners the widest variety of points of view. It is desired to stress the importance of flexibility and experiment in forms of presentation."

44. Broadcasting is a changing and expanding art. The best method of presenting controversial material will naturally be evolved out of experience. The CBC is not necessarily attached to any particular form. It already uses a
variety of methods, including debates, forums, commentaries, and round table discussions. It intends, however, to experiment with other forms of presentation. For example, a series of half-hour talks, in which a different speaker in each broadcast expresses his view on vital subjects, will shortly be tried out. Balance and fairness will be secured over the series as a whole, rather than through the inclusion of two or more speakers in each broadcast. It is hoped this will permit of greater freedom and vigour in discussion without sacrificing fair presentation.

45. In a sense radio is a limited medium. The total number of hours which could be made available during the course of a year for network broadcasting would give at the outside only restricted opportunity to but a small number of persons to express their views. Radio is also a highly expensive medium; it is not within reach of all. Obviously, therefore, the purchase of networks to broadcast opinions is not a privilege which could be shared equally by all citizens. On the exclusive basis of purchase, those opinions would be disseminated most effectively, which were supported by the largest purse. Many elements of community and national life would be unheard. The policy of the CBC is to prevent the air from falling under the control of wealth or any other power. It is a policy designed to bring the voice of all representative groups and bodies of opinion to the forum of the nation. As such it is believed to be a democratic policy.

46. The full interchange of opinion is one of the safeguards of free institutions. The right to answer is implied in any democracy. Far from being a restraint on free speech, the Corporation's policy is, therefore, believed to be an assurance that liberty of discussion is preserved and that all main points of view are fairly presented. The air belongs to the people, and the constant aim of the CBC is to have the principal points of view on questions of importance heard by the people as a whole. The policy outlined has been adopted in an effort to ensure that the vast and incalculable medium of broadcasting will remain at the disposal of the nation, regardless of considerations of party, section, class or creed.
APPENDIX III

Plaunt's Letters of Resignation
The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

August 30, 1940.

My dear Mr. King,

Attached is a copy of a letter to the Hon. C. D. Howe, asking him at his earliest convenience to request the Governor-in-Council to accept my resignation as a member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

My reasons for taking this step are briefly indicated therein. I feel it my duty, as a public trustee, not to continue to accept responsibility for conditions I deplore. I do so without desiring, in any sense, to reflect upon my colleagues, and in particular, the Chairman, for whom I have the highest regard. I enclose a copy of my letter to him, explaining my position at length. I also enclose copies of reports prepared, at the unanimous request of the Board, by Mr. J. C. Thompson, C. A., and myself. They were the result of exhaustive surveys of the Corporation's internal organization conducted last summer and early autumn.

I do not wish, either, to embarrass you at a time when you are obliged to carry such staggering burdens. I believe, however, that you will understand my motives in the matter.

I have felt, ever since the Aird Report, that you had deeply at heart the great possibilities, as an agency of Canadian unity, of a properly organized national system of broadcasting. As you know, I have spent many years of effort to this end.

I am looking forward to the opportunity of engaging in other aspects of national service.

When Council has accepted my resignation, I should greatly appreciate your having a brief announcement given to the Canadian Press.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Alan B. Plaunt
411 Blackburn Building  
Ottawa, Canada,  
August 30, 1940.

Rene Morin, Esq.,  
Chairman, Board of Governors,  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,  
112 St. James Street, West,  
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Mr. Morin, — After due consideration, I have de­
cided to resign as a member of the Board of Governors. I
have, accordingly, sent my resignation to the Governor-in­
Council through Mr. Howe. I have also written to Mr. King
explaining briefly my reasons for taking this step.

I am setting out my reasons at some length below. They
are, briefly, one, that I cannot continue, as a public
trustee, to accept responsibility for an executive direction
and internal organization in which I have long ceased to have
confidence; I have been obliged reluctantly to conclude that
the Board as a whole is unwilling to face the realities of
this situation; two, that because of major defects, rapidly
becoming chronic, the Corporation is not properly organized
adequately to fulfill its function in the war emergency or in
the post-war period; three, that in these circumstances, it
is unlikely to survive and develop on the lines conceived by
Parliament; and finally, that having done my utmost to per­
suade my colleagues to take decisive action, I am left with
the last resource of resignation in order to underline the
need for it.

Also, for what it may be worth, I am taking the liberty
of including some observations and conclusions on past and
future problems. I thought that, because I have been speci­
ally interested in the establishment of a national system of
broadcasting since 1930, you would not object to my doing so.

