Political Broadcast Primer, Political B/cing Primer, Political Cablecasting

Statutes, rules and policies on political broadcasting and cablecasting, and their application in particular situations, is explained in new and revised edition of the political 'primer'.

FCC 78-523

BEFORE THE

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Washington, D.C. 20554

PUBLIC NOTICE:

THE LAW OF POLITICAL BROADCASTING AND CABLECASTING

(Adopted: July 20, 1978; Released: August 16, 1978) (43 FR 36342)

BY THE COMMISSION:

Following is the Federal Communications Commission's primer on broadcasts and cablecasts by and about candidates for public office.

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PART I.—INTRODUCTION

A.—Purpose of Primer

The FCC has prepared this booklet to inform you of the law on broadcasts and cablecasts by candidates for public office. The booklet, which we call the Primer, also includes the Commission's most important rulings and statements of policy on political broadcasting. In most cases, specific examples are given of how the law and the rules apply—sometimes in question and answer form—so as to make the Primer as understandable as possible. In the discussion of most questions in Part III, you will see citations to FCC rulings or court decisions so that you can review the full text of the ruling or decision if you wish to do so.¹

The Primer is organized according to subject matter so that the questions and answers about each aspect of political broadcasting are together. When necessary, cross references are made to other parts of the Primer, Unlike former editions, the Primer has an index.

The Primer cites only current interpretations of the law. Unlike former Primers, it omits old decisions that have been overruled, because citing them would tend to confuse the reader. On the other hand, this Primer includes many new rulings issued by the Commission since the last edition was published.

1.—All Political Laws and Rules Covered

This is the first Primer that tries to deal with all laws, rules and policies about political broadcasting. This includes not only "equal time" and "censorship," but "reasonable access" for candidates for Federal office, the rates that may be charged candidates for time, the fairness doctrine as it applies to political campaigns, the personal attack and political editorializing rules, and the rules on sponsorship identification, logging of broadcasts and keeping a public file as they apply to broadcasts and cablecasts by or about political candidates.

Some Federal laws on political elections are not administered by this Commission, but rather by the Federal Election Commission. Even though our agency does not administer these laws, we have included short discussions of two of them in this Primer for your information.

2.—How the Primer Is Organized

Part I of the Primer is titled "Introduction." It includes the preceding introductory passages as well as an explanation of the importance of political broadcasting, instructions on where and how to file complaints and inquiries, and the text of the sections of the

¹ This Primer serves as an accurate restatement of existing rules and precedent. The Commission's decisions summarized in this document were reached in specific factual contexts, and may contain concurring and dissenting views. Any reader having questions about the interpretations set forth in this Primer should examine the text of the specific case(s) cited.

Communications Act of 1934 that govern political broadcasting and cablecasting.

Part II is a general summary of political broadcasting and cablecasting law. In it, we cover the main points of the laws and rules on this subject in language that we hope the non-lawyer can readily understand.

Part III is in 13 parts, each of which takes up a different aspect of political broadcasting and cablecasting law. It gives the law in much greater detail than does Section II, and it gives examples of how the law has been applied to specific situations. It also gives citations to the FCC rulings and court decisions that are the authority for the statements of law made in that Section.

The Appendix contains the Commission Rules and Regulations interpreting and administering the sections of the Communications Act that apply to political broadcasting and cablecasting.

Finally, there is an Index which we hope will enable you to find the answers to your questions quickly.

B.—The Importance of Political Broadcasting

Congress has recognized the great importance of political broadcasting by passing laws which establish stricter standards for this type of broadcast and cablecast than for any other. Most of these are in Section 315 of the Communications Act, which requires "equal opportunities" for candidates, forbids censorship of what they say, and puts a ceiling on the amounts that stations and cable systems may charge them for time. Another section of the Communications Act dealing with political broadcasts, 312(a)(7), requires stations to give or sell "reasonable access" to candidates for Federal elective office.

The U.S. Supreme Court also has recognized the great importance to the public of political broadcasts in more than one decision. For example, it held that since Section 315 forbids a station to censor a candidate's broadcasts and since stations should not be discouraged from carrying these broadcasts, a station was not subject to libel suits for anything that a candidate might broadcast. Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union v. WDAY, Inc., 360 U.S. 525 (1959).

The FCC itself has stressed the importance of political broadcasting many times. In one statement, it said:

In short, the presentation of political broadcasting, while only one of the many elements of service to the public * * * is an important facet, deserving the licensee's closest attention, because of the contribution broadcasting can thus make to an informed electorate—in turn so vital to the proper functioning of our Republic. Licensee Responsibility as to Political Broadcasts, 15 F.C.C. 2d 94 (1968).

Because of the importance of political broadcasts, the Broadcast Bureau and the Office of General Counsel have been given joint responsibility to issue rulings in the broadcasting field under authority delegated to them by the Commission, and to make recommendations to the Commission itself on the major cases which go to it for decisions rather than to the staff. Complaints and inquiries about political broadcasting and cablecasting are given special priority by the Commission so that rulings can be made on all complaints in time to put the rulings into effect before election day.

C .- Where to Send Complaints and Inquiries

Although we have tried to cover the most important, difficult and frequently asked questions about the laws on political broadcasts in this Primer, each day usually brings at least one new question of interpretation. If you have a question about the law on political broadcasts and cannot find the answer in this Primer, or if you have a complaint on this subject, write to:

Complaints and Compliance Division Broadcast Bureau Federal Communications Commission 1919 M Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20554

If you have a question or complaint in connection with cable systems, write to:

Policy Review and Development Division Cable Television Bureau Federal Communications Commission 1919 M Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20554

If time is short and does not permit use of the mails, you can obtain an oral staff opinion or ruling by placing a telephone call to (202) 632-7586, the Fairness/Political Broadcasting Branch of the Complaints and Compliance Division. If your complaint or question is about a cable origination, call (202) 632-6468.

D.—How To File a Complaint

No special form is needed for filing complaints about political broadcasting or cablecasting. However, in order to speed up our handling of complaints, we recommend that you follow these steps:

- (1) Before complaining to the Commission, complain to the station or cable operator that you believe has denied you your legal rights. We encourage negotiation between candidates and stations or cable operators and have found that many disputes can be settled in that way, without our intervening.
- (2) When you do file a complaint with the Commission, send a copy to the station or cable operator at the same time.
- (3) The complainant and the station or cable operator should continue to send copies to each other of all correspondence between them and the Commission, thus saving time in settling the complaint.
- (4) Unless it is within the last few days before an election so that a written complaint might arrive too late to be acted upon,

send your complaint in writing. It should contain (i) the name. address and telephone number of the complainant; (ii) the call letters (or name) and location (city and State) of the station or cable operator; (iii) a detailed statement of the facts of the case, including the public office involved, the date and kind of election to be held (primary or general election), and whether the complainant and his opponent or opponents are legally qualified candidates for public office under the laws of their State. When the complainant is seeking "equal opportunity," he or she should give the dates of prior broadcasts or cable originations, if any, by his or her opponents, the date on which a request for equal opportunities was made to the station or cable operator, and the reasons the station or cable operator gave for refusing the request. Where the complainant alleges denial of "lowest unit rate" or, if a candidate for federal office, denial of "reasonable access," the complainant should furnish all essential facts on which the complaint is based.

E.—Sections 315 and 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act

Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, follows:

- (a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station: *Provided*, That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is imposed under this subsection upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate. Appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any—
 - (1) bona fide newscast,
 - (2) bona fide news interview,
 - (3) bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or
 - (4) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto), shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station within the meaning of this subsection. Nothing in the foregoing sentence shall be construed as relieving broadcasters, in connection with the presentation of newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries, and on-the-spot coverage of news events, from the obligation imposed upon them under this chapter to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.
- (b) The charges made for the use of any broadcasting station by any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, or election, to such office shall not exceed—
 - (1) during the 45 days preceding the date of a primary or primary runoff election and during the 60 days preceding the date of general or special election in

which such person is a candidate, the lowest unit charge of the station for the same class and amount of time for the same period; and

- (2) at any other time, the charges made for comparable use of such station by other users thereof.
- (c) For purposes of this section-
- (1) the term "broadcasting station" includes a community antenna television system; and
- (2) the terms "licensee" and "station licensee" when used with respect to a community antenna television system mean the operator of such system.
- (d) The Commission shall prescribe appropriate rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this section.

Section 312 of the Communications Act states in part:

- (a) The Commission may revoke any station license or construction permit-* * *
- (7) for willful or repeated failure to allow reasonable access to or to permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time for the use of a broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for Federal elective office on behalf of his candidacy.

PART II.—GENERAL SUMMARY OF POLITICAL BROADCASTING AND CABLECASTING LAW

This part of the Primer is a general statement of the law of political broadcasting and cablecasting. It covers the most important parts of the law, but it does not give a detailed explanation of how it applies to every situation and it does not deal with some of the exceptions that must be made in applying the law. Therefore, it must not be taken as a definitive statement for legal reference purposes. For that, see Part III, which discusses the law in detail, explains how it applies to specific situations, and cites the statutes, rules, court decisions and Commission rulings which give it legal authority.

A.—Equal Time? Equal Opportunities? Fairness Doctrine?

Many people confuse the "fairness doctrine" with the law on political broadcasting, or think that the phrase "equal time" covers both of them. Although the fairness doctrine applies in some ways to political broadcasting, the law on broadcasts by political candidates requires "equal opportunities," which is different from the fairness doctrine. It also is not exactly the same as "equal time," although that is the phrase many people use. Here are short definitions of these three terms:

Fairness Doctrine.—It applies to issues rather than persons, and it does not require either "equal time" or "equal opportunities." It does require a broadcaster to provide "reasonable opportunity" for the presentation of conflicting views on the important controversial public issues in his area. "Reasonable opportunity" does not necessarily mean "equal time."

Equal time.—The law never uses this phrase. It uses the broader term, "equal opportunities."

Equal opportunities.—If a candidate obtains time on a station, other candidates for the same office may obtain "equal opportunities" on the station. Equal opportunities usually include equal time, but the term means more than equal time. For example, it means the right to obtain time in a period likely to attract approximately the same size audience as the period in which the opposing candidate appeared.

B.—The Purpose of the Law

Congress adopted the law on political broadcasting and cablecasting to achieve these basic purposes:

- 1. Prevent discrimination between competing candidates by broadcasting stations and cable systems operators;
- 2. Make sure that candidates are allowed to speak freely on the air without censorship by broadcasters or cable operators;
- 3. Guarantee time rates to political candidates as favorable as those offered by broadcasters and cable operators to their most favored advertisers;
- 4. Make sure that candidates for Federal elective office are given or sold reasonable amounts of time for their campaigns.

Sections 312 and 315 of the Communications Act contain the laws which Congress passed in order to achieve these purposes. These two sections are reproduced in Part I of the Primer. Section 315 deals with equal opportunities, freedom of candidates from censorship, the maximum rates that may be charged candidates for time, and news programs that are exempt from the equal opportunities requirement. Section 312(a)(7) requires that candidates for Federal elective office be given "reasonable access" on an unpaid basis or be allowed to buy "reasonable amounts of time" in which to promote their candidacies. All of these requirements apply only to programs or announcements in which legally qualified candidates appear in person or by tape or film. Therefore, before further discussion of other parts of Sections 312 and 315, we must explain what a "legally qualified candidate for public office" is, and to what kinds of broadcasts by candidates the law refers. We also must explain which candidates are considered to be opposing candidates so as to be entitled to equal opportunities.

C.—Legally Qualified Candidates

The first requirement for becoming a legally qualified candidate for nomination or election to an office is to be eligible under the law to hold the office if elected to it. Local, state or federal law will apply here, depending on what office the person is seeking. For example, the Commission once ruled that a minor party's candidate for President who was 31 years old was not a legally qualified candidate for President because the United States Constitution states that no one may become President unless he or she is at least 35 years old.

The second requirement is to announce that one is a candidate for nomination or for election.

The third requirement is more complicated, and it depends on whether (a) a person is seeking final election to an office or nomination to run for election, and (b) if he or she is seeking nomination, whether the nomination will be decided by a primary election or by a party convention or caucus.

To be a legally qualified candidate for *election* to office, a person must either quality for a place on the ballot under State laws or must publicly commit him or herself to seeking election as a write-in candidate and be eligible under State law to be voted for by this method. Write-in candidates also must make a "substantial showing" that they are serious ("bona fide") candidates for election. A "substantial showing" will depend on the facts of each case. In one case, the Commission decided that a write-in candidate had made a substantial showing by making campaign speeches, distributing campaign literature, issuing press releases and maintaining a campaign committee.

Another complication arises when we consider persons who claim to be legally qualified candidates for election to the Presidency or Vice Presidency of the United States. The same rules apply to them in individual States as to candidates for other offices about becoming eligible by getting a place on the ballot, qualifying as write-in candidates, etc. However, they are running for election nationally and a question arises as to which States they will be considered legally qualified candidates in, and thus be entitled to equal opportunities, low political time rates, "reasonable access," etc. The Commission has interpreted the law as meaning that if a person is a legally qualified candidate under its rules for President or Vice President in 10 or more States, he or she will be considered a legally qualified candidate in all States. If he or she is a legally qualified candidate in fewer than 10 States, then he or she will be treated as a legally qualified candidate only in those States in which he or she is qualified.

Next, let's consider candidates for *nomination* to office. If the nominees are selected in a primary election, the same rules apply as for candidates for *election* to office. If the nominees are named by a party convention or caucus, the person claiming to be a legally qualified candidate for nomination must make a substantial showing that he or she is a serious candidate for the nomination.

Persons seeking nomination for the Presidency or Vice Presidency are considered legally qualified candidates for nomination in (1) those States in which they (or their proposed delegates) have qualified for the primary or Presidential preference ballot or (2) those States in which they have made a substantial showing of being serious candidates for nomination. They will be considered legally qualified candidates for nomination in all States if they have qualified in 10 or more States. Otherwise, they will be considered legally qualified

candidates for nomination only in those States in which they have met the standards for qualification.

D.—Who are "Opposing Candidates?"

Section 315 says that if one legally qualified candidate uses a station, the station must allow all other legally qualified candidates for "that office" to have equal opportunities. The FCC and the Federal courts have interpreted this requirement to apply only to candidates who are directly opposing each other for nomination or for election. During the pre-nomination period, only the candidates seeking nomination for the same office by the same party are opposing candidates. For example, candidates seeking the nomination of the "Good Government Party" for sheriff are not opposing candidates to those seeking nomination for sheriff by the "Square Deal Party." After each party has nominated its candidate, their two nominees will then become opposing candidates in the campaign for election to the office.

Confusion also sometimes arises over whether candidates for election to one office are entitled to opportunities equal to those given to candidates for election to a different office. For example, candidates for the State legislature in one district may think they are entitled to as much time on stations in that district as the candidates for Governor of the State. A station must give all candidates for State legislature the same opportunities but it affords any one candidate for State legislature in that district, but the licensee of the station may make his own decision on whether the candidates for Governor should be afforded more time than the candidates for State legislature, based on his judgment of the importance of the races and the amount of public interest in them. There is one exception to this. Section 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act requires that all candidates for Federal elective office, such as for President, Senator or Congressman, be allowed "reasonable access" to the air or be allowed to buy "reasonable amounts of time."

E.—Laws Apply Only to Appearances by Candidates

The political broadcasting laws that we are discussing here apply only to programs or announcements in which candidates take part personally, either by voice or picture. The laws apply regardless of what the candidates talk about. The FCC and the courts have held that any kind of an appearance counts as a "use" of a station under Section 315. If an actor or comedian is a legally qualified candidate for public office in a State, his appearance in a motion picture drama or comedy on a TV station in that State will entitle his political opponents to equal opportunities on that station, even if no mention of his candidacy is made in the motion picture.

In order for a political program or announcement to qualify for political time rates, equal opportunities, etc., the candidate must take part in it in such a way that the audience will recognize his voice or picture. Even if his voice merely states who is the sponsor of a paid political announcement, this will be sufficient, provided that he identifies himself by name or his voice is so well known that the audience will recognize it. However, in order for Sections 312 and 315 to apply to a whole program, the candidate must play a greater role. His appearance must be "substantial in length" and be an essential part of the program, and the program must be under his control and direction.

There is a major exception to the above statements which should be mentioned at this point. The "equal opportunities" law does not apply to four kinds of news programs. A personal appearance by a candidate on any of the following kinds of programs does not require that equal opportunities be given to his opponents:

newscast;
news interview;
news documentary—"if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the
presentation of the subject covered by the news documentary";
on-the-spot coverage of news event.

Thus, if a station interviews a candidate or uses an excerpt from his speech on any of these kinds of programs, Section 315 in itself will not require the station to do anything for opposing candidates for that office. However, the fairness doctrine may require that the station devote some time to the campaigns of other candidates, as will be explained in that part of the Primer.

F.—What Are "Equal Opportunities"?

Section 315 of the Communications Act requires that candidates for the same office be given equal opportunities in using a station or cable system. As explained above, "equal opportunities" does not always mean the same as "equal time." It usually means more. For example, if Candidate Smith buys 30 minutes of prime time on a TV station for \$500, but the station charges his opponent Jones \$600 for the same time period, Jones has not received an equal opportunity. Or, if the station refuses to sell Jones any prime time but offers him only such periods as 1:00-1:30 a.m. or 6:00-6:30 a.m. it will not be giving him an equal opportunity in the use of the station because late-night and early-morning programs are likely to have smaller audiences on television than those in prime time periods.

The Commission's rules forbid any discrimination between candidates in rates or in any other way. They also forbid a selling one candidate so much time that there is none left for his opponents. The rules do not require a station to sell or give a candidate any particular time period, or even to make available exactly the same time period that was sold or given to his opponent. The station must, however, make periods that normally have comparable audiences available to competing candidates upon request. As will be noted further along in this part of the Primer, a candidate must request his "equal

opportunities" within seven days of his opponent's use of a station, and the station need not notify a candidate of his opponent's broadcasts. The opponent can learn this by looking at the station's "political file," which must be made available at the station for public inspection.

G.—Censorship of Candidates Not Permitted

Section 315 says that the licensee of a station "shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast" by legally qualified candidates for public office. This applies to "uses" of stations by candidates themselves. It does not apply to appearances by candidates on any of the exempt news programs. A station's news editor who chooses to use an excerpt from a candidate's speech on a newscast may edit the excerpt as is usual in preparing a news program, but if the candidate appears on any program except an exempt news program, the station cannot edit his material in any way or limit what he talks about. It cannot refuse to carry his broadcast even if it contains libelous material or is vulgar or in "bad taste." It cannot require the candidate to appear either live or on tape, or even ask to preview his script or pre-audition his tape or film, except to learn (1) whether it contains the required sponsorship identification (if it is paid for); (2) whether it is the agreed-upon length for the period reserved for it, or (3) whether the candidate himself will appear on the program so that it becomes a "use" and is subject to equal opportunities, the political time rate, etc. Since a station may not censor what a candidate says, the station itself cannot be held liable in a civil suit for any libelous statements the candidate makes.

It should be noted that the non-censorship part of Section 315 applies only to announcements or programs in which a candidate himself takes part and which are not exempt news programs. If the broadcast is by someone else, the non-censorship provision does not apply and the station is not protected against libel suits by the Supreme Court decision. Therefore, the station may refuse to broadcast an announcement or program if its licensee believes it contains libelous or false statements, provided that the station is acting in good faith and is complying with the Fairness Doctrine.

H.-Rates To Be Charged for Time

A station or cable system is never allowed to charge a candidate more for time than it would charge a regular commercial advertiser, and during some periods it must give candidates the benefit of volume discounts that a commercial advertiser might not get. These limitations on rates apply to programs or announcements on which a candidate appears in person, not to appearances by others speaking in his behalf, with one exception that will be explained when we take up the Fairness Doctrine.

Specifically, a station may never charge candidates more than it would charge anyone else for "comparable use" of the station. For example, if a station sells a single spot announcement for \$10 but

reduces the rate to \$7.50 if an advertiser buys 10 spots, a candidate will pay \$10 for a single spot but will receive the discounted rate of \$7.50 if he or she buys 10. However, during the 45 days preceding a primary election and the 60 days preceding a general election, the station may not charge a candidate more than its "lowest unit charge" for "the same class and amount of time for the same period." This means that if a radio station charges \$10 for a one-minute spot at 8 a.m. on week days but only \$7.50 if the advertiser buys 10 of these spots, it must sell one spot to a political candidate at its lowest unit rate, which in this case is \$7.50. Even if a station gives a special low rate to only one advertiser, it must base its rate to candidates on this special low rate, not its average rate. If a station has a special "package" plan which offers advertisers a discount if they buy, say, 12 spots a day, of which three are in morning "drive time", three are mid-day, three are in afternoon "drive time" and three in the evening, it must make the same package rate available to candidates on a proportionate basis. That is, if a candidate wants to buy four spots a day, one in each time period, he may buy them for one-third of the cost of the 12-spot package. However, he cannot get the discount package rate if he wants all of his spots broadcast in the more desirable morning or afternoon "drive time."

I.—How Much Time Must a Station Provide?

Congress, the United States Supreme Court and the FCC all have made clear the fact that a broadcasting station must "afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance", and that this obligation applies especially to political broadcasting. The language in quotation marks in the previous sentence is from Section 315 of the Communications Act. The U.S. Supreme Court has recognized the importance of political broadcasts in major decisions. The FCC has stated that political broadcasting is one of the major elements of a station's service to the public "because of the contribution broadcasting can make to an informed electorate—in turn so vital to the proper functioning of our Republic."

Thus, the Commission expects broadcasters to devote substantial amounts of time to broadcasts by and about candidates for public office. Some programs and announcements that are regularly sponsored by commercial advertisers may have to be canceled to make room for political broadcasts during a campaign. Also, it is no excuse to claim that a station's program format prevents it from carrying anything longer than spot announcements by candidates.

The law on this subject applies to all candidates for public office, but it applies in a different way to candidates for Federal elective office. In 1972 Congress amended the Communications Act to state that the Commission may revoke a station's license for

* * * willful or repeated failure to allow reasonable access to or to permit

purchase of reasonable amounts of time for the use of the broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for Federal elective office on behalf of his candidacy.

This law applies to "uses" (appearances by candidates themselves on programs). It does not apply to appearances by supporters or spokesmen of candidates. It does not require a station to provide free time—only that it either *give* "reasonable access" or *sell* "reasonable amounts of time."

What "reasonable access" is will depend on the circumstances of each case. For example, a station with a signal that covers many jurisdictions in which many candidates are running for office may not be expected to make as much time available to each Federal candidate as a station with fewer candidates to cover. The Commission relies first of all on the reasonable, good faith judgment of broadcasters in deciding what reasonable access is in any particular situation. However, broadcasters should be guided by certain principles in making this judgment, and the Commission will use these principles in deciding whether a broadcaster's judgment has been reasonable.

Among these principles are the following:

- 1. Unless there are unusual circumstances, such as the presence during a campaign of a great many candidates, stations must make available "prime-time" program time. "Prime time" means the evening hours on TV when the audience is usually greatest. It normally means time on radio when most people are driving to and from work.
- 2. Commercial stations must *always* make prime-time spot announcements available.
- 3. Stations may not adopt a policy of rejecting requests by Federal candidates for types, lengths and classes of time that they normally sell to commercial advertisers.
- 4. Stations must provide reasonable access at least during the 45 days before a primary election and the 60 days before a general election. The Commission will decide on a case-by-case basis whether they need to provide access before these periods. It will also decide when access must begin before a convention if candidates are to be chosen in that way.
- 5. Non-commercial educational stations have the same obligations as commercial stations. However, they need not make available lengths of program time that are not consistent with their normal program schedules, and even if they usually broadcast spot promotional or public service announcements, they generally do not need to make spot announcements available to political candidates. However, a non-commercial station may not reject anything submitted by a candidate just because it was originally prepared for broadcast on a commercial station.
- 6. A federal candidate need not be given or sold any particular position on a station's schedule. For example, he or she need not be given a spot immediately next to the most popular program

on a station. If he or she could, it might become impossible to give "equal opportunities" to other candidates for the same office if they demanded spots next to this program.

The law does not require a station to make time available to candidates in every state, county and local race. However, since political broadcasting is considered so important and since many state and local races are of great importance and interest to the people in those areas, the Commission expects broadcasters to make time available for candidates in these races on the basis of the importance of the races and the public interest in them.

A station does not need to make time available to candidates in every race, however. If it gives time to candidates in a certain race, it need not sell them time, and it does not need either to give or sell time in a particular position on the station's schedule.

J.—The "Seven-Day Rule"

The so-called "seven-day rule" requires a candidate who wants equal opportunities to make his request within one week of the day on which his opponent made his broadcast or cablecast. Thus, if Candidate A has been making broadcasts on a station for five weeks and his opponent B does not request equal opportunities until the end of the fifth week, B is entitled only to the amount of time that A has used during the fifth week. The Commission adopted this rule so that broadcasters and cable system operators could make orderly plans in advance for allocating time to candidates. It also wanted to make sure that one candidate did not "lie in the bushes" until a day or two before election and then gain an unfair advantage over his opponent by demanding and getting a block of more valuable last-minute time, equal to all of the time his opponent used during the whole campaign.

The rule applies only to persons who are legally qualified candidates at the time one of them makes a broadcast or cablecast. If A is a legally qualified candidate and makes a broadcast on August 1, and B does not become a legally qualified candidate under the laws of that state until August 2, B is not entitled to equal opportunities, no matter how quickly he files his request. However, if A makes a second broadcast on August 3, B is entitled to equal opportunities if he files his request by August 10.

If A makes a broadcast on August 1 but does not become a legally qualified candidate until August 2 and if B is a legally qualified candidate on August 1, B is not entitled to equal opportunities on the basis of A's August 1 broadcast, because A was not a legally qualified candidate on that date.

There is one further complication to the rule. It says that the request must be submitted within one week of the "first prior use" which created the right of equal opportunities. Notice that word "first." Here is an example:

On August 1, A, B and C all are legally qualified candidates for the

same office. A makes a broadcast on August 1. On August 5, B requests equal opportunities on the basis of A's broadcast. The station agrees, but B does not use his time until August 15. On August 10, C makes a request for equal opportunities, claiming that his request should be granted because it was made within seven days of B's request. The rule does not require the station to grant C's request because the seven-day rule is not based on the time a request is made by another candidate. It is based on the date the time is used. Even if C had made another request on August 16, based on B's broadcast of August 15, C still would not be entitled to equal opportunities because he was a candidate on August 1, the date of "the first prior use," and he did not submit his request by August 8. The seven-day rule would have little meaning if each broadcast base on an earlier broadcast by some one else were allowed to trigger still another grant of equal opportunities so that these requests could go on and on. Here C was a legally qualified candidate on August 1 and could have made his request within the following week. On the other hand, if C had not been a legally qualified candidate on August 1 but became one between that date and B's broadcast on August 15, then C could have made a valid request at any time within one week after August 15.

When a station or cable system sells or gives time to a candidate, it need not notify his opponent. It is up to the candidates themselves to keep track of what their opponents are doing. They can do this by having their campaign workers make frequent inspections of the public files of stations within their campaign area. Stations and cable systems must keep a record of all requests by candidates for free or paid time and what results from the request, including the rates charged for the time if it is sold. This is the so-called "political file," which stations and cable systems must keep available for public inspection during regular business hours.

