

# Between Concentration and Pluralisation: The West German Press in the 1970s

Christian-Welfhard Kraiker, M.A.

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

OCTOBER 2015

## Abstract

The development of the West German press in the 1970s has so far been described as a transition from a period of concentration (1954-1976) to stabilisation (1976-1985). The analysis by Schütz and others has several short-comings: firstly, the argument is implicitly based on a vague empirical definition of pluralism that is understood as the number of daily newspapers with an independent editorial department in a given market. Secondly, the analysis is almost exclusively based on the daily press and ignores the impact of new journals, regional editions, weeklies, and the 'alternative' press on the press market of the 1970s. Finally, the turning points of 1954 and 1976 do not relate to wider changes in circulation figures and other important aspects of press history.

This thesis presents a new analysis of the history of the West German press during the period from the protests of the late 1960s against 'opinion monopolies' to the early 1980s deregulation of the West German broadcasting market. The introduction, i.e. the first chapter, provides a detailed criticism of the current historiography and explains why the new analysis rests on the following pillars: a new periodization, a broader look at various segments of the press, including dailies and weeklies, a clearer delineation of local, regional, and supra-regional markets, a more precise and critical engagement with the ideas of contemporaries on pluralism, and a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the press and television in the 1970s.

The second chapter engages critically with the current periodisation of press history. The chapter establishes several criteria in order to provide a more accurate picture. These include circulation figures, wider market developments, public debates, laws, and the internal organisation of the press. It analyses the development of the press from 1945 to the student protests against Axel Springer in 1968. It identifies the fact that the press underwent three phases after 1945, the 'occupation period' (1945-49), the era 'between expansion and restauration' (1949-1957), and an era characterised by 'criticism of the government and debates over the press' (1957-1968/69). The chapter concludes that the changes

between 1968 and 1969 constitute the starting point of a distinct period in West German press history, the 'long social-liberal 1970s' between 1968/69 and 1982.

The third chapter analyses two new contemporary concepts of press pluralism that shaped the policy debates of the long 1970s, namely social pluralism and free-market pluralism. The former was championed by scholars such as Peter Glotz and the governments of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt. It envisaged a protection of a socially and politically diverse press and provided the wider framework for new laws and regulations such as the so-called Law on Merger Control in the Press (1976). These market interventions were opposed by the conservatives at the time, who championed the idea of free-market pluralism.

The fourth chapter shows how this struggle over the proper role of the democratic press between state and society escalated on the left and right of the political spectrum. The new social movements discussed the idea of a 'counter public' existing in opposition to the 'established' media. As a result, several hundreds of 'alternative' papers were founded in the segment of the weekly, monthly, and irregular press that contributed to a high point of market diversity in the 1970s. These papers found their counterpart among intellectually elitist journals that portrayed themselves as a conservative 'counterweight' to the assumed leftist mass press and pluralisation at the time. The fifth chapter then shows that the debates over press pluralism, new laws and policies, and the developments in the political weekly and monthly press as well as the 'alternative' press reshaped the core of the West German press market in the 1970s, namely the regional and local daily press.

Finally, chapter six addresses the existing historiography on the role of the press in the overall media ensemble. It shows that new concepts of press pluralism, the transformation of the press market, its particular role in the regions, and unique press-government relations added to the elevated position of prestige of the press vis-à-vis television and contributed to its role as a partial political lead medium within the 'new culture of political participation' emerging towards the end of the decade.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to a number of people who have assisted me in the completion of this thesis. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Christian Haase. His encouraging and thought provoking comments have been greatly appreciated. Working as a research assistant and PhD-student in the project *Press and Politics in West Germany: The Papers of Marion Countess Dönhoff, 1946-2002*, led by him, enabled me to develop this thesis and conduct research in this inspiring field of history. I am also indebted to John Young, who as my second supervisor provided crucial guidance and encouragement during my doctoral research.

The research for this project would not have been possible without the generous scholarship of the department of history of the University of Nottingham. I am extremely grateful for having received full funding throughout this project which allowed me to travel and conduct research in Germany.

I also would like to thank the members of the PhD community at Nottingham who were particularly welcoming and offered support and company. My thanks further go to a number of people who have been very supportive during my archival research among them (in alphabetical order): Gerhard Gosdzick (*IVW*, Berlin), Hauke Janssen (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg), Heike Lemke (*Private Archive Helmut Schmidt*, Hamburg), Brigitte Marquardt (*taz*, Berlin), and Reinhart Schwarz (*Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung*, Hamburg). Their assistance, patience, and genuine interest in my research has helped me to unearth a plethora of valuable sources for my project. Further, I would like to thank Helmut Schmidt for allowing me to consult sources from his personal archive.

Much appreciation and thanks are due to my friends who have stuck by me and encouraged me through this long and arduous task of completing my doctorate. Above all, I am grateful to my family. My parents have provided me with both practical and financial support during my time in higher education but more than anything, they have always

believed in me and enabled me to turn my passion for history into a profession.

A very special thanks is owed to my wife Anne Clarissa Kraiker. Her feedback on my thesis has been extremely valuable. Despite my many absences and numerous weekends that I spent in the office, her love has been unwavering, her kindness and support unending. To thank her in a mere few sentences is impossible; I only hope she knows what she has done for me.

This thesis is dedicated to her and our son Leonard-Christian Kraiker

## Table of Contents

Table of Figures .....	8
List of Abbreviations .....	9
<b>I. Introduction.....</b>	<b>11</b>
A New Analysis of the Press in the Long 1970s .....	11
Towards an Inclusion of the 'Alternative' Press .....	22
Towards a More Source-Based Press History .....	27
<b>II. The Origins of the Debates over Press Concentration and Press Pluralism: The West German Press 1945-1968/69.....</b>	<b>31</b>
Pluralisation from Above: The Occupation Period, 1945-1949 .....	31
Between Expansion and Restoration: The Free-Market Press, 1949-1957 .....	34
Between Concentration and Criticism of the Government: The Press between 1957 and 1968/69 .....	41
Summary.....	52
<b>III. Between Social Pluralism and Free-Market Pluralism: New Debates over the Plurality and Freedom of the Press, 1969-1982 .....</b>	<b>54</b>
Social-Liberal Concepts and Press Policy .....	56
The Effects of the Social-Liberal Press Policy.....	71
The Free-Market Approach of the CDU/CSU: Debates over the Dual Broadcasting System.....	81
Debates over the 'Internal Freedom of the Press' .....	91
Summary.....	103
<b>IV. Between 'Counter Public' and 'Counterweight': The 'Alternative' and Conservative Weekly and Monthly Press, 1969-1982.....</b>	<b>105</b>
The Emergence of the 'Alternative' Press .....	106
The Breakthrough and Consolidation of the 'Alternative' Press .....	123
New Conservative Weeklies and Monthlies .....	141
Summary.....	149

<b>V.</b>	<b>The Regionalisation and Transformation of the Daily Press in the Long 1970s .....</b>	<b>151</b>
	Out of the Region into the Region: The Foundation of the 'Alternative' Daily Newspaper <i>tageszeitung (taz)</i> .....	155
	New Regional Strategies in the Daily Press.....	177
	New Forms of Quality Assessment in the Local and Regional Press .....	185
	Summary.....	195
<b>VI.</b>	<b>The Press as Partial Political Lead Medium .....</b>	<b>196</b>
	The Question of Lead Media and the Distinguishing Characteristics of the Press .....	197
	The Regionalisation of Protest .....	203
	Press-Government Relations in the Social-Liberal Era .....	215
	The Press and the Opposition's Criticism against the 'Leftist Propaganda Apparatus' .....	226
	Summary.....	230
<b>VII.</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>231</b>
	Towards a New Analysis of the Press in the Long 1970s .....	231
	The Press and the Pluralisation in the 1970s.....	235
	Outlook: The Press in the 1980s.....	244
<b>VIII.</b>	<b>Sources and Bibliography .....</b>	<b>247</b>
	Unpublished Sources .....	247
	Archive of the <i>tageszeitung</i> , Berlin ( <i>taz</i> -archive).....	247
	Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Hamburg (AHIS) .....	247
	Papers of Helmut Schmidt, Hamburg/Bonn (PAHS, HSAA) .....	247
	Papers of Marion Dönhoff, Hamburg (Nachlass Marion Dönhoff Hamburg, NMDH) .....	247
	Spiegel Archive Hamburg, Papers of Rudolf Augstein (Spiegel-Archiv Hamburg, SAH).....	247
	Published Primary Sources .....	248
	Newspapers and Journals .....	248
	Article Collections and Published Correspondence .....	248

Grey Literature .....	248
Contemporary Literature and Memoirs .....	249
Official Publications and Published Documents.....	250
Secondary Literature.....	254
<b>IX. Appendices .....</b>	<b>281</b>
Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989 .....	281
Circulation Figures of Selected Weekly Newspapers, 1968-1989 .....	283
Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989 .....	285



## Table of Figures

Page 78	Development of 'One-Paper Districts', 1954-1976
Page 84	Caricature on the 'Day without Television', 1978
Page 118	Front page of <i>Stern</i> 6 June 1971 headlining 'We have aborted'
Page 169	Front page of <i>taz</i> 20/21 Apr. 1979
Page 180	Overview: Introduction of Regional Editions of the <i>Bild</i>
Page 206	Front Page of <i>Titanic</i> , Nov. 1982 depicting Helmut Kohl as pear
Page 222	Front page of <i>Der Spiegel</i> 24 Oct. 1977 depicting Helmut Schmidt
Page 228	Front Page of <i>Der Spiegel</i> 23 Aug. 1976 depicting caricature of Helmut Kohl
Page 281	Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989
Page 283	Circulation Figures of Selected Weekly Newspapers, 1968-1989
Page 285	Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989

## List of Abbreviations

<i>AFP</i>	<i>Agence France-Presse</i>
<i>AgAp</i>	<i>Arbeitsgruppe Alternativpresse</i>
AHIS	Archiv des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung
BDZV	Bund Deutscher Zeitschriften-Verleger
BFW	Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft
BPB	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung
BUU	Bürgerinitiative Umweltschutz Unterelbe
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union
DJS	Deutsche Journalistenschule
DJV	Deutscher Journalistenverband
DM	Deutsche Mark
ERP	European Recovery Program
<i>FAZ</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
<i>FR</i>	<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
<i>G+J</i>	<i>Gruener und Jahr</i>
HSAA	Helmut Schmidt Archive, <i>Friedrich-Ebert -Stiftung</i> , Bonn
ICD	Information Control Division
<i>ID</i>	<i>Informationsdienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten</i>
<i>IfD</i>	<i>Institut für Demographie Allensbach</i>
IVW	<i>Informationsgemeinschaft zur</i>

	<i>Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.</i>
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
KtK	Kommission für den Ausbau des technischen Kommunikationssystems
NDR	Norddeutscher Rundfunk
NMDH	Nachlass Marion Dönhoff Hamburg
NPD	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei
PAHS	Privat-Archive Helmut Schmidt
PR/ISC	Press and Information Services Control
<i>RAF</i>	<i>Rote Armee Fraktion</i>
RIAS	Radio im Amerikanischen Sektor
SAH	Spiegel-Archiv Hamburg
SDS	Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund
SFB	Sender Freies Berlin
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
ssp	scene programm presse GmbH
<i>SZ</i>	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>
<i>taz</i>	<i>tageszeitung</i>
WAZ	Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk

## I. Introduction

### A New Analysis of the Press in the Long 1970s

In the 1970s, public interest in the development of the press was high. Contemporaries were in particular concerned that mergers among publishing houses and daily newspapers would impede the plurality of the press and endanger the West German democracy that had been developed after the Second World War. The problem attracted the attention of scholars of journalism, such as Walter J. Schütz, who began to measure the concentration of the supra-regional, regional, and local daily press. They arrived at the conclusion that the plurality of the West German press reached its low-point in the mid-1970s.<sup>1</sup> This view has prevailed in the existing media histories which depict the history of the West German press as a history of transition from 'concentration' to 'stabilisation' and even 'decline'.<sup>2</sup> Scholars of this concentration approach have divided the 1970s into two phases: the concentration phase between 1954 and 1976 and the consolidation and decline phase between 1976 and 1985.<sup>3</sup> On closer inspection, this periodisation is not convincing. This thesis shows that the long 1970s should be regarded as a coherent phase of press history, between 1969 and 1982.

Despite the significant role historians have attributed to the press in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 'the century of mass media', research into the press history of the Federal Republic of Germany (hereafter referred to as FRG), in particular on the 1970s, is still in its infancy.<sup>4</sup> Only recently have a number of books, mainly focusing on the press history of the 1950s and

---

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. W.J. Schütz, 'Publizistische Konzentration der deutschen Tagespresse: Zur Entwicklung der Publizistischen Einheiten seit 1945', *Media Perspektiven*, 5/1976, pp. 189-99; Id., 'Kaum noch Objekte für die Pressekonzentration?', *Media Perspektiven*, 9/1979, pp. 600-12.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Pürer and J. Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland* (Konstanz, 2007), pp. 117-46; W. Faulstich, *Die Mediengeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2012), p. 328; J. Wilke, 'Überblick und Phasengliederung', in id. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 15-30.

<sup>3</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, pp. 117-46.

<sup>4</sup> A. Schildt, 'Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien: Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 27/2 (2001), pp. 177-206.

1960s, provided crucial stepping-stones towards a richer press history of the FRG in the 1970s.<sup>5</sup>

New research has highlighted that the development of the press was more deeply embedded in the wider socio-political and cultural transformation than has been analysed by the concentration approach. Among these recent books and research projects, two projects both led by Christian Haase are particularly noteworthy. In fact, this PhD thesis developed out of them. One of the projects, in cooperation with Axel Schildt and others, deals with the left-liberal newspaper *Die Zeit* (hereafter referred to as *Zeit*). A subsequent project tackles the papers of Marion Countess Dönhoff, editor-in-chief (1968-1972) and editor (1973-2002) of *Zeit*.<sup>6</sup> Haase and Schildt have shown in their important edited collection on *Zeit* that the development of the paper did not follow the periods that the concentration approach has identified. The project on *Zeit* shows how the paper contributed to shaping a new critical understanding of journalism in the 1950s (1949-1957) and in the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> Haase highlights the close interconnectedness of the German press with journalistic developments in the United States and the United Kingdom, where several *Zeit* journalists learned their journalistic skills and publication strategies and developed a more critical and pluralistic understanding of the role of the

---

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of recent approaches see C. Haase, 'The German Mass Media in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century between Democracy and Dictatorship', *European History Quarterly*, 40/3 (2010), pp. 484-92.

<sup>6</sup> The project on *Die Zeit* was initiated by Haase with a successful application to the *British Academy* and informed a subsequent jointly-led conference on *Die Zeit* with Axel Schildt of the *Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte Hamburg* (FZH). The conference was co-founded by the *Zeit*-Foundation. The outcomes of the research project and the conference were published in C. Haase and A. Schildt (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008). The subsequent project on the Dönhoff papers was led by Christian Haase and involved founding contributions by the Marion Dönhoff Foundation and University of Nottingham. See C. Haase, 'Um der ehrenhaften Erinnerung willen: Marion Gräfin Dönhoff und die Medialisierung adliger Erinnerungskultur in der Bundesrepublik', *Jahrbuch für Politik und Geschichte*, 3 (2012), pp. 171-97. Over the course of the project on the Dönhoff papers, to which the author of this PhD thesis contributed as research assistant, this PhD project developed.

<sup>7</sup> See Haase and Schildt (eds.), *"Die Zeit"*.

press.<sup>8</sup> Other articles in the book highlight the paper's role in the liberalisation of the FRG.<sup>9</sup> A contribution to the edited volume was also made by Christina von Hodenberg who has argued that it was the impact of the '1945er' generation which propelled the liberalisation and pluralisation of the public in the 1960s.<sup>10</sup> Her contribution builds on her significant book on the transformation of the West German media public between 1945 and 1973.<sup>11</sup> Von Hodenberg has shown how, in these years, consensus-oriented journalism was replaced by critical and engaged journalism. Her research is part of a recent and broader strand within the historiography into the liberalisation of the Federal Republic since the late 1950s leading to the implementation of a democratic culture and media.<sup>12</sup>

A number of further research projects that may be loosely grouped as the pluralisation school to contemporary and press history have contributed to developing a new approach to press history. These studies have put a stronger emphasis on societal, economic, and political shifts in the 1950s and 1960s and have described the 1970s as an era of 'pluralisation of print media'.<sup>13</sup> Scholars of the pluralisation approach have highlighted, for example, how journalists served as 'transatlantic mediators', fostered cultural democratisation and paved the way for a Western discourse-oriented political culture.<sup>14</sup> Markus Payk has illuminated how some of the conservative journalists struggled with the socio-political liberalisation and Westernisation of the FRG and continued to advocate a

---

<sup>8</sup> See C. Haase, "'Das deutsche Weltblatt' DIE ZEIT und die Außenpolitik der Bonner Republik", in id. and A. Schildt (eds.), *"Die Zeit" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 28-58.

<sup>9</sup> See F. Bajohr, 'Hamburg, DIE ZEIT und die Liberalisierung der Bundesrepublik', *ibid.*, pp. 84-99.

<sup>10</sup> See C.v. Hodenberg, 'Zeitkritik in der ZEIT: Der Umgang mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit', *ibid.*, pp. 151-72.

<sup>11</sup> See ead., *Konsens und Krise: Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945-1973* (Goettingen, 2006), p. 9 and 19.

<sup>12</sup> See U. Herbert (ed.), *Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland: Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945-1980* (Goettingen, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> A. Schildt and D. Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte: Die Bundesrepublik 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2009), p. 305. See also E. Wolfrum, *Die geglückte Demokratie: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2007), pp. 187-282; A. Schildt, *Die Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis 1989/90* (Munich, 2007), pp. 30-53.

<sup>14</sup> A. Bauerkämper, K.H. Jarausch, and M.M. Payk (eds.), *Demokratiewunder: Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands 1945-1970* (Goettingen, 2005).

strong state leading to further ideological polarisation within the press.<sup>15</sup> Gudrun Kruip has scrutinised the 'Western' world view of the newspapers of the *Axel Springer Company*, Germany's largest publishing house and has shown how Springer formed a view which was characterised by a mixture of 'conservative-occidental' ideas and liberal concepts, making the Springer newspapers a journalistic spearhead for conservative discourses in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>16</sup>

On closer inspection and against the backdrop of the two different approaches, a central shortcoming of the concentration approach becomes apparent: its argument is implicitly based on a rather vague empirical definition of pluralism. Political diversity and pluralism is understood as the number of independent daily newspapers with a main editorial department (*Publizistische Einheit*) and the number of 'one-paper districts' (*Ein-Zeitungs-Kreis*) where one daily newspaper had gained monopoly status in a municipality.<sup>17</sup> This ignores the changing views of journalists and publishers on the democratic role of journalism, the reception of the press by its readers, and the wider contributions of the press to the democratic debate via the content of the papers. Contemporaries sought a number of further solutions to the problem of press pluralism ranging from the concept of social pluralism to a 'counter public'. One must analyse these views carefully in order to gain a more detailed insight into the plurality of the press in the 1970s.

The historiographical debate on the West German press history implicitly focuses on the question of whether the development of the press between the 1950s and 1970s was a period of 'concentration' and 'consolidation' or a period of 'pluralisation' and 'transformation'. The following (second) chapter engages with this debate. It establishes a number of

---

<sup>15</sup> See M.M. Payk, "...die Herren fügen sich nicht; sie sind schwierig." Gemeinschaftsdenken, Generationenkonflikte und die Dynamisierung des Politischen in der konservativen Presse der 1950er und 1960er Jahre', in F.-W. Kersting, J. Reulecke, and H.-U. Thamer (eds.), *Die zweite Gründung der Bundesrepublik: Generationswechsel und intellektuelle Wortergreifungen 1955-1975* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 43-68; Id., *Der Geist der Demokratie: Intellektuelle Orientierungsversuche im Feuilleton der frühen Bundesrepublik: Karl Korn und Peter de Mendelssohn* (Munich, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> See G. Kruip, *Das "Welt"-Bild des Axel Springer Verlags: Journalismus zwischen westlichen Werten und deutschen Denktraditionen* (Munich, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> The data of the concentration approach are depicted in the Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

criteria that enable us to distinguish periods in press history including the statistical development, political concepts, the self-perception and the changing views of the press in politics and society. It traces the press concentration and debates over press pluralism to the foundation of the West German media in 1945 and argues that there was a transition into a new era of press history in 1968/69.