1. STEPS NOT TAKEN TO REMEDY DEFECTS REVEALED
BY REPORTS

Conditions Leading to Surveys

You will recollect that the Finance Committee at a
meeting here in April of last year invited me to undertake,
on behalf of the Board as a whole, a survey of the Corpora­
tion's organization and personnel. The suggestion came as
the result of an accumulation of misgivings and criticisms
of the executive direction, staffing and internal organiza­
tion, voiced by certain members of the Board over a period
of years. It came to a head at the above-mentioned meeting
because of the discovery of certain practices at Vancouver
which appeared to indicate an alarming absence of discipline.
Certain members of the Finance Committee suggested the employment of an outside agency to make a comprehensive survey of the organization. This, you will recollect, I opposed on the grounds that it would be tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the management, and that, in any event, the Board should not thus evade its legal and moral responsibility under the Broadcasting Act. I was greatly surprised when Mr. Nathanson suggested, and the other members of the Finance Committee urged, that I should undertake such a survey. If I would do so, it was argued, the objections to an outside survey would be obviated.

I did not, as you know, agree to the proposal at the time because I was uncertain whether I could or wanted to do so and because, in any event, a request of this character would have to come from the Board as a whole. When the Board met on July 6, I was unanimously requested to undertake the survey.

I accepted because I shared some of the misgivings which had been expressed and because I agreed that it was vital for the Board to know to what extent these misgivings were justified. Also, it appeared to me that the task, although invidious in many respects, could comprise a useful conclusion to many years of active interest in the establishment of this national enterprise. I felt that the Corporation, like any enterprise which had expanded so rapidly over a period of only three years, was probably due for a general stocktaking and consolidation.

What the Reports Revealed

So much for the background of the surveys. With the assistance of Mr. James C. Thompson, C.A., for many years provincial auditor of Alberta, who had just completed the financial studies of the Rowell-Sirois Commission I set out during July and August to examine the organization and staffing of the Corporation in a comprehensive way. With Mr. Thompson, I analyzed the position at Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa between which three centres the national headquarters departments are presently divided. I also visited the regional headquarters and studios at Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg and Halifax and the studios and offices at Quebec City.

Most of the material for the reports was, consequently, obtained before the outbreak of war but the reports were drafted considerably after the outbreak and attempted to take into account the changed conditions. My reports are, as you know, entitled "Reports on the Organization and Personnel of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation", and are dated September 30, 1939; Mr. Thompson's is entitled

These three reports reveal major defects of internal organization requiring a very considerable degree of reorganization. They indicate directly and by implication, serious deficiencies in the executive direction of the Corporation. They indicate that delay in implementing many of the recommendations prejudice the Corporation's present efficiency and future strength.

Action Successively Deferred

These reports which, to say the least, confirm the misgivings which led to them, were presented to the Board at its meeting of October 16th and 17th. Unfortunately, I was unable, because of an intestinal operation, to present them in person. Mr. Thompson, however, appeared before the Board and explained his own comprehensive report. No steps were, however, taken to implement any of the recommendations at that time.

No steps were taken then and no important steps have been taken since. Some passing consideration was given to Mr. Thompson's report at the November 17 meeting of the Finance Committee. At the January meeting of the Board I urged, in a written statement read in camera by the Chairman, that serious consideration be given and action undertaken at that time. Indeed, I informed the Board that my position on it would be rendered untenable unless this were done. I was urged by yourself, Mr. Nathanson and other members of the Board to be patient; that the next meeting would undoubtedly give the matter due consideration.

At the April 15-16 meeting, a committee consisting of the members of the Finance Committee plus myself was named to examine the reports and submits its recommendations to the following meeting of the Board.

As then arranged, and subsequently confirmed by letter, this committee was to meet in Montreal on July 6th and 7th. This meeting was successively postponed, but was always, as I thought, clearly understood that the committee would meet prior to the assembling of the full Board.

When I discovered, for reasons not divulged to me, that no time was arranged for it to meet prior to the August 19-20 meeting, I wired you outlining my understanding of the matter. I then proceeded to spend four days reviewing the reports and all the material relating to them, spending a

*This observation is not intended to apply to the Assistant General Manager who has, in my opinion, done an admirable job under difficult conditions.
day in Montreal with Mr. Thompson for the purpose of reviewing his own findings. On Saturday, August 17th, I received an answer to my telegram to you, assuring me that an effort would be made to carry out the understanding.

When the news committee met at two-thirty on Sunday, August 18th, Mr. Nathanson advised me that time would be arranged for an examination of the reports, first by the reorganization committee and afterwards by the Board as a whole. Then, for whatever reasons you wish to ascribe, nothing was done either by the reorganization committee or by the Board. Consequently, I explained my position to the Board and I am now taking what appears to me the only appropriate action remaining to me.