K.—Political Editorials

A political editorial is a statement by or on behalf of the licensee of a broadcasting station or the operator of a cable system which endorses or opposes a candidate. It is not a statement by a commentator or another employee of a station, unless it is represented to be the statement of the licensee or cable operator. However, if the president of a station broadcasts a statement or interview in which he endorses or opposes a candidate, it will be considered to fall within the Commission's political editorializing rule, even though it is not labeled an editorial.

The rule does not forbid broadcasting or cablecasting political editorials. It requires only that a broadcaster or cable operator who broadcasts an editorial endorsing or opposing a candidate send to candidates for the same office who are opposed or not endorsed in the editorial the following within 24 hours after the editorial is broadcast:

(a) notification of the date and time of the editorial;

(b) a script or tape of the editorial;

(c) an offer of an opportunity for the candidate or his spokesman to respond over the station or cable system.

If a political editorial is broadcast within 72 hours of election day, the broadcaster or cable operator must comply with these requirements far enough in advance of the broadcast or cablecast to give the other candidates a "reasonable opportunity to prepare a response and present it in a timely fashion"—that is, before election day.

Note that the candidate need not be given a chance to deliver his response to the editorial in person. If he did, his opponent or opponents could demand "equal time" under Section 315 of the Communications Act, and since the licensee or cable operator could not censor their material they could use the time as they saw fit in order to promote their campaigns.

An editorial may fall within the political editorializing rule even if it does not endorse or oppose a candidate directly. If the statement, in effect, endorses or opposes a candidate, it will be considered a political editorial. For example, when two members of a Board of Town Commissioners were running for reelection and a station broadcast an editorial criticizing the present board and urging the public to vote for "a change," the Commission ruled that even though the two present Board members were not named, the editorial was in effect a statement of the licensee's opposition to their reelection and therefore was a political editorial. In another case, on the day before a primary election for nomination for governor, a station broadcast an editorial strongly criticizing one candidate's record as county prosecuting attorney. Although the editorial did not mention the fact that he was now a candidate for nomination for governor, the Commission ruled that the editorial was a political one.

L.—Personal Attacks

The Commission's personal attack rule does not apply to attacks made by candidates or their campaign associates on other candidates or their associates. However, attacks that do not come within this exemption sometimes are broadcast during political campaigns, so we will explore the subject briefly. Under the Commission's rules a personal attack is an attack on the "honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an identified person or group," when the attack is made during discussion of a controversial public issue.

The rules do not prohibit the broadcast of personal attacks. They do require a station that broadcasts an attack to do the following within one week after the attack is broadcast:

- (a) Notify the person or group attacked of the date, time and title of the program on which the attack was made;
- (b) Send the person attacked a script or tape of the attack, or an accurate summary if neither of these is available;

(c) Offer the person attacked a "reasonable opportunity" to answer the attack over the station.

If someone broadcasts an attack against a candidate, the station need not invite the candidate to appear personally to answer the attack. If he did, all other candidates for the same office would be entitled to equal opportunities under Section 315 of the Communications Act. Therefore, a station can comply with the rule by allowing a spokesman for the candidate to respond.

One more point: the personal attack rule does not apply to attacks made during newscasts, news interviews, and on-the-spot coverage of news events. This exemption includes news commentary or analysis when it is broadcast within an exempt news program. The exemption does not include station editorials.

M.—The Fairness Doctrine

As explained at the beginning of this part of the Primer, the fairness doctrine does not require equal time. It requires that a broadcaster devote a substantial amount of time to discussion of the most important controversial issues in his or her area, and that a station which presents one side of an issue give reasonable opportunity for presenting contrasting views on that issue. The station need not give equal time to opposing views or present opposing views in the same program if it presents them in its overall programming. The licensee of a station is allowed to choose the controversial issues to be discussed, the program formats to be used in discussing them, and the persons who will present the various views on them. The Commission merely reviews the licensees' decisions to decide if they have been reasonable and made in good faith.

The fairness doctrine does not apply to personal appearances of candidates unless they appear on the news-type programs listed in Section 315 of the Communications Act, which are exempt from the equal opportunities requirement of that section. Otherwise, candidates are entitled to "equal opportunities," which is in some ways a stricter requirement than the fairness doctrine. In applying the fairness doctrine to news coverage of candidates, stations may use their judgment as to which candidates are most newsworthy and significant. Therefore, they do not need to give all candidates the same amount of coverage.

There is one political situation to which the Commission applies the fairness doctrine in a special way so that it becomes much the same as "equal opportunities." There is where Candidate A or his supporters buy time in which to urge the election of A or to criticize his opponent B, but A does not appear on the broadcast in person. If B or his supporters then ask to buy time, they must be allowed to buy the same amount. Similarly, if A's supporters have received free time, B's supporters must be given an equal amount in a comparable time period. The Commission has recognized that, although the candidates

themselves do not appear in this situation, it is in "the political arena" and should fall within the equal opportunities requirement.

N.—Identifying Sponsors of Broadcasts and Cablecasts

When a station or cable system is paid to broadcast anything, the station or system must announce that the broadcast is paid for and who paid for it. This law applies to paid political broadcasts as well as to other sponsored programs and spots. Here are some examples of how the sponsorship identification requirement applies to political broadcasts and cablecasts:

- (a) Merely stating that "The following is a paid political announcement" does not comply with the law because it doesn't say who paid for it.
- (b) Merely adding a statement at end of a spot of program that says, "Authority, Blank Campaign Committee, John Smith, Treasurer" does not comply because it doesn't say that anyone paid for it.
- (c) Giving the sponsorship identification in such small type on television that the average viewer cannot read it, or leaving it on the screen too briefly to be read, does not comply, because in neither case is the public informed that the program or spot is paid for and by whom.

The Communications Act requires that stations and cable systems make the above sponsorship identification. The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA), which is administered by the Federal Election Commission, has different requirements which apply to candidates and persons who buy time for them. The announcements required by the FECA require that persons buying time state whether a paid message supporting one candidate or opposing another has been authorized by the candidate. The FCC and the FEC have issued a joint Public Notice which gives examples of the ways in which the requirements of both acts may be met in a single announcement.

If a program is both paid for and authorized by a candidate or his committee, an announcement that it is paid for or sponsored by him or the committee will be sufficient since it will be assumed that the candidate or committee that paid for it also authorized it. However, when a third party pays for a program or announcement that is authorized by a candidate or his committee, an announcement like this is required:

Paid for (or sponsored) by (name of third party) and authorized by (name of candidate or committee).

If the program is paid for by a third party but not authorized by any candidate or any candidate's committee, an announcement like this would comply with both the FCC and the FEC requirements:

Paid for (or sponsored) by (name of sponsor/payor) and not authorized by any candidate.

These are merely examples of ways in which both laws may be complied with in a single announcement. Broadcast stations and cable operators are responsible for making sure that an announcement is given that identifies who paid for a program or announcement. Candidates or their committees—or an outside party paying for the broadcast—are responsible for revealing whether the program or announcement was authorized by the candidate or his committee.

O.-Miscellaneous Rules and Policies

Broadcasting stations and cable systems must keep public political files that reveal all requests for time made by or on behalf of political candidates and what the outcome of the request was; that is, what was broadcast, if anything, and when it was broadcast, and what charges, if any, were made by the station or cable system. Gifts of time to candidates, whether requested or not, also must be recorded in this file. All of this information must be entered in the file as soon as possible.

Broadcasting stations also must make a record in their program logs of all programs on which political candidates appear, together with the name and political affiliation (party) of the candidate. If the candidate is an independent the log should list him or her as one.

Broadcasting stations do not need to log the length of the "commercial time" in a political program, but they must log the commercial time of political announcements. The Commission does not require broadcasters to compute the commercial time in either political or religious programs because it is sometimes impossible to determine what is "commercial" and what is not in these programs.

PART III.—DETAILED EXPLANATION OF POLITICAL BROADCASTING AND CABLECASTING LAW

A.—Who is a "Legally Qualified Candidate for Public Office"?

Since Sections 315 and 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act apply only to legally qualified candidates for public office, it is important to understand how the Commission and the courts have defined this term. The Commission's rule states, in substance, that a legally qualified candidate is a person:

- * * * who has publicly announced that he is a candidate * * * * and who meets the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate * * * and who:
 - (1) Has qualified for a place on the ballot or
 - (2) Has publicly committed himself to seeking election by the write-in method and is eligible under the applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his name on the ballot, or other method, and makes a substantial showing that he is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office * * *

Note the "ands" and "ors" in the above language. For example, a mere announcement that he is a candidate does not make a person legally qualified for the purposes of our rules. He must also be eligible to hold the office he is seeking and either have qualified for a place on the ballot or have qualified, as explained in (2) above, as a write-in candidate. The Commission will look to the laws of the State in which the election is to be held to determine whether a person has qualified as a candidate, regardless of whether the election is for national, State, county or municipal office. Below are answers to the most frequently asked questions on this subject.

"Public Announcement" of Candidacy

1. A candidate may meet the "public announcement" requirement of the rules by simply stating publicly that he is a candidate for nomination or election to a certain office. Filing the necessary papers or obtaining the required certification under his State's laws in order to qualify for a place on the ballot is considered to be the equivalent of a public announcement of candidacy. However, a public announcement of candidacy will not be presumed to have been made merely because a person is "expected to run" or because some of his friends and associates are seeking support for him in the expectation that he will run. Problems in this area are most likely to arise when a nomination is by convention or caucus instead of by primary election, since a person may be nominated by a convention even if he has made no prior announcement of his candidacy. In its principal ruling on such a situation, the Commission found that President Lyndon B. Johnson was not a "legally qualified candidate for public office" for purposes of Section 315 at the time the TV networks broadcast an interview with him on December 7, 1967, because he had not publicly announced his intention to seek reelection. During the TV interview he refused to speculate about running for reelection and stated that he had not made his decision on the subject. The complainant in the case, who had publicly announced his intention to seek the Democratic Presidential nomination, requested "equal time", contending that he and President Johnson were opposing candidates for the nomination of their party. The Commission ruled that a person was not a legally qualified candidate within the meaning of the statute unless he had publicly announced his intention to be a candidate. The Commission stated that "In this area, there cannot simply be reference to applicable State law, which is the Commission's customary approach in local primary and general elections * * *." It said that unless it held to its long-standing requirement of public announcement of candidacy, a chaotic situation would result. "For example, incumbents often are eligible to run again, and, prior to a determination to seek another term, they may take many preliminary steps of varying nature (e.g., frequent trips to the election State, with speeches, conferences with financial sources and potential delegates) ** * ." The Commission concluded that for it "to attempt to make findings on whether or when the incumbent has become a candidate during this usual, oft-repeated and varying preliminary period would render the statute unworkable. There would

be a continual series of complex factual hearings, whose resolution * * would be most difficult and indeed might remain stubbornly speculative."

In a contrasting case, a person had announced his intention to seek the Democratic party nomination for Governor of New York, but claimed that section 315 did not apply to him, even though his name could be placed on the primary ballot by any one of three different methods. The Commission ruled that since under one of the three methods the persons could become the party's nominee if he received the majority of votes cast at a nominating session of the New York State Democratic Committee since he had no opponents under the other method, it was not unreasonable for the licensee of a station to decide that this person was now a legally qualified candidate for public office, since the Commission's rules state, among other things, that "a legally qualified candidate means any person who has publicly announced that he is a candidate for nomination by a convention of a political party * * * ."2

Who Is Eligible To Hold Office?

- 2. A party's candidate for President was 31 years old and her Vice Presidential running mate was 21 years old. They had publicly announced their candidacies and their party stated that it had filed for ballot status in 15 States, had been certified in 6, and had collected nearly 500,000 signatures on nominating petitions. Were they legally qualified candidates for purposes of section 315 and 312 of the act? No. Under the Commission's rules a person must meet "the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate" before he will be considered a legally qualified candidate. Article II, Section I, Clause 4 of the United States Constitution states, among other things, that no one is eligible to the Office of President "who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years." Article XII of the Constitution states that " * * * no person constitutionally ineligible to the Office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States."
- 3. A station asked whether it was required to sell time to members of the Communist Party who were running for the offices of President and Vice President, in light of the Smith Act.⁴ The Commission replied that Section 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act requires licensees to give or sell reasonable amounts of time to candidates for Federal elective office, including Communist Party candidates if they are otherwise legally qualified to be candidates for the Federal office they

^{- 1} Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, 11 F.C.C. 2d 511, 512-13 (1968), aff'd Eugene McCarthy v. Federal Communications Commission, 390 F.2d 471 (D.C. Cir. 1968); see also, Anthony R. Martin-Trigona, F.C.C. 77-838.

² William Vanden Heuvel, 23 F.C.C. 2d 119 (1970).

³ Socialist Workers Party, 39 F.C.C. 2d 89 (1972).

^{4 18} U.S.C. 2385.

seek. The Smith Act provides criminal penalties for individuals who actively advocate or seek to bring about the overthrow of the Government of the United States, but it does not specifically refer to the Communist Party, and the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the following language from 18 U.S.C. 783 is applicable to the provisions of the Smith Act:

(f) Neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of subsection (a) or subsection (c) of this section or any other criminal statute.⁵

Ballot and Write-In Candidates

4. A candidate need not always be on the ballot to be legally qualified. It depends on the laws of the State in which the election will take place. In some States persons may be voted for as write-in candidates if they have not complied with the requirements for getting their names on the ballot. In such States, if a person makes a public announcement that he or she is a write-in candidate for a certain office, is eligible to hold the office if elected, and makes a "substantial showing" that he is a bona fide candidate who is actively seeking election (such as by establishing campaign headquarters, making campaign speeches, issuing press releases, etc.),6 he will be considered a legally qualified candidate within the meaning of Sections 315 and 312. A mere announcement that he is a write-in candidate, by itself, does not entitle him to equal opportunities or other rights of candidates under the Communications Act. The laws of each State will determine whether on the facts of each case a candidate is entitled to a place on the ballot or, if he cannot qualify for ballot status, whether he may run as a write-in candidate. See rules quoted in the Appendix 1.7

Candidate Must Prove Qualifications

5. A candidate must prove that he is a legally qualified candidate in order to gain his rights under Sections 315 and 312(a)(7). Sections 73.1940 and 76.205 of the rules (47 CFR 73.1940 and 76.205) state that a candidate seeking equal opportunities has the burden of proving that he and his opponents are legally qualified candidates for the same public office. In one case, after qualifying for a place on the ballot for one office in a primary, a candidate notified State officials that he was withdrawing from that race, but later claimed that he had not intended to withdraw. However, the evidence indicated that he was

⁵ Scales v. U.S., 365, U.S. 203 (1961); Ken Bauder (Station WLUC-TV), 62 F.C.C. 2d 849 (1976).

⁶ See 47 CFR 73.1940(a)(5) and 76.5(y)(5) for further information on "substantial showing."

⁷ KGNS, 40 F.C.C. 291 (1952); Socialist Labor Party of America, 40 F.C.C. 239 (1951). For a leading case in which a write-in candidate was held to have made a substantial showing that she was a bona fide candidate, see Socialist Workers Party, 26 F.C.C. 2d 244 (1970).

actually supporting another candidate for that office and personally was now seeking nomination for a different office. The Commission ruled that he was not entitled to the rights of a candidate for the first office because he had not made a clear showing that he was now a legally qualified candidate for that office. In another case, the Commission stated that "where initial doubt is present as to whether in fact a candidate is actually legally qualified for the office he seeks, then it is incumbent upon that candidate to prove his qualifications. Candidates for Nomination by Convention

6. Except for Presidential or Vice Presidential candidates, candidates for nomination by convention or caucus must (i) publicly announce their intention to run for nomination; (ii) be eligible to hold the office they are seeking, and (iii) make a substantial showing that they are bona fide candidates. No one except a Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate will be considered a legally qualified candidate for nomination or caucus earlier than 90 days before the convention or cancers is to begin. 10

Candidates for Presidency and Vice Presidency

lighter of after dishibus. 7. A special situation arises in connection with candidates for President and Vice President, since they are running nationwide. Candidates for nomination to either of these offices must (i) make a public announcement of candidacy; (ii) be eligible to hold the office under the Constitution and other applicable laws and (iii) either the candidates or their proposed delegates must have qualified for the primary or Presidential preference ballot in the State in which they are running or have made a substantial showing of bona fide candidacy in that State, territory or the District of Columbia. Persons will be considered legally qualified candidates for nomination only in the State or States in which they qualify under the above standard, unless they qualify in 10 or more States (or 9 and the District of Columbia), in which event they will be considered legally qualified candidates for nomination in all States, territories and the District of Columbia.11 Candidates for election to the Presidency or Vice Presidency must qualify in the same way as candidates for other offices; that is, make a public announcement of their candidacies, be eligible to hold the offices sought and either qualify for a place on the ballot in the States in which they qualify as candidates, or qualify as write-in candidates by committing themselves to seeking election by that method and making

^{*} Lar Daly, 40 F.C.C. 270 (1956).

^{American Vegetarian Party, 40 F.C.C. 278 (1956); see also Socialist Workers Party, 40 F.C.C. 421 (1964); Raymond Harold Smith, 40 F.C.C. 430 (1964); Frank J. Kuhn, Jr., 48 F.C.C. 2d 433 (1974); Roy Anderson, 14 F.C.C. 2d 1064 (1968), aff'd per curiam, Anderson v. Federal Communications Commission, 403 F.2d 61 (2d Cir. 1968).}

¹⁰ See §§73.1940(a)(3) and 76.5(y)(3) of the rules. Also, §§73.1940(a)(5) and 76.5(y)(5) for "substantial showing."

¹¹ See §§73.1940(a)(4) and 76.5(y)(4) of the rules in the Appendix.

a substantial showing that they are bona fide candidates for election. Like candidates for Presidential or Vice Presidential nomination, they will be considered legally-qualified candidates only in the States in which they have met these requirements unless they meet the requirements in 10 or more States (or 9 and the District of Columbia), in which event they will be considered legally qualified candidates in all States, territories and the District of Columbia. Thus a Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate who qualifies in less than 10 States will be entitled to equal opportunities, freedom from censorship, lowest unit rates, "reasonable access," etc., only in those States in which he or she qualifies, but candidates who qualify in 10 or more States will gain these rights in all States.

- 8. When a State Attorney General or another State official who has authority to decide a candidate's legal qualifications has ruled that a candidate is not legally qualified under the State's election laws, a station normally is not required to make "equal opportunities" available to the candidate. The ruling of the authorized State official will normally be accepted as final unless there is a judicial decision to the contrary.¹³
- 9. A write-in candidate for mayor sought time equal to that given the only two candidates whose names appeared on the ballot. Under-State law, only the two candidates receiving the largest number of votes in the primary election would become the "official candidates" in the final election. The Secretary of State, who was the "Ex-Officio" Chief Elections Officer" of the State, gave an opinion that write-in candidates were not "official candidates" and therefore were not entitled to equal time. However, the licensee of the station sought a ruling from the Commission because the write-in candidate was eligible to hold the office of mayor if elected and his name could be written on the ballot. The Secretary of State's opinion stated only that write-in candidates were not "official candidates" and did not state that they were not "legally qualified candidates." The Commission found that since the candidate here could be voted for by the write-in method and was eligible to hold the office he sought, he might, under FCC rules, be a legally qualified candidate if he made a substantial showing that he was a bona fide candidate.¹⁴ In a contrasting case that arose under the laws of a different State, the Commission held that since the Attorney General of the State had ruled that there was no provision in the law for casting write-in votes in a primary election and that a person did not become a legally qualified candidate in a

¹² See §§73.1940(a)(2) and 76.5(y)(2) of the rules in the Appendix () 100 around hell of

¹³ Socialist Workers Party 40 FCC 280 (1956); Lester Posner; 15 FCC 2d 807 (1968); Malcolm Cornell, 31 FCC 2d 649 (1971). (For an example of a somewhat different result in a case involving a State official's opinion, see part 9.)

¹⁴ Tom Leonard, 29 FCC 2d 177 (1969).

primary until he filed his "notification and declaration paper" with the officer specified by law, the person was not a legally qualified candidate until this paper had been filed.¹⁵

Write-In Candidate Must Declare Self

10. Is a candidate entitled to "equal opportunities" as a write-in candidate while still seeking enough signatures on petitions to qualify for the ballot, if he tells the FCC that he intends to run as a write-in candidate if he fails to obtain a place on the ballot? In a ruling later appealed to the courts, the Commission found that the candidate was not entitled to equal opportunities as a write-in candidate since he intended to seek election by that method only if his current effort to obtain a place on the ballot failed. The candidate appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit. Although for technical legal reasons the court did not vacate the particular Commission ruling that was challenged, it disagreed with the Commission's finding that the appellant could not obtain status as a write-in candidate while seeking ballot status by the petition method. The court said that "a candidate who has not yet qualified for ballot position under State election laws is nevertheless entitled to equal time if he is otherwise eligible under the [write-in rules] and commits himself to seeking election by the write-in method in the subsequent election." The court further stated that "it is sufficient that the candidate indicate to the stations from whom equal time is sought that he will continue to campaign as a write-in candidate regardless of the outcome of his petition efforts. We query whether it would be sufficient for a candidate merely to indicate that, if his petition effort failed, he would be agreeable to voters writing in his name, but that is not the case here. Flory [the candidate] indicated he would continue an active campaign."17 As a result of this decision, the Commission amended its political broadcasting rules regarding the requirements for becoming a write-in candidate to read as quoted in the Appendix to this Primer and require a write-in candidate to have "publicly committed himself to seeking election by the write-in method * * * ."18

Who Is Not A Candidate For Public Office?

11. The names of candidates for delegates to the Democratic National convention did not appear on the ballot in the California Presidential primary. Instead, the electorate voted solely for the candidate for nomination to the Presidency. If one of the presidential candidate's proposed convention delegates appeared on a TV station,

¹⁵ Rady Davis 40 FCC 435 (1965).

¹⁶ Ted Pearson, 48 F.C.C. 2d 1091 (1974), review denied, F.C.C. 74-1087.

¹⁷ Flory v. Federal Communications Commission and the United States of America, 528 F. 2d 124, 131 (7th Cir., 1975).

¹⁸ In the Matter of Amendment of Part 73 of the Commission's Rules, 60 F.C.C. 2d 615 (1976).

would the station have to grant "equal opportunities" to anyone else because of his appearance? No. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General of California stated that: "California does not consider a candidate for delegate on a slate of delegates in a Presidential primary to be a legally qualified candidate for public office." The Commission ruled that in view of this opinion and the facts of the case, broadcasts by a delegate would not fall within the scope of section 315.19 However, under the laws of some States, persons seeking election as delegates to State constitutional conventions have been considered legally qualified candidates for public office by the State officials authorized to make such rulings. In such cases, candidates for delegate are candidates for public office under the FCC rules.

12. A station refused to sell time to a person for a broadcast advocating the election of another person to the office of County Executive because the station believed that the message was "in bad taste." A complaint was filed, claiming that the station's action violated section 315(a) because it amounted to censorship, since the complainant himself was a candidate for County Republican Committeeman. The Commission upheld the station's right to use its discretion as to accepting the message the complainant wanted to broadcast. The Director of the New York State Election and Law Bureau ruled that the office which the complainant himself sought—County Republican Committeeman—was "a party position" and not a public office. Therefore the complainant was not a candidate for public office and the no-censorship provision of Section 315(a) did not apply to him.²⁰

13. Under State law, the Maryland General Assembly was authorized to fill a vacancy in the office of Governor created by the resignation of the former Governor. A complainant sought air time on the grounds that he was a legally qualified candidate for the office of Governor. The station claimed that the complainant was not a legally qualified candidate for public office within the meaning of section 315. The station forwarded a letter from the Deputy Attorney General of Maryland which stated that "the impending legislative action (by the General Assembly) is not an election" as defined by Maryland law and that "the present contest for the office of Governor is not a process by which the voters of this State shall elect a Governor." The Commission found that the position of the station was not unreasonable in view of the circumstances of the case.²¹

14. A person who meets the definition of a candidate as given in the Federal Election Campaign Act is not necessarily a legally qualified candidate for purposes of the Communications Act. The only definition

¹⁹ KNBC-TV, 23 F.C.C. 2d 765 (1968); see, also, Russell H. Morgan, 58 F.C.C. 2d 964 (1976)

²⁰ Malcolm Cornell, 31 F.C.C. 2d 649 (1971).

²¹ Lester Posner, 15 F.C.C. 2d 807 (1968).

of a candidate appearing in the Federal Election Campaign Act applies only to Chapter 14 of that Act and does not affect the definition of a legally qualified candidate for purposes of section 315 of the Communications Act. 22

15. Several New York City mayoralty candidates have filed "the necessary authorization of candidacy under Section 481 of the New York State Selection Law," which apparently is required before fundaraising operations may begin. Are they legally qualified candidates for public office under the Communications Act? Not necessarily. Unless such filings under State law "would also qualify such candidates for places on the ballot, such filings would not make these candidates Megally qualified' so as to bring the equal opportunity provisions of Section 315 into play."²³

Broadcasts On Distant Stations

16. Do "equal opportunities" apply to a broadcast by a candidate for Mayor of City "A" on a station in City "B" whose service area does not extend as far as City "A"? No. The candidate for Mayor of "A" is not a legally qualified candidate for public office in the area served by the station in "B" for the purposes of Section 315. The purpose of Section 315, as shown by its legislative history, is to prevent a candidate from obtaining an unfair advantage over an opposing candidate by broadcasting to the voters in the election in which both are taking part if the opposing candidate is denied a chance to broadcast to these voters. Here the candidate would not be broadcasting to the persons who were to vote in his election.²⁴

Rivals In Recall Balloting Are Candidates

17. Citizens of a Colorado city were to vote whether to recall a District Attorney. On the same ballot, two other persons were listed as candidates to succeed the incumbent if the voters should decide to recall him. The incumbent asked to buy time on a TV station to defend his record and attack his critics. The station sought a declaratory ruling on whether the incumbent District Attorney was a legally qualified candidate for public office within the meaning of Section 315. The Colorado Attorney General stated that the two alternative candidates on the ballot were legally qualified candidates for public office, but he had not decided whether the incumbent office holder was a legally qualified candidate. If he were a legally qualified candidate, Section 315(a) would prohibit censorship of his broadcasts. The U.S. Supreme Court has held that since a station cannot censor a legally

²² In re Federal Election Campaign Amendments of 1974, 55 F.C.C. 2d 279 (1975);
Anthony Martin-Trigona, F.C.C. 77-838. For further discussion of the Federal Election Campaign Act, see para. 3, section L of this part of the primer.

²³ Letter to Hon. Percy E. Sutton, 67 F.C.C. 2d 188 (1977).

²⁴ Letter to Peter A. Mobilia, Jr., June 17, 1977.

qualified candidate, the station will not be subject to liability for civil damages for any libelous statements the candidates may broadcast,25 The Commission ruled that the incumbent and the two alternative candidates on the ballot all should be considered legally qualified candidates for public office. It stated that to rule otherwise would be unfair to the incumbent who could be censored while defending himself, whereas his two opponents could not be censored. Also, the alternative candidates, but not the incumbent, could obtain the station's lowest unit charge for time. Even the alternative candidates might be at a disadvantage if the incumbent were ruled not to be a legally qualified candidate, since they would not be entitled to opportunities equal to those of the incumbent if he should appear on the air. Thus, a contrary ruling would result in inequities to both the District Attorney and the alternative candidates.²⁶ However, when the recall ballot lists only the official on whose recall the public is to vote and does not list any candidates seeking to succeed him, the incumbent official is not a "legally qualified candidate for public office" for purposes of Section 315. The fairness doctrine would, of course, apply to the recall proposition.

