

time, it has been decided, agreeably to all concerned, that Dr. Frank Stanton will present the first position paper. His subject is "The Equal Time Requirements of Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934."

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Springer?

Mr. SPRINGER. I take it you had intended that the questions would start tomorrow afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, unless we need some clarification. Then after getting Dean Barrow's attention, you would direct the question for clarification.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I think the questioning probably will be rather extensive in some instances. Are all of these panelists going to be present tomorrow afternoon at the time of the questioning? I think that is very important.

The CHAIRMAN. We hope they will be.

Mr. SPRINGER. Will Dr. Stanton be here, may I ask?

Dean BARROW. Dr. Stanton will not be here, and Mr. Lower will not be here.

Mr. SPRINGER. Is there going to be a chance to ask these people questions who will not be here tomorrow? I think that is very important. I think much more will be brought out in questioning than will be brought out in statements.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that for so many days you can file any question you want to and we will ask any of the members of the panel to give us answers. I will say when there is a specific question to ask Dr. Stanton after he delivers his paper, we might permit that. Otherwise, we just would not get through the panel if we interrupted it with questions. I think we can take down the questions as we go along and get the answers supplied for the record.

#### **PAPER NO. 2—DR. FRANK STANTON: THE EQUAL TIME REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 315 OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934**

Dr. STANTON. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, Mr. Moderator, and fellow panel members, we owe a debt to Congressman Staggers, as chairman, and the other members of this subcommittee, for their foresight and concern in initiating and conducting this inquiry.

There has been no scarcity of literature on the general subject of equal time. It has been the thorniest and most persistent problem in broadcasting since World War II. It has been the subject of repeated hearings, and of no less than 66 bills in one or both sessions of 11 successive Congresses. Much of this has generated more heat than light, however, because it was created in an atmosphere of crisis, complaint, or criticism. An exploratory session like this, giving us an opportunity to take a clear look at where we are, where we have been, and where we might go, with a view toward making the broadcast media more effective instruments in the democratic process, can be enormously helpful in the definition and construction of public policy.

No step in self-government is more vital than elections. They are the very core of democracy. Although we are a society governed by laws and not by men, it is necessarily men who enact the laws, who administer them, and who interpret them. And sooner or later, ac-