Despite the fact that the underlying defects which led to the surveys last July are still present and despite the need for speedy action revealed by the reports, I have been obliged to reach the conclusion that neither the Finance Committee nor the Board has any real desire or intention of dealing with these problems.

Action Prejudicial to Recommendations Taken

On the contrary, the Finance Committee at its meeting on November 17th initiated steps which indefinitely delay and gravely prejudice one of the essential recommendations both of Mr. Thompson's report and of my own. I refer to our proposal that the national headquarters departments, presently scattered between Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal, be centralized in Montreal. This proposal did not, of course, envisage the transfer of the legal head office which under the Broadcasting Act must remain at Ottawa. It did urge in the strongest possible terms that headquarters departments be centralized and consolidated in one place.

This was urged on the obvious grounds of efficiency. A public Corporation of this magnitude cannot achieve the degree of co-ordination essential to effective operation on any other basis. This is particularly true of a business like broadcasting, where the various national headquarters, departments—programs, engineering, financial control, commercial, station relations, press and information, traffic, etc., etc. — are very closely related and where immediate consultation and quick decisions are so often essential.

There must, of course, be a considerable degree of decentralization in a country like Canada, but this can be admirably handled by the five regional organizations, with present headquarters at Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

Furthermore, as was strongly stressed in the reports, the Corporation cannot, on this divided basis, possibly
give its best service in the war period. It is, indeed, in danger of internal breakdown if too great a load is imposed upon it.

Although this was demonstrably a most important single recommendation and one on which a number of other important recommendations hinged, the Finance Committee, at its November meeting, apparently did not even consider the advisability of moving to Montreal certain of the head-quarters departments which several years ago had provisionally been moved to Toronto from Ottawa. A considerable measure of centralization and a greatly increased degree of co-ordination could thus have been achieved. The leases on the premises at Hayter and Church streets, where these departments could readily have been moved to new space in Montreal.

This would not, of course, have effected Toronto as the headquarters of the Ontario regional organization and as, necessarily, the principal English-speaking production centre. In addition, for example, an important branch of the Commercial Department would have to be maintained there. Actually, the Corporation some time ago purchased a large property on Yonge Street for the purpose, when finances permit, of housing the regional staff and production facilities presently located at Davenport Road and such other activities as need to be located in Toronto.

What was involved was simply the moving of the national program, press and information, traffic, commercial and station relations departments. This could have been accomplished with as little dislocation as was contingent upon moving these same departments from Ottawa to Toronto several years ago.

The Finance Committee, however, at its November meeting chose to disregard the recommendations in this respect and to instruct the management to seek new space in Toronto. At the January meeting of the Board this matter was apparently not discussed, the minutes of the November meeting not being confirmed until the April meeting of the Board.

As I mentioned above, I requested the January meeting to consider the reports and to go on record as either accepting them in principle or of rejecting them, details, of course, to be subject to discussion and modification. Previous to the meeting I had written at length to various members of the Board outlining the need for action and indicting my reasons for making this request.

At the March 12th meeting of the Finance Committee, further steps were taken to arrange for space in Toronto without, apparently, any reference whatever to the recommendations.

Previous to the April meeting I discussed this matter with you and I was happy to find that you were in substan-
tial agreement with my views on the matter. It was even then not too late for the Board to have taken an appropriate decision. I raised the matter at the Board Meeting in the most emphatic way I could. No reasons which appeared to me valid were elicited to show why the essential step to increase the efficiency of the national broadcasting organization in a time of grave crisis could not be taken.

At that meeting, however, the action hitherto initiated by the Finance Committee was allowed to proceed. The result, in my opinion, will be the freezing, for an indefinite period of time, of an untenable and inefficient type of organization.

2. DEFECTS PRECLUDE PROPER FUNCTIONING IN WAR PERIOD

Because these and other serious problems are not being faced, the Corporation in my view is fast losing what sense of purpose and direction it once possessed. A sense of frustration is, it appears to me, evident throughout the organization, which is characterized by a lack of creative and imaginative ability.

Obviously, in these circumstances, the C.B.C. is not equipped to play the part it should be playing in the war emergency. Indeed, it is my considered opinion, as it is also Mr. Thompson's, that organizational defects are increasingly hampering effective operation. The C.B.C., whose national network now has the physical facilities to reach the vast majority of Canadians, should be acting as a unifying agency par excellence.

Instead, it is giving no coherent leadership and is not maintaining its audience. It is obviously of supreme importance to Canada that it should do so, not only in the war period, but for the difficult days that are bound to follow.

3. DEVELOPMENT AS INTENDED BY PARLIAMENT PREJUDICED

Furthermore, it is my firm belief that without a chief executive and a Board willing to face up to the demands of the situation, the C.B.C. will not survive or develop as the sort of national institution envisaged by Parliament.