In this respect, the thesis develops the results of Daniela Münkel further. Focusing on the relations between Willy Brandt and the press between the 1950s and early 1970s, Münkel has shown how the liberal media *Zeit*, *Stern*, and *Spiegel* supported the social-liberal government under Willy Brandt (1969-1974) and how Brandt in turn utilised his contacts with leading political journalists to promote his agenda.<sup>18</sup> Going beyond Münkel's research, the thesis argues that the social-liberal years of the governments of Willy Brandt (1969-1982) and Helmut Schmidt (1974-1982) were a distinct period of press history that can be labelled the long 1970s. This periodisation follows political histories that have based their periodisation on the legislative periods of government and parliaments.<sup>19</sup>

The late 1970s and early 1980s have come under particular scrutiny during recent years. New research has shown how the views of contemporaries on press pluralism were shaped by larger transformations. In their innovative volume investigating the 1970s as an era 'after the boom', Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raphael argue that classical approaches of contemporary history, such as political history, are not sufficient to scrutinise the multi-layered transformations of the 1970s.<sup>20</sup> This view is supported by the articles in a work on the 1970s, edited by Konrad Jarausch, calling this phase the 'end of confidence'.<sup>21</sup> The contributions suggest regarding the 1970s as period in which a profound socio-political

---

<sup>18</sup> See D. Münkel, *Willy Brandt und die "Vierte Gewalt": Politik und Massenmedien in den 50er bis 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2005); See also A. Zons, *Das Denkmal: Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt und die linksliberale Presse* (Munich, 1984).

<sup>19</sup> See W. Link, *Die Ära Brandt 1969-1974* (Stuttgart, 1986); W. Jäger and W. Link, *Republik im Wandel 1974-1982: Die Ära Schmidt* (Stuttgart, 1987); A. Wirsching, *Abschied vom Provisorium: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1982-1990* (Munich, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> See A. Doering-Manteuffel and L. Raphael, *Nach dem Boom: Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (Goettingen, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> See K.H. Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008).



and cultural 'structural break' occurred.<sup>22</sup> This 'structural break' was characterised by the end of the reconstruction period and the 'golden age' (Hobsbawm), the crisis of domestic security, and the beginning of the 'second Cold War' which led to new forms of societal participation, and the breakthrough of a 'post-industrial society' (Bell), 'change of values' (Klages), and 'silent revolution' (Inglehart) which contributed to the beginning of a 'second modernity'.<sup>23</sup>

When focusing on the cultural and intellectual history of the 1970s, recent publications by Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried, Werner Faulstich, and Andreas Rödter have pointed out the specific significance of the press for which further research is needed.<sup>24</sup> They focus in particular on the pluralisation of lifestyles in the alternative milieu, the rise of the New Left and the New Right, and, with it, new media strategies and forms of mediated confrontations.<sup>25</sup> These studies identify that a pluralisation impetus in the press became visible in the years after 1968 in ideas and concepts of the press as well as in the political diversification of the press market.<sup>26</sup> This recent approach in contemporary history ties in with an interpretation of the history of the FRG in the 1970s as a history of a 'pervasive pluralisation'<sup>27</sup> characterised by an entangled 'individualisation, [...] and a realignment of social and political norms' in which a new understanding of a democratic political culture of contestation emerged leading to calls for expanded possibilities for political participation.<sup>28</sup> This newer strand of research also suggests including more aspects than the

---

<sup>22</sup> See K.H. Jarausch, 'Verkannter Strukturwandel: Die siebziger Jahre als Vorgeschichte der Probleme der Gegenwart', in id. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 9-29.

<sup>23</sup> See the contributions in B. Dietz, C. Neumaier, and A. Rödter (eds.), *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014); See also A. Rödter, 'Moderne-Postmoderne-Zweite Moderne: Deutungskategorien für die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren', in T. Raithel, A. Rödter, and A. Wirsching (eds.), *Auf dem Weg in eine neue Moderne? Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren* (Munich, 2010), pp. 181-201.

<sup>24</sup> See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*; W. Faulstich, 'Gesellschaft und Kultur der siebziger Jahre: Einführung und Überblick', in id. (ed.), *Die Kultur der 70er Jahre* (Munich, 2004), pp. 7-18; Rödter, 'Moderne-Postmoderne-Zweite Moderne'.

<sup>25</sup> See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 331-402.

<sup>26</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>27</sup> Wolfrum, *Demokratie*, p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> A. Rödter, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969-1990* (Munich, 2004), p. 32.

statistical development in an analysis of the West German press in the long 1970s.

The third chapter then moves on to analyse the debates over press pluralism and press concentration in politics and the publishing houses and their effects on the regulation of the media market. It introduces two key concepts, namely one of social pluralism championed by Peter Glotz and other Social Democrats, and another idea of free-market pluralism advanced by the CDU and the employer organisations. It shows that the unique regulations of the press market put into place by the social-liberal government, in particular the Law on Press Statistics (1975) and the Law on Merger Control in the Press (1976), grew out of these concepts of pluralism and functioned as an attempt to maintain the 'external freedom of the press'. In addition, it analyses the debates over the 'internal freedom of the press' and the relations between journalists who aimed for ideas of social pluralism and publishers who preferred the free-market approach.

So far, there is little understanding about the political responses to the press concentration. Walter J. Schütz has compiled a detailed compendium with selected documents on media policy in which he argues that in the 1970s growing attention was paid towards the 'strengthening of media policy' highlighting the passing of a Law on Press Statistics, the introduction of a merger control and legal safeguarding of journalistic work.<sup>29</sup> The existing historiography on media policy in the 1970s mainly focuses on the debates about the introduction of private broadcasting and the representation of the different political camps within television.<sup>30</sup> The debate about media policy was paralleled with the establishment of the so-called editorial by-laws (*Redaktionsstatute*) which aimed to regulate

---

<sup>29</sup> See W.J. Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik: Dokumentation der Kommunikationspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945 bis 1990* (Konstanz, 1999), p. 161.

<sup>30</sup> See R. Steinmetz, 'Initiativen und Durchsetzung privat-kommerziellen Rundfunks', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 167-94; S. Lindmeyr, 'Die Novellierung des Bayerischen Rundfunkgesetzes 1972 und seine Folgen', in M. Behmer and B. Hasselbring (eds.), *Radiotage, Fernsehjahre: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Rundfunkgeschichte nach 1945* (Muenster, 2006), pp. 29-32; J. Schmid, 'Intendant Klaus von Bismarck und die Kampagne gegen den "Rotfunk" WDR', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 349-81.

the 'internal freedom of the press', the relations between editorial departments and the publishing houses. Some books have begun to shed light on the dynamics within the editorial departments which resulted from the press concentration. Christina Holtz-Bacha has analysed the history of selected editorial by-laws and has shown how the disputes between journalists and publishing houses contributed to the rise of a new understanding of independence among journalists.<sup>31</sup>

The fourth chapter explores two further concepts that shaped the debates about the press in the long 1970s and references the consequences of the concentration process, namely the idea of 'counter public' against the 'capitalist mainstream media' (*taz*) and a conservative 'counterweight' against the alleged 'hegemony' of the left in the media. It is based on the critical conclusion that the concentration approach has focused too narrowly on the segment of daily newspapers. It shows that other segments of the press including the 'alternative' press and newly founded conservative journals made important contributions to the diversity of the market. The term 'counter public' serves here as a loose umbrella term for a wider range of alternative initiatives and groups which founded 'alternative' papers. The chapter makes a double contribution to the historiography by outlining, for the first time, the wider market transformations in the segment of the political weekly and monthly press. It links this to the underlying political discussions and criticism of the 'established' press which served as motivating factors for a number of journalists who often spent numerous unpaid hours establishing new 'alternative' papers which contributed to a renewal of the press.

The chapter adds detail to a number of books which have begun to analyse the 'alternative' press. Nadja Büteführ has looked into the transformation of selected local 'alternative' papers and their professionalisation.<sup>32</sup> There are further studies which have reconstructed the institutional

---

<sup>31</sup> See C. Holtz-Bacha, *Mitspracherechte für Journalisten - Redaktionsstatuten in Presse und Rundfunk* (Cologne, 1986), p. 7; A. Skriver, *Schreiben und schreiben lassen: Innere Pressefreiheit - Redaktionsstatute* (Karlsruhe, 1970), p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> See N. Büteführ, *Zwischen Anspruch und Kommerz: Lokale Alternativpresse 1970-1993* (Muenster, 1995).

history of 'alternative' papers and journals by applying an internal perspective. Among them are studies on *Agit883* (1972), *Pflasterstrand* (1976), *radikal* (1976), and books on the alternative scene which have begun to selectively shed light on the internal debates, outlook, and organisation of the 'alternative' press and which were often written by 'alternative' journalists.<sup>33</sup> Gisela Notz researched the founding history of the women's magazine *Courage* (1976).<sup>34</sup> The chapter also seeks to contribute to research on the new conservative journals by contextualising their foundation with the larger shifts in the press.<sup>35</sup>

The fifth chapter sheds light on the transformation of the daily newspaper segment with a particular focus on the regional markets. It shows that the concentration approach has not fully explored shifts in these markets, the rise of new media like *taz* and the foundation of new regional editions of several supra-regional newspapers that contributed to the growth and transformation of the press.<sup>36</sup> It explores the dynamics behind the foundation of the 'alternative' supra-regional daily newspaper *taz* as a result of the increase in regional 'alternative' papers thereby considering new sources on *taz*. The existing historiography on *taz*, one of the

---

<sup>33</sup> See G. Emig, P. Engel, and C. Schubert (eds.), *Die Alternativpresse: Kontroversen, Polemiken, Dokumente* (Ellwangen, 1980); W. Beywl, 'Die Alternativpresse - ein Modell für Gegenöffentlichkeit und seine Grenzen', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 46 (1982), pp. 18-31; T. Daum, *Die 2. Kultur: Alternativliteratur in der Bundesrepublik* (Mainz, 1981); S. Horn, *Abschied vom Kollektiv: Der Frankfurter Pflasterstrand* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989); K. Farin and H.-J. Zwingmann (eds.), *Alternativen zur Rechtspresse: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme* (Ettlingen, 1980); Medico International, Paranoia City Buchhandlung, Projekt Archiv, et al. (eds.), *20 Jahre radikal: Geschichte und Perspektiven autonomer Medien* (Hamburg, 1996).

<sup>34</sup> See G. Notz (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007); Ead., 'Courage: Wie es begann, was daraus wurde und was geblieben ist', in ead. (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007), pp. 23-56.

<sup>35</sup> See A. Schildt, '"Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten": Zur konservativen Tendenzwende in den Siebzigerjahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2004), pp. 449-78; See also N. Wehrs, 'Protest der Professoren: Der Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft und die Tendenzwende der 1970er Jahre', in M. Livi, D. Schmidt, and M. Sturm (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 91-112; F. Dirsch, 'Mit spitzer Feder gegen den Zeitgeist: Ausgewählte konservative Zeitschriften und ihre Kritik an kulturrevolutionären Tendenzen', in H. Becker, F. Dirsch, and S. Winckler (eds.), *Die 68er und ihre Gegner: Der Widerstand gegen die Kulturrevolution* (Graz, 2003), pp. 64-99.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendices.

few supra-regional newspapers in the FRG, is largely based on works by *taz* journalists like Jörg Magenau, Wolfgang Flieger and others. In these studies, the missing contextualisation of the repercussions of the local 'alternative' press on the supra-regional press is particularly evident. Jörg Magenau for example, hardly mentions the fact that *taz* should be seen as an outgrowth of several smaller local and regional 'alternative' papers, embodying various concepts of leftist ideas of a 'counter public'.<sup>37</sup> Wolfgang Flieger conducted a content analysis comparing *taz* with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *FAZ*) and there is a book published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of *taz* by Oliver Tolmein and Detlef zum Winkel, neither of whom contextualises the rise of *taz* as part of the new attention being paid to the region.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, the sixth chapter provides a new interpretation of the role of the press vis-à-vis television. It draws on the findings of the preceding chapters and shows that the press, when compared with television, played a particularly important role in regional protests and reporting, the breakthrough of new political movements such as the Greens, and the discussion and promotion of the social-liberal political agenda. The wider significance of this new press history of the long 1970s derives from its contributions to further fields of enquiry. Different and as yet unconnected strands within the historiography offer preliminary evidence for the central role of the press in the long 1970s. Silke Mende has shown how 'alternative' papers, such as *Pflasterstrand* and *taz*, served as focal points for the debates leading to the rise of the Green party.<sup>39</sup> Susanne Schregel has highlighted how the regionalisation of the anti-nuclear protests introduced new forms of mediatised protest.<sup>40</sup> Both studies, however, have not been able to draw on a more complete overview of the press in the 1970s.

---

<sup>37</sup> See J. Magenau, *Die taz: Eine Zeitung als Lebensform* (Munich, 2007).

<sup>38</sup> See W. Flieger, *Die TAZ: Vom Alternativblatt zur linken Tageszeitung* (Munich, 1991); O. Tolmein and D.z. Winkel, *tazsachen: Krallen zeigen - Pfötchen geben* (Hamburg, 1989).

<sup>39</sup> See S. Mende, *"Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn": Eine Geschichte der Gründungsgrünen* (Munich, 2011).

<sup>40</sup> See S. Schregel, *Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür: Eine Politikgeschichte der neuen Friedensbewegung in der Bundesrepublik 1970-1985* (Frankfurt a.M., 2011).

The chapter will analyse a second aspect of the significance of the press in the long 1970s namely the relationship between media policy and networks between media and politics. Willy Brandt's close relationship with the press has been highlighted and he himself considered his government to be a 'government by journalists for journalists'.<sup>41</sup> Existing studies on the relationship between Helmut Schmidt and the media focus on his communication style and his personal role as actor in the mediatisation of politics.<sup>42</sup> Other studies have highlighted his close connections to leading journalists of the weekly *Zeit* as a prerequisite for his decision to join the editorial board of the paper in 1983.<sup>43</sup> With respect to the conservative opposition, there is some indication that the conservative criticism against the left-liberal press-government alliances fuelled calls for the introduction of private broadcasting: CDU media politician Alfred-Joachim Hermanni argued that the SPD refused to introduce private broadcasting because the close alliances with leading left-liberal journalists in the media gave them an advantage in the media coverage which the privatisation of television through broadcasting councils would potentially have transformed.<sup>44</sup>

Further indications of a close relationship between the press and politics can be found in several biographies. Among them are the biographies of the Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt, which are particularly noteworthy. Here the close left-liberal press-government relations are again highlighted and are supported by the findings in secondary literature.<sup>45</sup> A new interest in biographical approaches to press history led to

---

<sup>41</sup> Quoted from H. Schreiber, *Kanzlersturz: Warum Willy Brandt zurücktrat* (Berlin, 2003), p. 101; see Münkler, *Willy Brandt und die "Vierte Gewalt"*; Zons, *Das Denkmal*.

<sup>42</sup> See A. Zipfel, *Der Macher und die Medien: Helmut Schmidts politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* (Stuttgart, 2005); T. Birkner, 'Strategie Schmidt: Strategische Kommunikation in Politik und Publizistik am Beispiel Helmut Schmidt', in U. Röttger, V. Gehrau, and J. Preusse (eds.), *Strategische Kommunikation: Umriss und Perspektiven eines Forschungsfeldes* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 151-72.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. Haase, 'Weltblatt'; T. Sommer, *Unser Schmidt: Der Staatsmann und der Publizist* (Hamburg, 2010).

<sup>44</sup> See A.-J. Hermanni, *Medienpolitik in den 80er Jahren: Machtpolitische Strategien der Parteien im Zuge der Einführung des dualen Rundfunksystems* (Wiesbaden, 2008).

<sup>45</sup> See P. Merseburger, *Willy Brandt 1913-1992: Visionär und Realist* (Munich, 2002); H. Soell, *Macht und Verantwortung: 1969 bis heute* (Munich, 2008); Id., *Helmut Schmidt 1918-1969: Vernunft und Leidenschaft* (Munich, 2003); M.G.v. Nayhauß, *Helmut Schmidt: Mensch und Macher* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1988).

the publication of several biographies of leading West German publishers and journalists, including Axel Springer, Gerd Bucerius, Rudolf Augstein and Marion Dönhoff.<sup>46</sup> In these books, the close relationships between leading left-liberal journalists and social-liberal Chancellors are also highlighted just as often as are the conflicts between the social-liberal Chancellors and the conservative press. The biographers of leading politicians of the opposition like Franz Josef Strauß and Helmut Kohl, on the contrary, have stressed their strained relationships with the press.<sup>47</sup>

The thesis concludes (chapter seven) that the transformation of the press market, new ideas of press pluralism, and the reaffirmed role of the press as a partial political lead medium (as will be analysed in the following chapters) was a catalyst for the new 'culture of participation' emerging in the long 1970s.

#### Towards an Inclusion of the 'Alternative' Press

The concentration approach has so far treated the 'established' press and the 'alternative' press as two different market segments. This depiction appears to be rather imprecise and is based on inconsistent definitions and categorisations of the press. Scholars of the concentration approach distinguish newspapers from other press products through the main criterion of periodicity. Newspapers are considered as being periodically published press products which appear at least once (weekly newspapers) or twice a week (daily newspapers).<sup>48</sup> They are further defined by four key characteristics: actuality, universality, publicity, and

---

<sup>46</sup> See T.v. Arnim, *"Und dann werde ich das größte Zeitungshaus Europas bauen."* *Der Unternehmer Axel Springer* (Frankfurt a.M., 2012); P. Merseburger, *Rudolf Augstein: Der Mann, der den SPIEGEL machte* (Munich, 2009); H.-P. Schwarz, *Axel Springer: Die Biographie* (Berlin, 2008); K. Harpprecht, *Die Gräfin Marion Dönhoff: Eine Biographie* (Reinbek, 2008); H.v. Kuenheim, *Marion Dönhoff: Eine Biographie* (Reinbek, 2002); R. Dahrendorf, *Liberal und unabhängig: Gerd Bucerius und seine Zeit* (Munich, 2000).

<sup>47</sup> See H. Schwan and T. Jens, *Vermächtnis: Die Kohl-Protokolle* (Munich, 2014); H. Bering, *Helmut Kohl: The Man Who Reunited Germany, Rebuild Europe, and Thwarted the Soviet Empire* (Washington DC, 1999); F.J. Strauß, *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1989).

<sup>48</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1978) – Medienbericht - Drucksache 8/2264* (Bonn, 1978), p. 2.

availability.<sup>49</sup> Actuality refers to the fact that the publication includes the current news, universality defines the unlimited range of subjects broached, publicity refers to the overall accessibility of the respective paper, and availability to the fact that they can be used at any time and in any place.

These characteristics also apply to the segment of journals. However, journals are a difficult category in German press history and there is no general definition of this segment.<sup>50</sup> One oddity of the category is that weekly news magazines such as *Der Spiegel* as well as Sunday papers are generally counted as journals, and thus placed next to popular magazines, special interest magazines, and advertising papers.<sup>51</sup> This thesis does not follow this overly complicated categorisation. It treats all Sunday papers, news magazines, and journals that address political topics as political weeklies.

In line with the standards of research on press history, this thesis sees periodicity as the main criterion for the definition of newspapers, but argues that this category must not be treated too rigidly in order to provide enough flexibility to include irregular publications. A less rigid definition allows including those 'alternative' papers which did not fulfil the criteria of the concentration approach. Several 'alternative' papers were published in irregular publication intervals while others had a limited range of subjects broached. This more flexible definition of newspapers is used interchangeably with the term 'press' throughout the thesis.

The exclusion of the 'alternative' press from the analyses of the concentration approach has led to the conclusion that the 1970s were an era of concentration based on declining numbers of newspapers with a main editorial department. However, this conclusion is misleading because the 'alternative' press was a much stronger part of the overall press market than previously assumed and the long 1970s were characterised by an unprecedented number of 'alternative' media. In this respect, the long

---

<sup>49</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, pp. 12-4.

<sup>50</sup> See H. Bohrmann, 'Entwicklung der Zeitschriftenpresse', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 135-45.

<sup>51</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, pp. 24-7.



1970s differed from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s. Therefore, the peculiar characteristics of the period should not be ignored by applying overly rigid definitions.

This wider definition of the press also changes the established definitions of the 'alternative' press. Originally, the term 'alternative' press was used by contemporaries of the late 1960s onwards to refer to the 'alternative' literary scene and press products.<sup>52</sup> With the rise of protest papers and an 'underground' press throughout the student protests, the term was used to describe these journals.<sup>53</sup> In the historiography, the integration of the 'alternative' press into the West German press history has been addressed by several scholars but has not been very well conceptualised.<sup>54</sup> The most recent attempt to define the 'alternative' press by including earlier definitions was published by Nadja Büteführ, who placed particular focus on the local 'alternative' press.<sup>55</sup> In her view, the 'alternative' papers were conceptually and thematically allied with the new social movements and distanced themselves from the 'established' media. They developed a new form of organisation in terms of their hierarchical structure, economics, and approach to production, with different overarching goals and agendas.<sup>56</sup> Büteführ's definition is not fully satisfactory: press products cannot be simply defined by the self-proclaimed mission of their founders ('alternative') nor can they simply be grouped under headings that lump together very different press products (e.g. the supra-regional and regional as well as the daily and monthly 'alternative' press).