Candidates "With No Chance To Win"

18. A station may not deny "equal opportunities" to a candidate because it believes he has no chance of being nominated or elected. If a candidate is legally qualified as defined in the rules and further explained in this section, he is entitled to his rights under sections 315 and 312(a)(7) regardless of whether a station licensee thinks he has any ระบาง (ค.มีกรุการ การจะบาง กับ ค.ณ**าร มีผลวิชาสารณ์ตัว** chance of success.27

Election Ends "Equal Time" Rights

19. If a candidate does not prove his legal qualifications until after the date of nomination for the office which he was seeking, or if, although a candidate was qualified from the beginning, he files a complaint after the nomination has taken place, he is not entitled to the "equal opportunities" that would have been available to him if he has proved his qualifications or filed a complaint before the nomination date. The occurrence of nomination or election ends the possibility of affording equal opportunity. However, the Commission itself can take post-election action against a broadcaster who is found to have violated the law before the election.28

²⁵ Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America v. WDAY, Inc., 360 U.S. 525 (1959).

²⁶ Petition of Station KOAA TV, F.C.C. 73-286 (April 25, 1978).

²⁷ Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 40 FCC 244 (1952).

²⁸ Lar Daly, 40 FCC 273 (1956), aff'd by order dismissing appeal entered March 7, 1957, Lar Daly v. U.S.A. and FCC Case No. 11946 (7th Cir., 1957), rehearing denied by order entered April 2, 1957, cert. den., 355 U.S. 826, rehearing denied 355 U.S. 885 (1957); Lar Daly, 40 FCC 317 (1960).

B.—When are Candidates "Opposing Candidates"?

When Congress adopted section 315 it indicated that its reason for requiring equal opportunities was to make sure that opposing candidates receive the same treatment—that if one candidate for an office gets air time, his opponent "for that office" will be entitled to equal time. The FCC has for many years interpreted Section 315 to mean that before the primaries or the nominating conventions take place, only those candidates who seek the nomination of the same party for the same office are entitled to opportunities equal to those of each other, since only they are opponents at that point. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld the Commission's position on this question in Kay v. FCC, stating, in part,

* * * Congress intended by the language it did employ to * * * restrict the benefits of "equal opportunities" to candidates of the same class or character as the candidate or candidates who may have been permitted to use a broadcasting station in the first place.

This interpretation of the statute also allows a station to serve the public interest more fully in some instances by devoting more time to one primary race than to another. For example, an incumbent office holder may have little or no opposition to renomination by his party, and consequently there may be little public interest in that party's nomination for that office, whereas half a dozen candidates may be waging vigorous campaigns for nomination to the same office by the other major party. The station may rightly decide that the public interest will be better served by allocating more time to the hotly contested race than to the other one.

Examples of Application of Law

1. Examples of how the "equal opportunities" law applies to different situations are given in the following paragraphs:

(a) Candidates for nomination by same party to same office. A, B, and C are candidates for nomination for sheriff by the Good Government Party. If a station makes time available to A, and if B and C request equal opportunities, the station must grant their request because they are opposing candidates for nomination by the same party to the same office.

(b) Candidates for nomination by different parties. A station makes time available to A, B, or C, candidates for nomination for sheriff by the Good Government Party. X, Y, and Z are seeking the nomination for sheriff by the Square Deal Party. If they demand time equal to that made available to A, B, or C, the station need not make it available to them so far as section 315 is concerned, since at this point X, Y, and Z are opponents of each other but not of A, B, or C. The Commission

¹ Kay v. FCC, 443 F. 2d 638, 645 (D.C. Cir. 1970).

has long held that while both primary and general elections fall within the scope of section 315, such elections must be considered independently of each other, and equal opportunities, within the meaning of section 315, need be afforded only to legally qualified candidates for the same office in the same election.² However, it should be noted that a station's actions in such cases also are subject to its general public interest responsibility to present discussion of important political matters and to comply with the Fairness Doctrine; moreover, if the nomination is for a Federal elective office, section 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act requires the station to provide "reasonable access" to all of the candidates upon request. For further discussion of these subjects, see part III, sections H and K.

- (c) Candidates for Different Offices. May a station make time available to all candidates for one office in a general or primary election and refuse time to all candidates for another office? Yes. So far as the requirements of section 315(a) are concerned, a licensee may limit the sale of time to candidates for those offices which the licensee determines are particularly important. However, see par. 1(b) above on other factors to be considered, including the "reasonable access" requirement for Federal elective candidates.
- (d) Candidates in primary elections and general election for same office. A station which makes time available for candidates for nomination to an office in a primary election need not make time available to a candidate for the same office in the general election unless it has made time available to another candidate for the office in the general election. Primary and general elections must be considered independently of each other, as explained in (1)(b) above.⁴
- (e) When does nomination take place? On May 3, 1964, a Congressman from New York made a television appearance. At this time, he was the only person who had been designated by petition under New York law as Republican nominee for election to his Congressional seat. The only designated Democratic-Liberal nominee filed a complaint requesting equal time. Primaries of both parties were to be held on June 2, 1964, but if no petitions for write-in nominees were filed by May 5, 1964, no primaries would be held, since the incumbent and the complainant each would have the uncontested

² Hon. Joseph S. Clark, 40 FCC 382 (1962); Hon. Clarence E. Miller, 23 FCC 2d 121 (1970); Richard B. Kay, 24 FCC 2d 426 (1970), aff'd; Kay v. FCC, 443 F. 2d 638 (D.C. Cir. 1970); KTTS, 23 FCC 2d 771 (1970); reconsid. denied, 24 FCC 2d 541 (1970).

³ Lew Breyer, 31 FCC 2d 548 (1968); Foster Furcolo, 48 FCC 2d 565 (1974).

⁴ KWFT, Inc., 40 FCC 237 (1948).

nomination of his party. In fact, no petitions for write-in status ever were filed. Was the station right in refusing equal opportunities to the complainant on the ground that on May 3 each was merely a candidate for his party's nomination, and thus they were not opposing candidates? The Commission found that the station was right. The issue must be decided according to New York election laws, and the Commission normally would rely upon the interpretation of the laws by State officials. However, neither the complainant nor the Commission was able in this case to get such an interpretation from State officials, so the Commission was compelled to make its own interpretation. It ruled that as of May 3, the date of the broadcast, neither the incumbent Congressman nor the Democratic-Liberal complainant had become the nominee of his party, since two more days remained in which other persons could file write-in petitions for nomination. Therefore. the incumbent and the complainant were not opposing candidates for Congress at the time of the broadcast.5 should be noted that the rulings in these cases were based upon the laws of New York, which under certain circumstances allow a person to become his party's nominee without the holding of a primary election. The cases with different results cited in (1)(b) of this section arose in States with different legal requirements for qualifying as a party's nominee.

C.—What is a "Use" of a Station by a Candidate?

In general, any broadcast or cablecast of a candidate's voice or picture is a "use" of a station or cable system by the candidate if the candidate's participation in the program or announcement is such that he will be identified by members of the audience. However, section 315 of the Communications Act lists four types of broadcasts by candidates which are not considered to be uses. These exceptions are discussed in section D.

Supporter's Appearance Is Not a "Use"

1. If a supporter of a candidate appears on the air to urge his election, is it a use? No. Only a personal appearance by a legally qualified candidate for public office, by voice or picture, is a use. The legislative history of section 315 shows conclusively that when Congress enacted it in 1934, it understood that the provisions of that section "applied only to the personal use of radio facilities by the candidates themselves * * *." Although the "equal opportunities,"

⁵ Mrs. Eleanor Clark French, 40 FCC 417 (1964); see, also, Thomas G. Dignan, 62 FCC 2d 59 (1976).

¹ Felix v. Westinghouse Radio Stations, Inc., 186 F. 2d 1, 5 (3d Cir. 1950); cert. denied, 341 U.S. 909 (1951).

"lowest unit charge," "no-censorship" and "reasonable access" (for Federal candidates) provisions of the law apply only to appearances by candidates themselves, the Fairness Doctrine may require that "quasi-equal opportunities" be made available to the supporters of a candidate if supporters of the candidate's opponent have been given or sold time by a station.² For further discussion of the Fairness Doctrine as it applies to political campaigns, see section K.

Most Appearances by Candidates Are "Uses"

nonpolitical uses by candidates. The court stated:

2. Even if a candidate does not discuss his candidacy during a broadcast, his opponent is entitled to equal opportunities except in certain situations specified by law. As noted in the first paragraph of this section, section 315(a) lists four types of broadcasts which are not considered to be uses. However, with these exceptions, all appearances on the air by candidates are considered to be uses, and licensees of stations are not authorized to base their grant or denial of time to candidates on their judgment of whether the use of the time will aid or even be connected with their candidacies.³ This interpretation of "use" has at times led to rulings which may seem far-fetched to some persons, but as the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit noted in upholding this position,⁴ neither the wording of section 315 nor the legislative history of it or its subsequent amendments indicates that Congress intended the Commission to distinguish between political and

* * * [U]nless a clear rule exists that all broadcast use by a political candidate subjects a station to equal time obligations * * * ultimately the FCC would be forced to examine the nature of a candidate's every appearance to determine whether it falls under section 315.

The court agreed with the Commission that attempting to distinguish between a political and nonpolitical use of broadcast facilities by candidates would require the Commission to make "highly subjective judgments concerning the content, context, and potential impact of a candidate's appearance." The court also stated:

If the section [315] were invoked only when political issues actually were discussed * * * a station could support one candidate by inviting him or her to appear on numerous shows but strongly discouraging the discussion of political issues. True, Paulsen might not benefit from such treatment if, as he says, he is already well konwn to the viewing public, but a less popular or less well-exposed candidate could surely benefit from the exposure. To define such appearances as nonpolitical is to apply a rather narrow and perhaps a bit naive definition of "political." * * * A candidate who becomes well-known to the public as a personable and popular individual through "nonpolitical" appearances certainly holds an advantage when he or she does formally discuss political issues to the same public over the same media.

² Nicholas Zapple, 23 FCC 2d 707 (1970).

³ Socialist Labor Party, 40 FCC 241 (1952); Fordham University, 40 FCC 321 (1961).

⁴ Paulsen v. FCC 491 F. 2d 887, 891 (9th Cir., 1974).

Moreover, since section 315 prohibits any censorship by a station of material broadcast by a candidate, the station itself would be violating the statute if it attempted to limit candidates' broadcasts to material advocating their election or even merely referring to their campaigns. Examples of "Uses"

- 3. If a candidate makes a broadcast in some capacity other than as a candidate, his opponent still is entitled to equal opportunities. With the exception of appearances in news programs as cited in section 315(a), all personal appearances by candidates are uses. Examples in which the Commission has ruled an appearance to be a use, even though the appearance was in some other capacity than that of candidate, include the following, in some of which the candidate's opponent would be entitled to free time, since the candidate himself did not pay for his time:
 - (a) The President of the United States. The President traditionally has broadcast a 5-minute message "kicking off" the United Fund and Community Chest campaigns. The message is filmed, videotaped and audiotaped far in advance of its broadcast. If the President is a candidate for reelection at the time the message is broadcast, his opponents are entitled to equal time, since the broadcast cannot "reasonably be said to constitute 'on-the-spot' coverage of bona fide news events within the meaning of section 315(a)(4)", and the law makes no exceptions for messages carried "in the public interest" or as a "public service." However, see section D below for examples of broadcasts by Presidents running for reelection which have been ruled exempt from the "equal opportunities" provision of Section 315 because they were official reports to the public on matters of major importance.
 - (b) Congressman's Report to His Constituents. After he becomes a legally qualified candidate for reelection, a Congressman's Reports are uses.⁶ A weekly Report is a use even when broadcast in its entirety within a newscast, which is normally not a use under Section 315(a)(1).⁷ In the latter decision, the Commission cited the legislative history of the 1959 amendments to 315(a) as showing that Congress did not intend for Congressmen's Reports to constituents to become exempt from the equal opportunities requirements of Section 315 merely by being aired in newscasts.
 - (c) Judge's Appearance on Panel. A judge who was candidate for re-election appeared in a panel discussion of an important subject with a number of other persons. The judge's candidate

⁵ United Way of America, FCC 75-1091.

⁶ Clinton D. McKinnon, 40 F.C.C. 291 (1957); Hon. Joseph S. Clark, 40 F.C.C. 325 (1962).

⁷ Letter to Hon. Clark W. Thompson, 40 F.C.C. 328 (1962).

- was not mentioned nor was the election in which he was to take part. Nevertheless, his appearance was a use since the panel discussion was not an exempt news-type program.⁸
- (d) Movie Actor. If an actor becomes a legally qualified candidate for public office, the telecast of his movies thereafter will be a use, entitling his opponents to equal time, if the actor is identifiable in the movies.⁹
- (e) Radio or TV Performer. If he is identified or identifiable on the air, appearances on radio or television in the course of a performer's regular duties, such as announcing, singing, acting or newscasting, are uses, entitling his opponent to equal time. 10 However, the Commission has ruled in the case of the host of a teenage dance show, who also was a candidate for public office, that opponents of the performer were entitled only to time equal to that during which the performer appeared on camera rather than to time equal to the duration of the entire program. 11 The same principle would apply to other appearances by radio or TV performers; for example, the political opponent of a radio disc jockey would be entitled only to the amount of time in which the disc jockey's voice was heard-not to the time used for playing records. If the announcer's voice is neither identified nor identifiable to the public, his air appearance is not a use.12 However, where the newscaster on a radio station is identified by name up to the date of his candidacy but not thereafter, his continuing newscasts are uses.¹³ Note: In some instances, when on-air employees of stations have become candidates for public office, the stations have sought waivers or partial waivers of their "equal time" rights from opposing candidates. Some partial waivers have been based on an agreement by an opposing candidate to settle for use of a certain number of free spots and/or programs rather than using the whole amount of time to which he might be entitled each week if the station employee were, for example, a disc jockey, an announcer or a newscaster. Opposing candidates have no obligation to grant waivers, and when they have granted them, the waivers have usually included a condition that the

⁸ Rev. Charles E. Reichenbach, 35 F.C.C. 2d 568 (1972).

⁹ Adrian Weiss (Ronald Reagan films), 58 F.C.C. 2d 342 (1976), review denied 58 FCC 2d 1889 (1976); Pat Paulsen, 33 F.C.C. 2d (1972); aff'd, 33 F.C.C. 2d 835 (1972); aff'd sub nom. Paulsen v. F.C.C., 491 F. 2d 887 (9th Cir. 1974).

¹⁰ Kenneth E. Spengler, 40 F.C.C. 279 (1956); KUGN, 40 F.C.C. 293 (1958).

¹¹ WNEP-TV, 40 F.C.C. 431 (1965).

¹² WENR, 17 F.C.C. 2d 613 (1969); KYSN Broadcasting Co., 17 F.C.C. 2d 164 (1969).

¹³ Public Notice: Newscaster Candidacy, 40 F.C.C. 433 (1965); see, also, Station WBAX, 17 F.C.C. 2d 316 (1969) and RKO General, Inc., 25 F.C.C. 2d 117 (1970).

station employee make no reference to his candidacy during his regular broadcasts. The Commission has stated that:

Waivers given with full knowledge of the relevant facts concerning the broadcast[s] (and assuming of course that the * * * condition were adhered to) would generally be binding * * * 14

- (f) Appearance on Variety Program. A Presidential candidate's appearance on a network variety program is a use. 15
- (g) Speech by Candidates. A Presidential candidate made a speech which was broadcast by a station "as a public service." The Commission ruled that regardless of the station's evaluation of the speech, the broadcast was a use. 16
- (h) Minister on Religious Program. A church sponsored a 30-minute religious program. The minister appearing on the program became a candidate for public office. The minister's appearance on the program was a use and opponents would be entitled to equal time. The opponents would be entitled to free time (since the minister himself did not pay for it) unless the church congregation or board of trustees which paid for the program stated that they were buying the time to advance the candidacy of their minister.¹⁷
- (i) More Examples of Uses. A political party buys TV time to distribute to individual candidates for use as they choose. Is there a use by a candidate in any of the following three situations? (a) The camera pans a group of candidates seated in a studio while a non-candidate reads a political spot; (b) a noncandidate reads a political spot while movie film of a candidate is on the screen; (c) a photograph of a candidate appears on the screen while a noncandidate reads a political spot. Yes, each of these situations is a use. 18
- (j) Advertiser-Candidate Reads Own Commercials. An advertiser on a station regularly voices his own commercials. If he runs for city council, will his commercial appearances be uses? If so, will he have to buy "equal time" for his opponents? His identified appearances are uses, but since he is paying for his time, his opponents also would have to pay for their time. 19

"Fleeting" Appearance Not a Use

4. The National Urban Coalition requested a declaratory ruling on a two-minute public service TV announcement featuring 120 people, many of them leading personalities in the political, sports and

¹⁴ WBTW-TV, 5 F.C.C. 2d 479, 480 (1966).

¹⁵ Lar Daly, 40 F.C.C. 314 (1960).

¹⁶ KFI, 40 F.C.C. 257 (1952).

¹⁷ Rev. Billy Robinson, 23 F.C.C. 2d 117 (1970).

¹⁸ KWWL-TV, 23 F.C.C. 2d 758 (1966).

¹⁹ Georgia Association of Broadcasters, 40 F.C.C. 343 (1962); see, also, KTTV, 40 F.C.C. 282 (1957) and Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., 32 F.C.C. 2d 609 (1971).

entertainment fields, all singing as a group the song, "Let the Sun Shine In." No one's name was mentioned nor were any voices separately identifiable. After the announcement was filmed, one of the persons appearing in it became a candidate for public office. In an edited version of the spot which eliminated any close-up of the candidate, the candidate was nevertheless visible in two shots—one for 4.2 seconds in a long range shot of 100 persons, and the other for 2.8 seconds in a medium-range shot of about six people, in which only the lower half of his face was seen. Would the spot be a use? No. The Commission ruled that this was not a use because the candidate was not readily identifiable in either spot.²⁰ Also of interest in connection with the question here raised was the Commission's Interpretative Opinion on Section 315 of the Act, 21 in which at p. 749 the Commission referred to an earlier case in which a candidate's fleeting appearance at a public ceremony had been held not to be a use. The Commission stated:

To have held otherwise [in the earlier case] would have required the station to afford an opportunity for an appearance by an opponent for a period ranging from a fraction of a second to perhaps a few seconds. If the *de minimis* principle of law is applicable to matters such as this, it was clearly applicable to the facts of that case.

Broadcasts on Foreign Station

5. Broadcasts by American political candidates on foreign stations whose signals are received in this country do not come within the scope of Section 315, because it applies only to broadcasting and other communications systems regulated by the FCC.²²

How Much of an Appearance Makes a Use?

6. How much of an appearance on a spot or program must a candidate make in order for the spot or program to be ruled a use? In the case of spots, if a candidate makes any appearance in which he is identified or identifiable by voice or picture, even if it is only to identify sponsorship of the spot, the whole announcement will be considered a use.²³ In the case of a program, the entire program is a use if "the candidate's personal appearance(s) is substantial in length, integrally involved in the program, and indeed the focus of the program, and where the program is under the control and direction of the candidate." The Commission stated in this case that it believed that under such circumstances the station would have immunity from liability for libelous statements made by other persons appearing with the candidate, since the entire program would be a use by the

²⁰ National Urban Coalition, 23 FCC 2d 123 (1970).

²¹ Interpretative Opinion on Section 315 of the Act, 26 FCC 715 (1959).

²² Gregory N. Pillon, 40 F.C.C. 267 (1955).

²³ Charles F. Dykes, 35 F.C.C. 2d 937 (1972); Station WITL, 54 F.C.C. 2d 650 (1975).

candidate and the station could not censor statements made by either the candidate or other persons appearing on the program.²⁴

D.—What Appearances by Candidates Are Not Uses?

Almost all appearances by legally qualified candidates for public office are "uses" except in four types of news programs which have been declared by Congress *not* to be uses. These exempted types of programs, as listed in Section 315(a), are:

- (1) bona fide newscasts,
- (2) bona fide news interviews,
- (3) bona fide news documentaries (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or
- (4) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto).

Thus, pictures of candidates, statements made by candidates and interviews with them on any of these types of news programs do not entitle their opponents to equal opportunities, since they are not uses. For the same reason, a station may select what part or parts of a candidate's statements it will broadcast on such programs, because the no-censorship restriction of Section 315(a) does not apply. Commission Given Broad Discretion

1. In amending Section 315(a) in 1959 to insert the news-program exemptions, Congress stated that the Commission should have broad discretion in interpreting the new policy. The Senate Report stated:

It is difficult to define with precision what is a newscast, news interview, news documentary, or on-the-spot coverage of news event * * * That is why the committee in adopting the language of the proposed legislation carefully gave the Federal Communications Commission full flexibility and complete discretion to examine the facts in each complaint which may be filed with the Commission. * * * In this way the Commission will be able to determine on the facts submitted in each case whether a newscast, news interview, news documentary, [or] on-the-spot coverage of news event * * * is bona fide or a "use" of the facilities requiring equal opportunity.¹

Bona Fide Newscasts

- 2. Commission rulings on various aspects of the "bona fide newscast" exemption include the following:
 - (a) Interviews with candidates on newscasts. A candidate complained that four local TV stations had violated Section 315 by interviewing his opponents on their regular news programs but not interviewing him. The complainant was not entitled to

²⁴ Gray Communications Systems, Inc., 14 F.C.C. 2d 766 (1968); reconsid. denied, 19 F.C.C. 2d 532 (1969).

¹ Sen. Rep. No. 562, 86th Cong., 1st Sess. 12 (1959).

equal opportunities since the appearances of his opponents were on bona fide newscasts. The fairness doctrine might be applicable but the complainant here had not furnished enough information for the Commission to decide whether it had been violated.²

- (b) "Today" and "Tonight" programs. A candidate requested time equal to that given two opposing candidates, one of whom was interviewed on the "Today" program and the other on the "Tonight" program. The appearance of the candidate on the "Today" program fell within the news program exemption of Section 315(a) "since it was a regularly-scheduled network program containing different features and emphasizing news coverage, news interviews, news documentaries and on-thespot coverage of news events * * * the determination of the content and format of Senator Symington's interview and his participation therein was made by NBC in the exercise of its news judgment and not for the Senator's political advantage * * * questions asked of the Senator were determined by the special projects director of the program; and * * * the Senator was selected by reason of his newsworthiness and NBC's desire to interview him concerning current problems, issues and events." On the other hand, the appearance on the Jack Paar "Tonight" program was not exempt. NBC itself listed the program on its program log as a "variety program."3
- (c) "NET Journal" and "60 Minutes." Questions have been raised at various times about interviews with political candidates on the "NET Journal" and "60 Minutes." Both programs have been ruled exempt. In view of the fact that "NET Journal" was a regularly scheduled program, the news interview format was one that was regularly used, the format and questions and the news interviewees were decided by NET and the factors in selecting the interviewees were the public significance of the individuals and their news interest, the Commission concluded that the interviews on "NET Journal" met the requirements of a bona fide news interview within the meaning of Section 315(a)(2).4 The "60 Minutes" program has these same characteristics and therefore interviews with candidates on it do not create equal opportunities for their opponents.⁵ (The significance of these two rulings is that the programs were held to be news programs. For example, although every broadcast of "60 Minutes" did not contain a news interview and therefore it could not be considered a

² KRON-TV, et al., 47 FCC 2d 1204 (1974).

³ Lar Daly, 40 FCC 314, 315 (1960).

⁴ Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 14 FCC 2d 858 (1968).

⁵ Letter to CBS, 58 FCC 2d 601 (1976).

- regularly scheduled news *interview* program, it was a *news* program and therefore interviews taking place within it fell within the news exemption.)
- (d) Five-Part Interview with Candidate. A candidate for Republican Presidential nomination complained that a Florida television station had denied him time equal to that devoted to five interviews with an opposing candidate. The interviews had been broadcast on successive days on a regularly scheduled news program, shortly before the Florida primary was to take place. The complainant alleged that the station had recorded one 30-minute interview with the opposing candidate and had broken the interview down into five segments for use on the news program. The complainant stated that because of the content of the interviews and the facts that they were pre-recorded, were unusual in length for a news program and were telecast shortly before the primary. they did not gain exempt status by being broadcast on a news program. In reply, the licensee of the station stated that it had broadcast many similar series of interviews on news programs in the past; that in this instance it had sought for two years to obtain an interview with the opposing candidate (who was the incumbent President) and had succeeded in obtaining one only on the day that the first segment of the interview was broadcast; and that it already had broadcast a half-hour interview with the complainant and intended to carry his scheduled appearance on the NBC "Meet the Press" program on the Sunday preceding the State primary. The Commission denied the complaint. It stated that "The inclusion of an interview within a newscast, which if broadcast outside the newscast would not be exempt, is within a station's journalistic discretion and, in and of itself, would not preclude the interview from exempt status pursuant to Section 315(a)(1) unless it has been shown that such a decision is clearly unreasonable or in bad faith. You have failed to submit sufficient evidence of bad faith or unreasonableness on the part of WCKT which would compel us to question its actions * * * you have not shown that the licensee, in deciding to air [the interviews], considered anything other than their newsworthi-
- (e) Religious News Program. A minister who conducted a weekly religious news program asked if the news program exemption would apply to interviews on his program with two other ministers who were candidates for public office. The FCC ruled that the exemption would apply since the program dealt

⁶ Letter to Citizens for Reagan (WCKT-TV), 58 FCC 2d 925, 927 (1976).

with current news in the field of religion and was a bona fide broadcast.⁷

(f) No News Exemption for Newscaster-Candidate. A station claimed that broadcasts of news by its news director, who also was a candidate for public office, were exempt from the equal time requirement because Section 315(a)(1) exempts appearances of legally qualified candidates on bona fide newscasts. The Commission ruled that the exemption did not apply. It said that Congress indicated that its main purpose in amending Section 315 to create an exemption for news programs "was to allow greater freedom of the broadcaster in reporting news to the public, that is to say, in inserting appearances of candidates as part of the contents of news programs." It said, "The amendment did not deal with the question of whether the appearance of station employees who have become candidates for office should be exempted on a news-type program where such employees are announcing the news (rather than being a part of the content of the news) * *

Bona Fide News Interviews

3. The principal questions considered by the Commission in interpreting the law on exemption of news interviews from the equal opportunities requirement of Section 315 are:

(a) Does the interview take place on a bona fide news program? If so, the interview is exempt regardless of its subject matter, the type of person interviewed or whether the news program always contains interviews. (See discussion of "Today," "60 Minutes," "NET Journal" and other news programs in 2(b), (c), (d), and (e) of this part of the Primer.)

(b) If the interview does not take place on a bona fide news program, does it take place on a bona fide news interview program? (Many "interview" and "talk" programs do not qualify as news interview programs.)