Original Conception

The conception which the Board first set out to fulfil in November 1936 - essentially that of the Aird report - was
of a nationally-owned and controlled network of stations from coast to coast. It involved a program policy which, in addition to relaying the best United States, British and foreign programs, would create and transmit programs of a distinctive Canadian character and thus act as a unifying agency of enormous potential value.

Progress in First Three Years

In the first three years of its operations the Corporation did indeed go very far toward the fulfilment of this conception. A satisfactory dividing line between the legitimate spheres of privately-owned stations and of the public system was established, private stations being restricted to a local function with a maximum power of 1,000-watts, the publicly-owned system ultimately to own and control all stations of a power in excess of 1,000 watts.

This was and is an essential line of demarcation if a properly organized national system is eventually to emerge. High power regional stations for the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec and Maritime regions were established in addition to the British Columbia regional station already in existence.

In other words, the framework on the physical side has been created, though there are still, of course, many big gaps to be filled, for example, in British Columbia, Northern Ontario, Windsor, the Rouyn-Val D'Or region, Chicoutimi, and certain French-speaking communities in the Maritimes.

Some Problems Which Emerged

(i) Corporation should handle distribution of all U.S. network programs.

Over the present network comprising some forty CBC-owned and privately-owned stations are broadcast, except in Montreal and Toronto, the programs of the three American chains - NBC, Columbia, and Mutual. In other words, over the whole network, except in Montreal and Toronto, the CBC acts as the exclusive agency for all U.S. network programs. Subject to the exceptions mentioned this is, of course, entirely in keeping with the original conception and program policy.

In the Toronto and Montreal areas, however, the position is anomalous, the Corporation acting as agency for only two of the U.S. chains, the programs of the third being broadcast by privately-owned affiliates of the chain in question.

This situation is inconsistent and unsatisfactory. Sooner or later the Corporation will be obliged to make the practice in the Montreal and Toronto areas consistent with
the policy followed for the rest of the national network. This may, of course, involve the establishment of additional facilities in these two metropolitan areas.

(ii) Corporation must maintain de facto control or networks.

Another problem which has resulted from the implementation of the Broadcasting Act is the question of alternative network facilities. The extension of national network broadcasting from six to twelve and then to sixteen hours per day has resulted in a great development of the demand for network facilities.

As the national network authority, the Corporation's policy thus far has been to control this growing volume of commercial offerings in such a way as to protect the national network and so far as possible to provide the listener with contrasting alternative programs.

The desire of certain private broadcasters, however, is to bring about the establishment of a private network, which would compete directly with the national network and which would, they doubtless hope, ultimately undermine it. Even though such a proposition runs demonstrably counter to the national interest, I suggest that the danger from these quarters is still very considerable.

To meet an increasing demand for network facilities the Corporation may be obliged itself to arrange an alternative facilities' hook-up. If this does become advisable, it appears to me of paramount importance that the key stations of such a network, necessarily situated in Toronto and Montreal, should be owned by the Corporation and that these alternative facilities be strictly under the Corporation's day-to-day control and direction.

Only in this way can the national network be properly safeguarded and at the same time the Canadian listener provided with the maximum in the way of contrasting network programs.

(iii) Facsimile and Television should not be alienated to private interests.

With respect to the Corporation's policy to date of reserving to itself the development of facsimile and television, I need hardly say that I think it essential in the national interest that these policies be continued. A similar safe-guard should also be maintained with respect to Frequency Modulation, the most important immediate development and one which appears likely to revolutionize local broadcasting. It appears obvious that these new media of communication of such unpredictable importance, should remain under the aegis of the Corporation as the trustee of the national interest in such matters.
(iv) High power short wave facilities essential.

I hope the Board will continue to press for a high power short wave station. I believe we have done our utmost to persuade the Government of the need for such a station. Our proposals were emphatically endorsed by the Parliamentary Committees of 1938 and 1939. It does seem extraordinary that Canada alone of the great trading nations of the world is without an international voice on the air. In the present emergency the great value to our case of such facilities surely does not require demonstration.

**Fear Corporation Losing Sight of Original Conception**

For what it is worth, I have tried to summarize what was our original conception and some of the problems resulting from the progressive implementation of that conception. That the Board's conception corresponded to that of Parliament and that its policies were well calculated to fulfil it was emphatically confirmed by the reports of the Parliamentary Committees of 1938 and 1939. I fear, however, that latterly the Board has been losing sight of these primary purposes. I will mention several examples:

(a) Re party broadcasting during an election.