---

<sup>52</sup> See B. Käsmayr, *Die sogenannte "Alternativpresse", ein Beispiel für Gegenöffentlichkeit in der BRD und im deutschsprachigen Ausland seit 1968* (Gersthofen, 1974); Daum, *Die 2. Kultur*; P. Engel and C.W. Schmitt, *Klitze kleine Bertelsmänner: Literarisch-publizistische Alternativen 1965-1973* (Hann.-Münden, 1974); Emig, Engel, and Schubert (eds.), *Die Alternativpresse*.

<sup>53</sup> See A. Schwanhäusser, 'U-Zeitungen: Neue Medien für die Avantgarde der der Eventkultur', in S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Anti-bürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 206-21.

<sup>54</sup> This is evidenced by the fact that the 'alternative' press is depicted as a separate segment in the press histories of the FRG, see e.g. C. Holtz-Bacha, 'Alternative Presse', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 330-49.

<sup>55</sup> See Büteführ, *Anspruch*.

<sup>56</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, 'Alternative Presse', p. 332.

This thesis thus attempts to advance a more neutral definition of the different segments such as the weekly, monthly, daily, and regional press. In order to distinguish analytical categories from the views of contemporaries, it flags up the views of contemporaries through the use of quotation marks, for example, for 'alternative' press or 'counter public'. It covers mainly the political weekly, monthly, and daily press at the local, regional, and supra-regional levels thus excluding a number of advertising papers, papers of parties and associations, the popular press, and other print products. The aim of the dissertation is not to provide a complete market overview, but to analyse exemplary core developments that show the driving elements of the transformation of the press and debates about press pluralism in the long 1970s.

In order to demonstrate the development of the West German press, local 'alternative' papers such as *Bremer Blatt*, *Blatt Stadtzeitung für München* (hereafter referred to as *Blatt*), *Grosse Freiheit*, and *Kölner Volksblatt* are included, as are women's magazines like *Emma* and *Courage* and the political 'alternative' press represented by *Pflasterstrand*, *radikal*, and *ID*. On the conservative side, the two most successful journals *konservativ heute* and *Criticon* are considered as well as *student* and *Sonde*, among others. Selected articles and aspects of the following supra-regional daily newspapers are analysed: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Die Welt*, *Bild-Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the 'alternative' daily *taz*. As respects the weekly press, the *Spiegel* and *Zeit* as well as the *Welt am Sonntag* and *Bild am Sonntag* (although Sunday papers rather than weeklies) are considered. Besides these media, content examples and selected articles of several other media are referred to.<sup>57</sup>

Besides the differing definitions of the press, the complicated data situation with regard to press statistics presents a second major obstacle for press historians. The most detailed data exist for the daily newspaper market. Beginning in 1954, Walter J. Schütz aptly known as Bonn's 'Mr. Press Statistic', published a comprehensive series of overviews of the

---

<sup>57</sup> See VIII: Published Primary Sources.

West German daily newspaper market every couple of years.<sup>58</sup> He introduced statistical categories (mentioned above) which are still applied in research on the media today and serve as the basis for the concentration approach. Schütz looked at the development of those papers produced by one main editorial department and several minor, often regional offices (*Publizistische Einheit*).<sup>59</sup> In addition, he looked at newspaper editions, more precisely papers produced by one minor editorial office which included contributions by a main editorial department (*Redaktionelle Ausgabe*).<sup>60</sup> In this way, he differentiated between independent papers and editions of one paper. Further, he introduced a category for the reach and geographical density of newspapers. Here, he coined the term ‘one-paper district’ (*Ein-Zeitungs-Kreis*) referring to those administrative districts and urban municipalities in which the majority of the population only had the opportunity to keep themselves up to date with regional and/or local events through one daily newspaper.<sup>61</sup>

Since the passing of the Law on Press Statistics in 1975, official press statistics are available, compiled by Schütz who began to work for the Press Office in 1960.<sup>62</sup> The Schütz data reveal the concentration process in the segment of daily newspapers in great detail based on declining numbers of independent newspapers with a main editorial department, and declining numbers of newspaper editions. In both categories a low point can be identified in 1976.<sup>63</sup> In addition, his data reveal a constantly declining number of publishing houses as well as a constantly growing number of ‘one-paper districts’ throughout the long 1970s

---

<sup>58</sup> See W.J. Schütz, *Zeitungen in Deutschland: Verlage und ihr publizistisches Angebot 1949-2004* (Berlin, 2005). The sample dates were Dec. 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> in 1954, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> in 1964, Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1967 and Jul. 8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> in 1976.

<sup>59</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, p. 20.

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> See P. Hausmann, ‘Laudatio: Dr. Walter Schütz zum 65. Geburtstag’, in B. Schneider, K. Reumann, and P. Schiwy (eds.), *Publizistik: Beiträge zur Medienentwicklung* (Konstanz, 1995), pp. 19-22: 19.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

while the sold circulation continuously increased and reached an all-time high in 1983 when 21.2 million newspapers were sold on a daily basis.<sup>64</sup>

The main source for distribution figures of individual press products are the *IVW (Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.)* statistics.<sup>65</sup> However, they include only those press products which do contain paid advertisements thus excluding most of the 'alternative' papers. Only with the professionalisation of parts of the 'alternative' press in the early 1980s and with the commercialisation of these media did the *IVW* begin to publish the circulation figures of some 'alternative' media.

In order to research the development of the 'alternative' press, this thesis analyses the statistics of the *AgAp (Arbeitsgruppe Alternativpresse)* which compiled an annual list of 'alternative' publications in 1980, 1981, and 1982. It consisted of students and scholars of journalism who saw themselves as part of a 'counter public', was directed by Wolfgang Beywl, and existed between 1978 and 1982.<sup>66</sup> However, given the volatile 'alternative' press market, the often irregular publication intervals, and the fact that many 'alternative' papers only existed for a couple of months, the numbers provided by the *AgAp* have to be dealt with carefully.

#### Towards a More Source-Based Press History

The thesis looks at a range of additional published primary and archival sources. There are several books which describe the institutional history of selected papers from a personal, insider's view. Accounts such as *The History of Die Zeit*, *The Gruner and Jahr Story*, and the *Spiegel-Story* have to be seen as primary sources since they retrospectively retell certain events and omit others and thus depict rather individual, subjective

---

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

<sup>65</sup> Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V. (ed.), *IVW Auflagenliste*.

<sup>66</sup> See K. Weichler, *Die anderen Medien: Theorie und Praxis alternativer Kommunikation* (Berlin, 1987), pp. 156-7.

views.<sup>67</sup> The same is the case for grey literature published as in-house publications or for public relations purposes.<sup>68</sup> In addition, there are several published article collections and books including excerpts of correspondence.<sup>69</sup> Finally, there are several publications from the journalists' unions and conferences.<sup>70</sup>

In addition, this thesis scrutinises different published government reports. Between 1970 and 1985, four key publications - the media reports - were produced by the Press Office.<sup>71</sup> These reports provide a comprehensive overview of the political measures taken and sum up the observations made by the different press commissions of the 1960s. These sources can be complemented with reports from the Cartel Office supervising the press market. Additionally, several overviews of research projects on the press conducted by the Press Office, and the Ministry of the Interior as well as the Ministry for Economic Affairs are considered.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> See K.-H. Janßen, H.v. Kuenheim, and T. Sommer, *DIE ZEIT: Geschichte einer Wochenzeitung 1946 bis heute* (Goettingen, 2006); W. Schneider, *Die Gruner und Jahr Story: Ein Stück deutsche Pressegeschichte* (Munich, 2000); B. Zeuner, *Veto gegen Augstein: Der Kampf in der "Spiegel"-Redaktion um Mitbestimmung* (Hamburg, 1972); L. Brawand, *Die Spiegel-Story: Wie alles anfang* (Duesseldorf, 1987).

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. FAZ (ed.), *Sie Redigieren und Schreiben die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: Zeitung für Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 1985); Id., *Alles über die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1974); H. Heß, *50 Jahre Süddeutsche Zeitung: Eine Chronik* (Munich, 1995); M. Bröckers, D. Berentzen, and B. Brugger (eds.), *Die taz das Buch: Aktuelle Ewigkeitswerte aus zehn Jahren "tageszeitung"* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989).

<sup>69</sup> See H.v. Kuenheim and T. Sommer (eds.), *Ein wenig betrübt, Ihre Marion: Ein Briefwechsel aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Munich, 2005); U. Schlie (ed.), *Mehr als ich Dir jemals werde erzählen können: Ein Briefwechsel* (Hamburg, 2008); A. Schwarzer, *Mit Leidenschaft: Texte 1968-1982* (Reinbek, 1982).

<sup>70</sup> See IG Druck und Papier, *Pressekonzentration in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ursachen, Folgen, Forderung* (Duesseldorf, 1977); Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Die Zukunft der Zeitung: Die Dokumentation der Hamburger Medientage '77 vom 24. Mai bis 26. Mai 1977* (Hamburg, 1977); Id., *Journalisten heute: Die Dokumentation der Hamburger Medientage '81 vom 10. Juni bis 12. Juni 1981* (Hamburg, 1981).

<sup>71</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Zwischenbericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1970)*, Drucksache VI/692 (Bonn, 1970); Id., *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1974)*, Drucksache 7/2104 (Bonn, 1974); Id., *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264; Id., *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Drucksache 10/5663 (Bonn, 1985); see also id., *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Erfahrungen mit der Fusionskontrolle bei Presseunternehmen* Drucksache 8/2265 (Bonn, 1978).

<sup>72</sup> See Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1974); Id., *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974-1978): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1978); Id., *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte*

The scarcity of sources and the lack of archival evidence constitute a central problem for press historians and have to be seen as the main reason why a comprehensive press history of the Bonn Republic has not yet been written. While several German radio and television stations are publicly owned, and thus have a better archiving policy, the press is privately owned in Germany. There are usually sharp divisions between the publishing houses and the editorial departments, leading to different and separate archiving systems for economic strategies and newsroom decisions. While the large press companies and leading quality papers maintain extensive archives including the papers of leading journalists, these are usually off-the-record for historians and have so far selectively been made accessible for biographers.<sup>73</sup>

Sources on selected papers of the weekly and monthly press, and the rise of the 'alternative' press can be found in the Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (AHIS). It not only holds the most comprehensive collection of the 'alternative' papers and conservative media founded in the long 1970s, but also grey literature and internal planning papers revealing the agenda, self-perception, and organisation of the 'alternative' press.

With respect to the development of the daily press market, the most significant development in the long 1970s was the foundation of the *taz*, to date West Germany's most successful 'alternative' paper. The *taz* archivists provided unlimited access to the archive. While there are relatively few documents on the founding history of the paper, numerous documents illuminate the internal debates concerning the structure of the editorial department, the journalistic principles, and the ways *taz* managed to survive and professionalise in the early 1980s. These documents further allow for a closer understanding of why *taz* managed to become the spearhead of the 'alternative' press. Besides these internal planning

---

*der Bundesregierung (1978-1985): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse Teil 1* (Bonn, 1986).

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. Merseburger, *Rudolf Augstein*; Schwarz, *Axel Springer*; H. Schreiber, *Henri Nannen: Drei Leben* (Munich, 1999). Axel Springer's personal papers provided the basis for Gudrun Kruip's dissertation. See Kruip, *"Welt"- "Bild"*.

documents there is a plethora of articles on *taz* within the archive revealing the perception of the paper as ‘a paper tiger with real teeth’ among the ‘established’ media and illuminating the relationship between the ‘established’ and the ‘alternative’ press.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, this thesis draws on selected journalists’ papers. Only recently have the papers of some influential journalists been made available to historians while others are still off-the-record for research or only partially accessible.<sup>75</sup> This thesis draws upon the papers of Marion Dönhoff who became head of the political section of the weekly newspaper *Zeit* in 1955 and editor-in-chief in 1968.<sup>76</sup> In 1973, she became editor and held the position until she died in 2002. These findings can be complemented with the selected documents from the papers of Rudolf Augstein, founder and publisher of *Spiegel*, which helped to pave the way for the social-liberal coalition. Augstein was the mastermind behind *Spiegel* and played a central role in applying a more critical stance to journalism leading to several confrontations between governments and *Spiegel*.

An additional insight into press-government relations and also left-liberal media policy concepts is given in the papers of Helmut Schmidt. While the official papers of Helmut Schmidt are archived at the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in Bonn, Schmidt has granted access to his personal archive located in his private home, containing correspondence and internal discussion papers. The documents in the SPD’s archive represent the official policy while the sources from the private archive allow the researcher to dig deeper into press history and shed light on the debates and underlying mechanisms of the development of policy responses and media strategies.

---

<sup>74</sup> J. Cohen, ‘West Germany’s Taz: a paper tiger with real teeth’, *Chicago Weekly*, 21 May 1986, press cuttings, taz-archive.

<sup>75</sup> According to the head of the archive of the *Springer Publishing House* for example, the archive does not contain any documents relevant for this thesis and access was denied.

<sup>76</sup> See footnote 6.

## II. The Origins of the Debates over Press Concentration and Press Pluralism: The West German Press 1945-1968/69

The concentration approach to West German press history has so far resulted in an unsatisfactory periodisation. This chapter critically engages with this argument and shows that the years between 1954 and 1976 cannot be treated as one cohesive period in press history. It illuminates that important turning points can be identified in 1949, 1957, and 1968/69. The new periodisation of the 1950s and 1960s mainly draws upon the critical engagement with secondary literature, but without this pre-history, the changes of the 1970s cannot be described adequately. The concentration itself and the development of the view that press pluralism was central for democratic culture can be traced to the very beginning of the West German press in 1945. The chapter traces the roots of the press concentration and depicts the transformations that formed the background crucial to understanding the social-liberal press policy of the long 1970s between 1969 and 1982.

### Pluralisation from Above: The Occupation Period, 1945-1949

Historians agree that the occupation period between 1945 and 1949 constituted a distinctive period in West German press history. The occupation period was characterized by a specific legal framework, circulation figures based on regulated paper distribution, a licensing process, and the transfer of Allied concepts about journalism. The abandonment of all existing media after the Second World War and the reorganisation of the West German media ensemble are seen as the most successful socio-political decisions of the Allies in Germany and have been labelled as a 'press wonder'.<sup>77</sup> By taking three basic steps: the prohibition of all German media, the distribution of Allied papers, and a transition of the latter

---

<sup>77</sup> N. Frei, *Amerikanische Lizenzpolitik und deutsche Pressetradition: Eine Geschichte der Nachkriegszeitung Südost-Kurier* (Munich, 1986), p. 8; See also H. Glaser, *Kleine Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1991), p. 81.



into German hands, a fundamentally new media landscape was established in which different ideological currents were represented.<sup>78</sup>

In the British zone, licences were issued to independent persons who acted as editors and were affiliated with a political party in order to avoid the emergence of mere party papers, as had occurred in the Weimar Republic.<sup>79</sup> Potential groups of candidates for a licence had to include at least one journalist with a distinct political orientation. Furthermore, a number of political party papers were planned on a proportional basis in each large city.<sup>80</sup> Further, press boards were established supervising the paper distribution and the licensing process in each of the *Länder*. In the American zone, licences were granted to editorial groups that resembled different political camps.

Among the Allies, the concept of *group papers* attracted considerable attention because it embodied a pluralistic basis and ensured constant debate between the licensees.<sup>81</sup> Scrutiny reports were compiled on a regular basis thereby supervising the newly founded papers. These reports were then discussed with the respective licensees and the political orientations of the papers were designed.<sup>82</sup> Within the French zone, there was no coherent press policy and the American and British examples served as guidelines. Initially, local licences were issued and from 1947 licences were issued to party-oriented papers. There are no reliable data on the exact number of newspapers in 1949. According to Pürer and Raabe 165 papers had been issued within the three western zones by the time the licence period was brought to an end (21<sup>st</sup> Sept. 1949).<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> See K. Koszyk, 'Presse unter alliierter Besatzung', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 31-58; D. Gossel, *Die Hamburger Presse nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Neuanfang unter britischer Besatzungsherrschaft* (Hamburg, 1993); H. Hurwitz, *Die Stunde Null der deutschen Presse: Die amerikanische Pressepolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949* (Cologne, 1972).

<sup>79</sup> See Gossel, *Hamburger Presse*, p. 64.

<sup>80</sup> See K. Koszyk, *Pressepolitik für Deutsche 1945-1949* (Berlin, 1986), p. 135.

<sup>81</sup> See H. Pürer and J. Raabe, *Medien in Deutschland: Presse* (Konstanz, 1996), pp. 97-8.

<sup>82</sup> See E. Carlebach, *Zensur ohne Schere: Die Gründerjahre der "Frankfurter Rundschau" 1945/47, Ein unbekanntes Kapitel Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Frankfurt a.M., 1985), pp. 40-55.

<sup>83</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Medien*, p. 108.

Wilke states that there were 137 independent newspapers with a main editorial department.<sup>84</sup>

The implementation of a democratic press was further influenced by legal measures taken. The role of the press was defined during the ratification of the constitutions of the *Länder*. Between May and December 1946 the constitutions in the British and American occupation zones were passed and in May 1947 those of the *Länder* in the French zone of occupation were also passed.<sup>85</sup> These constitutions emphasised freedom of speech and censorship was made illegal. While the media in the Soviet zone were completely transferred to governmental supervision and organised based on the principle of 'democratic centralism', the plans for the American, British, and later French zones were aimed at establishing an independent press.<sup>86</sup>

Several *Länder* began to establish press laws. On the Allied side, the main goal was to replace the 1874 press law (passed under Otto von Bismarck) and its amendments passed by the Nazis. While some *Länder* established far-reaching regulations, others only established sub-schemes and Berlin, Southern Baden, Lower Saxony, and Southern Württemberg did not have any press laws at all.<sup>87</sup> It took until the mid-1960s for consistent statutory regulations to be passed in all *Länder*. Initially, however, with the passing of the Basic Law on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1949, the role of the press was defined under Section 5 ruling freedom of expression: 'Every person shall have the right to freely express and disseminate his opinions in speech, writing, and pictures and to inform himself without hindrance from generally accessible sources. [...] There shall be no censorship.'<sup>88</sup> Despite this Basic Law, three months later, on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1949, an Allied press law was ratified assigning far-reaching interventions to the German media policy to the Allied High Commission and it

---

<sup>84</sup> See J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), p. 777.

<sup>85</sup> See W. Wegener (ed.), *Die neuen deutschen Verfassungen* (Essen, 1947).

<sup>86</sup> Koszyk, *Pressepolitik*, p. 337.

<sup>87</sup> See M. Löffler, *Presserecht Kommentar 3 Auflage Band I Landespressegesetze* (Munich, 1983), p. 34.

<sup>88</sup> Translated version quoted from German Law Archive:

<http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/literature/media.htm>, accessed 25 May 2015.

remained valid until 1960.<sup>89</sup> Allied press policy and the establishment of a highly regulated press in the foundation period between 1945 and 1949 illuminated the vision of a governmentally enforced pluralism, in which the shaping of opinions was part of a continuous discussion.

#### Between Expansion and Restoration: The Free-Market Press, 1949-1957

Schütz, Pürer, and Raabe have argued that the first turning point of the press of the Federal Republic occurred in 1954 when the first concentration processes were measured. Pinpointing this as a turning point is not convincing. If one applies a wider set of criteria, namely contemporaries' changing understanding of press pluralism, circulation figures, and further political developments, the year 1957 constitutes a more convincing turning point. Historians have brought forward various arguments to support this analysis. Haase and Schildt have shown that the 'Zeit conflict' between 1954 and 1957 constituted such a symbolic turning point in press history.<sup>90</sup> Hodenberg has pointed to the employment of a new age-cohort of '45er' journalists in radio and television after 1957.<sup>91</sup>

The period between 1949 and 1957 primarily exhibited a massive expansion of the press, due to the end of the licence period and the beginning of a free market. At the same time, however, an initial market shakeout can be seen, rooted in the abandonment of several smaller papers, leading to the first 'dying of newspapers'.<sup>92</sup> In September 1949, a general licence was issued by the Western Allies legalising the founding of newspapers without further permission and only in West Berlin did the licence period persist until 1955. Within a couple of weeks, more than 600 new papers had been founded, typically by pre-1945 publishers entering the market. Between 1949 and 1954, when Schütz provided the

---

<sup>89</sup> See Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik*, p. 50.

<sup>90</sup> See Schildt, 'Immer mit der Zeit Der Weg der Wochenzeitung DIE ZEIT durch die Bonner Republik eine Skizze', in id. und C. Haase (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 9-27: 21-4.; Haase, 'Weltblatt'.

<sup>91</sup> See Hodenberg, 'Zeitkritik'.