In its rulings on whether a program is a news interview program, the Commission has considered the following factors:

- (i) Whether it is regularly scheduled;
- (ii) How long it has been broadcast;
- (iii) Whether the broadcaster produces and controls the program;
- (iv) Whether the broadcaster's decisions on the format, content and participants are based on his reasonable, good faith journalistic judgment rather than on an intention to advance the candidacy of a particular person;

⁷ Telegram to Reverend Donald L. Lanier, October 26, 1972.

⁸ Public Notice: Use of Station by Newscaster Candidate, 40 FCC 433, 434 (1965).

(v) Whether selection of persons to be interviewed and topics to be discussed are based on their newsworthiness.

News Interview Programs Ruled Exempt

- 4. Some examples of interview programs which the Commission has ruled exempt are:
 - (a) "Meet the Press," "Face the Nation," "Issues and Answers."
 These are typical news interview programs of the kind
 Congress indicated it had in mind when it created the "bona
 fide news interview" exemption in 1959.9
 - fide news interview" exemption in 1959.9
 (b) "Youth Wants to Know." This program also was mentioned in the Senate debates on the 1959 amendments to Section 315(a) as being a news interview program of the type Congress intended to exempt, thus revealing that Congress did not intend to limit such programs to those in which the questioners are professional newsmen.¹⁰
 - (c) "Phone In" Question-and-Answer programs. A program called "Phone Forum" was prepared and produced by a station's news department and had been regularly scheduled for almost 2 years. The news director selected the guests on the basis of newsworthiness. Members of the public telephoned in questions for the guest, which were screened by the moderator. The program was ruled a bona fide news interview on the condition that it be effectively controlled by the licensee and that the station's news department controlled the selection of the phone-in questions which actually were asked the guests, so as to make sure "that the program cannot be taken over by either the supporters or opponents of the guest candidate."11 Another program in which part of the questions were called in by viewers of the program, but those actually used were selected by employees of the station, also was held to be an exempt news interview program.12
 - (d) "Governor's Radio Press Conference." In a regularly scheduled program, the Governor spoke from his office in answering questions asked him by newsmen from stations participating in the program, who spoke to the Governor by telephone. The answers were communicated back to the stations by radio line. Neither the questions asked nor the answers were screened or edited by the Governor's office. The program was unrehearsed

⁹ Letters to Andrew J. Easter, 40 FCC 307 (1960), Lar Doly, 40 FCC 310 (1960), Hon. Frank Kowalski, 40 FCC 355 (1962); Telegram to Yates for U.S. Senator Committee, 40 FCC 368 (1962).

¹⁰ Hon. Russell B. Long, 40 FCC 351 (1962); Socialist Labor Party, 7 FCC 2d 857 (1967); also, see Lar Daly, 40 FCC 310 (1960), dealing with "College News Conference."

¹¹ Socialist Labor Party, 7 FCC 2d 857 (1967).

¹² Martin B. Dworkis, 40 FCC 361 (1962); see, also, Letter to Storer Broadcasting Co., July 22, 1977.

and the newsmen were free to ask any questions they wished. Each broadcast was under the control of the participating stations. It was found to be an exempt news interview program because it had been regularly scheduled for some two years, was under the sole control of the broadcasters and was not conceived or designed by them to further the candidacy of the Governor.¹³ (This case arose before the Aspen Institute ruling, which exempted press conferences, so it was decided on the basis of the news interview exemption. In the same ruling, the Commission found that another program by Governor DiSalle was not exempt. See "Governor's Forum" below.)

Interview Programs Ruled Not Exempt

5. Some examples of question-and-answer programs which the Commission has ruled are not exempt news interview programs are:

- (a) "Governor's Forum." In this program the Governor sat in his office and answered questions submitted by members of the public. Questions either were written directly to the Governor's office or telephoned to the stations participating in the program. Questions written to the Governor's office were selected by his staff for the broadcast, and after the Governor had recorded answers to these and to questions forwarded by the stations, his office sometimes edited the tape before sending the recorded program to the participating stations. In contrast to its ruling on "Governor's Radio News Conference" above, the Commission ruled that "Governor's Forum" was not a news interview program within the meaning of section 315(a)(2), because the selection and compilation of the questions, as well as the supervision, production and editing of the program, were not solely under the control of the stations.14
- (b) One-Time "Special" Interview. A station interviewed a candidate for reelection as Congressman about his experiences as a new Congressman. The station said it did not have any regularly scheduled news interview programs, but that the interview with the Congressman was based on the licensee's news judgment; that a staff member conducted the program and asked questions relating to newsworthy current events; that the program was initiated, produced and controlled by the station, and that the interview, the format and the nature of the questions were the same as those of other special one time interviews broadcast by the station. The Commission ruled, however, that the program did not fall within the news interview program exemption of Section 315(a)(2) because, in

¹³ Hon. Michael V. DiSalle, 40 FCC 348 (1962).

¹⁴ Hon. Michael V. DiSalle, 40 FCC 348 (1962).

creating the exemption, Congress had clearly indicated that a basic element of a bona fide news interview program is that it be regularly scheduled. 15

(c) Program Starting 11 Weeks Before Election. A station asked a declaratory ruling on a proposed news interview program titled "Know Your Congressman," which would feature as guests local members of Congress. The program would be presented every other week and would begin only 11 weeks before the primary election. After reviewing the legislative history of the 1959 amendments to section 315(a), the Commission stated that "it is apparent that Congress was concerned about news interview programs created and/or scheduled shortly before an election. * * * The program for which you seek a ruling is scheduled to begin only 11 weeks before the Pennsylvania primary elections, and will feature incumbent Congressmen. Under these circumstances and in light of the legislative history, we do not believe that we can rule at this time that 'Know Your Congressman' falls within the category of programs that are exempt from the 'equal opportunities' provision of section 315."16

(d) "Tomorrow" program. Time equal to that devoted to interviewing an opposing candidate was sought on the NBC "Tomorrow" program on the grounds that it was not a bona fide news interview program. NBC asserted that its basic format was an interview with one or more guests, conducted by an experienced journalist, and that many public officials and office seekers had appeared on it. The complainant submitted a sampling of 66 "Tomorrow" programs as showing that it had no regularly scheduled news interview format. It cited 27 programs which discussed "a broad range of topics not associated with any recent news or current event issue," including interviews or panels on "monsters in films to sexual fantasies to psychic healing and TV soap operas." The complainant stated that 19 of the guests were interviewed "solely in regard to their occupation or their hobbies. Strippers, handwriting analysts, travel agents and baseball card collectors discuss their interests * * * ." The Commission found that "Tomorrow" was not a news interview program for the purposes of Section 315(a)(2). It said Congress did not intend to exempt all programs and had specifically cited, during floor debate on the proposed amendments, certain programs such as "Meet the Press" and "Face the Nation" as being the type of interview programs it meant to exempt. One

¹⁵ Station KFDX-TV, 40 FCC 374 (1962).

¹⁶ WHC-TV, 33 FCC 2d 629 (1972).

question considered by the Commission in ruling on interview programs is whether the guests have been chosen to appear on the basis of their newsworthiness. In the case of "Tomorrow," although some interviews had been newsworthy, many had not and "Interviewees, as a matter of course, are not selected on the basis of their 'public significance or their newsworthiness'. * * * There is simply no cognizable difference between this show and "Tonight," a program which also on occasion interviews newsworthy public figures. * * * We cannot accept the view that the intermittent appearances of public officials and political candidates indicate that a program is a news interview program * * * ."17

Changes in Time and Length of News Interview Programs

6. Because of the importance of an upcoming election, networks or stations sometimes increase the length of regularly scheduled news interview programs featuring one or more candidates. They also may change the times at which the programs are broadcast in order to reach larger audiences. Unless there is evidence that a station's or network's decision to lengthen the program or change its time period was unreasonable or made in bad faith, the program does not lose its news interview exemption. A broadcaster may "in the exercise of its good faith news judgment, lengthen a 'bona fide news interview' without destroying the exemption provided. * * * Also, the mere change in placement of a program which would otherwise qualify for exemption does not remove the exemption because it is broadcast in other than at its regularly scheduled time slot." 18

Rebroadcasts of News Interviews by Other Stations

7. With the permission of the originating station, a noncommercial TV station regularly broadcasts a bona fide news interview program originated by another station. The program is taped and played back by the ETV station three weeks late. The rebroadcasts do not lose the exemption, since they are regularly scheduled and since the program as broadcast by the originating station fulfilled all requirements for a bona fide news interview. Although, as rebroadcast by the ETV station, the program has not been produced or controlled by the station rebroadcasting it, neither does a network affiliate "produce or control" a network news interview program that it broadcasts. It has delegated these functions to the network, relying on the network to fulfill the requirements for the news interview exemption. The fact that the rebroadcast is three weeks late is not significant in determining

¹⁷ Socialist Workers Party, 65 FCC 2d 234, 241 (1976); see also, Socialist Workers Party, 66 FCC 2d 1080 (1976).

¹⁸ Letter to Theodore Pearson, December 8, 1976, which cited as precedents: Martin Dworkis, 40 FCC 361 (1962); Honorable Terry Sanford, 35 FCC 2d 938 (1972); Honorable Sam Yorty, 35 FCC 2d 572 (1972).

whether the program remains exempt from equal opportunities obligations, since it is not claimed to be "on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events." However, in another case a non-commercial station wished to rebroadcast only one of a series of bona fide news interviews broadcast by another station. This changed the facts so significantly as to compel an opposite ruling. Here, so far as the rebroadcasting station was concerned, the news interview program was not regularly scheduled. The Commission has always emphasized that one of the critical factors in qualifying for exempt status is that the news interview program be regularly scheduled.

Bona Fide News Documentaries

8. A candidate complained that he had been denied 93 seconds of time which were due to him because of appearances of his two opponents on a network program titled "Television and Politics." The complaint was denied. The program was a news documentary which was exempt from the equal opportunities requirement under Section 315(a)(3) because an appearance by any particular candidate was incidental to the presentation of the general subject matter of the documentary, which was the use of television by candidates rather than the candidacy of any particular candidate or candidates.²⁰

On-the-Spot Coverage of Bona Fide News Events

- 9. The fourth type of news broadcast on which a candidate's appearance is not a use is "on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto)." The scope of this exemption was considerably increased by the Commission in 1975 when it reversed earlier decisions and held that, under certain conditions, broadcasts of debates between candidates and of press conferences of candidates would fall within the on-the-spot coverage exemption.²¹
 - (a) President's Report on Suez Crisis. Three TV networks requested a ruling as to whether their broadcast of a 15-minute report to the Nation by the President on an important international situation (the Suez crisis) required them to afford equal time to all opposing candidates, since the President was at the time a candidate for reelection. The majority of the Commission ruled that equal time for other candidates was not required because they believed that when Congress enacted Section 315 it did not intend to grant equal time to all Presidential candidates "when the President uses

¹⁹ See discussion of "on-the-spot coverage" exemption, starting in par. 9.)

²⁰ Richard B. Kay, 26 FCC 2d 235 (1970); see, also, Judge John J. Murray, 40 FCC 350 (1962).

 $^{^{21}}$ For discussion of this ruling and cases that have arisen under it, see "Aspen Institute Rulings," pars. 10 and 11 below.

the air lanes in reporting to the Nation on an international crisis."²² (Note that this ruling came before the adoption by Congress in 1959 of the exemptions to the equal opportunities requirement of Section 315, including the exemption for "onthe-spot coverage of bona fide news events.")

- (b) President's Report on Other Major Developments. While a candidate for reelection, the President broadcast a report to the Nation on an important announcement by the Russian Government of a change in its leadership and on the explosion by Communist China of a nuclear device. Two opposing candidates requested equal time. On the basis both of the Suez crisis decision, above, and of the later amendment by Congress of Section 315 so as to exempt on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events from the equal opportunities requirement. the President's broadcast did not entitle opposing candidates to equal time. The case fell within "the reasonable latitude for the exercise of good faith news judgment on the part of the [licensee]" which Congress said it intended to grant stations and networks when it adopted the exemption for on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events.²³ In a later case, the broadcast of a President's State of the Union Message also was found to fall within the "on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event" exemption of Section 315(a)(4)."24
- (c) Political Conventions. Section 315(a)(4) specifically mentions on-the-spot coverage of political conventions "and activities incidental thereof," so the Commission has uniformly ruled such coverage to be exempt. In one case, a candidate for Presidential nomination called a press conference at the convention site immediately prior to the convention. Although this case preceded the 1975 Aspen ruling on debates and press conferences, coverage of the press conference was ruled exempt under Section 315(a)(4).25 The broadcast of acceptance speeches of successful candidates for a party's nomination for President and Vice President are exempt as activities incidental to the convention.26 During its coverage of the 1976 Democratic National Convention, a network interviewed a candidate for nomination. An opposing candidate alleged that the interview was "remote from and unrelated to the Convention." The station replied that the interview occurred during on-the-spot coverage of the convention and was

²² Telegram to ABC, CBS, and NBC, 40 FCC 276 (1956).

²³ Republican National Committee, 40 FCC 408 (1964); affirmed per curiam by an equally divided court, sub nom. Goldwater v. FCC and U.S.A., Case No. 18963 (D.C. Cir. 1964); cert. denied, 379 U.S. 893 (1964).

²⁴ Lar Daly, 59 FCC 2d 97 (1976); rev. den., June 16, 1976.

²⁵ Lar Daly, 40 FCC 316 (1960).

²⁸ DeBerry-Shaw Campaign Committee, 40 FCC 394 (1964).

- therefore exempt under Section 315. The Commission ruled the interview exempt because it was broadcast as part of the coverage of the convention. The Commission stated that it "will not substitute its judgment for that of the broadcaster in determining what 'activities' are 'incidental' to a political convention."²⁷
- (d) St. Patrick's Day Parade. A Chicago television station broadcast the annual St. Patrick's Day parade in that city. The Mayor, who was a candidate for reelection, was on camera for approximately 2 minutes. An opposing candidate sought equal time. Since the appearance of the Mayor was during "on-thespot coverage of a bona fide news event" it was exempt from the equal opportunities requirement of Section 315.²⁸
- (e) Broadcast of Court Proceedings. An Indiana station had broadcast for 14 years a program titled "Gary County Court on the Air." It was broadcast live 3 days per week and taped 1 day in advance for broadcast on the 4th day. The program consisted of direct coverage of the proceedings of a typical city court and by its nature could not be tailored to suit the presiding judge. Its format had remained unchanged since it went on the air. Persons appearing in the court had the privilege of declining to have their cases heard during the broadcast time to prevent invasion of privacy, and if, in the opinion of the presiding Judge, certain cases did not lend themselves to broadcasting, they were heard at times when the broadcasts were not in progress. The judge who had presided during the past 7 1/2 years became a candidate for nomination for Mayor of Gary. His opponent demanded equal time based on broadcasts of the program. The Commission ruled that the program fell within the "on-the-spot coverage" exemption of Section 315(a)(4) because it covered the operation of an official government body and the court proceedings were newsworthy. Thus, the program was within the reasonable latitude allowed to station licensees for the exercise of good faith judgment.29
- (f) Announcement of Vice Presidential Candidate. On August 5, 1972, Senator George McGovern, the Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party, announced that R. Sargent Shriver was his choice to replace Senator Thomas Eagleton as the Democratic Party's Vice Presidential candidate. The broadcast in which Senator McGovern made the announcement was

²⁷ Letter to Lester Gold, Esq., August 12, 1976.

²⁸ Lar Daly, 40 FCC 377 (1963).

²⁹ Thomas R. Fadell, Esq., 40 FCC 379 (1963); aff'd by order entered April 29, 1963, Thomas R. Fadell v. U.S., FCC and WWCA Radio Station, Case No. 14142 (7th Cir. 1963).

approximately 16 minutes long and was carried live by four networks. Three other political parties complained that the networks had refused their candidates equal time. The Commission denied the complaints, stating:

We believe that Senator McGovern's appearance was exempt within the meaning of Section 315(a)(4) because it was incidental to a political convention—namely, the special meeting of the Democratic National Committee which had been called to select a new candidate for Vice President * * * Senator McGovern's announcement of his choice was an activity incidental to the final voting of Democratic Party officials at their August 8 special meeting called specifically to select a new Vice Presidential nominee. The August 8 meeting had many elements similar to those of a national party convention * * * Although the meeting was extraordinary and not in the normal course of planning by the party, the Commission believes that, given the unique circumstances here present, it must be considered as having been the equivalent of a political convention within the meaning of Section 315(a)(4)³⁰ * * *

(g) Jackie Robinson Award. NBC, which held TV rights to the World Series, stated that it had been informed that during ceremonies preceding one game of the series an award would be presented by a legally qualified candidate for public office to Jackie Robinson commemorating the 25th anniversary of his joining the Brooklyn Dodgers as well as his work in the field of drug addiction. NBC stated that it would cover the presentation even if no candidates for public office were appearing and that it believed that the broadcast of the presentation should be ruled exempt from the equal opportunities provision of Section 315(a) as on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event. The Commission responded that on the basis of the facts presented it found no reason to believe that NBC's judgment about the proposed event was either unreasonable or made in bad faith, and no reason for overruling NBC's judgment that the proposed ceremony would be a bona fide news event within the meaning of Section 315(a)(4).31

Aspen Institute Rulings

10. In 1975 the Commission overruled three of its earlier rulings and held that under certain conditions broadcasts of debates between political candidates and broadcasts of press conferences held by candidates could be considered exempt from "equal opportunities" because they were on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events. In this ruling and a further discussion of the subject in a later case, the Commission stated, in substance, that the broadcast of a debate might be considered on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event under the

³⁰ Complaints of Republican National Committee, Socialist Labor Party, Communist Party, U.S.A., 37 FCC 2d 799, 806 (1972).

³¹ National Broadcasting Co., Inc., 37 FCC 2d 678 (1972).

circumstances presented in the earlier cases which were reversed. In those cases, (a) the debate had been arranged by a party not associated with the broadcaster; (b) it took place outside the broadcaster's studios; (c) it was broadcast live and in its entirety, and (d) the broadcaster chose to cover the debate because of his reasonable, goodfaith judgment that it was newsworthy, and not for the purpose of giving a political advantage to any candidate. The Commission also ruled that press conferences of candidates could qualify for exemption under Section 315(a)(4) if broadcast live and in their entirety.³²

Ford-Carter Debates

11. Two Presidential candidates complained in September 1976 that they had not been included in the debates between President Ford and Democratic candidate Carter nor had they been given equal time. One complainant, Eugene McCarthy, asserted that exclusion of any "major" or "serious" candidate (which he said he was) from the debates took them outside the Aspen Institute exemption. The other, Lester Maddox, stated that the debates promoted only the interests of the two participating candidates, that the two candidates themselves controlled some of the debate arrangements, and that the so-called "debates" actually were panel discussions. Both complaints were turned down. As for the McCarthy complaint, the Commission had no authority to compel either the organization sponsoring the debates or the networks broadcasting them to invite a particular candidate to take part, nor could it force any candidate to appear and debate another candidate. As for the Maddox complaint, the Commission said the critical factor in determining whether a debate falls within the "on-the-spot coverage" exemption was the role and intent of the broadcaster in covering it—whether it did so on the basis of its goodfaith, reasonable journalistic judgment of the newsworthiness of the event, or whether it did so to serve the political advantage of a candidate. The Commission quoted the court decision affirming the Aspen ruling to the effect that "a candidate's partial control over a press conference or debate does not, by itself, exclude coverage of the event from Section 315(a)(4)." As for the claim that the Ford-Carter appearances were actually panel discussions, the Commission cited a dictionary definition of "debate" as "contention by words or arguments * * * as * * * a regulated discussion of a proposition between two matched sides." The Commission said that in the absence of a stronger showing than Maddox had presented that the debates should not be considered debates, "it would be inappropriate and in violation of the intent of Congress for the Commission to attempt to establish or sanction a particular qualifying format or structure as a 'debate' to the

³² Aspen Institute, 55 FCC 2d 697 (1975); affirmed sub. nom. Chisholm et al. v. FCC, 538 F.2d 349 (D.C. Cir., 1976); cert. denied, 97 S.Ct. 247 (1976).

exclusion of all other face-to-face confrontations between candidates."³³ Both McCarthy and Maddox also alleged violation of the fairness doctrine in their complaints. For discussion of that policy as it applies to political campaigns, see Section K.)

Does Delayed Broadcast of Debate Destroy Exemption?

12. In two 1976 rulings, the Commission reached the question of whether a delay of up to one day in broadcasting a recorded political debate would remove the exemption of the broadcast from the equal opportunities requirement, and whether a delay of more than one day would raise questions as to whether the broadcast was "on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event." In the first case, the Commission recognized that some factors, such as time zone differentials between the East Coast and Alaska and Hawaii, might require broadcast on a delayed basis so as to reach a substantial audience. Also, it is noted, daytime stations should be given a chance on the following day to broadcast on-the-spot coverage of news events which took place after they were required to sign off the previous day. Finally, the delay would permit broadcasters to provide captions for the deaf. Broadcasters were reminded, however, that the exemptions in the law are for news (not "public affairs") coverage, and that unless there are unusual circumstances, a delay of more than one day would raise questions as to whether the broadcast was "on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event."34 In the other case, the New Jersey Public Broadcasting Authority filmed a political debate one morning, broadcast it that evening and then rebroadcast it two evenings later. A third candidate requested equal time. The Commission cited the Delaware case and ruled that the rebroadcast two days after the event fell outside the exemption. It said that by using the term "on-the-spot" in describing one kind of exempt news coverage, the Congress had indicated that its concept of the exemption "was that of contemporary, if not simultaneous, coverage."35

Cases Held Not To Fall Within "Aspen" Exemption

13. Inquiries were received from two stations in 1976 as to whether the Aspen ruling discussed above would grant exemption from equal time requirements to stations broadcasting "forums" or "town meetings" in which only one candidate appeared, gave an address or opening statement and then answered questions from the audience or from a panel of community leaders. The Commission ruled that neither kind of appearance came within the scope of the Aspen ruling, since

³³ American Independence Party and Eugene McCarthy, 62 FCC 2d 4 (1976); affirmed sub nom, McCarthy v. FCC, D.C. Cir., Oct., 1976. Case No. 76-1915.

³⁴ Delaware Broadcasting Company, 60 FCC 2d 1030 (1976); aff'd sub. nom. Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ v. FCC, and U.S., Case No. 76–1878 (D.C. Cir. Sept. 11, 1976).

³⁵ John F. Donato, 66 FCC 2d 599 (1977).

neither could be characterized as either a debate or a press conference as defined in that ruling. 36

E.—What are "Equal Opportunities"?

Many persons use the term "equal time" when referring to the rights of political candidates, but the correct phrase is "equal opportunities," which does not necessarily mean the same thing as "equal time." For example, if Candidate Smith receives an hour of free time at 8 p.m. on a television station and his opponent Jones merely gets an hour early in the morning or after midnight, Jones will be getting "equal time" but not "equal opportunities," since he probably won't be seen or heard by nearly as many people as Smith. Similarly, if a station gives Smith free time but charges Jones for his time, Jones again will get "equal" time" but not "equal opportunities." The Commission's rules forbid any kind of discrimination by a station between competing candidates.²

Examples of Lack of Equal Opportunities

- 1. Cases in which the Commission has found a denial of equal opportunities include the following:
 - (a) Unequal audience potential of periods. There is a violation if a station makes available to a candidate the same amount of time his opponent has received, but the time is likely to attract a smaller audience.³
 - (b) Letting one candidate preview opponent's message. Letting Candidate A listen to a recording of his opponent B's broadcast before it is aired and before A records or broadcasts his own statement violates the anti-discrimination rule.⁴
 - (c) Forcing one candidate to submit script in advance. It is a violation to compel one candidate but not his opponent to submit the text of his proposed message in advance of its broadcast.⁵
 - (d) Unequal rates. Charging one of two opposing candidates a higher rate than the other violates the rules, as does letting one candidate combine his totals of 30 and 60 second spot announcements to arrive at a cumulative total entitling him to a discount which is denied his opponent.⁶

³⁵ Chicago Educational Television Association (WTTW), 58 FCC 2d 922 (1976); Station WCLV(FM), 59 FCC 2d 1376 (1976).

¹ In order to avoid repetitious language, we have sometimes referred to "equal time" in this Primer, but we mean "equal opportunities" unless otherwise indicated.

² See §§73.1940(c) and 76.205(c) of the rules.

³ E. A. Stephens, 11 FCC 61 (1945).

⁴ Station WANV, 50 FCC 2d 177 (1974); forfeiture affirmed, 54 F.C.C. 2d 432 (1975).

⁵ Western Connecticut Broadcasting Co. (WSTC-AM-FM), 43 F.C.C. 2d 730 (1973). (For a discussion of a licensee's right to require advance scripts or recordings of all candidates, see Section F(2)(d) below.)

⁶ Station KAHU, FCC 71-959; Kays, Inc., FCC 73-1121.

- (e) Failure of candidate-station owner to pay for spots. The Commission refused to renew the license of a station because, among other things, the station manager and one-third owner, who also was candidate for mayor, sold himself time at a lower rate than he charged his opponent and never even paid the station for the time he used. The Commission stated here, as in an earlier case, that where a licensee or principal of a station also is a candidate, he has a special obligation to make sure the station deals fairly with opposing candidates.⁷
- (f) Sales or contracts that result in excluding candidates. Section 73.1940(c) of the rules forbids a station to make any agreement or contract that has the effect of letting one candidate broadcast to the exclusion of his opponents for the same office. Therefore, wise station operators have learned to look ahead when one candidate seeks to buy large amounts of time to make sure that they will be prepared to make equal opportunities available to his opponents if they request time.
- (g) Special "all-candidate" programs. A station wishes to make a full broadcast day or a large part of a day available free to candidates for various offices. It proposes to ask all candidates who do not take part in the broadcast to sign a waiver of their rights to appear on a later date. It also proposes to inform all candidates that if any of them do not take part in the special program and refuse to sign a waiver the licensee will cancel all invitations to candidates for that particular office and notify the other candidates for that office of the reason for cancellation. The Commission has commended stations for trying to set up special programs in which the voters will be able to see and hear all candidates. It also has stated that a station may make an offer of time to candidates for a certain office contingent on all candidates agreeing to appear or to waive their rights to a later opportunity to appear. It has stated that such waivers, when given by a candidate with full knowledge of the facts, would be binding on the candidate. However, it has emphasized that under Section 315, a candidate not appearing on such a program and refusing to sign a waiver is exercising rights expressly given him by Congress. Blaiming a candidate on the air for refusing to waive his rights may create a fairness doctrine obligation on the part of the station. An attempt by a licensee to dictate program format, participants, length of program and times of taping and broadcast, and then offering the package to the candidates on a "take it or leave it" basis, does not deprive a

⁷ WPRY Radio Broadcasters, Inc., 40 FCC 2d 1183 (1973); see, also, Emerson Stone, Inc., 40 FCC 385 (1964).

candidate who refuses such an invitation of his right under

Section 315 to appear subsequently.8

(h) Failure of station to follow its interview format. All five candidates for Governor appeared in a special one-time news interview which was not exempt from equal opportunities. A panel of newsmen asked questions of the candidates. During the first part of the program, the newsmen asked a series of questions to each of the candidates in rotation. During the remainder of the program, each newsman questioned the candidate or candidates of his choice. In a briefing session before the broadcast, all candidates were promised a chance to volunteer comments about answers given by other candidates during the second part of the program, but they were requested first to seek recognition from the moderator. One candidate later complained that during the second part of the program (i) she never was recognized although she continually raised her hand; (ii) even during the first part of the program the newsmen asked the Democratic and Republican candidates multiple questions which gave them almost twice the time allowed to the other candidates; (iii) the two major party candidates talked back and forth to each other without being recognized by the moderator; and (iv) when the complainant tried to comment on another candidate's answer without being recognized, she was interrupted by the moderator. The station conceded the accuracy of much of her complaint but said there was no attempt to exclude her in particular and all of the candidates often raised their hands without being recognized. The Commission stated that it was proper for a station and candidates to agree in advance on a format and procedures for such a program, but that here the station had not enforced the agreement and the complainant got less than five minutes of time whereas one candidate received over 16 minutes and another nearly 14. Therefore, the complainant was entitled to some additional time.9

Cases Where Equal Opportunities Were Given

2. Situations in which the Commission has found there was no violation of the equal opportunities requirement include the following:

(a) No need to notify candidate of opponent's time. If a station sells or gives time to one candidate, it need not notify his opponents of the fact. However, §73.1940(d) of the rules requires stations to keep and permit public inspection of a complete record of

Etters to Senate Committee on Commerce, 40 FCC 357 (1962), and WBTW-TV, FCC 2d 479 (1966); Licensee Obligations Political Campaigns, 14 FCC 2d 765 (1968).