As a result of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1939, the Board approved, and published on July 8th, a pamphlet entitled "Statement of Policy with respect to Controversial Broadcasting" which set out the Board's considered policies in the related fields of political and controversial broadcasting both on networks and on individual stations. The arrangements therein set out, for the division, on a free basis, of all national network political broadcasting within an election period, had previously been discussed and agreed by the various national political parties concerned.

Nevertheless, the Board did not hesitate at its January meeting, apparently without much consideration, to upset these carefully worked out arrangements and substitute therefor an untenable compromise scheme. When the party representatives met to consider the new proposal they unanimously demanded a return to the arrangements published on July 8th and the Board was obliged, by telegraphic reference, to return to this policy. I was not able to attend the January meeting but you will recollect that in a letter to the Board I indicated very strongly that I was no reason for departing from the scheme outlined on July 8th.

(b) Re party broadcasting between elections.

Another matter which I find it difficult to understand is the Board's decision, also at the January meeting, to
(iv) High power short wave facilities essential.

I hope the Board will continue to press for a high power short wave station. I believe we have done our utmost to persuade the Government of the need for such a station. Our proposals were emphatically endorsed by the Parliamentary Committees of 1938 and 1939. It does seem extraordinary that Canada alone of the great trading nations of the world is without an international voice on the air. In the present emergency the great value to our case of such facilities surely does not require demonstration.

Fear Corporation Losing Sight of Original Conception

For what it is worth, I have tried to summarize what was our original conception and some of the problems resulting from the progressive implementation of that conception. That the Board's conception corresponded to that of Parliament and that its policies were well calculated to fulfil it was emphatically confirmed by the reports of the Parliamentary Committees of 1938 and 1939. I fear, however, that latterly the Board has been losing sight of these primary purposes. I will mention several examples:

(a) Re party broadcasting during an election.

As a result of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1939, the Board approved, and published on July 8th, a pamphlet entitled "Statement of Policy with respect to Controversial Broadcasting" which set out the Board's considered policies in the related fields of political and controversial broadcasting both on networks and on individual stations. The arrangements therein set out, for the division, on a free basis, of all national network political broadcasting within an election period, had previously been discussed and agreed by the various national political parties concerned.

Nevertheless, the Board did not hesitate at its January meeting, apparently without much consideration, to upset these carefully worked out arrangements and substitute therefor an untenable compromise scheme. When the party representatives met to consider the new proposal they unanimously demanded a return to the arrangements published on July 8th and the Board was obliged, by telegraphic reference, to return to this policy. I was not able to attend the January meeting but you will recollect that in a letter to the Board I indicated very strongly that I was no reason for departing from the scheme outlined on July 8th.

(b) Re party broadcasting between elections.

Another matter which I find it difficult to understand is the Board's decision, also at the January meeting, to
cancel the arrangements outlined in the July 8th pamphlet for party political broadcasting between elections. These arrangements were also carefully thought out and were in accordance with the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1939. I fear that the implications of this decision were given quite insufficient consideration at the January meeting.

I quite recognize that in war-time steps must be taken which in peace-time would be regarded as a breach of ordinary democratic rights. When I brought up the matter at the April meeting no arguments were induced which appeared to me conclusive. My point in mentioning this now is that I do not think democratic rights should be thrown away, even in war-time, without apparent necessity. In the present regard I am yet to be convinced that sufficient safeguards do not exist, in the censorship regulations, in the regulation which prohibits political broadcasts from open meetings, and in section 39 of The Defence of Canada Regulations.

(c) Attitude to certain private stations on network.

If I may say so also, it appears to me that the Board's attitude to certain of the privately-owned stations on its network has rendered the network much less effective than it should be. When the Corporation established, at great cost, its own high power and other stations, there was obviously no longer any reason to retain on the basic network a considerable number of private stations actually within the good service range of our own stations. The result is that a listening audience for our own stations, especially in the Prairies region, is not being built up. The net result of continuing this absurd anomaly so long, as far as I can see, is to maintain the profits of these stations at the expense of the proper development of the C.B.C.

(d) Re news broadcasting.

Another matter which has caused me real misgivings is the way in which the admittedly difficult question of news broadcasting has been handled. A special meeting of the Board was called on June 1st to consider this matter and another special meeting met on June 27th. After the most exhaustive discussion, it was agreed that, in the national interest in the present emergency, a comprehensive news service should be established by the C.B.C. and made available to stations across Canada.

The Board recognized clearly enough the importance of a sober, authentic and comprehensive news service which all Canadians could rely upon in these trying times and which would, consequently, act as an important unifying force.
Then the news committee, of which I was a member, held several meetings with the private broadcasters and associated interests. These interests showed themselves unwilling to make any concessions whatever to further the Board's basic purpose. What I regret is that the news committee and the Board at its recent meeting well-nigh lost sight of the original purpose in its desire to meet the selfish views of the private stations.