<sup>92</sup> W.J. Schütz, 'Vielfalt oder Einfalt? - Zur Entwicklung der Presse in Deutschland 1945-1995', <http://www.lpb-bw.de/publikationen/presse/forum5.htm>, accessed 25 May 2015.

first market analysis of the press, the number of independent editorial departments had grown from 137 to 225. Overall, 1500 newspaper editions were published reaching a circulation of 13.4 million copies and the number of publishing companies grew from 137 in 1949 to 624 in 1954.<sup>93</sup>

The economic upswing in the early years of the Federal Republic, also called the 'miracle years', provided the backdrop for the boom of the press.<sup>94</sup> Between 1950 and 1956, the economic growth doubled and by 1960 it had tripled in growth.<sup>95</sup> On closer inspection, however, the newly established press market was characterised by market imbalances. In 1954, 46.3% of the editing companies published papers with a circulation of 5,000 copies (their share of the total circulation being 5.4%) while 4.9% of the publishing companies published papers with a circulation higher than 10,000 (their share of the total circulation being 45.7%).<sup>96</sup> In the era of the economic 'miracle', however, such market imbalances were overshadowed by a steady increase in demand.

The formation of a free West German press was accompanied by a rise in restorative media policy under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.<sup>97</sup> Within the government, a democratic understanding of an independent and free press was yet to develop.<sup>98</sup> The return of former Nazis and authoritarian notions of the press under the Adenauer government led to disputes over the press. Otto Lenz, head of the Chancellery from 1951, planned the establishment of a 'ministry for propaganda' leading to an

---

<sup>93</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989; Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte*, p. 777.

<sup>94</sup> In 1950, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* coined the term 'miracle years' thereby referring to the unique and exceptional economic upswing since the currency reform. See H. Schissler, 'Introduction: Writing About the 1950s West Germany', in ead. (ed.), *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany 1945-1968* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 3-16: 3.

<sup>95</sup> See W. Abelshauser, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte seit 1945* (Munich, 2004), p. 154.

<sup>96</sup> See W.J. Schütz, 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 109-34: 115.

<sup>97</sup> See N. Frei, "'Was ist Wahrheit?'" Der Versuch einer Pressegesetzgebung 1951/1952' in H. Wagner (ed.), *Idee und Wirklichkeit des Journalismus* (Munich, 1988), pp. 75-92.

<sup>98</sup> See M. Weiss, 'Öffentlichkeit als Therapie: Die Medien- und Informationspolitik der Regierung Adenauer zwischen Propaganda und kritischer Aufklärung', in F. Bösch and N. Frei (eds.), *Medialisierung und Demokratie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Goettingen, 2006), pp. 73-120.

outcry in the press and the dismissal of Lenz in 1953.<sup>99</sup> Adenauer's often quoted aim to find a 'democratic Goebbels' as head of the Press Office resembled the spirit of the post-war years in which democratic concepts were by no means popular and consensually agreed on among the Germans.<sup>100</sup> Adenauer expected the press to back his government but suspected journalism of being a 'leftist profession' and thus highly critical of his party, the CDU.<sup>101</sup>

As early as the beginning of the 1950s, the Chancellor made several attempts to extend governmental control over the media. In 1951/52 one initiative failed to pass a Federal Press Law that would allow the government to prohibit papers that did not correspond to its anti-communist agenda.<sup>102</sup> The plan was met with resistance by journalists and publishers and the law was never passed.<sup>103</sup> At the decision to outlaw the German Communist Party on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1956, the communist papers were forced to cease publication. Overall 12 communist newspapers were prohibited.<sup>104</sup> Already during the licence period, the rise of the communist press was regarded with scepticism. The circulation of these media was limited through the centralised allocation of printing quota. Temporary publication bans and censorship provided additional instruments to impede the rise of a communist press.<sup>105</sup>

In the early years of the Bonn Republic, journalists also had to develop a democratic understanding of the press. The press had yet to learn how to deal with criticisms of the government. In this respect, Christina

---

<sup>99</sup> See F. Bösch, 'Öffentliche Geheimnisse: Die verzögerte Renaissance des Medien-skandals zwischen Staatsgründung und Ära Brandt', in B. Weisbrod (ed.), *Die Politik der Öffentlichkeit - Die Öffentlichkeit der Politik* (Goettingen, 2003), pp. 125-50: 137.

<sup>100</sup> F.A. Buchwald, *Adenauers Informationspolitik und das Bundespresseamt* (Mainz, 1991), p. 29.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted from Weiss, 'Öffentlichkeit als Therapie', p. 154.

<sup>102</sup> See Frei, 'Pressegesetzgebung'.

<sup>103</sup> See F. Bösch, 'Später Protest: Die Intellektuellen und die Pressefreiheit in der frühen Bundesrepublik', in D. Geppert and J. Hacke (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 91-112: 93.

<sup>104</sup> See Schütz, 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse', p. 115.

<sup>105</sup> See C. Hempel-Küter, *Die KPD-Presse in den Westzonen von 1945 bis 1956: Historische Einführung, Bibliographie und Standortverzeichnis* (Frankfurt a.M., 1993), pp. 89-91.

von Hodenberg has coined the term 'consensus journalism'.<sup>106</sup> It describes a professional practice which reduces the mass media to instruments that invoke societal harmony and thus limit the journalistic opportunities to criticise existing conditions.<sup>107</sup> 'Consensus journalism' was, furthermore, a reaction to how the Germans felt in the early years of the Federal Republic. 80% of West Germans considered the years between 1945 and 1948 to be the 'worst of their lives'.<sup>108</sup> In this situation, the West Germans' demand for security, comfort, and harmony overshadowed the radical democratisation envisioned by the Allies.<sup>109</sup>

The 'Zeit conflict' which lasted from 1954 to 1957, was one of the symbolic turning points of the 1950s in press history and foreshadowed a transformation of the press towards a more liberal and democratic outlook. The conflict is a good example of how a democratic understanding of state and society in the press had yet to develop during the post-war years and in the 1950s.<sup>110</sup> In terms of ideological outlook, the early issues of the paper entertained centre-right, conservative, and radical anti-communist views.<sup>111</sup> In response to an article written by Carl Schmitt that had been commented on by editor-in-chief Richard Tüngel, Marion Dönhoff, who later became one of the most respected liberal journalists of the FRG, left the editorial department in 1954. Schmitt portrayed anti-liberal concepts of the 'conservative revolution' by discussing 'the inner dialectic of the power of the individual' adopting conservative thinking sceptical of

---

<sup>106</sup> Hodenberg, *Konsens*, p. 183 ff., see especially p. 205.

<sup>107</sup> See ead., p. 195.

<sup>108</sup> Schissler, 'Introduction: Writing About the 1950s West Germany', p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> See E. Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (Munich, 2009), pp. 45-226.

<sup>110</sup> This was also the case at other media, see L. Hachmeister, 'Ein deutsches Nachrichtenmagazin: Der frühe "Spiegel" und sein NS-Personal', in id. and F. Siering (eds.), *Die Herren Journalisten: Die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945* (Munich, 2002), pp. 87-120; C. Sonntag, *Medienkarrieren: Biographische Studien über Hamburger Nachkriegsjournalisten 1946-1949*, (Munich, 2006); P. Köpf, *Schreiben nach jeder Richtung: Goebbels-Propagandisten in der westdeutschen Nachkriegspresse* (Berlin, 1995).

<sup>111</sup> See M.v.d. Heide and C. Wagner, "'Weiter rechts als die CDU': Das erste Jahrzehnt der "Zeit", in L. Hachmeister and F. Siering (eds.), *Die Herren Journalisten: Die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945* (Munich, 2002), pp. 165-84; A. Schildt, 'Immer mit der Zeit', p. 15.

any form of liberalisation.<sup>112</sup> He argued that liberalism and parliamentarianism had caused a fundamental weakness of the state ever since the mid-1920s and throughout the crisis of the Weimar Republic. In his view, a pluralistic society and an over-reliance on parliament had caused the end of the Weimar Republic. In order to avoid a 'state of total weakness' (*Staat totaler Schwäche*) he called for a 'total state' (*totaler Staat*) as an instrument for political stabilisation.<sup>113</sup> According to Schmitt, the state should remain sovereign, above civil society, and an autonomous force. Furthermore, he saw the public - and the media - as an 'acclamation organ' and an instrument through which the state's power could be ensured.<sup>114</sup> Dönhoff regarded Schmitt as an intellectual pioneer of National Socialism and the publication of his article seemed to evidence a return of the anti-liberal conservatism of the Weimar Republic.<sup>115</sup> By 1950, Ernst Friedländer who had a 'change of heart from a very conservative defender of the *Abendland* to a more Western and liberal understanding of Western Europe' had already left the paper in resistance to Tüngel's national conservative approach.<sup>116</sup>

Subsequently, a dispute between the five editors of *Zeit* broke out over the political outlook of the paper. The editors Schmidt di Simoni and Tüngel tried to drive Gerd Bucerius out of the editorial board with the support of Rudolf Augstein, publisher of the *Spiegel*. Augstein not only took the side of Tüngel but, in a show of gratitude for his financial support of a lawsuit against Bucerius, was also promised 50% of Tüngel and Schmidt di Simoni's share of *Zeit*, should there be a successful outcome of the conflict.<sup>117</sup> In 1957, the '*Zeit* conflict' was solved through a court

---

<sup>112</sup> See C. Schmitt, 'Im Vorraum der Macht: Aus einem Gespräch über den Einfluss auf den Machthaber', *Die Zeit*, 29 Jul. 1954, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> See A. Mohler and K. Weissmann, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932: Ein Handbuch* (Graz, 2005), p. 182.

<sup>114</sup> See Hodenberg, *Konsens*, p. 44.

<sup>115</sup> In a letter to Bucerius Dönhoff called him a former leading Nazi, see Kuenheim, *Marion Dönhoff*, p. 64.

<sup>116</sup> C. Haase, 'From "Occident" to "Western Europe": Ernst Friedlaender and the Idea of 'Europe' in West Germany', in C. Gorrara, H. Feldner, and K. Passmore (eds.), *The Lost Decade? The 1950s in European History, Politics, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 118-32: 121.

<sup>117</sup> See Merseburger, *Rudolf Augstein*, p. 308.

decision. The judgment ruled that Bucerius would remain the sole proprietor. As a consequence, Tüngel and the other national conservatives left the editorial department.

The change in the *Zeit* brought Dönhoff (who had worked for David Astor's *Observer* in 1954/55) and Josef Müller-Marein into leadership positions and enabled Dönhoff in particular to recruit journalists with a stronger democratic outlook such as Rudolf Walter Leonhardt whom she had met during her time in Great Britain. In letters to Bucerius she had voiced her fascination with British parliamentarianism and wrote about her studies at Chatham House and her participation in the press conferences of the British Foreign Office.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, *The Observer*, with its liberal outlook and neutrality towards any party agenda presenting conflicting positions of the Labour and Conservative camps alike, served as a role model for her.<sup>119</sup> In 1957, she underpinned her view of a pluralistic press in an article in the *Zeit*: 'We are of the opinion that, with regard to actual questions, leftist as well as conservative politicians and experts can express their opinions in our paper.'<sup>120</sup>

This approach of a pluralistic understanding of the political opinion-making process was further applied by Rudolf Walter Leonhardt who joined *Zeit* in 1958 as head of the political section. He started the series '*Leos Pro und Contra*' presenting two conflicting opinions on one topic and inviting the reader to come up with his own opinion. Compared to the authoritarian journalism of the early 1950s, the political propaganda of the Third Reich, and the highly biased reporting during the Weimar Republic, this kind of reporting embodied a new view on pluralism. Plurality of opinion was established from within the press and even within a paper itself. This important point has been completely overlooked by the concentration approach that has only analysed the number of different papers as an indicator of changes in the press market.

---

<sup>118</sup> See letters 1954-1957 in Kuenheim and Sommer (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, pp. 23-36.

<sup>119</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 25-30.

<sup>120</sup> M.v. Dönhoff, *Die Bundesrepublik in der Ära Adenauer: Kritik und Perspektiven* (Reinbek, 1963), p. 17.



The circulation of *Zeit* increased significantly in the aftermath of the conflict. Between 1949 and 1954, the circulation dropped from 92,300 to 46,000 copies, while in 1958 the number of copies sold grew to 53,000 again and continued to rise to 127,000 in 1962 and 243,700 in 1968, illuminating the emergence of a growing demand for more democratic views in the press.<sup>121</sup>

A similar trend can be identified at *Spiegel*, which became highly critical of Adenauer and embodied the 'antithesis' of the kind of journalism envisioned by the Press Office in the second half of the 1950s.<sup>122</sup> Between 1949 and 1957, its circulation grew from 80,107 to 267,010 copies.<sup>123</sup> The growing sales figures show how closely this new kind of critical reporting matched the zeitgeist. The growing interest in papers like *Zeit* and *Spiegel* which adopted more critical reporting was embedded into a larger socio-political transformation from an authoritarian civic culture rooted in the experiences of the German empire (*Kaiserreich*) and dictatorship to a Western and pluralistic civic culture.<sup>124</sup>

During the last third of the 1950s, the 'foundation years' of the Bonn Republic came to an end and the slow beginning of a comprehensive breakthrough of a 'democratic culture' can be identified.<sup>125</sup> With respect to the press during this transition, the beginning of a free-market press and the transformation of the media industry came to an end. An independent press market had been established. The years between 1949 and 1957 exhibited a massive expansion of the press market and a new plurality of press products. However, a democratic and critical understanding of the press had yet to develop against the backdrop of authoritarian views of the press held within the government and editorial departments.

---

<sup>121</sup> See table in Haase and Schildt (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik*, p. 301; Hodenberg, *Konsens*, pp. 220-5.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>123</sup> Circulation Figures 1949-2010, provided by the *Spiegel Publishing House*.

<sup>124</sup> See A. Gallus, 'Scharnierzeit zwischen Konsolidierung und Demokratisierung Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Jahr 1957', in id. and W. Müller (eds.), *Sonde 1957: Ein Jahr als symbolische Zäsur für Wandlungsprozesse im geteilten Deutschland* (Berlin, 2010), pp. 12-28.

<sup>125</sup> Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 98-152.

Between Concentration and Criticism of the Government: The Press  
between 1957 and 1968/69

The years between 1957 and 1968/69 were characterised by the burgeoning press concentration in the segment of the daily newspapers. In 1967, there were only 156 independent editorial departments left (225 in 1954).<sup>126</sup> At the same time, however, the average circulation grew from 59,400 to 94,600 in 1964, and 114,200 in 1967.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the sold circulation of the daily and weekly newspapers increased by 81.8% from 12.1 million to 22 million between 1950 and 1966 while the number of potential readers (adults defined as older than 15) grew by 20.5% from 17.7 to 21.4 million.<sup>128</sup> Thus, the figures showed that the initial press concentration was not the result of any declining demand for the press but was instead a consequence of free-market capitalism and a market shakeout.

On closer inspection, various reasons for such press concentration can be identified. First, the economic position of the press played a central role. With demand for information building throughout the 1960s, the press had to compete with television and radio. Also the growing demand for information from a broader readership required increasing editorial and journalistic work and thus financial investment. While radio and television were able to provide their audiences with breaking news more quickly, the press made up for this with expertise, with comprehensively researched articles and comments written by experts and specialists. Only larger companies were profitable because they could generate large circulations and exploit synergistic effects. In order to cope with the changing economic conditions, a vertical and horizontal concentration process occurred through which large press companies emerged.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der wirtschaftlichen Existenz von Presseunternehmen und der Folgen der Konzentration für die Meinungsfreiheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Pressekommission) Drucksache V/3122* (Bonn, 1968), p. 21.

<sup>127</sup> See Schütz, 'Publizistische Konzentration', p. 192.

<sup>128</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht Pressekommission, V/3122*, p. 33.

<sup>129</sup> See H. Arndt, *Die Konzentration in der Presse und die Problematik des Verleger-Fernsehens* (Frankfurt a.M., 1967), pp. 3-11.

Furthermore, technological innovations such as modern compositional techniques, electronic typesetting, and marketing required large investments. For a publishing company with a circulation of 100,000 issues, the technological modernisation costs were on average six million *Deutsche Marks* (DM).<sup>130</sup> In 1967, it was estimated that the minimum circulation to make a newspaper profitable was 20-30,000, compared to 10,000 in 1949.<sup>131</sup> Papers with a circulation up to 100,000 a day were therefore those most often subjected to mergers or abandonment.<sup>132</sup>

An additional reason for this concentration were the growing production costs that could not be passed on through prices due to both strong intra-media competition and the competitive situation within the press market. Necessary revenue instead had to be generated through advertising. While only 46.6% of the revenue was generated through advertisements in 1954, this grew to 63.9% in 1967, reaching an all-time high in 1970 at 69.5%.<sup>133</sup> Most illuminating for example is the fact that in 1967 the production cost per printed copy per month for *Die Welt* (hereafter referred to as *Welt*), for example, was 21 DM while the subscription price was only 6.60 DM, meaning that 14.40 DM per month had to be generated through advertisements just to break even.<sup>134</sup> This development added a vicious circle effect to the concentration process: its dependency on advertising made the press particularly sensitive to changes in the economic environment and thus advertisers preferred to cooperate with larger papers that reached greater audiences.<sup>135</sup> In 1967, only 50 out of 477 daily newspapers reached a circulation of at least 100,000 but these papers also generated c. 75% of the circulation.<sup>136</sup> These large

---

<sup>130</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 23.

<sup>131</sup> See Arndt, *Konzentration*, p. 6.

<sup>132</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, p. 132. The percentage then decreased to 63.9% in 1978 and 56.2% in 1989.

<sup>134</sup> See A. Springer, *Deutsche Presse zwischen Konzentration und Subvention* (Kiel, 1967), p. 5.

<sup>135</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 16 and 164 ff.; See also K.P. Kisker, M. Knoche, and A. Zerdick, *Wirtschaftskonjunktur und Pressekonzentration in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1979).

<sup>136</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 150.

companies applied expansive strategies and, in order to generate as many subscriptions as possible, used their economic advantage to keep prices low, even introducing bonus systems for the subscribers.<sup>137</sup> The widely accepted term 'press concentration' thus subsumes various different developments including the declining numbers of independent editorial departments and papers, but also refers to the tendency towards larger enterprises.

The perception of the ongoing press concentration as being a potential problem for democracy was originally to be found in the aforementioned work of Walter J. Schütz.<sup>138</sup> While the contemporaries were aware of the problem and its possible implications for the pluralism of the press, they did not know or understand the immediate causes and the underlying dynamics of the press concentration at the time. Several publishers and, most extensively, Axel Springer, argued that the crisis of the press was based on the competitive situation between television and the press and the BDZV publishers' association requested an opening of the broadcasting market to the publishers.<sup>139</sup>

In 1964, under Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, the so-called *Michel-Commission* (*Kommission zur Untersuchung der Wettbewerbsgleichheit zwischen Presse, Funk/ Fernsehen und Film*) was established and began to research the parameters of competitive equality between the press and TV. The commission was named after the man assigned to head the commission, Elmar Michel, a former ministerial director of the Ministry for Economic Affairs. In September 1967, the final report was published with the conclusion that there would be no distortion of competition between press and television. Furthermore, it stated that the opening of the television market to publishers would violate the independence of the press

---

<sup>137</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 30.

<sup>138</sup> See e.g. W.J. Schütz, 'Veränderungen im deutschen Zeitungswesen zwischen 1954 und 1967: Ergebnisse pressestatistischer Untersuchungen (3)', *Publizistik: Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft von Presse, Rundfunk, Film Rhetorik, Werbung und Meinungsbildung*, 12/1967, pp. 243-8.

<sup>139</sup> See M. Löblich, "'Michel-Kommission' und 'Günther-Kommission': Medienpolitische Entscheidungen über die Zusammensetzung von Kommissionen in den 1960er Jahren', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 10 (2008), pp. 107-33: 113.

and thus the freedom of the press.<sup>140</sup> In its statement following the report, the government supported this view.<sup>141</sup>

The debate over the causes and effects of the press concentration tied in with a wider discussion on the role of the public in the 1960s. In the early 1960s, based on the ideas of leading scholars such as Jürgen Habermas and Ralf Dahrendorf, the role of the public was redefined. Habermas's book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, published in 1962, marks the beginning of a scholarly debate over the role of the public. The book highlights the importance of participation and critique as essential characteristics of a democratic and critical public. Ralf Dahrendorf, one of the leading liberal theorists in the 1960s, regularly presented his views of a pluralistic society in the press and called for comprehensive political and societal participation. Later, in his book *Society and Democracy in Germany* published in 1965<sup>142</sup>, Dahrendorf called for a modernisation of society, highlighted the importance of dialogue and discussion, and defined liberalism as a form of democratic conflict.<sup>143</sup> Both studies are 'landmarks in the historiographical topography of the early 1960s.'<sup>144</sup>

The rise of this more critical understanding of the public and press pluralism formed the crucial background to several confrontations between the press and the Adenauer government that shaped the period. Severe disputes between the press and the Adenauer government emerged over the course of the '*Spiegel* affair' of 1962 which can be seen as a symbolic turning point in the establishment of a new relationship

---

<sup>140</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der Wettbewerbsgleichheit von Presse, Funk/Fernsehen und Film Drucksache V/2120* (Bonn, 1967).