⁹ Socialist Workers Party, 26 FCC 2d 4 (1970). (See (2)(g), below, for a somewhat similar case with a different outcome.)

- all requests for time made by candidates, how each request was disposed of, and what charges, if any, were made. Thus, by inspecting the records of stations in the area of his candidacy, a candidate can learn what time has been given or sold to his opponents.¹⁰
- (b) Particular time periods and programs. All a station need do is to make available periods of approximately equal audience potential to competing candidates to the extent that this is possible. They need not make available exactly the same time of day on the same day of week or accept competing political advertisements on exactly the same programs or series of programs.¹¹ Even if a candidate's opponent has made no broadcasts at all, a station need not sell him the particular time period he requests.¹²
- (c) No need to halt sales to "A" because "B" doesn't buy. If one candidate or political committee buys considerably more time than the opposing candidate or committee, a station need not halt sales to the first candidate or committee. All it need do is to be prepared to afford equal opportunities if a candidate seeks them. 13 (However, see (1)(f) above regarding contracts for time that result in denying equal opportunities to opposing candidates for the same office.)
- (d) Withdrawal of time offer by station. A station which offers time to all candidates for an office for a joint appearance on one program or an appearance in a special series of programs may withdraw the offer if one or more of the candidates refuses to appear. The equal opportunities requirement of Section 315(a) applies only to actual uses of a station's facilities by candidates.¹⁴
- (e) "News coverage" is not involved in "equal opportunities." The appearance of a candidate on any of the four kinds of news broadcasts listed in Section 315(a) as not involving "uses" of a station does not entitle his opponent to equal exposure on such a news broadcast or series of broadcasts, nor do news items about a candidate on such broadcasts entitle his opponent to equal news coverage. However, the fairness doctrine applies to news programs.¹⁵
- (f) All opposing candidates not entitled to appear on same

¹⁰ Norman William Seemann, Esq., 40 FCC 341 (1962); also, see discussion of "political files" in Section M.

¹¹ Major General Harry Johnson, 40 FCC 323 (1961); Socialist Workers Party, 40 FCC 256 (1952); Harry Dermer, 40 FCC 407 (1964).

¹² KTRM, 40 FCC 331 (1962).

¹³ Hon. Frank M. Karsten, 40 FCC 269 (1955).

¹⁴ Stations KHJ-TV and KABC-TV, 23 FCC 2d 767 (1966); also, see H. John Rogers, 59 FCC 2d 1109 (1976).

¹⁵ See Section K.

- program. A station that puts two opposing candidates on a non-exempt debate, interview or panel discussion need not include in the same program all other candidates for that office, provided the others are given time separately. If two candidates share an hour's time which is approximately equally divided between them, a third candidate seeking separate time need be given only half an hour in order to gain equal opportunities. If
- (g) News interview with all candidates. All eight candidates for Democratic Senatorial nomination appeared on a program in which newsmen asked them questions and the moderator relayed other questions telephoned in by viewers. One candidate complained that one of the candidates got nine minutes of time in answering questions, another six and a half minutes, and none of the others more than about three minutes. The Commission denied the complaint because the station's invitation to the candidates had not made any representations that were not carried out. It merely had stated that questions would be asked by the newsmen and the moderator and that after the questioning, each candidate would be given one minute for a closing statement, which was done. In contrast to the case in (1)(h) of this section, the station here had followed the format agreed to by the candidates in advance.18
- (h) Minor technical failure doesn't destroy "equal opportunities." A debate between opposing candidates which was not exempt from the equal opportunities requirement was videotaped by one station. Another station arranged to have a copy of the tape made for broadcast at 10:30 that night. At approximately 6 p.m., it learned that because of technical failure of the first station's videotape recorder, the video portion of two minutes and 50 seconds of Candidate A's closing remarks was lost, although the audio recording was not affected. In broadcasting the tape that night, the station substituted a still picture of the candidate on screen when the playback of the final remarks began, but the image of the still picture became defective and the station then substituted a slide titled "Technical Difficulties" while it continued to broadcast the audio portion. Candidate A demanded an opportunity to telecast that part of his remarks in which the picture was lost. The Commission denied the complaint because the station had substantially complied with the rules, the audio portion was

¹⁶ Constitutional Party and Frank W. Gaydosh, 14 FCC 2d 255 (1968); rev. den'd, 14 FCC 2d 861 (1968).

¹⁷ Conservative Party, 40 FCC 1086 (1962); Andrew J. Watson, 26 FCC 2d 236 (1970).

¹⁸ William A. Albaugh (WBAL-TV), 59 FCC 2d 1023 (1976).

broadcast without interruption, and the licensee appeared to have made a reasonable effort to remedy the defect in the video portion.¹⁹

(i) "Make good" announcements or programs. In contrast to the situation in (h) above, a station sometimes will have more serious technical problems in broadcasting a program or an announcement, so that only part of the candidate's message gets on the air, or the message is so badly garbled that it cannot be understood. When this happens to commercial advertisements, most stations broadcast "make good" programs or announcements without charging the advertiser for them, in order to give him his money's worth. However, when stations broadcast "make good" political announcements, other candidates for the same office sometimes demand free time equal to that in the "make good" on the grounds that the original candidate is getting more time than he paid for. If it is a station's policy to give "make goods" to commercial advertisers and if there is a substantial failure in the first broadcast of a spot or program sponsored by a candidate, then the station will incur no "equal time" obligations to other candidates if it broadcasts a "make good." This policy applies only when "make good" announcements are given because of technical difficulties. Other "make good" situations are dealt with on a case-by-case basis. For example, when a station has broadcast an announcement which is a "use" by a candidate at the wrong time or has broadcast a different announcement by him than the one he ordered used at a particular stage of his campaign, any free "make good" time given to the candidate might entitle his opponent to free time of equal length. Other situations may call for different conclusions. These interpretations have been given informally by the staff in response to questions, but they are affirmed by the Commission. (See, also, Section M(6) on a related subject—disputes between stations and candidates over the performance of contracts for the sale of time.)

Miscellaneous Rulings

3. The Commission has ruled on a variety of other equal opportunities inquiries and complaints that do not fall under any of the headings in (1) or (2) above. Examples of these follow:

(a) Must a station furnish anything more than the use of a microphone? Regardless of what it furnishes in connection with a broadcast by a candidate, it must treat him and his opponents in the same way.²⁰ In television, if such facilities as

¹⁹ Sen. Birch Bayh, 15 FCC 2d 47 (1968).

²⁰ D. L. Grace, Esq., 40 FCC 297 (1958).

background scenery, use of film or videotape equipment or more than one studio camera are furnished to one candidate, they must be made available to opposing candidates. However, if a candidate pays extra for such facilities, his opponents also must pay for them.

(b) Local or State candidate appearing on network program. If a local or State candidate appears on a national network program, an opposing candidate is entitled to equal opportunities over the stations which carried the network program whose signals cover the area in which the local or State election is taking place.²¹

(c) How much time for a candidate nominated by three parties? If three political parties nominate A to the same office and only one party nominates B for the office, A and B are entitled to the same amount of time. Section 315 refers only to persons who are candidates for public office, not to political parties, and if time is made available to one candidate, equal opportunities must be afforded every other candidate for that office, regardless of how many party nominations the first may have received.²²

(d) Candidate enters primaries of two parties. Candidate A entered both the Democratic and Republican primaries for mayor. His opponent in the Democratic primary, B, received half an hour of time, whereupon A demanded and received an equal amount of time. A's opponent in the Republican primary, C, then demanded and received half an hour, based on the fact that A, his opponent in the Republican primary, had received that amount of time. A thereafter requested another half hour of time to reply to C. He was not entitled to it. The same principle applied here as (c) above.²³

(e) Candidate running for two offices at same time. Under the laws of one State, a candidate may run simultaneously for two different offices and if elected to both, decide at that time which to accept. Candidate A runs for both governor and State senator. A station sells him time to advance his candidacy for governor and then receives a request for equal opportunities from other candidates for State senator. It must honor such requests and A will not be entitled to buy time to respond to their broadcasts as candidates for State senator. This decision was based on the same principle as those in (c) and (d) above.²⁴

(f) Candidates appearing on programs paid for by others:

²¹ Hon. Mike Monroney, 40 FCC 251 (1952).

²² Greater Broadcasting Corp. of New York, 40 FCC 253 (1946).

²³ Lar Daly, 40 FCC 302 (1959).

²⁴ Station KATC, 31 FCC 2d 403 (1971).

- (i) If a candidate appears on a program paid for by a commercial advertiser, opposing candidates are entitled to equal opportunities from the station at no cost to themselves, since the first candidate paid nothing.²⁵
- (ii) If the candidate is a minister appearing on a program sponsored by his church, the result will be the same unless the church congregation or board of trustees bought the time specifically to help the minister's political campaign, and thus became, in effect, a part of his political organization. ²⁶
- (iii) If the political campaign committee of a labor union pays for time for a broadcast by a candidate, his opponents are not entitled to free time. The distinction between this case and that in (i) above is that here the organization buying time is a political one which is analogous to the candidate's own campaign committee.²⁷
- (g) Buying network and local station time. If a candidate buys advertising on a network program, what kind of a rate may affiliates of the network charge his opponent if the opponent seeks to buy time on individual affiliates? The Commission has stated that the rate charged an opposing candidate by an individual affiliated station need not be related to the rate charged by the network. The network rate is, in effect, a "package rate" for a certain number of stations which must be bought together, whereas a candidate who buys time on a single affiliate is buying less time and buying it under an arrangement which does not constitute a similar "package" deal. If the second candidate went to the network, it would be expected to sell him time at comparable network rates, but a single affiliate may charge the rate it normally would charge a candidate.²⁸
- (h) 45-Minute Program Equals How Many Spots? Candidate A conducted an interview program (which was not an exempt news interview program under Section 315(a)(2) on a station from 8:15 to 9:00 p.m. five nights a week. He also broadcast commercial announcements in which he was not identified by name between midnight and 5 a.m. Candidate B, A's opponent, requested (i) that the station remove A from the air; (ii) and that she be given "equal time" in the form of announcements of short duration which would occupy a total

²⁵ Hon. Mike Monroney, 40 FCC 251 (1952).

²⁶ Rev. Billy Robinson, 23 FCC 2d 117 (1970).

²⁷ Metromedia, Inc., 40 FCC 426 (1964).

²⁸ Mullins Broadcasting Co., 24 FCC 2d 264 (1970). For a discussion of rates generally and the "lowest unit charge" amendment to Section 315 enacted in 1972, see Section G of this Primer.

amount of time each week equal to that occupied by A's 45minute nightly broadcasts and the commercial announcements he broadcast. The station offered Candidate B (i) either an opportunity to be co-host with A on A's program or to conduct a similar program of her own from 11:15 to midnight five nights a week and (ii) a sixth 45-minute program to be broadcast at 11:15 p.m. on Saturdays to offset the commercial announcements broadcast by A each week. Candidate B refused the offer and complained to the Commission. The Commission stated that it had no authority under the Communications Act to order the station to remove A from the air, particularly in view of Section 326 of the Act which prohibits censorship of broadcast programs by the Commission. As to the other matters: (i) both kinds of appearances by A were "uses," since his voice was well known and readily recognizable on the commercial announcements; (ii) the "takeit-or-leave-it" offer by the station of six 45-minute programs at a later hour specified by the station was not an offer of equal opportunities; (iii) Candidate B's demand for a sufficient number of one-minute spots each week to equal the total time occupied by A in all of his appearances was a demand for more than equal opportunities, since that number of spots was considerably more valuable than A's 45-minute programs (three times as costly, in fact, under the station's rate card). The Commission directed both parties to undertake good faith negotiations "governed by a rule of reason". (Nothing further was heard from either party.)29

"Last Minute" Use of Time

4. Many questions have arisen based on one candidate's use of time shortly before election day, when it is presumed more valuable than time used early in the campaign. For example, Candidate A buys time and uses most of it during the early stages of the campaign. Candidate B makes a request for equal opportunities within seven days of A's first appearance and the request also applies to all subsequent broadcasts by A. However, the time that B buys is used only during the last week of the campaign. Candidate A then requests additional time during the last week on the grounds that B's appearances so near to election day will give him more than equal opportunities. Is he entitled to additional time? There is no fixed standard for determining the rights of candidates in this respect, nor can there be, in view of the many different situations that may arise. However, as the Commission stated in one case, "it must be obvious that, to take the extreme case, a candidate cannot use Section 315 of the Act to delay his request for

²⁹ RKO General, Inc., 25 FCC 2d 117 (1970).

time and expect the 'equal opportunities' provision of that section to give him the right to saturate pre-election broadcast time."30 In another case, involving interpretation of the "seven-day rule,"31 the Commission cited the Hunter case and said that "even if timely requests have been made by a candidate under the rule, a licensee may be called upon to exercise reasonable judgment in affording 'equal opportunities', particularly where there has been an accumulation of time."32 In still another case, the Commission held that a request by a candidate six days before election day to buy time equal to that used by his opponent during the preceding seven days and still to be used by his opponent before the election should have been honored by the station under the equal opportunities requirement, but a different conclusion might have been warranted "had the complainant waited until the last day or two before the election."33 In another case, a station announced a policy of selling only three prime-time spots per week to candidates for nomination to the office of mayor. Candidate A bought three spots per week for the final five weeks of the campaign. Candidate B made a timely request for equal opportunities but later claimed he could not produce his spots on time and was allowed to use fifteen prime time spots in the last two weeks of the campaign. Candidate A complained that B had been afforded more than equal opportunities. A asked to buy six more spots in the last two weeks of the campaign. The Commission ruled that A was entitled to buy the extra spots since he had relied upon the station's announced policy of limiting prime time spots to three per week and the station had failed to enforce that policy.³⁴

F.—Censorship; Other Restrictions on Candidates

Section 315(a) of the Communications Act prohibits censorship by a broadcaster of any "use" of the station by a legally qualified candidate for public office. A station not only cannot censor a candidate; it cannot censor anything said or shown by anyone else on a program in which a candidate appears to the extent that it becomes a "use". The U.S. Supreme Court has held that since stations are not allowed to control what candidates say or do on these programs, the stations cannot be held liable for damages in civil lawsuits for libel. The nocensorship provision of Section 315(a) has many widespread applications.

Examples of Censorship of Candidates

1. Examples of practices that have been ruled to violate the nocensorship law include the following:

³⁰ Hon. Allen Oakley Hunter, 40 FCC 246 (1952).

^{31 (}See Section I for an explanation of the rule.)

³² Emerson Stone, Jr., 40 F.C.C. 385 (1964).

³³ Summa Corp. (KLAS-TV), 49 F.C.C. 2d 443.

³⁴ William R. Singer, 51 F.C.C. 2d 766 (1975).

- (a) Refusing to broadcast a candidate because of libelous material. A station may not refuse to broadcast a candidate's program on the ground that it contains libelous remarks, even though no opposing candidates have made broadcasts. If a station invites a candidate to appear or agrees to broadcast his program or accepts his order for time, it may not cancel the program because it believes the proposed material to be libelous, because this would amount to censorship.¹
- (b) Material that is "vulgar" or "in bad taste." A station may not reject or change a candidate's material on the grounds that it is "vulgar" or "in bad taste." 2
- (c) Possible incitement to racial violence. A station may not reject a candidate's material on the grounds that it is likely to incite racial hatred and might even lead to violence, so long as "there does not appear to be that clear and present danger of imminent violence which might warrant interfering with speech which does not contain any direct incitement to violence."
- (d) Candidate who does not discuss his candidacy. A candidate may not be refused time on the grounds that he plans to discuss subjects other than his candidacy. An invitation to a candidate to speak may not be conditioned on his limiting his remarks to a certain subject.
- (e) Candidate who wants to discuss his candidacy. A station may not limit a candidate to discussion of non-partisan subjects on the grounds that the candidate's opponent limited his appearance to such subjects. A candidate may use a station's facilities as he wishes.⁶
- (f) No requirement that candidate appear "live." A station may not require a candidate to appear "live" rather than by film or video recording.⁷ The same principle applies in reverse: A station may not require a candidate to appear on tape or film if he wants to appear "live". However, if the station customarily charges extra for the production of live performances, it may charge a candidate on the same basis.
- (g) Submitting script or tape in advance. A candidate may not be required to submit a script or tape in advance for the purpose of reviewing its contents for possible censorship. However, see

¹ Port Huron Broadcasting Co., 12 FCC 1069 (1948); WDSU Broadcasting Corporation, 16 FCC 345 (1951).

² Ms. Gloria Sage, 62 FCC 2d 135 (1976); rev. den'd, 63 FCC 2d 148 (1977); Western Connecticut Broadcasting Co., 43 FCC 2d 730 (1973).

³ Atlanta NAACP, 36 FCC 2d 635, 637 (1972).

⁴ WMCA, Inc., 40 FCC 241 (1952).

 $^{^5}$ WANV, Inc., 50 FCC 2d 177 (1974); for feiture affirmed, 54 FCC 2d 432 (1975).

⁶ Hon. Allen Oakley Hunter, 40 FCC 246 (1952).

⁷ WOR-TV, 22 FCC 2d 528 (1969).

(2)(d) below for the reasons why scripts or tapes may be required in advance.

- (h) Noncommercial TV stations and "campaign film." Noncommercial TV stations have the same rights as commercial stations to decide initially how much time to make available to a candidate, but they may not reject a candidate's program on the basis of its content or on the grounds that it "was originally produced for use on commercial television stations [and is a] five minute campaign film." Noncommercial stations are not exempt from the no-censorship provision of Section 315.8
- (i) Restricting program or spot to candidate's personal appearance. A station may not insist that a candidate be the sole person taking part in a program or political spot or that he appear continuously throughout the program or spot along with other people.⁹

Cases Where There Is No Censorship Violation

2. Examples of cases in which the Commission or the courts found there was no violation of the no-censorship provision of section 315(a) include the following:

(a) Rejection of spots that are not "uses" by candidates. If a candidate or his organization buys time but the candidate's voice or picture does not appear on the spots, a station may use its judgment on whether to broadcast or reject the spots if it believes they are inaccurate, unfair, libelous, etc.—provided that the station is acting in good faith.¹⁰

(b) Appearance on an exempt news program. The no-censorship restriction in Section 315 applies only to "uses" of stations by candidates. Therefore, stations may edit or delete statements by, or pictures of, candidates in any of the four types of news programs that Section 315(a) says are not uses.

(c) Offering candidates time for debate. Offering the only two candidates for an office time for a debate is not censorship by means of dictating format of program, because the offer is contingent on acceptance by both candidates, and either or both may reject it.¹¹

(d) When a script or tape may be requested in advance. A station is not allowed to require that a tape or text of a candidate's

⁸ Public Broadcasting Council of Central New York, Inc., et al., January 24, 1977. (The FCC's original ruling in this case was dated October 27, 1976 (FCC 76-1005).

⁹ Gray Communications Systems, Inc., 14 FCC 2d 766 (1968); reconsid. denied, 19 FCC 2d 532 (1969). (See Section C(8) for further discussion on this subject.)

¹⁰ Patton Echols, 43 FCC 2d 479 (1973); rev. den'd., 43 FCC 2d 1121 (1973); see, also, Felix v. Westinghouse Radio Stations 186 F.2d 1 (3d Cir. 1950); cert. denied, 341 U.S. 909 (1951).

¹¹ Letter to Station WANV, October 30, 1975.

proposed "use" be submitted in advance of broadcast if the purpose is to review its contents for "suitability," "good taste," "accuracy," "libel" or any other basis for possible censorship. However, a broadcaster may ask for an advance script or tape for the limited purpose of complying with the law; for example, (i) to learn whether the candidate himself will take part in the broadcast so as to make it a use and therefore subject to the "equal opportunities," "no-censorship" and possibly the "lowest unit charge" provisions of section 315; (ii) if it is a paid appearance, to learn whether it carries proper sponsorship identification; (iii) to learn whether the program or spot is longer or shorter than it is represented to be, which not only will affect the station's scheduling but may affect its obligations toward opposing candidates in granting them equal opportunities and the "lowest unit charge" or "comparable rates." If a broadcaster does ask for a script or tape in advance, he should explain clearly that the request is made only for the limited purposes outlined above. and that he is prohibited from censoring the content of the proposed spot or program. If the candidate answers by stating that he has no tape or script and plans to ad-lib, he must be allowed to do so, but the broadcaster may warn him that the spot or program, if sponsored, must include proper sponsorship identification within the agreed broadcast period and that if the program appears to be about to run longer, the broadcaster reserves the right to stop carrying the broadcast sufficiently far in advance of the end of the agreed time period to insert sponsorship identification on the broadcaster's own initiative. Even if a spot or program will not be ad-libbed, a candidate may refuse to submit the tape or text in advance. In that event, he should be given the same advance notice as the adlibbing candidate about sponsorship identification and length of program time.

(e) Reply to personal attack on candidate or to political editorial. If a station broadcasts a personal attack which is not exempt from the personal attack rule on a legally qualified candidate for public office, it need not offer him an opportunity to reply personally because if it did so, his opponents would be entitled to "equal opportunities," which would mean equal time to use as they saw fit. However, the candidate "should, of course, be given a substantial voice in the selection of a spokesman to respond to such attack." The same principle applies when a broadcaster editorializes against or in favor of a candidate. The rules require that an offer be made of a reasonable

¹² Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co., 40 FCC 538, 539 (1962).

opportunity "for a candidate or a spokesman of the candidate to respond * * * " (Emphasis added.)13

Liability for Libel or Defamation Actions

3. A broadcaster is immune from liability for damages in civil actions based on libel or defamation if the basis for the suit is something said or done by a candidate during a "use" of the station, since section 315 prohibits the station from censoring a candidate. ¹⁴ In the opinion of the FCC, the same immunity would apply to statements made by noncandidates on a program in which the candidate takes part so as to make it a "use." ¹⁵ However, if the candidate himself does not take part in a program, the broadcast is not a "use" and the station itself is liable. ¹⁶

G.-Rates Which May Be Charged Candidates

The rate that a station is allowed to charge a political candidate depends in part on how near to election day the candidate's broadcasts will be made. If they fall within 45 days of a primary election or within 60 days of a general election, the most that a station may charge is its "lowest unit charge * * * for the same class and amount of time for the same period." For example, if a TV station charges \$1,000 for a single prime-time 60-second spot on Saturday nights, but reduces this rate for commercial advertisers to \$750 a spot if they buy at least 100 spots. then it must sell a candidate a prime-time Saturday night 60-second spot for \$750 even if he buys only one. On the other hand, if the candidate's spots are broadcast earlier than the 45- or 60-day period, he may be charged the same rate as a commercial advertiser; if he buys only one spot he has to pay the one-spot rate of \$1,000. Section 315(b) of the Communications Act contains these provisions. The Commission's rules interpreting section 315 require that all candidates for the same office be charged the same rates and that, even outside the 45and 60-day periods, a candidate may be charged no more than the station would charge a commercial advertiser which is promoting its business in the same area as that in which the candidate is running for office. All statutes and rules need interpretation. The following paragraphs take up the most important and frequently asked questions about rates for political candidates.

What Rates Apply to What Candidates?

1. Section 315(b) should be read carefully to learn when and how the rate restrictions apply:

(a) They apply only to legally qualified candidates. See Section A

¹³ See section J on the personal attack and political editorializing rules.

¹⁴ Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America v. WDAY, Inc., 360 U.S. 525 (1959).

¹⁵ Gray Communications Systems, Inc., 14 FCC 2d 766 (1968).

¹⁶ See Felix v. Westinghouse cited in (2)(a) above.

and the definitions of legally qualified candidates in the rules for explanations of the term "legally qualified candidate." The Commission believes Congress meant to apply the lowest unit charge "only in situations where an election is being held in the service area of the station on which time is being purchased." Thus, a candidate for a party's Presidential nomination would be able to buy time at this rate in a State in which the primary was to be held within 45 days and in which the candidate had either qualified for a position on the primary ballot or had made a substantial showing of being a write-in candidate. However, if the primary already has been held in a State, he is not entitled to the lowest unit charge in that State, nor in a State in which the delegates to the national nominating convention are chosen by a State convention.1 (The citation is to the original primer on the lowest unit rate. It will be referred to hereafter in this section as "Public Notice.")

- (b) The rates apply only to "uses" of stations by candidates. A "use" is an appearance on the air by a candidate personally. However, there are exceptions and qualifications to this simple definition. See Section C for the definition of a "use" and Section D for what is not a "use."
- (c) They apply only to "uses" in connection with a political campaign. Section 315(b) states that the limitations on rates for candidates apply when a candidate uses his time "in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, or election * * * ." Congress evidently did not want to make the lowest unit rate available to a candidate who also is, say, a department store owner who wants to use his time to advertise a current sale at the store rather than to promote his candidacy.
- (d) "Lowest unit charge" applies only to candidates for election. The language of Section 315(b)(1) about the "Lowest unit charge" refers only to the 45 days preceding a "primary or primary runoff election and * * * the 60 days preceding the date of a general or specific election * * * ." (Emphasis added.) It does not apply the "lowest unit charge" to persons who are candidates for nomination by a party convention or caucus.³
- (e) "Comparable use" rates apply to pre-convention candidates. Section 315(b)(2), which states that "at any other time" candidates may not be charged more than other time buyers would pay for "comparable use" of the station, does not

¹ Use of Broadcast and Cablecast Facilities by Candidates for Public Office, 34 FCC 2d 510, 531–532 (1972).

² For an example of "non-uses," see Sig Rogich (KVOV), 48 FCC 2d 230 (1974).

³ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 523 (1972).