I believe that the arrangement finally arrived at is better than nothing. What I do feel very strongly, however, is that the Board should take a much firmer attitude in defining the public interest in a matter such as this.

I do not mean that all sides should not be heard or that arbitrary decisions should be taken. I do mean that the Board should refuse to allow the public interest to be compromised because of the demands, however vociferous, of private interests.

Loss of Board's Prestige

The fact is, much as I regret having to say it, that the Board has, because of its vacillating attitude, already lost a good deal of prestige. The attitude of the representatives of the above-mentioned private interests at the last meeting illustrates only too well what I mean. Their attitude was a mixture of arrogance and studied contempt. It is a serious matter for an authority duly established by Parliament to fulfill a certain national purpose to be treated in this way. I shall have the liveliest fears for the future of this institution if such a reaction is permitted to continue.

4. RESIGNING TO EMPHASIZE NEED OF DECISIVE ACTION

Needless to say, I deeply regret the circumstances which have resulted in my withdrawal from the Board at this time. As you know, my interest in the enterprise is deep and of long standing. Indeed, I have spent a number of my best years in helping to bring about its establishment. On behalf of the body of organizations, and individuals supporting the Canadian Radio League, I made representations to the Special Parliamentary Committees of 1932, 193 and 1936. The present Act embodies many of the recommendations made to the Parliamentary Committee of 1936. The Act stands, I think, as a workable framework, providing as it does for an independent and non-partisan direction of policy, business management, and the ultimate control of Parliament.

I was honoured by being appointed as a member of the
first Board, on November 2, 1936, and by being reappointed for a further period. During that time I have given a great deal of time and thought to the establishment of this new national enterprise. As you know, I have served as Chairman of the Board's committee on applications from the beginning, and as a member of many other committees from time to time.

At the Board's unanimous request, I spent over two months making the survey of all aspects of our organization. Generally speaking I have, I think, given my best energies to the establishment of what could be, as the Hon. R. B. Bennette once put it, "a most effective instrument in nation building."

I hope you will understand that it is because of my interest in the Corporation's success that I feel obliged to take the present action.

I hope you will appreciate also that what I have said and done is in no way intended to reflect adversely on any of my colleagues as individuals. I regard them, as you know, as unusually disinterested Canadians. Furthermore, one could scarcely be associated with them for so long a period without entertaining for them a feeling of warmth and affection. This, if you will permit me to say so, is especially true of yourself. I consider it a great privilege to have been able to work with you as with the other members of the Board. I sincerely hope that what I feel obliged to do will in no way militate against a friendship which I greatly value.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) ALAN B. PLAUNT
APPENDIX III

PLAUNT'S LETTERS OF RESIGNATION

411 Blackburn Building, Ottawa, Canada, August 30, 1940.

Hon. C. D. Howe, M. P.,
Minister of Munitions and Supply,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Howe, - Kindly request the Governor-in-Council, at your earliest convenience, to accept my resignation as a member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

I should be grateful if you would also convey my appreciation of the honour, and opportunity of service, bestowed in my appointment as a member of the first Board in November, 1936, and subsequently in my reappointment for a further term.

My reasons for resigning at this time have been explained at length to the Chairman, Mr. Morin. I have also written to the Prime Minister.

Briefly: I feel that, as a public trustee, I should not continue to accept responsibility for the internal organization and executive direction of the Corporation when I have long ceased to have confidence in it.

I do not mean to suggest that I consider the general framework of the Broadcasting Act inadequate. On the contrary, it is generally agreed that the Act provides an admirable framework for the development of a non-partisan, business-like, and effective system of national broadcasting.

I would have taken this step early in the year had not my colleagues given me some reasons to hope that the serious defects revealed by the reports prepared, at their unanimous request, by Mr. J. C. Thompson, C.A., and myself would be remedied. I have, however, finally been obliged to conclude that such is not the case.

It is my considered view that the present conditions seriously hamper the Corporation in fulfilling its function in the war emergency, and prejudice its survival as an effective instrument of national unity afterwards.

In these circumstances, I can no longer serve a useful purpose by remaining on the Board. Consequently, I wish to be free to engage in other aspects of national service.

In closing may I say how much, over a long period of time, I have valued your own interest in national broad-
casting. I shall not forget your cordial consideration of the scheme of reorganization I had the honour to present to you on behalf of the Canadian Radio League in the autumn of 1935 and our many subsequent discussions prior to the formulation of the Canadian Broadcasting Act.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

(signed) ALAN B. PLAUNT
APPENDIX IV

Buchanan's Letter of Complaints
APPENDIX IV

BUCHANAN'S LETTER OF COMPLAINTS

November 23, 1940.