<sup>141</sup> See id., *Stellungnahme der Kommission zur Untersuchung der Wettbewerbsgleichheit von Presse, Funk/Fernsehen und Film zu Drucksache V/2120* (Bonn: 1968).

<sup>142</sup> The English version was published two years later in 1967.

<sup>143</sup> See R. Dahrendorf, *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland* (Munich, 1968), p. 27.

<sup>144</sup> M. Scheibe, 'Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Gesellschaft', in U. Herbert (ed.), *Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland: Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945-1980* (Goettingen, 2002), pp. 245-77: 258.

between the press and politics.<sup>145</sup> In October 1962, the magazine criticised the military capabilities of the *Bundeswehr* and the atomic strategies of the then defence secretary, Franz Josef Strauß, which had been a result of Franco-German cooperation. Conrad Ahlers published a lengthy article on the *Bundeswehr*.<sup>146</sup> With the backing of Adenauer, Strauß ordered the arrest of the publisher Rudolf Augstein, and gave the order to track down Conrad Ahlers in Spain. Franz Josef Strauß commented in the Israeli paper *Haaretz* that *Spiegel* journalists were the present-day *Gestapo*.<sup>147</sup> The response to this government action by the *Zeit*, *Spiegel*, and other media triggered a wave of student demonstrations and solidarity among the liberal media in West Germany that contributed to Strauß and Adenauer's ultimate downfalls. The unions, several intellectuals, and the German Press Council which was founded in 1956 and designed after the British Press Council were also among those protesting, all claiming that the government's actions against *Spiegel* were 'extremely questionable'.<sup>148</sup>

In the aftermath of the affair, in October 1963, Adenauer resigned. Yet media policy under his successor, Ludwig Erhard, did not change significantly. During his tenure the above mentioned *Michel-Commission* was appointed. Erhard envisioned a 'formed society' which can be understood as a conservative attempt to countervail the pluralism of modern society and re-establish the consensus journalism of the early 1950s.<sup>149</sup> In Erhard's view, the government had to provide an ideological and polit-

---

<sup>145</sup> Daniela Münkel convincingly argued that there had already been 'critical journalism' in the 1950s. She suggests the crisis be interpreted as a symbolic turning point, accelerating a turn towards a more political and critical journalism. Münkel, *Willy Brandt und die "Vierte Gewalt"*, p. 131. This view is supported by A. Gallus, 'Deutschlandpolitische Querdenker in einer konservativen "Zeit" - die ersten beiden Chefredakteure Samhaber und Tüngel 1946-1955', in C. Haase and A. Schildt (eds.), *"Die Zeit" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 225-45.

<sup>146</sup> See C. Ahlers, 'Bedingt Abwehrbereit', *Der Spiegel*, 10 Oct. 1962, pp. 34-53.

<sup>147</sup> See Hachmeister, 'Spiegel', p. 118.

<sup>148</sup> The resolution of the German Press Council of 8 Nov. 1962 is published in T. Ellwein, M. Liebel, and I. Negt (eds.), *Die Spiegelaffäre: Die Reaktion der Öffentlichkeit*, vol. II, *Die Spiegel-Affäre* (Olten, 1966), pp. 382-3.

<sup>149</sup> See Hoderberg, *Konsens*, pp. 378-9.

ical frame within which a new society could 'form', thus revealing his authoritarian understanding of society.<sup>150</sup> Three years into Ludwig Erhard's chancellorship, on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1966, the Federal Constitutional Court passed the '*Spiegel* judgment' ruling that 'an independent press which is not controlled by public authorities is an essential element of a liberal state.'<sup>151</sup> The judgment symbolised a landmark decision in the history of the media in the FRG and finally brought about the adoption of a liberal and open understanding of the press in the West German legislation.

The passing of the '*Spiegel* judgment' coincided with the passing of new press laws in the *Länder*. In Hamburg, the parliament asked the government to facilitate such law in reaction of the '*Spiegel* affair'.<sup>152</sup> In 1963, a model law had been published by the interior ministers of the *Länder* in cooperation with the German Press Council. Between 1964 and 1966 every *Land* except Bavaria passed new press laws which dealt with several essential questions, among them the recognition of the public role of the press and the state's duty to provide information.<sup>153</sup> Thus, only after 1966 did a coherent press legislation exist in the FRG.<sup>154</sup> All press laws included the press's entitlement to receive information from government agencies in acknowledgment of the press's duty to the public.

The debate on press pluralism took a more radical turn during the years of the Grand Coalition (1966-1969) between the CDU and SPD, when contemporaries increasingly discussed the ideas of Herbert Marcuse and others. In *The One-Dimensional Man* (1964) which was translated and published in Germany in 1967, and *Repressive Tolerance* (1965), Marcuse argued that modern industrial societies would omit societal self-reflection in order to manipulate the public. He argued, therefore, that 'authentic tolerance does not tolerate support for repression,

---

<sup>150</sup> See P. Gillies, D. Koerfer, and U. Wengst, *Ludwig Erhard* (Berlin, 2010), p. 251.

<sup>151</sup> Quoted from Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, p. 337.

<sup>152</sup> See Soell, *Helmut Schmidt 1918-1969*, p. 438.

<sup>153</sup> See B. Scheer, *Deutsches Presserecht: Die Pressegesetze in den Bundesländern Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland und Schleswig-Holstein: Kommentar* (Hamburg, 1966); G. Magnus and U. Reinbach (eds.), *Pressegesetze mit einem Blick* (Frankfurt a.M., 1967).

<sup>154</sup> See Löffler, *Presserecht*, pp. 37-8.

since doing so ensures that marginalised voices remain unheard.<sup>155</sup> Hence he called for intolerance against authoritarian and conservative positions. Marcuse followed Max Horkheimer's theory that an authoritarian state would manipulate society - through the media among other means - in order to create mass loyalty. Hans M. Enzensberger further developed Theodor Adorno's concept of a 'culture industry' arguing that the media would play a central role within the 'conscience-industry' aiming to consolidate the existing power relations.<sup>156</sup> He therefore asked student protesters of the 1968 movement not to withdraw from the mass media but to interfere with it in order to develop expressive media strategies and to create an 'alternative' society.<sup>157</sup>

In the debates over the press concentration, the journalists also voiced their concerns about developments within the press, contributing to a new sensitivity in the press. Former *FR* journalist and FDP politician, Karl-Heinz Flach, for example, published a widely-acknowledged book on the role of the press in Western democracies in 1967.<sup>158</sup> He posited its central function in modern pluralistic societies as creating a balance between the different political actors. Therefore, Flach argued, the press embodied a 'catalytic function' in the recognition and disciplining of different societal and political actors and hence served as an independent power itself.<sup>159</sup>

The widespread critical discussions about the (capitalist) organisation of the press and its negative influence on democracy accelerated wider debates about the press. In March 1967, the question of press concentration had, for the first time, been addressed in detail by parliament

---

<sup>155</sup> Quoted from R. Lessem and A. Schieffer, *Integral Research and Innovation: Transforming Enterprise and Society* (Surrey, 2010), p. 210.

<sup>156</sup> See D. Lachenmeier, 'Die Achtundsechziger-Bewegung zwischen etablierter und alternativer Öffentlichkeit', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 61-74: 68-9.

<sup>157</sup> See W. Kraushaar, '1968 und die Massenmedien', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 317-47: 321.

<sup>158</sup> See K.-H. Flach, *Macht und Elend der Presse* (Mainz, 1967).

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.



in the course of a brief enquiry by two SPD-members and the FDP's parliamentary group, two parties which were at the forefront the democratic reform debate at the time.<sup>160</sup>

In May 1967, the *Günther-Commission* (*Kommission zur Untersuchung der Gefährdung der wirtschaftlichen Existenz von Presseunternehmen und der Folgen der Konzentration für die Meinungsfreiheit in der Bundesrepublik*) was established. Named after the president of the Cartel Office, Eberhard Günther, the commission was appointed to investigate the causes and effects of the press concentration. Among the members of the *Günther-Commission* were the publishers Axel Springer, Gerd Bucerius, Hans Dürrmeier (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*), Dietrich Oppenberg (*Neue-Ruhr-Zeitung*), Anton Betz (*Rheinische Post, Mittag*), and Wilhelm Ehmer (*Lüdenscheider Nachrichten*), in addition to other representatives from distribution and broadcasting companies and politicians. The *Günther-Commission* published its final report on July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1968.

In the commission's view, the freedom of the press was endangered when one editing company had a share of the market greater than 20% and press freedom was non-existent once a single publisher gained more than 40% of the market share.<sup>161</sup> These suggestions were advanced by Bucerius and directed against Springer, who at that point controlled 39% of the dailies and Sunday papers and 18% of the popular magazines.<sup>162</sup> The tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *Bild*) alone had increased its market share from 11.8% in 1954 to 24.2% in 1967 and became one of the most successful media in the FRG.<sup>163</sup> Springer soon became critical of the *Günther-Commission*. He feared that the measures which would be taken as a result of the commission would be directed against him and declared his non-cooperation in September 1967.<sup>164</sup> On

---

<sup>160</sup> See W.J. Schütz, 'Zeitungsstatistik', in E. Dovifat (ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik: Band 3 Praktische Publizistik 2 Teil* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 348-69: 359; Deutscher Bundestag, *Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Dorn, Moersch und der Fraktion der FDP - Drucksache V/1579* (Bonn, 1967).

<sup>161</sup> See id., *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968, V/3122*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>162</sup> See Anonymus, 'Weißer Wal', *Der Spiegel*, 27 May 1968, pp. 76-7.

<sup>163</sup> See Schütz, 'Publizistische Konzentration'; The rise and success of *Bild* throughout the 1950s is described in K.C. Führer, 'Erfolg und Macht von Axel Springers "Bild"-Zeitung in den 1950er Jahren', *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 4/3 (2007), pp. 311-36.

<sup>164</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968, V/3122*, p. 11.

various occasions he directed his critics' attention towards developments in other countries, arguing that the general trend was towards larger enterprises. He referred explicitly to the market power held by Cecil King's *Daily Mirror*, the largest daily newspaper in the world, and that of Henry Luce's several US magazines *Time*, *Life* (the largest in the USA), and *Fortune* (the most powerful business magazine in the USA).<sup>165</sup>

The *Günther-Commission's* report stated that by 1968 199 newspapers had been affected by the press concentration, among them one supra-regional paper, 14 weekly newspapers, and 184 regional papers. Among these 184 cases of regional press, 45 papers were abandoned, 81 merged, and 58 negotiated cooperation agreements.<sup>166</sup> It included several suggestions ranging from a legislative reduction of the market shares of individual press companies to credits for smaller editing companies, and from a new press law to secure the freedom of the press to the establishment of a media-commission.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, the *Günther-Commission* suggested conducting media reports compiled by the government in order to gain a precise overview of the developments in the West German press market. Some minor suggestions of the report were applied. Among them a reduced turnover tax as well as preferential tariffs for press distribution and credits for smaller businesses. These measures meant that the press was supported by subsidies from the government.

The conflicts over market shares accelerated an increasing criticism of the state of the press. In the late 1960s, a student movement and *Extra Parliamentary Opposition* emerged which aimed to enforce further democratisation by establishing a 'counter public' which would thus use the media to express the protest agenda.<sup>168</sup> The left-liberal media and the student movement shared many criticisms of the conservatism within politics and the media, were both opposed to the Vietnam War, and made

---

<sup>165</sup> See e.g. A. Springer, *Viel Lärm um ein Zeitungshaus: Rede des Verlegers Axel Springer vor dem Übersee Club in Hamburg* (Berlin, 1967), p. 2.

<sup>166</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 21 and 225.

<sup>167</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>168</sup> See Kraushaar, '1968 und die Massenmedien'.

similar calls for educational reforms. At the centre of the 1968 movement's criticism were the Springer papers *Bild* and *Welt*. Within the editorial departments of these media, there was very little understanding for the students' aim to transform West German society.<sup>169</sup> Both papers began to stir up hatred against the 'political vagabonds', 'academic beatniks', and 'mentally unwashed'.<sup>170</sup> As a result, Springer became the 'ideal negative figure' for the student movement.<sup>171</sup> As the protest against Springer intensified, the Expropriate Springer Campaign emerged.<sup>172</sup>

The emerging confrontation between the left-liberal media and the students on the one side and the Springer press on the other side peaked when Rudi Dutschke was assassinated on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1968 during the Easter Revolts, resulting in street battles and the occupation of Springer offices in most of West Germany's larger cities preventing the delivery of the Springer press. When the windows of several offices of Springer's press were smashed the following night, Springer compared it to the events of the *Kristallnacht* (*The night of broken glass*) in 1938.<sup>173</sup>

The conflicts had severe repercussions for the press market. The *Welt* and *Bild* experienced declining circulation figures in the years following the 1968 protests. *Bild*'s circulation dropped until 1972. *Welt*'s circulation even continued to drop until 1976. The left-liberal press, in contrast, experienced significant increases. The *FR*, for example, experienced growth rates of more than 9% in 1969 and more than 11% in 1970.<sup>174</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> See Kruip, "Welt"-*"Bild"*, p. 224.

<sup>170</sup> These headlines were published in 1967 and 1968 by different Springer papers. See 'Einseitig, lückenhaft, unsachlich: Urteile über Springer und seine Zeitungen', *Der Spiegel*, 6 May 1968, pp. 44-6.

<sup>171</sup> W. Kraushaar, Dauerstreit um Israel: Das prekäre *Verhältnis zwischen Axel Springer und der Linken*, <http://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/cms/de/mediathek/magazin/magazin18/kraushaar/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>172</sup> See J. Staadt, T. Voigt and S. Wolle, *Feind-Bild Springer: Ein Verlag und seine Gegner* (Goettingen, 2009), pp. 81-147.

<sup>173</sup> See E.L.B. Pfeifer, 'Public Demonstrations of the 1960s: Participatory Democracy or Leftist Fascism', in P. Gassert and A.E. Steinweis (eds.), *Coping with the Nazi Past: West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (New York, 2006), pp. 194-209: 198.

<sup>174</sup> See Appendix: Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

At the same time a new protest press - the 'underground' press - developed.<sup>175</sup> The publication of the first issue of *Linkeck* in February 1968 can be seen as the starting point for a broad-based, leftist 'underground' press scene. *Linkeck* can be said to belong to the anarchist press and was published nine times only.<sup>176</sup> In the following months, dozens of 'underground' papers emerged contributing to the debates of the 1968 movement which was itself characterised by a so-called 'debating fever' and established protest forms with great media impact.<sup>177</sup> Most of the West German 'underground' papers were founded in 1968 and 1969 in Berlin, the Springer stronghold and political capital of the 1968 movement (e.g. *Linkeck*, 1968-1970; *Agit 883*, 1969-1971; *Extradienst*, 1967-1979; *Charlie Kaputt*, 1968-1971). Other papers were founded in Frankfurt am Main, the intellectual capital of the movement (*Peng*, 1967-1968; *Ko Op*, 1969; *Sozialistische Correspondenz*, 1969-1971), as well as in other large German cities, such as Hamburg (*APO-Press Hamburg*, 1969-1970), Nuremberg (*Päng*, 1970-1976), and Duisburg (*Metzger*, 1968).<sup>178</sup>

In terms of their internal organisation, the 'underground' papers' editorial departments were comprised of loose and constantly changing groups of writers who shared an anti-capitalistic and anarchist stance. This consciously introduced a certain element of disorganisation and embodied the protesters' visions of a free and independent press. The 'underground' press also introduced new forms of protest against the state and Chancellor Kiesinger who in the eyes of the protesters refused to support debates over the German past and his very own role as member

---

<sup>175</sup> For the beginning of the 'alternative' and 'underground' press which started as a literary movement see Daum, *Die 2. Kultur*; D. Thomas, *Ghetto, Sprungbrett, Basis* (Hamburg, 1975); Emig, Engel, and Schubert (eds.), *Die Alternativpresse*; Engel and Schmitt, *Bertelsmänner*.

<sup>176</sup> See B. Drücke, 'Anarchist and Libertarian Media, 1945-2010 (Federal Republic)', in J.D.H. Downing (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Social Movement Media* (Los Angeles, 2011), pp. 36-42.

<sup>177</sup> N. Verheyen, 'Diskussionsfieber: Diskutieren als kommunikative Praxis der westdeutschen Studentenbewegung', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 209-22.

<sup>178</sup> See D. Siegfried, *Time is on my Side: Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre* (Goettingen, 2006), pp. 544-9.

of the former national socialist party NSDAP.<sup>179</sup> Reprinting a picture of Chancellor Kiesinger, *Charlie kaputt* ordered its readers to 'smash the fascist when you meet him', and called the Chancellor a 'Nazi pig'.<sup>180</sup> This kind of language and criticism of authorities comprised a break of 'bourgeois' taboos of the 'establishment' which was a central element of the 'underground' press. New forms of obscene, provocative, often pornographic language and pictures were published in the 'underground' press, above all in *Agit883*. The conviction behind this was that 'sexuality was repressed in bourgeois society in order to shape human beings within that society in an authoritarian mould.'<sup>181</sup>

### Summary

The chapter has shown that the history of the West German press between 1954 and 1969 was not only characterized by concentration. On the contrary, central turning points in the political press culture occurred in 1949, 1957, and 1968/69. In 1949, the highly regulated locally-oriented press market established by the Western Allies and their idea of pluralism through discussion (1945-1949) gave way to a free-market. The years between 1949 and 1957 stand out as a time in which the prevalence of democratic views of the press was pitted against attempts at conservative restoration and national conservative currents. At the same time, the co-existence of the licence press and hundreds of new papers led to severe market imbalances which fuelled the process of concentration in the 1960s.

Between 1957 and 1968/69, new ideas on press pluralism and the role of the press came to the forefront, which accelerated a new stance of the press vis-à-vis the state that became visible in the '*Spiegel* affair'.

---

<sup>179</sup> See Schwanhäusser, 'U-Zeitungen'; C. Haase, C. Kraiker, and J. Kreuzer, 'Germany's Foreign Relations and the Nazi Past', *Contemporary European History*, 21/1 (2012), pp. 79-93.

<sup>180</sup> *Charlie kaputt*, 12/1968, p. 1.

<sup>181</sup> M. Pirelli, 'Longing, Lust, Violence, Liberation: Discourses on Sexuality on the Radical Left in West Germany, 1969-1972', in S. Spector, H. Puff, and D. Herzog, (eds.), *After the History of Sexuality: German Genealogies with and beyond Foucault* (New York, 2012), pp. 248-81, p. 251.

The press concentration and the politicisation of the press resulted in a profound re-evaluation of the press. The passing of new press laws spurred the beginning of a coherent press legislation. This coincided with the Federal Constitutional Court's '*Spiegel* judgment' (1966) highlighting the need for a free and pluralistic press in the political culture of the FRG. The final report of the *Michel-Commission* in 1967 underpinned the separation of broadcasting from the press market. Moreover, the *Günther-Commission* highlighted the potential dangers of press concentration and advised a regulation of the press market in 1968. Finally, the 1968 protests against press concentration and the resulting foundation of new 'underground' papers added further fuel to the debate over press pluralism. By the end of the 1960s, the discrepancy between the growing influence of the press and the declining numbers of independent editorial departments became apparent and provided the background for new debates and a new social-liberal press policy that shaped the long 1970s.

### III. Between Social Pluralism and Free-Market Pluralism: New Debates over the Plurality and Freedom of the Press, 1969-1982

A wave of scholarly publications on press history appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s that set the tone for the debates over press pluralism in the long 1970s. The series *The History of the German Press* (*Geschichte der deutschen Presse*) and, in particular, the works of *The History of the West German Press in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (*Geschichte der deutschen Presse im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1966) and *The German Press 1914-1945* (*Die deutsche Presse 1914-1945*, 1972) edited by Kurt Koszyk as well as the *Handbook of Journalism* (*Handbuch der Publizistik*, 1968/69) edited by Emil Dovifat, are noteworthy.<sup>182</sup> In his contribution to the volume edited by Dovifat, for example, Koszyk analysed the 'totalitarian press system' and scrutinised the development of the press in the Third Reich which was characterised by a centralisation of the press market and, with it, a concentration of it under national socialist auspices.<sup>183</sup> Walter J. Schütz also contributed to the work. He researched the statistical development of the press and highlighted its concentration during the Third Reich, when the number of daily newspaper editions declined from 4275 in 1932 to 988 in 1943.<sup>184</sup> The anti-totalitarian views of Koszyk, Schütz, and others acquired a key role in the 1970s due to their prominent position as scholars and political advisors. The publications attracted considerable attention. The *FAZ* labelled Koszyk's book on the German press between 1914 and 1945 a 'prime example of research' and highlighted the book's key point that a centralised press and monopolies would pave the way to fascism and totalitarianism.<sup>185</sup>

This anti-totalitarian orientation influenced the work of the so-called concentration approach and in particular the work of Schütz. He worked

---

<sup>182</sup> K. Koszyk, *Geschichte der deutschen Presse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1966); *Id. Deutsche Presse 1914-1945* (Berlin, 1972); E. Dovifat (ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik* (Berlin, 1969).