- mention primary or general elections, so the Commission interprets it as applying at all times to persons who seek nomination by a party convention or caucus—as well as applying to pre-primary and pre-election candidates outside of the 45- and 60-day periods.⁴
- (f) Rates apply to networks as well as stations. The rate restrictions apply to networks as well as to individual stations, since networks are, in effect, selling time on behalf of their affiliated stations. This also means that the compensation an affiliate receives from a network for carrying a sponsored network program will not be considered in computing the affiliate's "lowest unit charge" for direct sales to candidates. This principle applies to "non-wired networks" like Keystone as well as to interconnected networks like ABC, CBS, NBC, and MBS.⁵
- (g) Rate restrictions do not apply to production charges. The "lowest unit charge" applies only to time sales. It does not apply to charges normally made by a station for other services, such as use of a television studio, audio or videotaping, or line charges and remote technical crew charges when the broadcast originates outside the station. The "lowest unit charge" also does not apply to any additional charges that may be made if a candidate buys full sponsorship of an existing program for which there is an established program charge in addition to a time charge.

Lowest Unit Charge

- 2. Section 315(b)(1) refers to "the lowest unit charge of the station for the same class and amount of time for the same period * * * " The following definitions of these terms and examples of the ways in which the lowest unit charge is to be computed and applied are based on the Commission's 1972 Public Notice on this subject cited above, unless otherwise indicated:
 - (a) What does "class" of time mean? It refers to the kinds of rates that most radio and TV stations have, such as rates for fixed-position spots, preemptible spots, run-of-schedule spots, and special discount packages.
 - (b) What is the "amount" of time? This term refers to the length of the period purchased, such as 30 seconds, 60 seconds, 5 minutes or 1 hour.
 - (c) What is the "same period?" This term refers to the time of the broadcast day, such as prime time in TV, "drive time" in radio,

⁴ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 523 (1972).

⁵ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 525–27 (1972); Robert L. Olender, 61 FCC 2d 694 (1976).

⁶ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 530 (1972).

and Class A, Class B and other classifications of time which a station may establish for rate-making purposes.

- (d) What does "lowest unit charge" mean? Briefly it means that candidates must be given all discounts, based on volume, frequency or any other factor, that are offered to the station's most favored commercial advertiser for the same class and amount of time for the same period, regardless of how few programs or spots the candidate buys. This includes discounted rates given to commercial advertisers but not published on the rate card. Following are some examples:
 - (i) A station sells one-fixed position one-minute announcement in prime time to commercial advertisers for \$15. If an advertiser buys 500 spots, however, he pays only \$5,000 or \$10 each. If a candidate buys one spot he may not be charged more than \$10.
 - (ii) A station sells one preemptible 30-second spot in drive time to commercial advertisers for \$10. It sells 100 such spots for \$750. It must sell one such spot to a candidate for no more than \$7.50.
 - (iii) A station's lowest rate per spot for run-of-schedule oneminute spots is 1,000 for \$1,000, but it charges \$4 for a single run-of-schedule spot. It must sell one such spot to a candidate for not more than \$1.

Several Commission rulings give examples of the application of the "lowest unit charge": Eugene T. Smith, 34 F.C.C. 2d 622 (1972); Martin A. Blumenthal, 34 F.C.C. 2d 828 (1972); Waldron Broadcasting Corp. (WCIR-AM-FM), Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture, 43 F.C.C. 2d 619 (1973); Newhouse Broadcasting Corporation (WSYE-TV), Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture released August 25, 1975; Harbenito Radio Corporation (KGBT), 58 FCC 2d 645 (1976); WBGR, 58 F.C.C. 2d 980 (1976).

(e) "Package plans." If a station offers its advertisers a special package plan for buying spot announcements, it must make a similar plan available to political candidates and charge them proportionately. For example, Station XXXX offers a "Summer Special" 12 spot package consisting of three spots in morning "drive time," three during the midday period, three in afternoon "drive time" and three during the 7 to 11 p.m. evening hours—12 spots per day for a package price of \$60, which is less than the cost of buying three spots in each of the four periods. Normally, six "drive time" spots would cost \$48 and the other six spots (mid-day and evening) would cost \$30. If a candidate seeks to buy the same package, he naturally will be entitled to buy it for \$60. If he wishes to buy only four spots per day—one each in morning and afternoon "drive time" and one each during the mid-day and evening periods—he may buy

them at a proportionate rate—in this case, one-third of \$60 or \$20. If he wishes to buy spots only in morning and afternoon "drive time", he must pay whatever the station's lowest unit charges to advertisers are for spots in these preferred periods. He is not entitled to pay at the same special low package rate unless he buys spots in all of the time periods specified in the package plan.

(f) "National" and "Local" rates. Some stations charge lower rates to local merchants than to national advertisers. During the "lowest unit rate" period, a political candidate may not be charged more than the lowest rate of the station, regardless of whether it is the "national" or "local" rate and regardless of whether the candidate is running for local, county, State or national office. However, see (4) and (5) of this section about "comparable use" rates for different political offices when the lowest unit rate does not apply.

(g) When "rate card" and rate actually charged are different. Stations some times sell time to advertisers at less than the rate quoted on their rate cards. On the other hand, the rate card may show a special discounted "package" or "plan" which works out to a lower rate than the station has actually charged an advertiser during the 45- or 60-day period preceding a primary or general election. The Commission has ruled that whichever charge is lower (that on the rate card or that actually charged) is the one that must be used in

computing "lowest unit charge" for candidates.

(h) Advertising agency discount. Stations usually allow advertising agency commissions to be taken out of the charges made for time. If they do, and if a candidate buys time through an agency, the station may include the usual agency commission in the lowest unit charge it makes to the candidate. However, if the candidate buys time directly from the station without using an agency, the amount usually paid for agency commission must be deducted from the lowest unit charge. For example, if the lowest rate for a one-minute spot is \$100 and the agency commission is 15 percent or \$15, a candidate buying time through an agency must pay \$100, but if the candidate places the spot directly, without use of an agency, he pays only \$85. However, a candidate buying time directly must furnish his advertisement or other program matter to the station unless it is the policy of the station to prepare the material for commercial advertisers without charge in such non-agency situations.

(i) Station representative commissions. Most stations contract with "station representative" firms to represent them in selling time to national or regional advertisers. The stations pay their "reps" a commission on sales made for them. Unlike

the situation in (h) above regarding advertising agencies, the commission paid to a sales representative must not be considered in computing the station's lowest unit charge. Such a representative is similar to a station's own sales staff, which frequently is paid on a commission basis, at least in part. Thus, a candidate who does not buy time through a sales representative is not entitled to a lower rate than one who does.⁷

- (j) Rates for "legal notices." The laws of some states fix the rate which stations may charge for broadcasting legal notices. This rate may be well below that charged other advertisers. The Commission has ruled that since rates for legal notices are set by statute rather than by the station, they are not to be used in calculating the lowest unit rate for candidates.
- (k) "Trade-out" and barter deals. Stations sometimes trade time for the goods or services of commercial advertisers. The Commission has ruled that such "trade-out" or barter deals need not be considered in calculating a station's lowest unit rate. Only sales involving payment of money to the station need be considered.
- (l) Station may charge candidates less than lowest unit rate, but must make same rate available to all. Section 315(b)(1) states that a station's rates during the 45 or 60-day period shall "not exceed" its lowest unit charge to other purchasers. It does not state that a station may not charge candidates a lower rate than other purchasers. However, if one candidate or group of candidates is given a lower rate, this in itself becomes the "lowest unit rate" and other candidates may not be charged more than this.8
- (m) Post-election restitution to candidates does not excuse overcharge. A station charged a rate based on an agency commission, although no agency was involved. Later, it claimed it intended to "reconcile" all political accounts after the election. The Commission ruled that an "intention to make restitution * * * will not serve to excuse past violations."9
- (n) Free spots to non-profit organization that also buys spots. Normally, if a station offers free "bonus" spots to an advertiser as an inducement to buy spots on the station, the bonus spots will be considered as sponsored and must be included in computing that station's charge for spots to the advertiser. Thus, if a station sells 10 spots at \$10 each to an advertiser but promises him an additional 10 spots "free," the

⁷ WPSD-TV, 34 FCC 2d 828 (1972).

⁸ Letter to Robert A. Marmet, Esq., June 2, 1977.

⁹ Turner Communications Corporation, 54 FCC 2d 1129 (1975); affirmed in reduced amount, February 19, 1976; see, also, KA YS, Inc., 43 FCC 2d 1183 (1973).

average price per spot for "lowest unit charge" purposes will be \$5 instead of \$10. However, when a station customarily provides additional free spots to non-profit organizations which may buy spots to advertise Christmas tree sales, concerts, etc., the free spots need not be averaged with the paid spots in arriving at the lowest unit rate. 10

When Rates for Candidates Take Effect

3. The phrase "lowest unit charge of the station" in Section 315(b)(1) refers to the lowest unit charge to a station's most favored advertiser for broadcasts that are made during the 45 days preceding a primary election or the 60 days preceding a general election. If a station's lowest rate for a spot had been \$10 but it increased the rate to \$12 one week before the beginning of the 45 or 60 day period, the station could charge candidates \$12 thereafter. However, if there was an indication that the station was changing its rate only temporarily so as to deprive candidates of their rights during the pre-election period, the Commission would investigate to determine whether the law was being evaded; if so, it would view the violation most seriously. Many other questions have arisen as to the rates on which a station may base its lowest unit charge and when the charges are effective. Examples of these are given below:

(a) 45 and 60-day periods refer to dates of broadcasts. If a candidate signs a contract on the 70th day before a general election, covering the purchase of time for broadcasts within the 60 days before the election, he is entitled to the lowest unit rate, regardless of the date of the contract. However, if some of his announcements are to be broadcast between the 70th and the 60th day before the election, the station need not charge its lowest unit rate for these particular spots. It is the date or dates of broadcasts that are important in applying the lowest unit charge.

(b) Low charge to a single advertiser controls lowest unit rate. A station may have had a contract with one advertiser over a period of many years at a rate less than that charged others who began advertising at a later date, after rates had been increased. Even though only one advertiser gets the special low rate, that rate is the station's lowest, and the same charge must be made to a candidate for that class and amount of time for that period.¹¹ However, if the contract with the longstanding advertiser expires during a 45 or 60-day pre-election period and there is no intention ever to renew it at the low rate, the station may base its lowest unit charge thereafter on

¹⁰ Allan R. Page (KGWA), 34 FCC 2d 1103 (1972); Robert W. Sterling, 48 FCC 2d 531

¹¹ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 528-29 (1972).

- its charges for commercial advertisements still being broad-cast.
- (c) Unsold time as special discount. During the 60 days before a general election a station manager finds himself with a considerable amount of unsold time on a particular date. In order to obtain something rather than nothing for the time, he sells it at an extremely low rate on that day only. The Commission has ruled that this becomes the lowest unit charge not only for time sold to candidates thereafter but for time previously sold in that 60-day period, so that rebates must be made to candidates who have used that station prior to that date. This is because the manager could have made such a special offer, at his discretion, on any day of the 60-day period and because of the possibility of abuse by favoring commercial advertisers or one candidate over another.¹²
- (d) Rates may vary with days of the week. If a station charges commercial advertisers more for a one-minute spot between 7:00 and 7:30 p.m. on one night of the week than on another night because of the higher rating or otherwise greater desirability of the period on that night, it may take that fact into account in computing its lowest unit charge to candidates for spots in that period on that night.¹³
- (e) Change in rates because of audience ratings. Many television stations raise or lower their rates for spot announcements next to programs on the basis of new audience ratings in their markets. If a new rating shows that Program A now has a greater audience than before, and Program B a smaller audience, the station may increase its rate for spots adjacent to Program A and lower the rate for adjacencies to Program B. In such cases, candidates buying spots adjacent to Program A for broadcast after the rate change may be charged more after the change, and those buying adjacencies to Program B for broadcast after the rate change will be entitled to a lower "lowest unit rate" than before the rate change.¹⁴
- (f) Change from summer to winter rates. Assume that the 60-day period preceding a general election begins on September 3. On September 20, as is its annual practice, a station changes from its lower "summer" rates to its higher "winter" rates. When this happens, the "lowest unit rate" between September 3 and September 20 is based on the summer rate. From September 20 until election day, it is based on the winter rate. 15

¹² Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 527 (1972).

¹³ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 524-25 (1972).

¹⁴ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 525 (1972).

¹⁵ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 525 (1972).

However, there may be variations in these cases. Two examples follow:

- (i) A station increases its rates on September 20 as stated above. Candidate A buys 50 fixed-position one minute spots in prime time to be broadcast before the rate change takes effect. Candidate B is entitled to equal opportunities to respond under Section 315(a), and he buys 50 similar spots to be broadcast after the seasonal rate change. The situation here becomes different from the one described under (f) above, because "equal opportunity" requires that B be charged no more than his opponent A. Therefore, the rate charged B may not be greater than that charged A.
- (ii) A station increases its rates because of the season on September 20. Candidate A has bought 50 fixed-position prime-time spots to be broadcast before the rate change. Candidate B wants to buy 100 spots to be broadcast after the seasonal rate change. He is entitled to buy 50 spots at the same rate as his opponent, A. If the station sells him another 50 spots, it may base its charge on the higher seasonal rate after September 20.16
- (g) If rate goes down after contract is signed, candidate gets lower rate. Before the beginning of the 45-day period preceding a primary election, a candidate signs a contract for time to be used during the 45-day period. The price for the time is stated in the contract. After he signs it, and before his broadcasts begin, the station's rates change, either because it is switching from winter to summer rates or because of higher or lower audience ratings. If the change in rates results in a lower unit charge than that specified in the contract, the candidate gets the benefit of the new lower rate, since it will be in effect during the 45-day period. However, if the new lowest unit charge is higher than that stated in the contract, the candidate gets the benefit of the rate quoted in the contract.¹⁷

Charges for "Comparable Use" of Stations

4. Except during the 45 days before a primary election and the 60 days before a general election, a station is allowed to charge a political candidate as much as it charges others for "comparable use" of the station. "Comparable use" means use of the same amount and class of time in the same period. For example, if a station's lowest rate to commercial advertisers for a one-minute announcement at 8 p.m. on Saturdays is \$10 for one spot or \$75 for ten spots, the station may charge a political candidate \$10 for a single spot, and he or she must

¹⁶ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 527-28 (1972).

¹⁷ Public Notice, 34 FCC 2d 510, 529 (1972).

buy ten spots in order to get the reduced rate of \$7.50 a spot. (He or she would have to pay only \$7.50 for a single spot if it were broadcast during the 45- or 60-day pre-election period.)

Examples of How "Comparable Use" Rates Apply

- 5. Following are examples of ways in which the "comparable use" provision of Section 315(b)(2) of the Communications Act applies:
 - (a) Time must be "used" by a legally qualified candidate. Section 315(b) refers only to broadcasts by legally qualified candidates in which the candidates themselves take part. (See Section A for definition of a legally qualified candidate and Section C for information on what a "use" of a station is.) Although Section 315(b) does not prohibit a station from charging higher than its regular commercial rates for political broadcasts that are not "uses," such charges might raise serious questions as to whether the station was serving the public interest. The U.S. Supreme Court and the Commission have stated that broadcasting discussion of important public issues is one of the most important services a station can perform, and both the Court and the Commission have recognized the special importance of political broadcasts. Trying to discourage them by discrimination in rates would not be consistent with this policy. (See discussion of "The Importance of Political Broadcasting" in Part I of the Primer.)
 - (b) "National" and "Local" rates. Some stations offer lower "local" rates to merchants who seek to attract customers from only the area near the city in which the station is located. They charge higher "national" rates to national advertisers which wish to reach the entire population. The Commission's rules recognize this difference for "comparable use" rates but not for "lowest unit rate." Thus, if a sponsored political program or spot is to be broadcast outside the 45- or 60-day pre-election period and the sponsor is a candidate for mayor of the city, a station which offers advertisers a "local" rate must offer the mayoral candidate the local rate because he or she is appealing to persons in the same area as local merchants who are given the "local" rate. Section 73.1940(b)(2) of the rules states, in part:

A candidate shall be charged no more than the rate the station would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that encompassed by the particular office for which such person is a candidate.

On the other hand, if a candidate's district extends beyond the territory for which local rates are customarily charged, the station is allowed to charge him the "national" rate if it has one. The essential point is that the rates charged candidates be no higher than those charged others for "comparable use."

- (c) May a station charge less than "comparable" rates? Section 315(b) merely sets an upper limit on what a station may charge candidates. The station may charge them less than commercial advertisers if it wishes.
- (d) 30-minute and 5-minute rates. A station charges \$50 for a 30-minute time period, and \$15 for a five-minute period. A candidate who has prepared only 5-minute recordings demands that the station sell him six separate 5-minute periods for the same price it charges for 30 minutes. The Commission has held that the station may refuse to do so, since the law does not require a station to sell time to candidates at lower rates than they charge commercial advertisers. 18
- (e) Run-of-schedule spots. A station customarily sold packages of "run-of-schedule" (ROS) spots to commercial advertisers at lower rates than those charged for fixed position spots. The run-of-schedule spots could be placed wherever the station wished and could be moved in order to make room for fixed position spots. The station refused to sell ROS spots to political candidates because it feared that if it sold them to Candidate A and one or more of his spots happened to fall within prime time, it also would have to sell ROS spots to A's opponent, B, and B might demand that an equal number of his ROS spots be broadcast in prime time. The Commission ruled that since the station sold ROS spots to commercial advertisers it must make them available to candidates. However, if some of A's spots happened to be broadcast in prime time, B would not be able to demand prime time for his ROS spots. He would have to take the same chances that A took. If B wanted to be assured of any particular time periods, he would have to pay the higher rate charged for fixed position spots. In selling ROS spots to candidates, station licensees are expected to act in good faith and follow normal procedures in scheduling the spots.19
- (f) Preemptible spots. Preemptible spots are sold at low rates on a "time available" basis. Although the purchase orders specify the times in which the spots are scheduled to be broadcast, a later purchaser of non-preemptible fixed position spots may preempt the time originally allocated to the preemptible spots. In that case, no charge is made for the originally scheduled preemptible spots. If a station normally sells preemptible spots to commercial advertisers, it also must make them available to political candidates, but candidates buying them must take their chances on getting on the air. Thus, if Candidate A

¹⁸ William V. Rawlings, 18 FCC 2d 746 (1969).

¹⁹ WFBG, 23 FCC 2d 760 (1967).

bought 10 preemptible spots and all of them actually were broadcast, and his opponent B later bought 10 preemptible spots which were not all broadcast, B would have to keep ordering preemptible spots until 10 of them actually were broadcast. If he wanted to make sure that each spot he bought was aired, he would have to buy non-preemptible spots at a higher rate.²⁰

- (g) A station raises its rates. After Candidate A buys spots at \$10 each, the station raises its rates to \$15. Candidate B, who is A's opponent, then seeks to buy spots. He must be given the same rate that A paid. Section 73.1940(b)(2) of the rules states that "the rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform * * * "
- (h) Advertising agency commissions. If a station normally pays a commission to an advertising agency for time purchased through the agency, it cannot refuse to pay a commission to an agency through which a candidate orders time; otherwise, a commercial advertiser would be favored over a candidate since it would receive the services of an agency merely by paying the station's established rate whereas a candidate would receive only broadcast time if he paid the same rate.²¹ However, if a station has announced and followed a policy of refusing to pay agency commissions for local advertising and a candidate for local office seeks to buy time through an agency, the station need not pay an agency discount, since it will be following the same policy with respect to local commercial advertisers and candidates seeking local office.²²
- (i) Candidate buys time on his own station. A candidate owns a station personally or is the principal owner and president of the corporate licensee. He buys time on the station at its regular commercial rates, using his personal funds to pay the station for it. If, thereafter, an opposing candidate seeks time on the station, it may charge him the same rate that its owner paid for time. The Commission stated, "The fact that you have a financial interest in the corporate licensee does not affect the licensee's obligation under the act. Thus, the rates which the licensee may charge to other legally qualified candidates will be governed by the rate which you actually pay to the licensee. If no charge is made to you, it follows that other legally qualified candidates are entitled to equal time without charge." However, in these circumstances, the candidate-owner should enter the payment to the station on the station's

²⁰ WHDH, Inc., 23 FCC 2d 763 (1967).

²¹ KNOE-TV, 40 FCC 388 (1964).

²² KSEE, 23 FCC 2d 762 (1968).

²³ WKOA, 40 FCC 288 (1957).

bocks so that it will be subject to income tax and be included in the annual financial report to the Commission. Also, the Commission has stated that "where the licensee, or a principal of the licensee, is also the candidate, there is a special obligation upon the licensee to insure fair dealing * * * "24"

- (j) Candidate uses own advertising agency. A candidate buys time through an advertising/public relations agency which he heads and whose profit he shares. The Commission was asked if the usual 15 percent agency commission would be considered a rebate or "kick-back" to the candidate. The FCC stated that it would not be so construed since "the Commission has no rule or regulation which would prevent or forbid him from using the services of his own advertising agency. The fact that he may ultimately share in a portion of the proceeds of the transaction is not inconsistent with the statute or our rules."²⁵
- (k) Candidate buys time for debate with opponent. A committee for a candidate buys time and the candidate offers to debate his principal opponent in the purchased period. The opponent agrees if all other candidates also are invited to debate. All are invited, but only one accepts. He takes part in a second debate in time paid for by the committee of the first candidate. The other candidates who did not participate in the debates would not be entitled to free time. Rather, "equal opportunities" would entitle them only to time they or their supporters paid for.²⁶
- (l) Candidate uses some of bulk time purchaser's spots. A station normally charges \$2 per spot but if 100 or more are contracted for the rate is \$1. A candidate arranges with a commercial advertiser which bought more than 100 spots to use five of its spots at \$1 each. The candidate's opponents would be entitled to the same low rate since the rates charged all candidates for the same office must be uniform.²⁷
- (m) Group of candidates buys block of time. A group of candidates for different offices pool their resources to buy a block of time at a discount. An individual candidate opposing one member of the group seeks to buy time on the station. The FCC ruled that candidates must be treated individually and that the individual candidate was entitled to be charged the same discount rate as his opponent, since the provisions of Section 315 run to the candidates themselves.²⁸

²⁴ Emerson Stone, Jr., 40 FCC 385, 386 (1964).

²⁵ Jason L. Shrinsky, 23 FCC 2d 770 (1966); KTRM, 40 FCC 331 (1962).

²⁶ KTVU-TV, 23 FCC 2d 757 (1967).

²⁷ Hon. Mike Monroney, 40 FCC 252 (1952).

²⁸ Political Broadcast Rates, 40 FCC 1975 (1954).

Recent Cases

6. Most of the original rulings on rates for "comparable use" of stations cited above date back a number of years. However, the Commission has followed the same principles in ruling on more recent cases, including the following: KAHU, Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture, FCC 71–959 (charging candidates higher rates than commercial advertisers); Waldron Broadcasting Corp., Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture, 43 F.C.C. 2d 619 (1973) (charging one candidate more than his opponent and charging candidates more than lowest unit charge); Newhouse Broadcasting Corporation, Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture, August 26, 1975 (charging candidates higher rates than commercial advertisers and charging one candidate a higher rate than his opponent); Letter to KFAR, April 6, 1977 (admonition for charging candidates for the same office different rates and charging some more than the lowest unit rate).

H.-How Much Time Must a Station Provide?

Political broadcasting is recognized by the Commission, the Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court as one of the most important services a station can provide to the public. The Commission has stated that it is one of the major elements of a station's service "because of the contribution broadcasting can make to an informed electorate—in turn so vital to the proper functioning of our Republic.1"

Congress amended Section 312(a) of the Communications Act in 1972 to give the Commission authority to revoke a station license for:

* * * willful or repeated failure to allow reasonable access to or to permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time for the use of the broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for Federal elective office on behalf of his candidacy.

This does not exempt stations from making time available to candidates for non-Federal offices such as Governor, State legislator, mayor or city councilman. Stations are expected to devote time to campaigns of State and local candidates in proportion to the significance of the campaigns and the amount of public interest in them. However, the law does not require stations to permit access to candidates for *every* non-Federal office, whereas it does require them to permit access to all candidates for Federal office if the candidates request it.

Regardless of whether candidates are for Federal or non-Federal office, a station may not refuse all requests for time simply because they do not fit into the station's particular format. For example, a station that normally broadcasts only music and spot announcements

¹ Licensee Responsibility as to Political Broadcasts, 15 FCC 2d 94 (1968); see, also Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America v. WDAY, Inc., 360 U.S. 525 (1959); Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc. v. Federal Communications Commission, 395 U.S. 367–94 (1969).

will not be meeting its obligations if it refuses to accept or schedule any political discussion running longer than one minute.² Reasonable Access for Federal Candidates

1. Like all general terms, "reasonable access" needs some sort of a definition so candidates and broadcasters will know their rights and obligations. It cannot be defined exactly, however, because what is reasonable for station A may not be reasonable for station B. Suppose that station A is a powerful New York City station whose signal covers an area including parts of three States in which there are at least six Senatorial candidates in the current election campaign, plus scores of Congressional candidates in dozens of districts and hundreds of State and local candidates. On the other hand, station B is in a sparsely populated area, and the only Federal candidates within range of its signal are two candidates for one U.S. Senate seat and two candidates in each of two Congressional districts—a total of six Federal candidates. Also, there are few State and local races in the station's area during the period of the current national campaign. A station with as few candidates to accommodate as B would be expected to provide more access to Federal candidates than A. However, the Commission has stated:

Congress clearly did not intend, to take the extreme case, that during the closing days of campaign, stations should be required to accommodate requests for political time to the exclusion of all or most other types of programming or advertising. Important as an informed electorate is in our society, there are other elements in the public interest standard, and the public is entitled to other kinds of programming than political. It was not intended that all or most time be preempted for political broadcasts. The foregoing appears to be the only definite statement that may be made about the new section, since no all-embracing standard can be set. The test of whether a licensee has met the requirement of the new section is one of reasonableness. The Commission will not substitute its judgment for that of the licensee, but, rather, it will determine in any case that may arise whether the licensee can be said to have acted reasonably and in good faith in fulfilling his obligations under this section.

We are aware of the fact that a myriad of situations can arise that will present difficult problems. One conceivable method of trying to act reasonably and in good faith might be for licensees, prior to an election campaign for Federal offices, to meet with candidates in an effort to work out the problem of reasonable access for them on their stations. Such conferences might cover, among other things, the subjects of the amount of time that the station proposes to sell or give candidates, the amount and types of its other programming * * * * 3

Thus, "reasonable access" for Federal candidates will depend on a number of factors, as will be explained in the following paragraphs. First, however, the reader should note that under section 312(a)(7) of the act the reasonable access requirement applies only to:

² Licensee Responsibilities as to Political Broadcasts, 15 FCC 2d 94 (1968).

³ Public Notice, Use of Broadcast and Cablecast Facilities by Candidates for Public Office, 34 FCC 2d 510, 536 (1972).

- (a) Uses of stations by candidates themselves. See section C above for definition of a "use".
- (b) Uses of stations by *legally qualified candidates* for Federal elective office. See section A above for definitions of legally qualified candidates.

The reader also should note that the law does not require a station to provide time free. It says the station either must provide reasonable access free or "permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time." Thus, if a station gives away enough time to a candidate to amount to "reasonable access" under the circumstances of the case, it is not required to sell time to the candidate, and if it sells the candidate "reasonable amounts" it need not provide free time.⁴

Principles To Be Followed in Applying Statute

2. On July 12, 1978, the Commission adopted a Report and Order clarifying its policy in enforcing section 312(a)(7).⁵ The document reaffirmed the Commission's policy of relying "generally on the reasonable, good faith judgments of licensees as to what constitutes reasonable access under all of the circumstances present in particular cases." (par. 55). It stated, however, that in deciding whether a licensee's judgments on this subject can be considered reasonable, the Commission will follow these general principles:

(a) Reasonable access must be provided to Federal elective candidates through the gift or sale of time for "uses" by the station by legally qualified candidates for public office.