Dear Mr. Murray, - In January, 1937, I was invited to join
the staff of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, my task
to initiate a structure of talks programs on the network.
This was a welcome opportunity. During the previous year
or two, I had become conversant with the work of the Radio
League and with that reconstruction of national broadcast­
ing in Canada which it sought to promote. As Director of
Talks my work proved at first both stimulating and en­
couraging. Although there was still no general reorganiza­
tion of staff, a few youthful persons of broad vision were
being brought into the service of the Corporation, and men
like Ernest Bushnell, the Supervisor of Programs, who had
been with the former Commission, were showing that they had
a perception of the wider tasks ahead. In broadcast talks,
there was to be originality of expression; there was to be
a search too, for the best speakers, those who knew certain
subjects well, who presented attributes of good speech and
personality, for those also who were characters, who had
their own distinctive approach to the stuff of Canadian
life. In the realm of public opinion, there was to be a
free and balanced discussion of social, political and
economic questions of national interest. Controversial
subjects were to be tackled fairly. I was encouraged here
by Mr. Bushnell to turn down the mediocre out of hand and
to resist the demands of groups and of individuals, who
for special or for limited reasons of their own, sought
to obtain free program time. This courageous policy un­
fortunately has not been continued. Yet certainly as late
as the spring of 1939, talks and discussions were still
being planned according to this creative pattern and they
were attracting a wide audience of listeners. They were
being scheduled, too, in series at fixed times during the
week so that listeners could readily remember and follow
those items which pleased them most.

In July, 1939, I became supervisor of Public Affairs
Broadcasts and I have since been no longer responsible for
general talks programs. From that summer onwards a new
period of experimentation seems to have ensued. General
talks have less often been scheduled in series; there has
been a tendency instead to present many miscellaneous
speakers on miscellaneous topics. I know that added
flexibility is necessary in war time, that emergency broad-
casts necessitate rapid changes in scheduling. But deteri-
oration in quality is inexcusable. Some of the trouble
here relates to unilateral decisions made by you about the
scheduling of special talks. Certainly from my experience,
I feel that there has been recently too much yielding to
pressure, from outside groups and individuals. The presen-
tation to the program department of such projects, to which
you have committed the Corporation in advance, is a practice
which hinders greatly our creative initiative.

Since July, 1939, my new duties as Supervisor of Public
Affairs, Broadcasts have been specifically to supervise
broadcasts on controversial topics, to arrange commentaries
on current affairs, to act in liaison with those government
departments which at times had programs they wished to spon-
sor. The Board of Governors on July 8, 1939, had published a
comprehensive statement of policy on controversial broad-
casting. It was felt that I should work directly in asso-
ciation, not only with the Supervisor of Programs, but also
with you, in the handling of the practical aspects of this
policy. I consequently remained stationed at head office
in Ottawa. After more than a year of labour at this spec-
ial task, I no find that I shall have to offer my resigna-
tion. May I cite the reasons?

Your illiberal attitude towards broadcasting in war
time has been disturbing. You have, in the last year or
so, allowed many serious deviations from the established
policy of the Corporation on controversial broadcasting.
These deviations have not been made public. Some of them
may have been justified by wartime conditions; I should have
felt better, however, if they had been announced and made
generally known. Others certainly have tended to exceed
by far any reasonable limitations suggested by wartime
requirements.

The statement of policy, as issued by the Board of
Governors in July, 1939, had concluded with this remark:-

Far from being a restraint on free speech, the
Corporation's policy is, therefore, believed to be
an assurance that liberty of discussion is preserved
and that all main points of view are fairly presented.
The air belongs to the people, and the constant aim
of the C.B.C. is to have the principal points of view
on questions of importance heard by the people as a
whole.

This no longer holds true. Those "National Forums,"
which were previously so popular, have now been discon-
tinued.

Liberal principles have been seriously disregarded in
other ways. For example, the Prime Minister at the end of
October, 1939, was asked by the C.B.C. to deliver an address on war aims and war policies. This was coupled with an invitation to the leader of the Conservative Party, Hon. Dr. Manion, to give a broadcast on the same topic. Dr. Manion spoke on November 13, 1939. Shortly afterwards the national headquarters of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation approached you and requested that similar facilities be extended to the leader of the C.C.F. or to some prominent representative of that group. This request was refused.

During the last year, I have also viewed the concern the lack of any specific presentation by you to the program department of any well-defined policies on wartime broadcasts. By this, I mean general policies as authorized by the Board of Governors. One can only therefore assume that you have never asked the Board to define or establish such policies. For example, you arranged last autumn and winter one or two programs on war aims and war objectives. Such one was the series of talks by George McCullagh, the proprietor of the Globe and Mail of Toronto. His talks apparently were not related to any wartime policy of the Board of Governors, for his series was scheduled during an interval last year when the board did not meet at all.