<sup>183</sup> See K. Koszyk, 'Die Zeitung: 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart', in E. Dovifat (ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 76-97.

<sup>184</sup> See W. J. Schütz, 'Zeitungsstatistik', p. 360.

<sup>185</sup> A Skriver, 'Kurtz Koszyk: Deutsche Presse 1914-1945', *FAZ*, 21 Feb. 1972, p. 27.

as a journalist at the local editorial department of the daily newspaper *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in Wattenscheid in the 1950s. In 1960, he began working for the Press Office and became a senior civil servant (*Regierungsrat*) and, later, undersecretary (*Ministerialrat*) and head of the media unit of the Press Office where he was centrally involved in debates over political measures intended to ensure plurality and diversity within the press.<sup>186</sup> Schütz was politically close to the Social Democratic Party. His ideas and career in the Press Office in the 1960s and 1970s went hand in hand. Schütz and other scholars of journalism believed that the democratic state had a role in shaping and protecting the pluralism of the press.

Some of these ideas were shared by a second group of often younger social democratic media scholars and politicians, who championed the idea of social press pluralism. In 1969, Peter Glotz, one of the masterminds behind SPD media policy<sup>187</sup>, and Wolfgang R. Langenbucher, both of whom were working for the *Institut für Zeitungswissenschaft* at Munich University, published a well-received book entitled *Der mißachtete Leser* (meaning *The Disregarded Reader*) in which they called for a radical democratisation of the press as well as the introduction of a press law and questioned the organisation of a press based on economic competition.<sup>188</sup>

Most of these social-liberal conceptions were opposed in the 1970s by liberal conservatives who opted for free-market pluralism. In stark contrast to the emerging social-liberal conceptions of the long 1970s, the conservatives called for less state control and less regulation of the press market. They demanded the broadcasting market to be opened up to private investments and the introduction of a dual system in which public and private broadcasting would co-exist.

---

<sup>186</sup> P. Hausmann, 'Laudatio', p. 19.

<sup>187</sup> See K. H. Pruys and V. Schulze, *Macht und Meinung: Aspekte der SPD-Medienpolitik* (Cologne, 1975), p. 33.

<sup>188</sup> P. Glotz and W.R. Langenbucher, *Der mißachtete Leser: Zur Kritik der deutschen Presse* (Cologne, 1969). Throughout the 1970s they repeated these accusations see e.g. Glotz's speech at the Hamburg Media Days in 1981, in Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Journalisten*, pp. 21-34.



The two rivalling key concepts of social pluralism and free-market pluralism are central for a better understanding of the development of the press and press policy in the 1970s. They are, thus, analysed in more detail in the following.

#### Social-Liberal Concepts and Press Policy

The book by Peter Glotz and Wolfgang Langenbucher *Der mißachtete Leser* is crucial for understanding the social democratic conceptions of press pluralism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The authors' main criticism targeted journalists and publishers. They accused journalists, publishers, and the 'culture exchanging elites' of 'pseudo-democratic, bourgeois-elitist, [and] anti-enlightened ideas.'<sup>189</sup> This lack of a truly socially diverse attitude among journalists led - in their eyes - to information deficits. According to Glotz and Langenbucher, the economic sections were written for experts, and a 'normal reader' would not be able to understand such over-complex articles. A similar criticism was raised in respect to the features section of the West German newspapers, stating they had been written as from an 'ivory tower'. Finally, they were critical about the tendency towards the concentration of the press and its far-reaching effect on the local press:

'It is of the uttermost importance for the political process in our democratic system that especially on a local level the interaction of political currents through local communication is being ensured and kept going. Here the newspaper has to become the forum enabling the respective competent citizen to use his political freedom beside the election process. Its local and public duty is to formulate the public opinion of the community and serve as an arena for all those who have something to say.'<sup>190</sup>

Additionally, the authors suggested a rethink of the organisation of a press which was based on free-market competition. Instead, they called for a system which would democratise societal communication through representation of the various different social groups in the press which

---

<sup>189</sup> Glotz and Langenbucher, *Leser*, p. 11.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

order, explain, and represent these different views. This concept can thus be labelled social pluralism.

The concept exhibited several ideas that were also discussed by Hans-Günther Assel in 1975 under the label of 'democratic social pluralism'.<sup>191</sup> It highlighted the state's obligation to ensure the opportunity to participate in the political process. The concept was a contemporary response to various ideas of how to organise pluralism and ensure the participation of all social groups through 'cooperative communication'. While it was not limited to the organisation of the media, it resembled similarities with the SPD's concept of social pluralism envisioned by Glotz and Langenbucher.<sup>192</sup> At its core was a concept of democratic organisation of society. It was assumed that societal conflicts could be resolved by a more participatory approach to politics leading to greater participation of different social groups.

The book *Der mißachtete Leser* triggered considerable attention at the time. Glotz and Langenbucher called for legal regulation of the press, making reference to the British Monopolies and Mergers Act of 1965 which served as a role model for their ideas of a new press policy.<sup>193</sup> The concentration of the newspaper market was not only a West German phenomenon. Several European press markets and the US market were affected by a tendency towards concentration in the press and its development in other countries was followed with great interest in the long 1970s.<sup>194</sup>

In Sweden for example, the number of independent newspapers with a main editorial department declined from 177 in 1945 to 115 in 1972.<sup>195</sup> In the USA, the press market had been characterised by a concentration since the turn of the century. Between 1930 and 1970, more

---

<sup>191</sup> H.-G. Assel, *Demokratischer Sozialpluralismus* (Munich, 1975).

<sup>192</sup> It served as a reference for the term social pluralism introduced here. For further explanation of the pluralism debate in the 1970s see chapter VII.

<sup>193</sup> See Glotz and Langenbucher, *Leser*, pp. 172-3.

<sup>194</sup> See Kruip, "Welt"-*Bild*", p. 68.

<sup>195</sup> See H.-D. Fischer, R. Molenveld, I. Petzke, et al., *Innere Pressefreiheit in Europa: Komparative Studie zur Situation in England, Frankreich, Schweden* (Baden-Baden, 1975), pp. 237-8.

than 350 daily newspapers were shut down or merged with other papers.<sup>196</sup> A concentration in the press also took place in the UK. In 1960, for example, the *News Chronicle* was absorbed by the *Daily Mail*, in 1963 the two competitors, the *Nottingham Evening Post* and the *Nottingham Evening News* merged and became the *Nottingham Post*; in 1964 the *Daily Herald* became *The Sun*, in 1967 the *Sunday Citizen* shut down, and in 1971 the *Daily Sketch* merged with the *Daily Mail*.<sup>197</sup> The British reaction to this concentration of the press was to pass the Monopolies and Mergers Act. It became an international model of press policy and attracted considerable attention. Between 1945 and 1977, there were three Royal Commissions on the Press (1947-49, 1961-62, and 1974-77). The second commission in particular was set up out of a growing concern about the survival of newspapers and was put into action immediately after a series of closures, most notably that of the demise of the *News Chronicle* in 1960. At the same time, three popular Sundays (the *Dispatch*, the *Graphic*, and the *Chronicle*) disappeared and the London evening papers, provincial Sunday papers and weeklies had declined in numbers.<sup>198</sup> The Monopolies and Mergers Act was followed by the Fair Trading Act of 1973 and was based on the proposals made by the Royal Commission on the Press which argued that 'the press was a matter of particular public sensitivity and that the increasing concentration of newspaper ownership in too few hands could stifle the expression of argument.'<sup>199</sup> It introduced a merger control and subjected most newspaper mergers to a stricter control than mergers in other segments of the economy. The Competition Commission (CC) analysed whether the transfer in question could be expected to operate against the public interest. Further, proprietors had to obtain prior consent from the Secretary of State

---

<sup>196</sup> See H. Steinberger, 'Grundrecht der Pressefreiheit und publizistische Kompetenz im gegenwärtigen Recht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika', in id., K. Doebling, K. Hailbronner, et al., *Pressefreiheit und innere Struktur von Presseunternehmen in westlichen Demokratien* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 263-341: 265-7.

<sup>197</sup> See R. Negrine (ed.), *Television and the Press since 1945* (Manchester, 1998), pp. viii-ix.

<sup>198</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>199</sup> See The Leveson Inquiry: Culture, Practice and Ethics of the Press: [http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122145147/http://www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/DCMS-submission\\_Narrative-on-newspaper-ownership.pdf](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122145147/http://www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/DCMS-submission_Narrative-on-newspaper-ownership.pdf), accessed 25 May 2015.

for Trade and Industry if the total paid-for daily circulation of the papers involved was 500,000 or more.<sup>200</sup>

In West Germany, Glotz and Langenbucher went even further than the Monopolies and Mergers Act and suggested a Law on the Freedom of the Press. While the 1968 protests had helped to bring the question of media regulation into the political limelight, Glotz and Langenbucher distanced themselves from calls to expropriate Springer. They also argued that limiting market shares and circulation figures would mean a distortion of journalistic competition. Instead, they suggested the establishment of press committees in the *Länder* and ones at the national level whose function would be to supervise the daily newspaper market. Further, they proposed that the *Länder* committees would include one representative each from the publishers and journalists. The rest of the members were to represent other socially relevant groups.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, the establishment of a national press committee was recommended which would represent all parties which had gained at least 3% in the last federal elections and religious communities, unions, employers, the Association of German Farmers, The German Confederation of Skilled Crafts, the journalists' associations, and the universities. Should there be any cases where the press committee negotiated issues not represented by committee members, additional members were to be assigned.<sup>202</sup> They thereby formulated a distinct idea of press pluralism to ensure that all socially relevant groups were represented.

The wider debates over press concentration and press pluralism also permeated the views of the Kiesinger government. In February 1969, a lengthy government report on the developments in the press market was published that focused on daily newspapers and further developed the approaches already discussed in the report of the *Günther-Commission*. It revealed several key developments in the concentration process: the extent of the ongoing concentration tendencies, declining numbers of papers produced by one main editorial department, the rise of 'one-paper

---

<sup>200</sup> See Fischer, Molenveld, Petzke, et al., *Innere Pressefreiheit*, p. 39.

<sup>201</sup> See Glotz and Langenbucher, *Leser*, p. 187.

<sup>202</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 189.

districts', and the concentration of growing circulation figures in the hands of just a few large enterprises.<sup>203</sup> Those papers with a circulation of 100,000 or more were disproportionately affected by the growth of circulation while the concentration mainly affected papers with a circulation of 40,000 or less. The report further showed that in the context of a high dependency on advertising in the cost structures of print media, larger press companies had a competitive advantage because they were more attractive to advertisers. In addition, it identified that an increasingly saturated market was making it impossible for new newspapers to be successful thereby underlining the findings of the above-mentioned report of the *Günther-Commission*.<sup>204</sup>

The effects of the concentration of the local and regional press were seen as a major concern. The report explicitly mentioned the Springer press as a threat to a balanced market.<sup>205</sup> As regards the political weeklies and news magazines, it reached a more differentiated conclusion. Here a growing number of press products was revealed and, with it, an increasing number of pages and plurality of opinions.<sup>206</sup> The report further dealt with the question of the 'internal freedom of the press' and the relationship between publishers and journalists. It underlined that in the eyes of the government, 'opinion monopolies' and developments within the press itself were threatening the freedom of the press and could cause a need for governmental interference. Despite these considerations, the report concluded: '[...] the government cannot find any evidence for the assumption that the freedom of the forming of opinions in this state is affected in the near future.'<sup>207</sup>

Further, it was argued that the declining number of papers did not justify an obligation for the government to intervene in halting the decline in the number of newspapers which are produced by one main editorial

---

<sup>203</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Schlussbericht der Pressekommission (Drucksache V/3122) Drucksache V/3856* (Bonn, 1969), p. 5.

<sup>204</sup> See id., *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968, V/3122*.

<sup>205</sup> See id., *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Schlussbericht der Pressekommission, V/3856*, p. 6.

<sup>206</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

department. These conclusions have to be understood in the context of the federal elections in 1969.<sup>208</sup> Both parties of the Grand Coalition planned to address the issue after the elections. In the SPD, however, there was considerable criticism of the government's response.<sup>209</sup> The government took the approach that a governmental statistic on the press as well as media reports had to be published on a regular basis.<sup>210</sup> However, other measures besides those applied in the aftermath of the publication of the *Günther-Commission's* report, were not introduced.

The first political measure taken was for the provision of financial aids for the press. Later, in 1969, these were re-evaluated by the Kiesinger government. In 1968, a special press programme was established granting low-interest loans from the European Recovery Program (ERP), a special fund of the West German *Bundestag*, in order to support and maintain the plurality of opinions in the press.<sup>211</sup> The procurement directions<sup>212</sup> were geared towards small and often local businesses with a circulation of up to 160,000.<sup>213</sup> There was not a specific legislative basis for the loans but the majority of them were, however, given to companies with a circulation of up to 80,000 and printing companies were also considered.<sup>214</sup> The procurement was conducted by an expert commission at the Federal Treasury Department which coordinated the procurement of ERP loans which were intended to establish strong, long-term competition.<sup>215</sup> The Reconstruction Loan Corporation (*Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau*, KfW) organised the transactions. Authorised forms of credit were used to buy offset printing machines, linotype storage devices and

---

<sup>208</sup> See Pruys and Schulze, *Macht*, p. 43.

<sup>209</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>210</sup> See Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik*, p. 153.

<sup>211</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlussbericht der Pressekommission 1968*, V/3122, p. 44 and 65.

<sup>212</sup> See Bundesminister für Wirtschaft, 'Bekanntmachung der Allgemeinen Bedingungen für die Vergabe von ERP-Mitteln sowie der Richtlinien zur Gewährung von ERP-Darlehen für 1973', *Bundesanzeiger*, 23/199 (1973), pp. 1-4: 2.

<sup>213</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Schlussbericht der Pressekommission*, V/3856, p. 13.

<sup>214</sup> See Bundesminister für Wirtschaft, 'Vergabe von ERP-Mitteln'.

<sup>215</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Schlussbericht der Pressekommission*, V/3856, p. 13.

image setters, and to build and expand company buildings.<sup>216</sup> The maximum loans amounted to 500,000 DM and a subsidy cap of 60% of the total investment and 70% of the total investment in zonal border areas was introduced.<sup>217</sup> Under the Kiesinger government no further measures were taken.

The credit programme was the first of a range of regulations and interferences into the West German press market at the time. It remained intact until the 1990s. The interest rates varied from 7.5% in 1973 (6.5% for companies in zonal border areas) to 6.5% (5.5 % in zonal border areas) in 1976, and the repayment period varied between 10 and 15 years.<sup>218</sup> The first loans were granted in 1968 (53 loans covering 13,789 million DM for an overall investment volume of 34 million DM). Throughout the long 1970s, a great deal of credit was granted. By the mid-1980s the figures had grown to 441 loans with a total investment sum of 604 million DM in 1984.<sup>219</sup> In spatial terms, these loans were mainly given to the larger *Länder* and distributed as follows: 24.6% Lower Saxony, 19.7% Baden-Württemberg, 19.2% Bavaria, 14.3% North Rhine Westphalia, 8.3% Schleswig-Holstein, 7.1% Hesse, with press companies in Hamburg, Bremen and Rhineland-Palatinate together receiving 6.8% of the loans. The majority of the credit was issued to papers with a circulation up to 20,000 (64.6%) and 40,000 (17.9%).<sup>220</sup> As the ERP press programme was not evaluated, it is not possible to make precise statements as to its success or not and whether it helped to keep publishing houses on the market. It was abandoned under Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1991 with no stated reason.<sup>221</sup>

Under Chancellor Willy Brandt, further legal measures were introduced after 1969 to impede the concentration of the press. In accordance with Willy Brandt's government slogan to 'dare more democracy' and the

---

<sup>216</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1970*, VI/692, p. 7.

<sup>217</sup> See C. Holtz-Bacha, 'Presseförderung im westeuropäischen Vergleich', in P.A. Bruck (ed.), *Medienmanager Staat: Von den Versuchen des Staates, Medienvielfalt zu ermöglichen. Medienpolitik im internationalen Vergleich* (Munich, 1993), pp. 443-568: 484.

<sup>218</sup> See Bundesminister für Wirtschaft, 'Vergabe von ERP-Mitteln'.

<sup>219</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1985*, 10/5663, p. 63.

<sup>220</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, 'Presseförderung', p. 485.

government's intention to provide larger parts of society access to important information, the regulation of the press market became part of the social democratic reform plans, falling in line with their general belief in political market control.<sup>222</sup> At the SPD's party convention in 1968, the dangers of declining plurality in the press were debated for the first time. At a congress in February 1969, the SPD then demanded far-reaching regulations to thwart any increase in the concentration of the press, including supervising daily newspapers with a monopoly position, and the introduction of press committees in each of the *Länder*.<sup>223</sup> The SPD shared many of the 1968 protesters' criticisms of the press. There can be no doubt that the SPD's media policy plans to intervene in the press market fuelled Brandt's popularity with the younger generation and large numbers of the 1968ers.<sup>224</sup> For them, the end of the Grand Coalition and the beginning of Willy Brandt's chancellorship marked a caesura. Brandt represented a new kind of politician: one who was young and charismatic and who had notably fought against the Nazis in the Third Reich.<sup>225</sup>

Glötz and Langenbucher's idea to establish a general press law as well as a merger control in the press was shared by Willy Brandt, who proclaimed it in his government statement on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1969.<sup>226</sup> Debates over the regulation of the concentration of the press were further fuelled through the publication of the first, preliminary media report in 1970 which was compiled by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Economic Affairs as well as the Press Office and expressed a need for new visions of media policy which took into account the ongoing press concentration. In general, the report served to give an updated analysis, showing that between 1969 and 1970 alone, the number of newspapers with an independent main editorial department had decreased from 150

---

<sup>222</sup> See W. Süß, 'Der keynesianische Traum und sein langes Ende: Sozioökonomischer Wandel und Sozialpolitik in den siebziger Jahren', in K.H. Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 120-37.

<sup>223</sup> See A. Feser, *Vermögensmacht und Medieneinfluss - parteieigene Unternehmen und die Chancengleichheit der Parteien* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 109.

<sup>224</sup> See Anonymus, 'Cola auf Spesen', *Der Spiegel*, 17 Nov. 1969, pp. 46-9.

<sup>225</sup> See D. Münkler, 'John F. Kennedy - Harold Wilson - Willy Brandt: "Modernes" Image für "moderne" Zeiten', in ead. and L. Seegers (eds.), *Medien und Imagepolitik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2008), pp. 25-46.

<sup>226</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1970*, VI/692, p. 6; Pruys and Schulze, *Macht*, p. 44.



to 146 and the local and regional press situations, in particular, were worthy of concern. Moreover, the equity links between the large press companies and their dominant role were also regarded as alarming.<sup>227</sup>

At the same time, an SPD media commission (*Ruhnau-Commission*) was formed in 1970 under the leadership of Egon Franke and Heinz Ruhnau with Peter Glotz taking part in the meetings as a guest.<sup>228</sup> The commission suggested far-reaching measures including adopting Glotz's idea of press committees. Moreover, it highlighted the need to provide a legislative basis for the 'internal freedom of the press'. In November 1971, an SPD party convention was held which addressed the question of media policy and at which more than 120 applications were presented. The SPD's youth organisation (Jusos) demanded far-reaching interventions including a de-concentration of large publishing houses, a disempowerment of the publishers, and strict limitations of the market shares.<sup>229</sup> Finally, a resolution on the state of and development of the mass media in the Federal Republic of Germany was passed which was binding for all SPD members. These guidelines on media policy called for far-reaching measures, demanded that the concentration of the press be broken down and press committees established.<sup>230</sup> As regards journalists, it aimed to ensure their economic security, their right to refuse to testify as well as a level of control over local newspaper monopolies.<sup>231</sup> In this way, the media policy paper specifically addressed the 'internal freedom of the press' and aimed to strengthen the position of journalists and their influence on the outlook of their respective paper.

Additionally, the SPD aimed at maintaining the established media system in which the press was privately owned and television stayed under political control: The different organisational and financing structure

---

<sup>227</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1970*, VI/692, p. 2.