- (b) Reasonable access must be provided at least during the 45 days before a primary and the 60 days before a general or special election. The question of whether access should be afforded before these periods begin and when access should apply before a convention or caucus will be determined by the Commission on a case-by-case basis.
- (c) Both commercial and noncommercial educational stations must make available program time during prime-time periods unless unusual circumstances exist. The Commission has recognized that there may be situations where the number of candidates in a Federal election may make it impossible for a station to make prime-time program time available, and the Commission will continue to make exceptions to the prime-time program time policy where circumstances dictate. ("Prime time" for purposes of enforcement of the reasonable access statute means the part or parts of the day in which the audience is likely to be largest. For TV, the 7-11 p.m. period is recognized as prime time in the Eastern and Pacific time

⁴ Dennis J. Morrisseau (WCAX-TV), 48 FCC 2d 436 (1974).

⁵ Report and Order in the Matter of Commission Policy in Enforcing Section 312(a)(7) of the Communications Act, BC Docket No. 78-102, FCC 78.

zones, and the 6-10 p.m. period in the Central and Mountain time zones. For radio, prime time usually means "drive time," the periods when most persons are driving to or from work.)

- (d) Commercial stations must make prime-time spot announcements available to Federal candidates. However, even though a noncommercial educational station may normally broadcast spot promotional or public service announcements, it generally need not make spot times available to political candidates. If a commercial station chooses to donate rather than sell time to candidates, it must make available to Federal candidates under the reasonable access statute free spot time of the various lengths, classes and periods which are available to commercial advertisers.
- (e) Licensees may not adopt a policy that flatly bans Federal candidates from access to the types, lengths and classes of time which they sell to commercial advertisers. Noncommercial educational stations need provide Federal candidates only with lengths of program time which are normal parts of the station's broadcast schedule (but see (d) above re spot time).
- (f) In view of the fact that Section 315(a) prohibits censorship of the material that a candidate uses during a personal appearance, noncommercial broadcasters may not reject material submitted by candidates merely on the basis that it was originally prepared for broadcast on a commercial station.
- (g) Although both educational and commercial licensees may suggest the format for appearances by candidates who exercise their Section 312(a)(7) rights, candidates need not accept these suggestions and may not be penalized by loss of "equal opportunities" if they decline to appear on programs designed by the broadcasters.

("Classes of time" means such kinds as fixed-position spots, preemptible spots, run-of-schedule spots, and special discount packages.) The Commission stated, however, that a Federal candidate "is not entitled to a particular placement of his or her announcement on a station's broadcast schedule." It recognized that this would be very difficult if a candidate wanted his or her spot placed next to a highly rated program that was broadcast only once, or very rarely and if opposing candidates demanded "equal opportunities." Also, some stations do not sell time to candidates during newscasts (pars. 41–43).6

In its Report and Order, the Commission also ruled that subscription TV stations need not make access available to Federal candidates during periods of time in which they are engaged in subscription TV programing.

⁸ Anthony R. Martin-Trigona; appeal dismissed, Anthony R. Martin-Trigona, FCC 78–109 (March 2, 1978).

Time for State and Local Candidates

3. As explained at the beginning of this section, the law does not require stations to provide access to every State, county, and local candidate. However, the Commission, the courts, and Congress have recognized that political broadcasting is one of the most important services that a station can provide to the public. Therefore, stations are expected to allocate reasonable amounts of time to other political races, based on the licensee's judgment of the importance of the races and the amount of public interest in them.

Examples of Rulings in Non-Federal Campaigns

- 4. Following are some examples of ways in which the Commission has applied Section 315 to non-Federal political candidates:
 - (a) Station need not sell time to all if it gives time. Even when a station decides a race is important enough to justify presentation of the candidates on the air, it need not sell time to them if it makes time available without charge.⁷
 - (b) Station can limit sale of time to certain races. A station may use its judgment as to which races are most significant and of greatest interest to the public, and refuse to sell or give time for "uses" of the station by candidates for other offices.8
 - (c) Need not sell time far in advance of election or accept particular format. A station need not sell time many months in advance of an election or accept a particular length of paid announcement that a candidate wishes to use.⁹
 - (d) Need not sell a specific period of time. Neither the Act nor the Commission's rules require a station to sell specific periods of time for political broadcasts.¹⁰
 - (e) Need not sell less than 5 minutes to candidate. A station which plans to make program time free to candidates in major races and to give "in depth" reports on news programs on these candidates is justified in exercising its judgment that the public interest will be better served by paid political appearances of five minutes or more.¹¹

I.—The "Seven-Day Rule"

The so-called "seven-day rule" (Section 73.1940(e) of the broadcasting rules) is as follows:

Time of request. A request for equal opportunities must be submitted to the licensee within 1 week of the day on which the first prior use, giving rise to the right of equal opportunities, occurred: *Provided*, *however*, That where a person

⁷ Rockefeller for Governor Campaign, (WAJR) 59 FCC 2d 646 (1976); Charles O. Porter, Esg., 35 FCC 2d 664 (1972).

⁸ Foster Furcolo (WCVB-TV), 48 FCC 2d 565 (1974); Lew Breyer, 31 FCC 2d 548 (1968).

⁹ Dan Walker (WMAQ), 57 FCC 2d 799 (1975).

¹⁰ W. Roy Smith, 18 FCC 2d 747 (1969).

¹¹ Louis Rosenbush, Jr. (WBAL-TV), 31 FCC 2d 782 (1971).

was not a candidate at the time of such first prior use, he shall submit his requests within 1 week of the first subsequent use after he has become a legally qualified candidate for the office in question.

1. The basic thrust of the rule is clear: a candidate who wants equal opportunities must make his request within one week of the day on which his opponent made his broadcast. Thus, if candidate A has been making broadcasts on a station for five weeks and his opponent B does not request equal opportunities until the end of the fifth week, B is entitled only to the amount of time that A has used during the fifth week. The Commission adopted this rule so broadcasters could make advance plans for allocating time to candidates during political campaigns, and to make sure that one candidate does not "lie in the bushes" until a day or two before election and then gain an unfair advantage over his opponent by getting a block of last-minute time equal to all of the time his opponent used during the whole campaign. However, the way the rule works out is not always as simple as the example above.

Rule Applies Only to "Uses" by Legally Qualified Candidates

2. The rule applies only to persons who are legally qualified candidates for public office at the time of the broadcast in question. For example, if A makes a broadcast before he becomes a legally qualified candidate and B is a legally qualified candidate at the time of A's broadcast, A's broadcast gives B no equal opportunity rights, no matter how soon he requests time from the station. On the same principle, if Smith is a legally qualified candidate when he makes a broadcast on August 1 but Jones does not become a legally qualified candidate for the same office until August 2, Smith's August 1 broadcast gives Jones no right to equal opportunities. However, if Smith should then make a second broadcast on August 3, Jones can obtain equal opportunities based on Smith's August 3 broadcast if Jones makes his request within one week of August 3. See the part of the rule beginning "Provided."

Multiple Candidates for the Same Office

3. The first sentence of the rule says that a "request for equal opportunities must be submitted within 1 week of the day on which the first prior use, giving right to equal opportunities, occurred * * * " An important word in that sentence is "first." Here's an example: As of August 1, A, B and C all are legally qualified candidates for the same public office. A makes a broadcast on August 1. On August 5, B asks

¹ As has been explained elsewhere in this Primer, a station is not required to notify a candidate that his opponent has asked for or obtained time. The station must keep a public file showing what candidates have requested either free or paid time and what the station did about the request, but it is up to the candidates to keep themselves informed by this or other means about what their opponents have done.

² Also, see Hon. Joseph S. Clark, 40 F.C.C. 332 (1962).

the station to make equal opportunities available to him because of A's broadcast. The station agrees, but B does not use his time until August 15. On August 10, C makes a request for equal opportunities, claiming that his request should be granted because it was made within seven days of B's request. The station rightly denies C's request, because the seven-day rule is not based on the time a request is made by another candidate. It is based on the date the time is used by another candidate. and here C did not make his request until 10 days after A's use. Moreover, if C had waited until after B's broadcast of August 15 and made another request on August 16 based on B's August 15 broadcast. he still would not be entitled to equal opportunities, because he was a candidate on August 1, the date of the "first prior use" and he did not submit his request by August 8. The Commission has recognized the fact that the "seven-day rule" would have little meaning if each use based on a prior use were allowed to trigger still another grant of equal opportunities so that such requests could go on and on. Here C was a legally qualified candidate when A made his original broadcast on August 1, and C could have exercised his rights by making a request within one week of that date. On the other hand, as pointed out in paragraph 2 of this section, if C had not been a legally qualified candidate on August 1 but became one by the date of B's broadcast of August 15, then C could have made a valid request at any time within one week of August 15, since he would be submitting "his request within 1 week of the first subsequent use after he became a legally qualified candidate for the office in question."

Requests Made Before Opponent's Use

4. A and B are legally qualified candidates for the same office and it is announced that A is going to speak on a station on September 15. On September 12 B requests equal opportunities based on the fact that his opponent is going to speak. The Commission has ruled that such an advance request is valid "if it is directed to a specific future Section 315 use which was then known or announced prior to the actual broadcast."3 (Other portions of the ruling in that case are no longer valid because the seven-day rule was amended in 1970). The Commission also has ruled that "where a licensee allows a candidate to use his facilities in a fixed and continuing pattern (as, for example, through the sale of a number of spot announcements to be broadcast over a specified period of time), a Section 315 request from an opposing candidate in reference thereto gives the licensee notice that equal opportunities are requested as to all uses in the 7-day period prior to the request and all subsequent uses pursuant to the pre-established schedule."4

³ Socialist Workers Party, 15 FCC 2d 96, 97 (1968).

⁴ KLAS-TV, 42 FCC 2d 894, 896-897 (1973).

When Station Erroneously Denies First Request

5. Candidate A requested equal opportunities based on appearances by his opponent within the past seven days. The licensee agreed, but put restrictions on the way in which A could use his time which the Commission found to be unreasonable. Between the time A filed his complaint with the Commission and the time the Commission ruled on it, A's opponent made still more broadcasts on the station, but A didn't request equal opportunities within seven days of each broadcast. The Commission ruled (i) A was within his rights in refusing to appear on the program under the station's proposed restrictions and was entitled to use the station's facilities as he had originally planned; (ii) since the filing of the complaint with the FCC made the stations aware that if the complaint were found valid, A would be entitled to the time he had requested, A was not required to keep making weekly demands for equal opportunities; (iii) A was entitled to all of the time used by his opponent since A filed his first request with the station.⁵

6. A, who was part owner and president of several stations in Texas, became a candidate for Democratic Senatorial nomination. He wrote his opponent, B, that A was using a certain amount of time daily on his stations and that B was "entitled to equal time, at no charge." B wrote back about two weeks later, thanking A for advising him "of the accumulation of time" on A's stations and stating that A would be notified when B decided to start using the accumulated time. About six weeks later, B requested time equal to all that A had used. A replied that the seven-day rule applied and B was entitled only to the time used during the week preceding receipt of B's second letter. The Commission ruled in this unusual case that, having offered B time and learned from B's first response that B misunderstood A's offer and assumed he would be allowed to accumulate time beyond one week, A should have notified B at the time that B's impression was mistaken. When a licensee is also a candidate, there is a special obligation on him to ensure fair dealings. B's first letter constituted a notification that B wished to avail himself of equal opportunities and if A had wished, he could at that time have made reasonable scheduling plans. However, the Commission added that the seven-day rule was not the only thing to be taken into account, and that "even if timely requests have been made by a candidate under the rule, a licensee may be called upon to exercise reasonable judgment in affording 'equal opportunities,' particularly where there has been an accumulation of time." The Commission said "the licensee and the candidate should confer, and attempt to work out, in good faith, reasonable solutions to the time problems presented in the case."6

⁵ Gray Communications Systems, Inc., 14 FCC 2d 766, 767 (1968); reconsideration denied, 19 FCC 2d 532 (1969).

⁶ Emerson Stone, Jr., 40 FCC 385, 387 (1964).

J.—Political Editorials; Personal Attacks

The rules on political editorials and personal attacks do not forbid the broadcast of either. Instead, they require broadcasters who carry such editorials or attacks to offer the persons adversely affected by them a chance to state their side of the case in person or through a spokesman.

Political Editorial Rule

- 1. The FCC receives many more complaints about political editorials than about personal attacks in connection with political campaigns. Therefore, most of this section deals with the editorializing part of the rule, which states:
 - (c) Where a licensee, in an editorial, (1) endorses or (2) opposes a legally qualified candidate or candidates, the licensee shall, within 24 hours after the editorial, transmit to respectively (i) the other qualified candidate or candidates for the same office or (ii) the candidate opposed in the editorial; (a) notification of the date and time of the editorial; (b) a script or tape of the editorial; and (c) an offer of a reasonable opportunity for a candidate or a spokesman of the candidate to respond over the licensee's facilities: Provided, however, That where such editorials are broadcast within 72 hours prior to the day of the election, the licensee shall comply with the provisions of this paragraph sufficiently far in advance of the broadcast to enable the candidate or candidates to have a reasonable opportunity to prepare a response and to present it in timely fashion.

Note that a candidate is not necessarily entitled to respond in person. If he did respond personally, his opponent or opponents in the campaign would be entitled to "equal opportunities" under Section 315(a) of the Act, and since they could not be censored, they could use their "equal time" in any way they chose. This is why the broadcaster is given the alternative of offering time for a spokesman of the candidate to respond, but in adopting this rule the Commission stated that "Barring extraordinary circumstances, the choice of the spokesman is, of course, a matter for the candidate involved." Examples of the Commission's interpretation of other parts of the rule follows:

(a) What is a station editorial? Basically, a station editorial is a statement presenting the view of the licensee of the station, such as its owner, a principal officer or the manager or another employee if he is permitted by the licensee to speak for the station. Even if a statement is not labeled an editorial, it may be one. For example, on the day before the primary elections the president and controlling stockholder of a station endorsed several candidates during an interview with him

¹ The personal attack-political editorial rules are found in §§73.123 (AM), 73.300 (FM), 73.679 (TV) and 73.598 (noncommercial educational FM stations, for which the rule applies only to personal attacks, since Section 399(a) of the Communications Act states that noncommercial educational stations may not editorialize or "support or oppose any candidate for political office").

² In the Matter of Amendment of Part 73 of the Rules, 8 FCC 2d 721, 727 (1967).

broadcast by his station. The station president claimed later that his statements about the candidates represented only his personal feelings and were not an editorial endorsement of candidates by the station itself. The Commission stated that "when the president and controlling stockholder of a licensee * * * endorses candidates for public office, such endorsements are indistinguishable from a station editorial within the meaning of Section 73.123(c)."3 In another case, all three stations in a city broadcast an identical item in their newscasts on the day before election. The item stated that the managers of all three stations had endorsed the same candidates in the next day's election. Two of the station managers had broadcast endorsements of these same candidates at an earlier date and at that time had complied with the requirements of the editorializing rule as to notifying other candidates, etc., but the endorsement by the third manager was not announced until the "news item" was broadcast just before election day. The Commission ruled that the broadcast of the announcement of the endorsement by all three managers was in effect the broadcast of a new political editorial, and that the candidates not endorsed should have been notified in advance.4 On the other hand, a statement of an employee or commentator of a station is not a station editorial unless it is represented to be one.5

(b) "72-hour rule." In the cases cited above, the stations did not comply with the requirement that if a political editorial is broadcast within 72 hours of election day, notice must be given to the candidates opposed or not endorsed in the editorial sufficiently far in advance for them to "have a reasonable opportunity to prepare a response and to present it in a timely fashion." In still another case, the station broadcast an endorsement of one candidate on the day before the election and then telephoned the opposing candidates and offered them a chance to respond. This was a violation of the rule, since the notification was not given "in advance of the broadcast." The same ruling was made in a case where the station broadcast an endorsement of one candidate twice on the day before election and once on election day and wrote the

³ Richard A. Karr (WJOB), 32 FCC 2d 285 (1971); see also, Port Jervis Broadcasting Co. (forfeiture order) June 24, 1976; application in mitigation or remission denied, March 14, 1977.

⁴ KSLY, KATY, KVEC (Notice of Apparent Liability for Forfeiture), May 31, 1973, FCC 73-594.

⁵ Accuracy in Media, Inc., 45 FCC 2d 297 (1973); Letter to Edward L. Fanning, December 3, 1975.

⁶ WKIK, 43 FCC 2d 593 (1973).

other candidate a letter offering him a chance to respond, but the letter was not even mailed until election day.⁷

- (c) "Reasonable opportunity to respond." There can be no single definition of what is a reasonable offer of an opportunity to respond to a political editorial, because the reasonableness of the opportunity may vary with the circumstances, as the Commission noted on p. 727 of its Order adopting the rule, cited above. The Commission stated that "In many instances a comparable opportunity in time and scheduling will be clearly appropriate; in others, such as where the endorsement of a candidate is one of many and involves just a few seconds, a 'reasonable opportunity' may require more than a few seconds if there is to be a meaningful response." Thus, if a station's editorial stated merely that it believed that the following candidates were best qualified for election to the city council and then listed 10 persons, the entire editorial might be less than a minute long, but a "reasonable opportunity" for a response by any of the candidates who were not endorsed certainly would require more than one-tenth of the time occupied by the editorial. In a specific case, the Commission found that the station had not given a candidate a reasonable opportunity to respond when it devoted 25 lines of script to endorsing his opponents and opposing him, and offered him the equivalent of six lines for his response.8 The Commission ruled that reasonable opportunity had been offered in another case, where the station had broadcast a one-minute editorial opposing a candidate's election at 6:25 and 10:25 p.m. on October 28 and then offered the candidate five minutes for a response to be broadcast at 10:25 p.m. on election eve, November 5. The Commission said it could not find the offer of five minutes on election eve compared to two earlier oneminute editorials to be unreasonable.9
- (d) When does an editorial endorse or oppose a candidate? If an editorial simply urges the election of one candidate to a certain office or recommends that the public vote against another candidate, there is no question as to whether the editorial falls within the scope of the rule. However, all cases have not been this clear, as illustrated by the following three:
 - (i) Two of the five members of the Board of Town Commissioners were running for reelection. Without identifying any candidate by name, a station broadcast editorials criticizing the current Board and urging the public to vote for "a change." The Commission ruled that even though the two

⁷ Black River Radio, 28 FCC 2d 337 (1971).

⁸ Dolph Pettey Broadcasting Co. (KUDE), 30 FCC 2d 675 (1971).

⁹ William J. Dodd (KATC-TV), 32 FCC 2d 545 (1971).

- Board members seeking reelection were not named, the editorial was in effect a statement of the station licensee's opposition to their candidacies and therefore was a political editorial under the rules.¹⁰
- (ii) During the second week before an election, station editorials referred to the fact that a State Senator announced that he would introduce legislation to create a commission to investigate corruption in government. Without referring to the election or the fact that the State Senator was a candidate for reelection, the editorial praised the idea of creating such a commission. The Senator's campaign workers distributed a campaign flier on which the editorial was printed, along with the station's logotype. The station broadcast a disclaimer of the flier three times. stating that use of its logo was unauthorized and that the station had a policy of not endorsing individual candidates. It also wrote to the Senator demanding that he stop using its trademark. The Senator's opponent claimed that the need for strengthened ethics legislation for state officials was a principal issue in his campaign, and that the station's editorial was interpreted by some persons as an endorsement of the Senator. The station denied that the editorial endorsed him or even inferentially advocated his election. The Commission ruled that although the favorable reference to the Senator's proposal "could arguably and with some logic be viewed as an endorsement * * * to apply our political editorializing rules in these situations—where no clear-cut endorsement of a candidacy is involved, would make little practical or legal sense * * * instead of encouraging 'uninhibited, robust and wide-open debate' * * * the effect of our ruling would be to inhibit it."11
- (iii) A county prosecuting attorney was a candidate for Democratic nomination for governor. The day before the primary, a station broadcast an editorial six times, strongly criticizing the candidate's record as a prosecutor but making no mention of the primary election for governor or the fact that he was a candidate in it. The licensee of the station denied that the editorial was one opposing the prosecutor's candidacy for governor. The station acknowledged, however, that the prosecutor's record was a controversial issue with "political implications" and that the broadcaster had been aware of the "political significance of the editorial." The Commission ruled that the

¹⁰ Bel Air Broadcasting Co., Inc., 47 FCC 2d 985 (1974).

¹¹ Stephen M. Slavin, 45 FCC 2d 639, 641-42 (1973).

editorial was a political one opposing the prosecutor's candidacy for governor, because the station took "a partisan position on a politically significant issue which is readily and clearly identified with a legally qualified candidate." The editorial "inferentially * * * challenged the qualifications of this official to obtain nomination as his party's Gubernatorial candidate." Also, "The editorial was broadcast on election eve, even though * * * the issue was one of public concern long before * * * "12 (The Commission found a difference between this and the Stephen M. Slavin case above in that the editorial in this case dealt with the candidate's "capacity to function as a public official," whereas in the Slavin case "it was the need for legislation to control government corruption that the station sought to endorse, not the candidacy of Senator Berning per se ." The Commission noted, as another distinction, the fact in the Slavin case the station had broadcast denials that an endorsement had been intended. p. 132).

Personal Attacks

- 2. Since there is an exception in the personal attack rule for attacks by candidates and their campaign associates against other candidates and their associates, complaints do not arise very often in political campaigns about violation of this rule. However, attacks sometimes take place which do not come within the exemption, as will be discussed briefly below. The personal attack rule, like the political editorializing rule, is found in §§73.123 (AM), 73.300 (FM), 73.598 (noncommercial educational FM stations) and 73.679 (TV). It is as follows:
 - (a) When, during the presentation of views on a controversial issue of public importance, an attack is made upon the honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an identified person or group, the licensee shall, within a reasonable time and in no event later than one week after the attack, transmit to the person or group attacked (1) notification of the date, time and identification of the broadcast; (2) a script or tape (or an accurate summary if a script or tape is not available) of the attack; and (3) an offer of a reasonable opportunity to respond over the licensee's facilities.
 - (b) The provisions of paragraph (a) of this section shall not be applicable (1) to attacks on foreign groups or foreign public figures; (2) to personal attacks which are made by legally qualified candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or those associated with them in the campaign, on other such candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or persons associated with the candidates in the campaign; and (3) to bona fide newscasts, bona fide news interviews, and on-the-spot coverage of a bond fide news event (including commentary or analysis contained in the foregoing programs, but the provision of paragraph (a) of this section shall be applicable to editorials of the licensee).

Note that the rule applies only to attacks on "the honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an identified person or group."

Criticism of a person's ability or intelligence is not a personal attack for purposes of the rule. The attack must be upon his honesty, character, integrity or similar qualities. Thus, saying that a legislator is ignorant and always votes the wrong way is not a personal attack under the rule, but saying that he has taken a bribe for his vote is a personal attack. In order for the rule to apply, the attack must be made during the discussion of a controversial issue of public importance. Finally, the rule not only exempts attacks by candidates and their associates on other candidates and their associates; it also exempts all attacks made during newscasts, news interviews and on-the-spot coverage of news events. The news exemption includes commentary or analysis when it is broadcast in an exempt news program. However, station editorials and news documentaries are not exempt.

Examples of Personal Attack Rulings

- 3. The personal attack rule is a part of the fairness doctrine. A few illustrations of the way the rule applies to political campaigns are given below:
 - (a) Candidate himself need not be given response time. If a personal attack on a candidate is broadcast, the station can comply with the rule by providing time for response by a spokesman for the candidate rather than the candidate himself. If the candidate himself appeared, he would be making a "use" of the station and under Section 315(a) of the Act his opponents would be entitled to equal opportunities. Although the personal attack rule does not state specifically that time for a candidate's spokesman will be sufficient (as does the editorializing rule), the Commission made this clear when it adopted both rules.¹³
 - (b) "Mental Gymnastics" charge is not an attack. A station accused a candidate of "strange mental gymnastics" because he and other county supervisors had voted for a bond issue to enlarge the county government's office space on the grounds that more space was needed, but at about the same time gave free space in the county building for a U.S. Senator from that state. The Commission found that the station licensee had not been unreasonable in deciding that no personal attack had been made "because the editorial questioned the wisdom of the supervisors' positions and not their honesty, character or integrity." 14
 - (c) "Garrulous grand dame" reference not a personal attack. A station referred to a local woman as "the garrulous grand dame of Billings radio talk shows" and "pistol packin momma." The object of these remarks alleged a personal

¹³ In the Matter of Amendment of Part 73 of the Rules, 8 FCC 2d 721 (1967).

¹⁴ John B. Walsh (KOGO-TV), 31 FCC 2d 726, 727 (1971).

- attack that might have affected an election. The Commission refused to find the station wrong in denying that a personal attack was made. It said, "The statements do not appear to allege either a deliberate falsehood or to question your character or integrity." ¹⁵
- (d) Honesty and integrity. A station broadcast charges that a candidate's "veracity leaves something to be desired" and that his "constituents had best assess his integrity or lack of it." This is the Port Jervis Broadcasting Company case cited in (1)(a) of the Political Editorial part of this section. The Commission imposed a forfeiture on the licensee for violation of the "72-hour rule" for political editorials. The broadcasts also were personal attacks on the candidate, since they questioned his veracity and his integrity.

K.—The Fairness Doctrine in Political Broadcasting

- 1. Some people think that the fairness doctrine is the same thing as the so-called "equal time" law, which is explained in Section E. Actually, the fairness doctrine is quite different. First, it deals with controversial public issues, whereas the equal opportunities law as set forth in Section 315(a) of the Communications Act refers to persons (that is, candidates). Second, the fairness doctrine does not require "equal time" for contrasting views on a controversial issue. All it requires is (i) that the broadcaster devote a reasonable amount of time to the discussion of the most important issues in his area and (ii) that if he presents one side of such an issue, he give reasonable opportunity for presenting contrasting views on that issue. He need not present contrasting views in a single broadcast, or even the same series of broadcasts, provided that he presents them somewhere in his overall programing. Thus, if a station presents an editorial favoring one side of an issue or a person favoring that side, it need not present a specific "counter-editorial" or any particular person to give the opposing viewpoint, as long as it presents contrasting views elsewhere in its overall programing. The licensee of the station is given discretion to choose the issues to be discussed, the program formats to be used and the persons who will present the contrasting views. The Commission will review the licensee's decisions only to decide if they were reasonable and made in good faith.1
- 2. There are two exceptions to the statement above that a station need not present any particular person to give "the other side" of an issue. These two exceptions are covered by Commission rules which deal with political editorializing and personal attacks. See Section J for an explanation of these rules.
 - 3. Although most inquiries and complaints in political campaigns

¹⁵ Mrs. Frank Diesz (KOOK-TV), 27 FCC 2d 859 (1971).

¹ Fairness Report, 48 FCC 2d 1 (1974).

concern appearances by candidates themselves which are "uses" of stations, to which the fairness doctrine does not apply, there are some situations to which it does apply, as explained in the following paragraphs.