Lacking such definitions of public policy, the program department has been left without accurate direction. Instead mere caprice has often ruled. There has been no plan. Take the question of broadcasts sponsored by the Dominion Government. Early in the course of the war the Board of Governors should have been asked to determine, in consultation with the cabinet, the exact demarcation and amount of informational broadcasting to be arranged by government departments. This was not done. As a result much confusion and overlapping between these government broadcasts and the C.B.C.'s own programs on similar subjects has occurred.

As the program department was thus left by you without any clear definition of various wartime objectives, only one course remained open to its responsible members. That was for us to follow the official statements of the dominion cabinet on war policies in order to make certain that any broadcasts which we were preparing on these themes might at least adhere in substance to what was declared national policy. But here I came into conflict with you. Let me recall the series of incidents connected with the series 'Over the Top,' which began in the late spring of 1940. In this series, which was arranged by you, anonymous speakers voiced sentiments regarding freedom of the subject, the danger of espionage and the thread of "fifth column" activities. I refer in particular to two of these broadcasts which contained ill-timed expressions of fear about the menace of the foreign born in our midst and cries of panic about subversive movements. One was from Quebec
city by a gentleman anonymously entitled 'Legionnaire' and the other by an anonymous professor speaking from Montreal. This series was clearly opposed to declared national policy. The government had previous to this time indicated in public statements that there was not need for such alarm and that it did not want useless panic to be spread throughout the nation by self-appointed vigilantes. As a result, shortly after we began this series, we were asked peremptorily by the government to remove it. You will remember that I did voice objections to you about this series before it was scheduled, and that you then indicated that you would read and pass upon the manuscripts yourself.

You must have realized then that I felt strongly that you were pursuing an unwise course, one that I considered created cleavage between the policy of the Dominion Government and the policy of the broadcasting authority, for shortly afterwards you proposed, not to me directly, but through the then acting Supervisor of Programs, George Taggart, that my duties in public affairs broadcasts could best be handled from Winnipeg. This was such an obvious subterfuge, one designed to keep me from continuing to undertake the functions assigned to me by the program department, that of liaison with government departments and with the newly established Office of Public Information, that I told Mr. Taggart I should have to resign as there were few broadcasts for me to handle in this field from Winnipeg. I heard no more of this proposal that time. Yet there have been various vague references to it since, as I have been left without any clear indication from you as to my future status.

More recently now that the Office of Public Information, has been presenting projects for informational broadcasting to the C.B.C. and now that we are co-operating with them in producing such programs, I had thought that you would retire from continued personal action in this field. Yet only a few months ago, you ordered the scheduling of R. B. Farrell, a journalist of Ottawa, in a renewal of the series, "Between Ourselves" which he had given last season. Previously about a year ago in September, 1939, the program department, from a purely broadcasting point of view had reported to you, following a meeting in the office of the Supervisor of Programs in Toronto, that it was 'the unanimous decision of the program board that there was no merit whatsoever in Mr. Farrell's talks. It was felt that this series by Farrell should be cancelled so that more pertinent material by more competent and authoritative speakers could be substituted. You refused and when this request was later renewed you again refused, this time on the grounds of public policy. You stated
that this series was designed to improve public morale in time of war, that it was presented in the national interest, and hence could not be cancelled on mere grounds of quality of production. You, however, have never given any evidence at any time that this series was referred to the Board of Governors as to definition of policy.

This incident illustrates how unilateral action by you about series tends to confuse the program department and to hamper the initiative of its responsible officers. For these reasons and for other which have already mentioned, I feel that the program department of the C.B.C. is failing and has failed to plan and present effective wartime broadcasts that could help to unify Canadian opinion. To be sure, there have been some good broadcasts which the C.B.C. has relayed from Great Britain to this country, and we have some of our own employees at work in England, but as far as Canadian programs go, that is, series originated in this dominion, I maintain that we ourselves have done little of importance. There have been some successful series, like 'Let's Face the Facts,' but these have been arranged by the Office of Public Information, not by us.

I think this brief summary indicates clearly enough why, as supervisor of public affairs broadcasts, I have been fundamentally in disagreement with your course of action during war time. I am therefore submitting my resignation and as the reasons I have given are related both to public policy and the Board of Governors, I feel accordingly justified in sending a copy of this letter to the chairman, Mr. Rene Morin, for his information.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) D. W. BUCHANAN

W. E. Gladstone Murray, Esq.,
General Manager,
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

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