<sup>228</sup> The other members of were Volkmar Gabert, Kurt Mattick, Rolf Meinecke, Joachim Raffert, Annemarie Wenger, Karl Wienand, Alfred Nau, Lothar Schwarz, Johannes Rau, Jockel Fuchs, Kurt Gscheidle, Günter Hammer, Fritz Heine, Alois Hüser, Harald Ingersand, Annemarie Mevissen, and Moritz Tape. See Pruys and Schulze, *Macht*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>229</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 54-63.

<sup>230</sup> See Feser, *Vermögensmacht*, p. 109.

<sup>231</sup> See Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik*, pp. 177-8.

of both media should be maintained: the privately owned press on the one hand and public broadcasting on the other.<sup>232</sup>

The 1971 resolution was the first media policy concept passed by a political party in the history of the Bonn Republic and attracted wide attention. The FDP expressed doubts regarding the introduction of press committees and the CDU saw its view confirmed that the SPD aimed at replacing a free market by bureaucratic control. The publishers argued that the media policy concept would violate the freedom of the press while the journalists' associations welcomed the plans to intervene in the press market, strengthen the influence of the editorial departments, and protect pluralism in the press.<sup>233</sup>

Two years later, in 1973, the Free Democrats also passed a new media policy vision, the Wiesbaden Guidelines of Liberal Media Policy which declared the need for a press law and consistent regulations for the press, including news agencies, at the national level.<sup>234</sup> Moreover, the guidelines called for 'specific measures' to ensure the 'internal freedom of the press'.<sup>235</sup> Further, they included a preamble claiming that the existing organisation of the media landscape was to be ensured in the future. The coalition's plans, however, provoked criticism from the publishers and the opposition. Shortly after the FDP passed its media policy guidelines, the publishers' association BDZV published an open letter in several newspapers claiming that the freedom of the press was threatened by such political interference in the press market.

'The liberal party and with it large parts of politically engaged publishers have fought for the freedom of the citizens from governmental supervision for generations. The fight was centred on the freedom of the press. Now the FDP mistrusts this freedom. At its party convention in Wiesbaden it had passed the Wiesbaden Guidelines. These guidelines shall be passed as an amendment. [...] The publishers and editors of the West German newspapers see a great danger for the continuity of a free, pluralistic, and working press. A

---

<sup>232</sup> Quoted from M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Die Verteidigung der Rundfunkfreiheit* (Reinbek, 1979), p. 59.

<sup>233</sup> See Pruys and Schulze, *Macht*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>234</sup> See H. Kaack, *Die F.D.P. Grundriß und Materialien zu Geschichte, Struktur und Programmatik* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978), p. 181.

<sup>235</sup> Quoted from M.W. Thomas, 'Dokumentation: Rundfunk in den achtziger Jahren - ein Kampf um Programm und Monopol', in id. (ed.), *Die Verteidigung der Rundfunkfreiheit* (Reinbek, 1979), pp. 51-80: 65.

press law means governmental interference into the freedom of the press and regulation. [...] Hence, conditions would be imposed on the German press which are unparalleled in the entire free and democratic world - from America to Japan.’<sup>236</sup>

Under Chancellor Brandt, no press law was passed because, among other reasons, the government was waiting for the results of the first comprehensive media report and its analysis of the press concentration.

Published on the day when Chancellor Helmut Schmidt took office on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1974, the first comprehensive media report concluded that press concentration had intensified once again. The years between 1969 and 1974 saw a further rise in large press companies and a decline in independent newspapers with a main editorial department from 149 in 1969 to 124 in 1974.<sup>237</sup> Claiming that there was a possibility that the freedom of the press might be endangered in the future, it came to the conclusion that the

‘[...] classical threat for the freedom of the press by governmental censorship does not exist anymore [...]. Meanwhile, the danger to the freedom of the press posed by its widening concentration has to be thwarted.’<sup>238</sup>

As a result, the social-liberal government intensified its plans to establish a press law which would specifically regulate the ‘internal freedom of the press’. In the government’s eyes, the ‘internal freedom of the press’ referred to the co-determination of journalists and the role of the publishers in specifying the paper’s overall political outlook (*Publizistische Grundhaltung*), its long-term ideological conception (*Richtlinienkompetenz*) and, thirdly, the ability to independently write and compose articles (*Detailkompetenz*).<sup>239</sup>

On 25<sup>th</sup> July 1974, a new draft of a press law was presented by the Ministry of the Interior. It focused on the relationships between journalists and publishers, the opportunity to pass editorial by-laws, a co-determination right of an editorial department in the appointment of the editor-in-chief and journalists, as well as a right of co-determination in economic

---

<sup>236</sup> ‘Offener Brief an die F.D.P.’, *Bild*, 30 Nov.1973, p. 26.

<sup>237</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1974*, 7/2104, p. 11.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>239</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 41.

questions.<sup>240</sup> The law would have restricted publishers' influence on the outlook of their papers. The draft law received wide support from the journalists' associations but the publishers argued it would violate the Works Constitution Act (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*) and distort competition.<sup>241</sup> The Works Constitution Act was renewed in 1972. Originally passed in 1952, the amendment in 1972 limited the works councils' rights to influence the overall political outlook of the papers, thereby strengthening the publisher's right to determine the overall political standpoint and tendency of the paper (*Tendenzschutz*).<sup>242</sup> A press law would have annulled this right thus triggering great resistance on the side of the publishers. The journalists, on the contrary, called for more co-determination and wanted the law to be adopted.

In terms of the publishers, the draft law and goals defined in the report led to a wave of protest. Rudolf Augstein, publisher of the news magazine *Spiegel*, argued that the freedom of the press was being put in danger due to the planned press law and would lead to strong ideological bias. In a letter to the Chancellor, he wrote:

‘I fought against Adenauer with the *Spiegel*. Nevertheless, Adenauer supporters were in the editorial department. [...] This is a bad law [...]. The regulation of the internal freedom of the press means a further limitation of the freedom of opinion which cannot be codified by guidelines. It leads to a paralysis of the existing, endangered newspapers and journals.’<sup>243</sup>

In response, Schmidt again expressed his conviction that a legal framework was needed as had been considered since the very beginning of the FRG, highlighting that the state of the press made a regulation urgent.<sup>244</sup> Augstein again attempted to influence media policy by writing a more explicit letter to the Chancellor in which he criticised all interference in the press market:

‘The publishers will concentrate their activities on entrenched resistance which can become obstruction. [...] This all happens in a

---

<sup>240</sup> See Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>241</sup> See e.g. G. Bucerius, ‘Nur ein Tolpatsch? Steuerermäßigung allein für Tageszeitungen’, *Die Zeit*, 20 Feb. 1976, p. 5.

<sup>242</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1974*, 7/2104, pp. 42-3.

<sup>243</sup> Augstein to Schmidt, 3 Sept. 1974, Spiegel Archive Hamburg (hereafter referred to as SAH).

<sup>244</sup> See Schmidt to Augstein, 20 Sept. 1974, SAH.

merciless competition based on exploding paper prices [...]. Do you really think to gain multiplying factors for the SPD and FDP positions? You get the support of the [...] German journalists' unions a far too small group given the resistance of the publishers and managing editors.'<sup>245</sup>

In contrast to Brandt, who considered the need to pass a general press law to be urgent, Schmidt admitted that he was rather sceptical about a wide-reaching press law and intervention in the press market.<sup>246</sup>

Prior to the beginning of Schmidt's chancellorship, the Jusos' ideas of introducing far-reaching interventions had prevailed and were adopted by the new resolution on media policy passed in February 1974. It included the intention to lift the protection of a tendency clause thereby restricting the publisher's influence on the outlook of the respective newspapers and journals.<sup>247</sup> The government however, was not willing to apply these measures. In his government statement of 1976, Schmidt addressed the question of a general press law again and argued that the publishers, in cooperation with the journalists' associations, should find a common solution. Only if such solution was not to be found by the midpoint of the legislation period, would he begin to consider legislative actions. However, to this day, a general press law has never been passed in the FRG. On 27<sup>th</sup> April 1979, the Minister of the Interior, Gerhard Baum, declared in parliament that the government did not see the need to pass a general press law to regulate the 'internal freedom of the press'. In the media report of 1985, such a law was not mentioned again.<sup>248</sup>

During Schmidt's tenure, however, several far-reaching legal guidelines on the press were accepted. While a press law regulating the 'internal freedom of the press' was never passed, the Law for Journalists on the Right to Silence in Legal Proceedings was, on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975 and several criminal and civil judicial legislations demonstrated the government's view of the media as an important control body.<sup>249</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Augstein to Schmidt, 6 Dec. 1974, SAH.

<sup>246</sup> See letter Schmidt to Springer, quoted in Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, p. 550; Schmidt to Augstein 17 Mar. 1975, SAH.

<sup>247</sup> See Pruys and Schulze, *Macht*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>248</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1985*, 10/5663, p. 65.

<sup>249</sup> See id., *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, pp. 71-3.

In the same year, media policy was fundamentally re-organised. On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1975, the Law on Press Statistics was passed. Demanding an annual disclosure of the accounts and circulation figures, the law provided the basis for the annual press statistics which were monitored by Walter J. Schütz. He established a working group on press statistics in the Press Office. The sample unit was the publishing house and the following categories were considered in the press statistics: legal status, number of employees and freelancers, turnover, selected costs such as wages and salaries, distribution costs, name and number of the editions, format, publication intervals of papers printed in company-owned or at external companies, data on the production of the articles, connections to distribution and marketing organisations, average number of pages per issue, and text to advertisement ratio.<sup>250</sup> The press statistics were usually published three years after the survey year and the first press statistics were published in 1978 with reference to 1975.<sup>251</sup>

For the first time, reliable data on the development of the press market were available which went beyond Schütz's earlier data on daily newspapers.<sup>252</sup> The official statistics not only differentiated between the different circulation groups but also between local, regional, and supra-regional press products, among them political weeklies, popular magazines, learned journals, confessional papers, journals of the associations and public bodies, official gazettes, customer magazines and advertising papers.<sup>253</sup> The data provided by the official statistics allowed for a closer analysis of developments in the press market.

On 28<sup>th</sup> June 1976, the Law on Merger Control in the Press was passed which had been planned and debated since 1969.<sup>254</sup> The

---

<sup>250</sup> See Hake, 'Der Aufbau einer Pressestatistik', *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5 (1977), pp. 291-6: 291.

<sup>251</sup> See official press statistics by the press office (Bundespresse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, BPA; *Bundespressestatistik*), in Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bildung und Kultur Fachserie 11 Reihe 5 Presse*.

<sup>252</sup> The official press statistics, however, were published without a claim to completeness. Several newspapers were not counted and others were counted twice because they belonged to two different statistical groups. See Anonymus, 'Die bundesdeutsche Presse im Spiegel der amtlichen Statistik: Statistisches Bundesamt veröffentlicht Ergebnis der ersten Erhebung 1975', *Media Perspektiven*, 4/1978, pp. 241-50.

<sup>253</sup> See Hake, 'Der Aufbau einer Pressestatistik', p. 295.

<sup>254</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1970*, VI/692, p. 6.

CDU/CSU opposed the law and voted against it.<sup>255</sup> The government explained that 'the dying of newspapers was the result of competitive obstructions on the press market leading to rescue mergers and the rise of dominant publishing houses in the respective markets.'<sup>256</sup>

The merger control was meant to protect the competition and plurality mainly on local and regional markets. It applied a formal merger control (*formelle Fusionskontrolle*) and established turnover thresholds. Mergers above 25 million DM (turnover of the merging publishing houses) had to be reported to the Cartel Office, which would then grant approval or, refuse authorisation.<sup>257</sup> The threshold for the initiation of an investigation by the Cartel Office was usually put at 500 million DM. The reduction to 25 million DM affected newspapers with a circulation of 70-80,000. The material merger control (*materielle Fusionskontrolle*) which looked at the vertical and horizontal market transformation was introduced. The minor market clause (*Bagatellmarkt*) barrier was reduced from 10 million DM to 500,000 DM which meant that only mergers in markets with a turnover of up to 500,000 were not affected by the merger control. The amendment excluded the press from the so-called 'connection clause' (*Anschlussklausel*) which ruled that under certain conditions, companies could merge even when this process would lead to an oligopolistic market position. Additionally, the amendment made clear that the 'regional clause' (*Regionalklausel*) was not applicable to the press. It stated that certain mergers on local markets were to be excluded from the merger control because they only had minor or negligible effects on the supra-regional markets. Thus, the merger control of the press explicitly included local and regional markets. This growing attention to the press over the course of the merger control was based on the peculiarity of the press market with its regional and local characteristics. The official report on the merger control stated:

---

<sup>255</sup> See IG Druck und Papier, 'Pressekonzentration', pp. 98-9.

<sup>256</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit im Jahre 1977 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 8/1925* (Bonn, 1978), p. 42.

<sup>257</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, pp. 136-7.

‘With respect to the press, a merger control focusing on large mergers is not sufficient. A peculiarity of several markets of the periodical press is the local and regional demand and that this demand is served by smaller and medium sized companies only operating locally or regionally.’<sup>258</sup>

The government aimed to prevent the rise of monopolies in these markets. The orientation to smaller sub-markets and regionally and locally limited segments was meant to ensure competition in those markets where it still existed, given the high degree of concentration at the time of the passing of the law.<sup>259</sup> Between 1976 and 1978 alone, the Cartel Office supervised and reviewed 71 planned mergers.<sup>260</sup> The reactions to the merger control in the press varied. The conservative *Bayernkurier* called it an ‘alibi of press policy’ whereas the SPD paper *Vorwärts* considered it to be ‘harmless in a way that even Springer could have agreed to the law’.<sup>261</sup> The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote that the merger control ‘had proven its worth’ revealing that there was also approval of such a measure in the press.<sup>262</sup>

#### The Effects of the Social-Liberal Press Policy

Over the course of the press concentration and abandonment of several smaller regional and local newspapers, several local advertising papers were founded to serve the local advertising market. Usually published at weekly, fortnightly, monthly and (in rare cases) quarterly publication intervals, the papers were distributed for free.<sup>263</sup> The Cartel Office counted

---

<sup>258</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265 (Bonn, 1978), p. 2.

<sup>259</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit im Jahre 1978 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB)* Drucksache 8/2980 (Bonn, 1979), p. 3.

<sup>260</sup> See id., *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, pp. 14-21.

<sup>261</sup> Quoted from Anonymus, ‘Vor die Hunde’, *Der Spiegel*, 27 Jun. 1978, pp. 53-6.

<sup>262</sup> Anonymus, ‘Presse-Fusionskontrolle hat sich bewährt: Kabinett verabschiedet Erfahrungsbericht In drei Fällen Zusammenschluss untersagt’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2 Nov. 1978, p. 5.

<sup>263</sup> See H. Janke, ‘Gratis frei Haus: Anzeigenblätter - eine Folge der Pressekonzentration’, in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin 1981), pp. 53-62.



those advertising papers with a regular periodical publication and a 'constant not completely unremarkable editorial part' as journals.<sup>264</sup> They experienced a significant increase due to the press concentration. Between 1975 and 1982, the number of papers grew from 198 to 654 and, with it, the average circulation grew from 24 to 38 million copies per publication interval.<sup>265</sup>

The larger press companies aimed to enter the profitable local and regional markets and were prevented from doing so by the Cartel Office. The law was applied when the *Springer Publishing Company* aimed to buy 50% of the advertising paper *Elbe Wochenblatt Publishing Company* located in Hamburg.<sup>266</sup> Because Springer owned the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Bergedorfer Zeitung*, and because his papers *Bild* and *Welt* were central to the press market in Hamburg, the Cartel Office argued that he would have been able to control the regional advertisement market in Hamburg and did not approve of Springer's purchasing intentions. As the *Elbe Wochenblatt* had a circulation of 230,000 and Springer's papers already had the highest percentage proportion of the local advertising market, the Cartel Office demanded a dissolution of the merger in 1982.<sup>267</sup>

Further, the merger agreement between Springer and the Munich based *Münchner Zeitungsverlag GmbH* was prevented in June 1978 after Springer had already bought a share of 24.99%. The *Münchner Zeitungsverlag GmbH* owned the *Münchner Merkur* (circulation 172,000 in 1978) as well as the tabloid paper *tz* which was founded in reaction to the introduction of a regional edition of the *Bild* in Munich in 1968.<sup>268</sup> While the Cartel Office's approval only needed to be obtained when buying 25%, the government interfered when Springer was about the buy the

---

<sup>264</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1979/1980 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB)* Drucksache 9/565 (Bonn, 1981), p. 96.

<sup>265</sup> See official press statistics by the Press Office (*Bundespressestatistik*), in Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bildung und Kultur Fachserie 11 Reihe 5 Presse*.

<sup>266</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, p. 16.

<sup>267</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1981/1982 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB)* Drucksache 10/243 (Bonn, 1983), p. 77.

<sup>268</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, p. 6.

remaining 75.1%. This would have led to a local market share of the Springer media of 57% in Munich.<sup>269</sup> The merger would have also given Springer an even stronger position in the segment of supra-regional over-the-counter newspapers where Springer was already the undisputed leader with the *Bild*.<sup>270</sup> A similar situation emerged in West Berlin: the *Ullstein Publishing Company*, which was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the *Springer Publishing House*, aimed to buy 49.5% of the *Haupt and Koska Company*, the largest publishing house for advertising papers in West Berlin. The merger was also prohibited because Springer already generated 80% of the turnover of the West Berlin advertising market.<sup>271</sup>

Besides Springer, other publishing houses were also affected by the merger control. In Munich, the *Münchner Wochenblatt Verlags- und Werbegesellschaft*, a subsidiary of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *SZ*) planned to buy three local advertising papers which would have given the *SZ* a dominant market position because it already owned the *Münchner Wochenblatt*, Munich's largest advertising paper with a circulation of 578,000 in 1980.<sup>272</sup>

The merger control did not only affect the press markets in larger cities however. When a subsidiary of the *Nord West Zeitung (NWZ)* in Oldenburg aimed to buy the advertising paper the *Ammerland Echo*, this merger was blocked by the Cartel Office. The *NWZ* had a circulation of 177,000 in 1982 and was the leading newspaper in the Ammerland district. The takeover of the advertising paper would have eliminated the 'remaining fringe competition' in the area.<sup>273</sup>

In the state of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW), the Cartel Office criticised the combination of advertisements while it saw, at the same time, no way of preventing this development. Throughout the 1960s and the long 1970s, the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ)* developed into

---

<sup>269</sup> See H. Flottau, 'Finanziell abhängig aber dennoch frei? Zur wirtschaftlichen und rechtlichen Situation der Presse', in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp 11-36: 31.

<sup>270</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, p. 8.

<sup>271</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1979/80*, 9/565, p. 21.

<sup>272</sup> See ibid., p. 96.

<sup>273</sup> Id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1981/1982*, 10/243, p. 77.

the largest local newspaper company in West Germany, controlling the market in NRW. It was owned by the Funke and Brost families. After the Cartel Office had argued that all the newspapers of the company were dependent on the opinion of these two families, they sued the agency but the case was dismissed.<sup>274</sup>

The decisions of the Cartel Office were usually appealed against by the publishing houses and sometimes overruled. This was the case when the *Stuttgarter Verlagsgesellschaft Eberle GmbH & Co.* introduced a Sunday paper which they distributed to the subscribers of several newspapers. The Cartel Office decided that free competition was distorted and prohibited the new Sunday paper from being distributed solely as an additional issue for subscribers. In May 1979 a court decision ruled that the Sunday paper was legal and did not distort competition.<sup>275</sup>

With respect to the political weekly press, the Cartel Office blocked the plans of the *G+J Publishing House* (a subsidiary of the *Bertelsmann Company*) to acquire shares in the *Zeit Publishing House* because, in the eyes of the Cartel Office, the linking of several of the largest publishing houses in this way would have unfairly strengthened the dominant positions of the *Zeit*, *Spiegel*, and *Stern*.<sup>276</sup> Within the market of special interest magazines, the Cartel Office prohibited the takeover of the *Deutsche Verkehrs-Verlag GmbH* (comprising of the *DVZ-Deutsche Verkehrszeitung*, with a circulation of 12,500 in 1978 and *Der Spediteur*, with a circulation of 5,700 in 1978) by the *Bertelsmann Company* in 1978.<sup>277</sup> Both publishing houses operated in the car magazines market and the combination of both companies would have unfairly impeded any other competitor in that market segment.<sup>278</sup> When the *Bertelsmann group* planned to take over *W.E. Saarbach GmbH*, both a press importer and the Cartel Office pointed out that the deal had the potential to be blocked and so the plan was discarded.<sup>279</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1978*, 9/2980, p. 83.

<sup>275</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1979/80*, 9/565, p. 97.

<sup>276</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> See id., *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, p. 4 and 21.

<sup>278</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>279</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 4 and 11.