Fairness Doctrine Examples

4. The following are some specific examples of how the fairness doctrine does or does not apply to political campaigns:

(a) It does not apply to "uses" by candidates. The fairness doctrine does not apply to "uses" of broadcast stations by legally qualified candidates for public office. The Commission has stated:

In Section 315(a), Congress has specified that equal opportunities shall be applicable to legally qualified candidates and that in other instances "fairness" be applicable—that is, that there be afforded " * * * reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting viewpoints on issues of public importance." [Emphasis added.]

(b) It does apply to news coverage of candidates. The fairness doctrine applies to appearances by candidates on programs which are not "uses" of a station, as listed in Section 315(a) of the Act and Section D of this Primer. It also applies to news coverage of candidates in general. The controversial public issue in a political race is who among the competing candidates for nomination or election to an office should be chosen. The individual candidates represent "contrasting viewpoints" on the overall issue of which should be elected, rather than each candidate being a controversial issue himself. Therefore, under the fairness doctrine a broadcaster is called upon to make a reasonable, good faith judgment on the significance of a particular candidate and on this basis to decide how much coverage should be given to his candidacy and campaign activities. The broadcaster is not required to give as much coverage to "fringe" party candidates as major party candidates.3

In one case, a minor party candidate received 14 minutes in news coverage or in exempt personal appearances, compared to 40 minutes for each of the two major party candidates. The Commission found this reasonable in view of the small vote polled by the minor party's candidate in that district in the previous election.⁴

(c) Praise or criticism of candidates by commentator. When an

² First Fairness Report, 36 FCC 2d 40, 47 (1972); see, also, Gloria W. Sage (WHEN-TV), 62 FCC 2d 136 (1976).

³ Lawrence L. C. Smith, 40 FCC 549 (1963); Ms. Penny Manes, 38 FCC 2d 308 (1972); reconsideration denied, 42 FCC 2d 878 (1973); Robin Ficker, 65 FCC 2d 657 (1977); American Independent Party and Eugene McCarthy, 62 FCC 2d 4 (1976); U.S. Labor Party, 57 FCC 2d 1273 (1976).

⁴ Harvey Michelman (WNBC-TV), 38 FCC 2d 374 (1972).

employee of a station, such as a commentator, criticizes a candidate or praises his opponent, the fairness doctrine comes into play.⁵

The "Zapple Doctrine"

5. The Commission applies the fairness doctrine in a special way to one kind of political situation—that is, where Candidate A or his supporters buy time in which to support A or criticize his opponent, but A does not appear on the broadcast in person. If supporters of Candidate B then seek to buy an equal amount of time they will be entitled to do so although the fairness doctrine does not usually require equal amounts of time for contrasting views on an issue. Similarly, if A's supporters have obtained free time, B's supporters must be given free time if they ask for it. Although in this situation the candidates themselves would not appear and the broadcasts would not be "uses," the Commission recognizes that such broadcasts are in "the political arena" and that a "quasi-equal opportunities" situation arises to which the fairness doctrine should be applied in a way that has the same result as the equal opportunities requirement for appearances by candidates themselves.⁶ The Commission has stated that the so-called "Zapple Doctrine" is "a particularization of what the public interest calls for in certain political broadcast situations * * * " It also has explained that this policy applies only to major political parties.7

L.—Identifying Sponsor of Broadcast

Section 317 of the Communications Act states that when a station is paid to broadcast anything, the station must announce that the broadcast is paid for and who paid for it. The announcement must be made at the time the program is broadcast. The law applies to paid political broadcasts as well as to other sponsored programs and spots. The sponsorship identification rules are in §73.1212. There have been many misunderstandings of what the Act and the rules require in sponsorship identification.

1. Examples of how the sponsorship identification requirements apply to political broadcasts follow:

(a) Merely stating that "The following is a paid political announcement" does not comply, because it doesn't say who paid for it.

(b) Merely adding a statement at the end of a spot or program that says, "Authority, Blank Campaign Committee, John Smith, Treasurer" does not comply because it doesn't say that anyone paid for it.

(c) Giving the sponsorship identification in such small type on

⁵ Richard K. Kelly, Jr., 40 FCC 2d 415 (1973).

⁶ Nicholas Zapple, 23 FCC 2d 707 (1970).

⁷ First Fairness Report, 36 FCC 2d 40, 47-50 (1972).

- television that the average viewer cannot read it, or leaving it on the screen too briefly to be read, does not comply because in neither case is the public informed that the program or spot is paid for and by whom.¹
- (d) An announcement that was paid for by a candidate which said that the candidate was providing free taxi service to take anyone to the polls "to vote for the candidate of your choice" should have been announced as paid for, even though the licensee of the station considered the announcements "non-political."²
- (e) A station broadcast a list of candidates for various local public offices without revealing that the list was not complete or that the candidates named on the list had paid the station to include them. The Commission ruled that this was a violation of the sponsorship identification requirement.³
- (f) Announcements for a candidate ended as follows: "Paid for by a Lot of People Who Want to See Sam Grossman Elected to the United States Senate." Although "A Lot of People", etc. was the actual name of the committee that paid for the spots, the Commission ruled that this language did not comply with the sponsorship identification statute and rule because it did not achieve the basic purpose behind the sponsorship identification requirements, which is that the public is entitled to know by whom it is being persuaded. The language used here "was so general that it did not convey to listeners and viewers the fact that the announcements were sponsored by a specific entity, i.e., a committee supporting Mr. Grossman's candidacy."4
- (g) If a station customarily computes the time needed for sponsorship identification as part of the time purchased by a commercial advertiser, it is allowed to follow the same practice with paid political programs or announcements. Thus, stations which require that a one-minute commercial advertising spot include sponsorship identification within the one minute that was paid for may make the same requirement for a paid political announcement or program.
- (h) Although Section 317 of the Communications Act uses the phrase "paid for", the Commission's rules state that "sponsored" will be considered to have the same meaning. Section 73.1212(a)(1).

¹ Application of Sponsorship Identification Rules to Political Broadcasts, 66 FCC 2d 302 (1977).

² Letter to Station WBFN, July 9, 1976.

³ Starkville Broadcasting Co., 45 FCC 2d (1974).

⁴ Station KOOL-TV, 26 FCC 2d 42 (1970).

Material Furnished Free

2. Section 73.1212(d) of the rules requires that when any "film, record, transcription, talent, script or other material or service of any kind is furnished * * * as an inducement for broadcasting * * * any political broadcast matter for matter dealing with a controversial public issue] * * * an announcement shall be made both at the beginning and conclusion of such broadcast * * * " that the film record, etc. "has been furnished in connection with transmission of such * * * matter." (Only one announcement, either at the beginning or end of the broadcast, is required if the program is no more than five minutes long.) This rule means, of course, that even if someone doesn't pay for the time in which some kinds of material are broadcast, the station must announce that he furnished the material if he did so. This applies not only to political candidates furnishing recordings, film, videotapes, etc., but to anyone's furnishing them if they deal either with political subjects or controversial public issues. The Commission has ruled that an announcement is necessary that program material has been furnished to a station not only when a party Congressional committee furnishes previously prepared film or audiotape of statements of Congressmen to stations, but when the committee only makes available to the station a camera or sound recording crew so that a representative of the station himself can conduct an interview with a Congressional member of the party.⁵ When members of Congress furnish stations with their weekly or monthly taped or filmed reports to their constituents, the same requirement exists that the station announce that the material was furnished to it by the Congressman. Instead of sending tape or film of their comments on political or controversial issues to stations, some public officials and other persons retain the taped messages in their offices, but set up telephone playback systems whereby a broadcaster dialing a certain number can receive by telephone the pre-recorded statement of the official or other persons for simultaneous or delayed broadcast. The same principle applies to this arrangement as to the Sukow case above, since the person is furnishing a "service" to a station as an inducement to broadcast his material. However, Congress has indicated that no announcement need be given when mere mimeographed or printed press releases are furnished to stations.

FCC and FEC Regulations are Different

3. Different laws govern the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Election Commission. The Communications Act applies to licensees of broadcast stations. Section 317 of that Act requires that stations broadcast sponsorship identification announcements of the kinds discussed above. On the other hand, the Federal Election Campaign Act and the FEC rules apply to candidates, their committees

⁵ Gary M. Sukow, 36 FCC 2d 668 (1972).

and others buying political broadcast time. The announcements required by the FECA are designed to reveal whether a paid message supporting a candidate or opposing another was authorized by a candidate. The FCC and the FEC released a joint Public Notice on June 19, 1978 (FCC 78-419), which gives examples of ways in which both the FCC's requirements and the FEC's requirements may be met in a single announcement. For example, if a program or announcement is both paid for and authorized by a candidate or his committee, an announcement that it was paid for or sponsored by the candidate or committee will be sufficient, since authorization by the candidate is assumed and need not be stated. However, when a third party pays for a program or announcement authorized by a candidate or his committee, an announcement like this is required:

Paid for (or sponsored) by (name of third party) and authorized by (name of candidate or committee).

If the program or announcement is paid for by a third party but not authorized by any candidate or any candidate's committee, an announcement such as this would comply with both FCC and FEC requirements:

Paid for (or sponsored) by (name of sponsor/payor) and not authorized by any candidate.

The above announcements are merely examples of ways in which both statutes can be complied with in a single announcement. Broadcast licensees are responsible for making sure that an announcement is given revealing who paid for or sponsored an announcement or program, and candidates or their committees (or an outside party paying for the broadcast) are responsible for disclosing whether the program or announcement was authorized by a candidate or his committee.

M-Miscellaneous Rules and Policies

Logging Political Programs

- 1. The rules require that stations record many kinds of information in their program logs about the programs they broadcast. This Primer will discuss only the parts of the logging rules that deal specifically with political broadcasts. they are:
 - (a) The requirement in subsection (b)(1)(v) that a log entry be made for "each program presenting a political candidate, showing the name and political affiliation [party] of such candidate." This requirement applies both to programs and spot announcements. It is in addition to the general require-

¹ The broadcast rules on program logs are found in §§73.112 (AM), 73.282 (FM), 73.585 (Non-commercial, educational FM) and 73.620 (TV).

¹⁰ A If the candidate is an independent, the log entry should indicate the fact.

ment that for all sponsored programs and announcements, political or otherwise, the broadcaster must record in the log the name of the sponsor of the program or announcement.

(b) The general logging rules require that an entry be made "classifying each program as to type." Political programs, one of the types, are defined in the NOTES at the end of the program logging rules as follows: Political programs (POL) include those which present candidates for public office or which give expressions (other than in station editorials) to views on such candidates or on issues subject to public ballot. (Political spot announcements need not be classified in the logs "as to type.")

With certain exceptions that are explained in the rules, program logs must be made available for public inspection, but not until 45 days after the date of the programs that they cover.²

Computing Commercial Time

- 2. Computing total commercial time in political broadcast depends on whether they are spot announcements or programs. If they are spot announcements, they are treated in the program logs like any other commercial announcement, and the time used for paid political and commercial advertising spots is added together to arrive at the total time devoted to commercials in any clock hour. However, when a candidate or his supporters buy time for a program—perhaps a speech by the candidate or a panel discussion of the issues in the campaign the station does not need to compute any commercial time for the program. The Commission decided years ago that since it is usually impossible to separate the so-called "commercial" and "non-commercial" parts of paid political and religious programs and since the Commission didn't want to discourage stations from carrying either kind of program by requiring them to be counted as entirely commercial, it would make an exception for them in computing commercial content of sponsored programs. (The exception does not include time actually devoted to selling a commercial product or service, such as a book or an album of religious music.)3 "Political File"
 - 3. Section 73.1940(d) of the rules requires broadcasting stations to:
 - * * * Keep and permit public inspection of a complete record (political file) of all requests for broadcast time made by or on behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the licensee of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if request is granted. When free time is provided for use by or on behalf of such candidates, a record of the free time provided shall be placed in the political file. All records required by this paragraph

² The numbers of the rule sections on "Availability of logs and records" are §§73.116 (AM), 73.286 (FM), 73.586 (noncommercial, educational FM) and 73.674 (TV).

³ See Amendment of §§73.112, etc. 11 FCC 2d 992, 993 (1968).

shall be placed in the political file as soon as possible and shall be retained for a period of two years.

(Section 76.205(d) of the cablecasting rules contains the same requirements.)

The language of the political file rule was recently revised by the Commission to make clear the fact that a broadcaster or cable operator must record in the file not only "requests" for time but gifts of time, whether or not the time is given as the result of a request. The language also was revised to state that all records of requests for time or gifts or sales of it must be entered in the political file as soon as possible throughout a political campaign. Otherwise, candidates might be denied their rights to equal opportunities because they might not learn within the seven-day period that their opponents had bought or been given time on stations or cable systems. In clarifying the rule, the Commission also explained that the rule applies not only to time used by candidates themselves but also to time in which others speak on their behalf.

No Indemnity Agreements Can be Required

4. A station may not require a candidate to sign an agreement to indemnify it against possible liability resulting from the candidate's proposed broadcast. The U.S. Supreme Court held in the WDAY case⁴ that a station is not liable for libelous statements broadcast by a candidate. Therefore, an indemnification agreement is not needed to protect a station and requiring a candidate to sign such an agreement in advance "is likely to inhibit a candidate's use of a broadcast facility and possibly to affect his decision on whether to utilize a station to address the public." 5

Political Ads on UHF Translators

5. UHF translator stations are allowed to originate visual slide announcements not exceeding 30 seconds per hour which contain commercial advertising. Although "the nature of translators and the limitations on local originations make it extremely difficult for translator licensees to comply with Section 315 * * * and the rules relating to political advertising * * * ." if UHF translator licensees originate political advertisements "they will be expected to comply strictly with the provisions of Section 315 * * * "6

Disputes over Terms or Performance of Contract

6. Disputes sometimes develop between broadcasting stations and sponsors over whether the station broadcast as many spots as it contracted to broadcast, whether the spots were broadcast in the time

^{4 (}See Section F(3)).

⁵ Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, 37 FCC 2d 576, 577 (1972).

⁶ Public Notice, Acceptance of Political Advertising by UHF Translator Licensees, 62 FCC 2d 896 (1976).

periods promised to the advertiser, whether the announcer read the continuity correctly, etc. The FCC has always taken the position that it cannot settle disputes over contracts between the more than 9,500 broadcasting stations in the United States and their advertisers. Such disputes can best be settled by negotiation between the two parties or in civil actions in the local courts. This principle applies to disputes between stations and candidates as well as other advertisers. If there is evidence of fraud on the part of the station licensee or of an effort to discriminate against a candidate, the Commission will investigate, but it will not become involved in the usual contract dispute.⁷ (For a discussion of a station's furnishing "make-good" time when a program or announcement is omitted or its broadcast is seriously marred by technical problems, see Section E(2)(h) and (i)).

Adopted: July 20, 1978.

Federal Communications Commission, William J. Tricarico, Secretary.

APPENDIX.—THE COMMISSION'S RULES AND REGULATIONS IN 47 CFR CHAPTER I ON POLITICAL BROADCASTING AND CABLECASTING

A. Political Broadcasting Rules

Following are the rules for broadcasts by candidates for public office:

§73.1940 Broadcasts by candidates for public office.

- (a) Definitions. (1) A legally qualified candidate for public office is any person who—
 - (i) has publicly announced his or her intention to run for nomination or office;
 - (ii) is qualified under the applicable local, state or federal law to hold the office for which he or she is a candidate; and,
 - (iii) has met the qualifications set forth in either subparagraphs (2), (3), or (4), below.
 - (2) A person seeking election to any public office including that of President or Vice President of the United States, or nomination for any public office except that of President or Vice President, by means of a primary, general or special election, shall be considered a legally qualified candidate if, in addition to meeting the criteria set forth in subparagraph (1) above, that person—

(i) has qualified for a place on the ballot, or

(ii) has publicly committed himself or herself to seeking election by the write-in method and is eligible under applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his or her name on the ballot or by other method, and makes a substantial showing that he or she is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office.

⁷ KAIT-TV, 62 FCC 2d 138 (1977); Letter to Mrs. Nancy Brown, February 25, 1977.

Persons seeking election to the office of President or Vice President of the United States shall, for the purposes of the Communications Act and the rules thereunder, be considered legally qualified candidates only in those states or territories (or the District of Columbia) in which they have met the requirements set forth in paragraph (a)(1) and (2) of this rule: Except, That any such person who has met the requirements set forth in paragraph (a)(1) and (2) in at least 10 states (or nine and the District of Columbia) shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for election in all states, territories and the District of Columbia for purposes of this Act.

(3) A person seeking nomination to any public office except that of President or Vice President of the United States, by means of a convention, caucus or similar procedure, shall be considered a legally qualified candidate if, in addition to meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (a)(1) above, that person makes a substantial showing that he or she is a bona fide candidate for such nomination. Except, That no person shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for nomination by the means set forth in this paragraph prior to 90 days before the beginning of the convention, caucus or similar procedure in which he or she seeks nomination.

(4) A person seeking nomination for the office of President or Vice President of the United States shall, for the purposes of the Communications Act and the rules thereunder, be considered a legally qualified candidate only in those states or territories (or the District of Columbia) in which, in addition to meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (a)(1) above—

(i) he or she, or proposed delegates on his or her behalf, have qualified for the primary or Presidential preference ballot in that state, territory or the District of Columbia, or

(ii) he or she has made a substantial showing of bona fide candidacy for such nomination in that state, territory or the District of Columbia; *Except*, That any such person meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (a)(1) and (4) in at least ten states (or nine and the District of Columbia) shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for nomination in all states, territories and the District of Columbia for purposes of this Act.

(5) The term "substantial showing" of bona fide candidacy as used in paragraphs (a)(2), (3) and (4) above means evidence that the person claiming to be a candidate has engaged to a substantial degree in activities commonly associated with political campaigning. Such activities normally would include making campaign speeches, distributing campaign literature, issuing press releases, maintaining a campaign committee, and establishing campaign headquarters (even though the headquarters in some instances might be the residence of the candidate or his campaign manager). Not all of the

listed activities are necessarily required in each case to demonstrate a substantial showing, and there may be activities not listed herein which would contribute to such a showing.

- (b) Charges for use of stations. The charges, if any, made for the use of any broadcasting station by any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, or election, to such office shall not exceed
 - (1) during the 45 days preceding the date of a primary or primary runoff election and during the 60 days preceding the date of a general or special election in which such person is a candidate, the lowest unit charge of the station for the same class and amount of time for the same period, and
 - (2) at any other time, the charges made for comparable use of such station by other users thereof. The rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform and shall not be rebated by any means direct or indirect. A candidate shall be charged no more than the rate the station would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that encompassed by the particular office for which such person is a candidate. All discount privileges otherwise offered by a station to commercial advertisers shall be available upon equal terms to all candidates for public office.
 - (3) This paragraph shall not apply to any station which is not licensed for commercial operation.
- (c) Discrimination between candidates. In making time available to candidates for public office, no licensee shall make any discrimination between candidates in practices, regulations, facilities, or services for or in connection with the service rendered pursuant to this part, or make or give any preference to any candidate for public office or subject any such candidate to any prejudice or disadvantage; nor shall any licensee make any contract or other agreement which shall have the effect of permitting any legally qualified candidate for any public office to broadcast to the exclusion of other legally qualified candidates for the same public office.
- (d) Records, inspection. Every licensee shall keep and permit public inspection of a complete record (political file) of all requests for broadcast time made by or on behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the licensee of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if the request is granted. When free time is provided for use by or on behalf of such candidates, a record of the free time provided shall be placed in the political file. All records required by this paragraph shall be placed in the political file as soon as possible and shall be retained for a period of 2 years. See §§1.526 and 1.527 of this chapter.
- (e) Time of request. A request for equal opportunities must be submitted to the licensee within one week of the day on which the first

prior use, giving rise to the right of equal opportunities, occurred: *Provided*, however, That where the person was not a candidate at the time of such first prior use, he shall submit his request within one week of the first subsequent use after he has become a legally qualified candidate for the office in question.

(f) Burden of proof. A candidate requesting equal opportunities of the licensee, or complaining of noncompliance to the Commission shall have the burden of proving that he and his opponent are legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

B. Political Cablecasting Rules

Following are the rules for origination cablecasts by candidates for public office:

§76.5 Definitions.

- (y) Legally qualified candidate. (1) Any person who-
 - (i) has publicly announced his or her intention to run for nomination or office;
 - (ii) is qualified under the applicable local, state or federal law to hold the office for which he or she is a candidate; and,
 - (iii) has met the qualifications set forth in either subparagraphs (2), (3), or (4) below.
- (2) A person seeking election to any public office including that of President or Vice President of the United States, or nomination for any public office except that of President or Vice President, by means of a primary, general or special election, shall be considered a legally qualified candidate if, in addition to meeting the criteria set forth in subparagraph (1) above, that person:

(i) has qualified for a place on the ballot, or

(ii) has publicly committed himself or herself to seeking election by the write-in method and is eligible under applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his or her name on the ballot or by other method, and makes a substantial showing that he or she is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office.

Persons seeking election to the office of President or Vice President of the United States shall, for the purposes of the Communications Act and the rules thereunder, be considered legally qualified candidates only in those states or territories (or the District of Columbia) in which they have met the requirements set forth in paragraphs (y)(1) and (2) of this rule; *Except*, That any such person who has met the requirements set forth in paragraph (y)(1) and (2) in at least 10 states (or nine and the District of Columbia) shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for election in all states, territories and the District of Columbia for purposes of this Act.

(3) A person seeking nomination to any public office except that of President or Vice President of the United States, by means of a convention, caucus or similar procedure, shall be considered a legally qualified candidate if, in addition to meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (y)(1) above, that person makes a substantial showing that he or she is a bona fide candidate for such nomination: *Except*, That no person shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for nomination by the means set forth in this paragraph prior to 90 days before the beginning of the convention, caucus or similar procedure in which he or she seeks nomination.

(4) A person seeking nomination for the office of President or Vice President of the United States shall, for the purposes of the Communications Act and the rules thereunder, be considered a legally qualified candidate only in those states or territories (or the District of Columbia) in which, in addition to meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (y)(1), above

(i) he or she, or proposed delegates on his or her behalf, have qualified for the primary or Presidential preference ballot in that state, territory or the District of Columbia, or

(ii) he or she made a substantial showing of bona fide candidacy for such nomination in that state, territory or the District of Columbia. *Except*, That such person meeting the requirements set forth in paragraph (y)(1) and (4) in at least 10 states (or nine and the District of Columbia) shall be considered a legally qualified candidate for nomination in all states, territories and the District of Columbia for purposes of this Act.

(5) The term "substantial showing" of bona fide candidacy as used in paragraphs (y)(2), (3) and (4) above means evidence that the person claiming to be a candidate has engaged to a substantial degree in activities commonly associated with political campaigning. Such activities normally would include making campaign speeches, distributing campaign literature, issuing press releases, maintaining a campaign committee, and establishing campaign headquarters (even though the headquarters in some instances might be the residence of the candidate or his campaign manager). Not all of the listed activities are necessarily required in each case to demonstrate a substantial showing, and there may be activities not listed herein which would contribute to such a showing.

§76.205 Origination cablecasts by candidates for public office.

(a) General requirements. If a cable television system operator shall permit any legally qualified candidate for public office to use the system's origination channel(s) and facilities therefore, the system operator shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office: Provided, however, That such cable television system operator shall have no power of censorship over the material cablecast

by any such candidate: And provided, further, That an appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any:

- (1) Bona fide newscast,
- (2) Bona fide interview,
- (3) Bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or
- (4) On-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto), shall not be deemed to be use of the facilities of the system within the meaning of this paragraph.

Note: The Fairness Doctrine is applicable to these exempt categories. See §76.209.

- (b) Charges for use of cable systems. The charges, if any, made for the use of any cable television system by any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, or election, to such office shall not exceed:
 - (1) during the 45 days preceding the date of a primary or primary runoff election and during the 60 days preceding the date of a general or special election in which such person is a candidate, the lowest unit charge of the cable television system for the same class and amount of time for the same period, and
 - (2) at any other time, the charges made for comparable use of such system by other users thereof. The rates, if any, charged all such candidates for the same office shall be uniform and shall not be rebated by any means direct or indirect. A candidate shall be charged no more than the rate the cable television system would charge if the candidate were a commercial advertiser whose advertising was directed to promoting its business within the same area as that encompassed by the particular office for which such person is a candidate. All discount privileges otherwise offered by a cable television system to commercial advertisers shall be available upon equal terms to candidates for public office.
- (c) Discrimination between candidates. In making time available to candidates for public office, no cable television system operator shall make any discrimination between candidates in practices, regulations, facilities, or services for or in connection with the service rendered pursuant to this part, or make or give any preference to any candidate for public office or subject any such candidate to any prejudice or disadvantage; nor shall any cable television system operator make any contract or other agreement which shall have the effect of permitting any legally qualified candidate for any public office to cablecast to the exclusion of other legally qualified candidates for the same public office.
 - (d) Records, inspection. Every cable television system operator shall

keep and permit public inspection of a complete record (political file) of all requests for cablecast time made by or on behalf of candidates for public office, together with an appropriate notation showing the disposition made by the cable television system operator of such requests, and the charges made, if any, if the request is granted. When free time is provided for use by or on behalf of such candidates, a record of the free time provided shall be placed in the political file. All records required by this paragraph shall be placed in the political file as soon as possible and shall be retained for a period of two years.

- (e) Time of request. A request for equal opportunities for use of the origination channel(s) must be submitted to the cable television operator within one (1) week of the day on which the first prior use, giving rise to the right of equal opportunities occurred: Provided, however, That where a person was not a candidate at the time of such first prior use, he shall submit his request within one (1) week of the first subsequent use after he has become a legally qualified candidate for the office in question.
- (f) Burden of proof. A candidate requesting such equal opportunities of the cable television system operator, or complaining of noncompliance to the Commission, shall have the burden of proving that he and his opponent are legally qualified candidates for the same public office.

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III-A-1 III-D-2 III-G-5 III-G-5 deral candidate III-E-4, III-I (entire section) III-J-1 III-A-2 III-A-2 (entire section) III-D-9 III-D-9 III-A-8 III-A-9
deral candidate , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-B-4, III-I (entire section) , III-J-1 (I-G-3, III-H-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-A-2 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-I-6 , III-H-2
deral candidate , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-B-4, III-I (entire section) , III-J-1 (I-G-3, III-H-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-A-2 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-I-6 , III-H-2
deral candidate , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-B-4, III-I (entire section) , III-J-1 (I-G-3, III-H-2 , III-D-2 , III-D-2 , III-A-2 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-D-9 , III-I-6 , III-H-2

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Television program, candidate appearing on See Use Time which a station must provide III-F, II-I, III-H (entire section) "Today" show, appearance by candidate on III-D-2 "Tomorrow" show, appearance by candidate on III-D-5 "Tonight" show, appearance by candidate on III-D-2 Translator stations (UHF) III-M-5 TV performer, candidate who is III-C-3
Ü
UHF Translator stations III-M-5 Unequal audience potential III-E-1 U.S. Constitution See Constitution Use (of a station) II-E, II-G, II-I, III-C (entire section), III-D (entire section), III-F-3, III-H-1, III-I-2, III-K-4
V
Variety program, appearance by candidate on
W
Waiver by candidate of "equal time" rights
Z
"Zapple Doctrine" III-C-1, III-K-5