The most significant regulation affecting journals and magazines, however, occurred in the popular magazines market, or more precisely the programme magazines. In 1978, the Cartel Office imposed penalty payments totalling 26.6 million DM for price-fixing agreements which took place between the largest companies, including the *Springer Publishing Company*, which had to pay 13.0 million DM, the *Heinrich Bauer Publishing Company*, which had to pay 10.6 million DM, and the *Burda Publishing Company*, which had to pay 2.6 million DM.<sup>280</sup> In 1980, penalty payments were again imposed on these companies for the same reason totalling 5.34 million DM.<sup>281</sup>

In 1981/82, the Cartel Office prevented the *Burda Publishing Company* from going through with its plan to buy 51% of the *Springer Publishing Company*, as it would have led to oligopolies within the advertising, distribution, and gravure printing markets. Together they would have held a combined market share of 32.4%. As a result, Burda bought just 24.9% of the publishing house, with the permission of the Cartel Office.<sup>282</sup>

The merger control came into effect when the press concentration in the segment of the daily newspapers had reached its highest level: in 1976, the number of independent editorial departments had reached its lowest number (121) in the history of the FRG and, with it, the number of daily newspaper editions (1229).<sup>283</sup> This situation was also acknowledged by the Cartel Office. It was argued that the market reaction to the merger control plans, which were discussed since 1969, was the main cause.<sup>284</sup>

In fact, the precise effects of the merger control are difficult to track. Its introduction came at a time when press concentration was already beginning to slow down. Due to the complicated data situation and the lack of other up-to-date research on the topic at the time, the government's own publications provided the main assessment of the policies.

---

<sup>280</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1978*, 9/2980, p. 80.

<sup>281</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1979/80*, 9/565, p. 97.

<sup>282</sup> See id., *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts 1981/1982*, 10/243, p. 75.

<sup>283</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

<sup>284</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht über Erfahrungen mit der Pressefusionskontrolle*, 8/2265, p. 6.

Quite unsurprisingly, the government concluded that its own laws were effective.<sup>285</sup> The second media report outlined the effects of the multi-faceted political measures taken to ensure plurality within the press. On the basis of the 1974 report and newly available data, it stated that the economic situation of the press had stabilised in 1976 and, with it, the concentration process. Again the report exemplified the government's view of press pluralism. It referred to the concept of social pluralism, mentioned above, in which the press had a duty to represent the wide range of social groups. In television and radio, this was implemented through the broadcasting councils which represented the 'legal regulation of the internal structure' and enabled audiences to choose between a 'variety of versatile radio and television shows'.<sup>286</sup> The report defined the government's duty to ensure the 'external freedom of the press' in order to maintain the best possible supply of economically viable and strong press products in competition with one another.<sup>287</sup> In the eyes of the government, the legislative and economic efforts to impede the process of concentration and ensure a pluralistic media democracy were successful: 'The press in West Germany corresponds to the picture of a press landscape characterised by a variety of press products if referred to the wider understanding of the press under Section 5 Basic Law.'<sup>288</sup>

With respect to the political press, a more differentiated conclusion was reached. The developments in this specific section of the media did not comply with the governmental visions of a competitive media landscape. Particularly, in the field of local and regional papers where there were several so-called 'one-paper districts', the number of independent editing companies and editorial departments had decreased. It was concluded that the concentration process had slowed down overall but that it would still need to be supervised in the years to come. The report gave

---

<sup>285</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid. The definition of the press in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic includes 'all printed products intended for the dissemination' thus not only refers to newspapers and periodical print products but also to 'books, posters, flyers, leaflets and similar products.' Quoted from I.v. Münch (ed.), *Grundgesetz Kommentar Band 1 Präambel bis Art. 20* (Munich, 1975), p. 204.

detailed insights into the high degree of the concentration and its effects on the local and regional press market:

The high amount of local monopoly positions is central for the continuity of the concentration process on the daily newspaper market [...] It is likely that there will be concentration processes in the future [...].<sup>289</sup>

At the same time, the report underlined the decisive role of local journalism for the press:

The regular reporting on local events in the area of circulation enables the local and regional newspapers to strengthen their competitive situation among its readership against other daily newspapers which do not offer the same outlook.<sup>290</sup>

In response, the government report of 1978 stated that:

'[...] when considering the press as a central part of the opinion making process, the existing reality does not meet the expectations of the competition in the [...] local and regional press [...].'<sup>291</sup>

Regionally, low newspaper density differed significantly and primarily affected less densely populated areas. In 1976, 40.9 % of all districts were 'one-paper districts' in Baden-Württemberg, in Bavaria 52.9%, in Bremen 50.0%, Hesse 26.7%, in Lower Saxony 63.8%, in North-Rhine Westphalia 1.8%, in Rhineland-Palatinate 77.8%, in the Saarland 83.3%, and in Schleswig-Holstein 53.3%.<sup>292</sup> Throughout the years, the number of 'one-paper districts' in the FRG grew from 15.2% in 1954 to 21.4% in 1964, then 25.7% in 1967, and 45.3% in 1976.<sup>293</sup> In 1976, 32.7% of the West German population (20.1 million citizens) were living in 'one-paper districts'.<sup>294</sup> Later, this figure continued to grow and in 1983, 46.8% of all municipalities were 'one-paper districts', in which 35.3% of the total German population were living (21.7 million citizens).<sup>295</sup>

---

<sup>289</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, pp. 51-2.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-8.

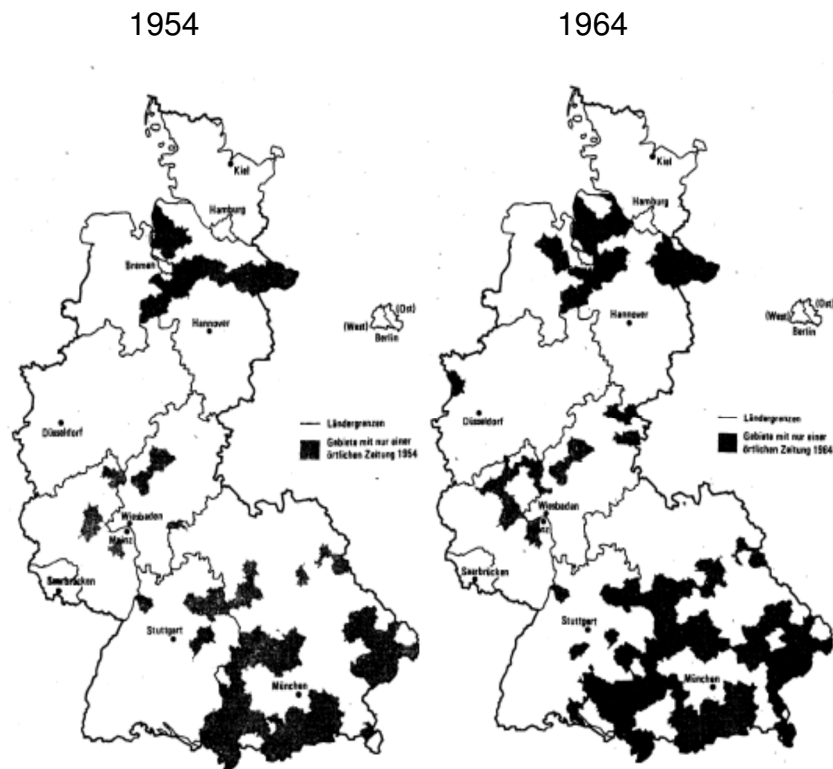
<sup>292</sup> See chart B 8: Zeitungsdichte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1976, *ibid.*, p. 15; The city states Hamburg and Bremen were not considered.

<sup>293</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 6.

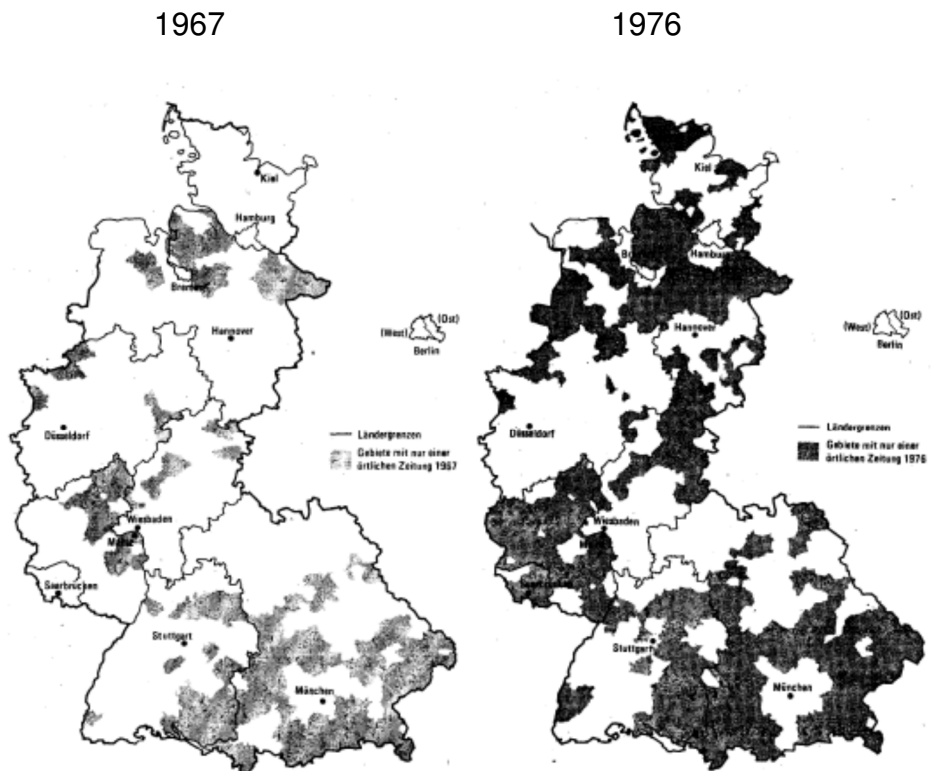
<sup>294</sup> See *Id.*, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 6.

<sup>295</sup> See *ibid.* p. 163.

Rise of 'One-Paper Districts' (black) 1954 to 1964<sup>296</sup>



Rise of 'One-Paper Districts' (black) 1967 to 1976<sup>297</sup>



<sup>296</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, p. 16.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The rise of 'one-paper districts' has to be seen in connection with the largest territorial reform in the history of the FRG.<sup>298</sup> During the ten years between 1968 and 1978, the number of independent boroughs plummeted from 24,278 to 8,514; the number of urban municipalities from 135 to 88 and the number of municipalities fell from 425 to 235.<sup>299</sup> The idea behind this reform was the re-structuring of the communities in order to improve the economic efficiency and societal opportunities.<sup>300</sup> The reform led to declining numbers of administrative units. According to Walter J. Schütz, who analysed the territorial reform for the press statistics and the data on the rise of 'one-paper districts', the reform barely had an effect on the local and regional press but mainly affected the range of distribution of the respective papers. Over the course of the reform, local papers became regional newspapers and some former regional papers became local papers which reported on a particular local area of a larger municipality. Overall, however, Schütz argued that the newspaper landscape was 'remarkably stable' and there were no far-reaching consequences of the territorial reform affecting the regional and local press.<sup>301</sup> Schütz thus came to the conclusion that the concentration in the local and regional press was based on the developments within the press market itself.

While the 1978 media report highlighted the rise of 'one-paper districts' it mentioned a central weakness in its data samples. It identified the rise of 'alternative' papers that were labelled 'city-district papers' as a central development. The rather vague description illuminates how little understanding there was of the development in this segment of the press:

'Under the collective term "city district papers" certain periodicals for city boroughs, suburbs, and satellite towns including citizen papers (often foundations of citizen initiatives) are subsumed. In their reporting, city district papers specialise on local areas; they have the

---

<sup>298</sup> A detailed depiction of the implementation of the reform in the *Länder* can be found in W. Thieme and G. Prillwitz, *Durchführung und Ergebnisse der kommunalen Gebietsreform* (Baden-Baden, 1981).

<sup>299</sup> See S. Mecking, *Bürgerwille und Gebietsreform: Demokratieentwicklung und Neuordnung von Staat und Gesellschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1965-2000* (Munich, 2012), p. 461.

<sup>300</sup> See ead., pp. 14-5.

<sup>301</sup> W.J. Schütz, 'Zeitungsdichte und Zeitungswettbewerb in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1976', *Publizistik: Vierteljahresshefte für Kommunikationsforschung*, 23 (1978), pp. 58-74: 59.



chance to do pioneering work for the social integration of the citizens into the community [...].'<sup>302</sup>

The report mentioned the lack of statistics in the field but identified continuous growth in this segment contributing to a new local plurality.<sup>303</sup> It also mentioned the rise of local church and party papers as well as youth papers and official gazettes published by local authorities.<sup>304</sup>

With the implementation of the social-liberal media policy and the supervision of the press market, the 1978 report was the last to be published in the social-liberal years. It took until 1985, after the introduction of cable television in 1984, for the government to publish a new analysis of the developments within the media. The 1985 report stated that, '[t]aken together, the concentration process within the press has significantly slowed down. The plurality within the press is ensured.'<sup>305</sup>

When assessing the social-liberal media policy in the Schmidt years (1974-1982), one can identify the overall goal to protect 'external pluralism' in the press. The Brandt years exhibited codification and formulation of media policy designs. The Schmidt years saw the introduction of legal provisions to ensure social pluralism in the press. The press statistics offered a detailed insight into the market shares and development of the press and merger control proved to be a worthwhile instrument to prevent large publishing houses from entering local markets in order to increase their market dominance. It is striking, however, that the merger control mainly affected the Springer media which belonged to the most outspoken critics of the social-liberal government.<sup>306</sup>

It is important to consider this in relation to a hotly debated question at the time: should a dual system of private and public broadcasting be introduced? This was the cause of much confrontation, the opposition demanding that such a dual system approach be adopted.

---

<sup>302</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 23.

<sup>303</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>304</sup> See *ibid.*, p. x.

<sup>305</sup> *Id.*, *Medienbericht 1985*, 10/5663, p. 64.

<sup>306</sup> See chapter VI.

## The Free-Market Approach of the CDU/CSU: Debates over the Dual Broadcasting System

In 1973, the CDU passed new media policy guidelines which aimed to strengthen the role of the publishers but also highlighted the need for stronger financial aid for smaller businesses. In the eyes of the CDU, the concentration process was the result of free-market competition within the press which helped to improve the quality of the press. At the same time, the paper stressed that the existing media structure and the governmental and political supervision of broadcasting should be maintained but if technological innovations allowed new opportunities (here referring to private broadcasting), these should also be considered.<sup>307</sup> While the question of the 'internal freedom of the press' was a central aspect of the above-mentioned SPD and FDP media policies, the CDU's concept did not even mention the topic. Further, the coalition called for press laws while the CDU put greater emphasis on the self-regulation of the press.

In the years to come, the CDU began to explicitly call for the introduction of private broadcasting. It was argued that the accessibility of new technologies would inevitably result in a re-organisation of the media landscape.<sup>308</sup> On several occasions, the CDU called for the introduction of a so-called dual system in which public broadcasting coexisted with commercial television and radio stations. At the CDU's media congress in Munich in May 1974, Helmut Kohl called for a market economy system within the media in his speech 'Free media free citizens free state'. According to Kohl, such an organisation was a central element of the freedom of the press.<sup>309</sup> In 1975, the CDU presented a new media policy

---

<sup>307</sup> See Anonymus 'So denkt die CDU: Zur Diskussion in den unteren Gliederungen der Unionsparteien hat die Medienkommission der CDU/CSU ein Medienpapier vorgelegt, aus dem wir die wichtigsten Passagen auszugsweise veröffentlichen', *journalist*, 7/1973, pp. 12-4: 12.

<sup>308</sup> See F. Bösch, 'Politische Macht und Gesellschaftliche Gestaltung: Wege zur Einführung des privaten Rundfunks in den 1970/80er Jahren', in M. Woyke (ed.), *Wandel des Politischen: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland während der 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2013), pp. 195-214: 198-9.

<sup>309</sup> See D. Buhl, 'Ohne Konzept', *Die Zeit*, 7 Jul. 1974, p. 1.

strategy paper in which it called for a re-organisation of the media landscape under the auspices of free-market competition.<sup>310</sup> The CDU position thus assumed that a free market would be a precondition for a pluralistic media landscape. Its concept of press and media policy can, therefore, be labelled free-market pluralism.

The opposition's calls for new media policy and deregulation were based on the belief that this step would lead to greater plurality and democratisation of the media. At the same time, it accused the broadcasting stations of biased reporting to the advantage of the social-liberal coalition, thus failing to produce the pluralism of reporting which the broadcasting councils had a duty to ensure.<sup>311</sup> At the core of the debate over social pluralism and free-market pluralism was thus a confrontation over political representation in the media.<sup>312</sup>

A central impetus for the conflict was a report by a Commission Investigating the Opportunities for the Technological Expansion of the Communication System (Kommission für den Ausbau des technischen Kommunikationssystems or KtK) established in November 1973. In its final report in 1975, the KtK called for the introduction of pilot cable projects which would provide broadband services. In its report on the commission in 1976, however, the social-liberal government reasserted its intention to maintain the established system and reiterated that the *Deutsche Post* would remain the only network operator in West Germany.<sup>313</sup> It took until May 1978 for a basic agreement on the introduction of cable pilot projects to be introduced, the state premiers then deciding to establish four pilot cable projects in Dortmund, Munich, West-Berlin, and Ludwigshafen/Mannheim. However, an agreement on financing the projects was not reached until 1980 and the government declared a halt to the cable projects. It was not until 1981 that work on the projects was

---

<sup>310</sup> See Anonymus, 'Konzentrationsbewegungen auf dem Pressemarkt 1974', *Media Perspektiven*, 3/1975, p. 128-33: 132.

<sup>311</sup> See Bösch, 'Macht', pp. 199-203.

<sup>312</sup> See also chapter VI.

<sup>313</sup> See Steinmetz, 'Initiativen', p. 177.

resumed. The Chancellor claimed that this complex question had allegedly not been debated sufficiently enough.<sup>314</sup> The completion of the projects took until the mid-1980s.

The delays in the government's decision making were heavily criticised by the CDU. It called for a 'free media policy'<sup>315</sup> and made an official '*Statement on Media Policy*' in January 1978:

'Two years after the presentation of the KtK's final report no decisions have been made in terms of the cable projects. The FRG faces the possibility of missing the multifaceted development of the communication system, of missing the technological innovation and experiencing competitive disadvantages while the neighbouring countries do not.'<sup>316</sup>

In support of the CDU's stance, it was argued that the rise of new technologies would inevitably lead to completely new media legislation.<sup>317</sup> Also in 1978, the SPD published the '*Guidelines for the Future Development of Electronic Media*' in which it declared that the

'development and design of the communication system in a state cannot be evaluated under the criteria of technological progress and economic efficiency. Our communication system has to serve the free exchange of opinion.'<sup>318</sup>

The SPD thereby cemented its media policy which remained untouched until the early 1980s.

The government's slow response to new media technologies was based on social democratic ideas of education and family life. One of Helmut Schmidt's often repeated concerns throughout the long 1970s was the negative influence of television on family life, demonstrated in his passionate plea for 'a day without television' in which he suggested that every family should switch off the television for at least one day a

---

<sup>314</sup> See Zipfel, *Der Macher*, pp. 32-7.

<sup>315</sup> On March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976 the CDU and CSU published the concept paper 'Free Media Policy' demanding the opening of the broadcasting market for private investments.

<sup>316</sup> Anonymus, 'CDU/CSU legt medienpolitisches Grundsatzpapier vor: Forderungen der Union für die Pilotprojekte Kabelfernsehen', *Media Perspektiven*, 1/1978, pp. 33-5: 33.

<sup>317</sup> See Bösch, 'Macht'.

<sup>318</sup> Anonymus, 'Leitlinien zur Zukunftsentwicklung der elektronischen Medien: SPD-Parteivorstand verabschiedet medienpolitische Leitsätze', *Media Perspektiven*, 1/1978, pp. 25-32.

week.<sup>319</sup> He argued that television inevitably led to deficits within societal communication and interpersonal relations. Schmidt called for wider debates over the potential consequences of a 'total television society' and warned against the implications for the press: 'In the last 30 years, the concentration process has cost us the variety of opinions.'<sup>320</sup> He further warned against large publishing companies potentially entering into the broadcasting market and thus further limiting the variety of opinions. Subsequently, the Chancellor encouraged families to come together once a week to socialise, talk, and debate with each other. Schmidt's advice, however, remained widely unheard and sparked widespread criticism.



Ich fürchte, der Kanzler hat keine Ahnung, wie so ein fernsehfreier Abend aussieht."

Zeichnung: Ernsting

Cartoon published in the SZ: 'I am afraid the Chancellor has no clue of what an evening without watching television looks like.'<sup>321</sup>

In the *Bild*, Schmidt was ridiculed for being a moraliser, an accusation which was then echoed across other media leading to a wave of protest against the Chancellor's 'interference into the German people's private

<sup>319</sup> See H. Schmidt, 'Plädoyer für einen fernsehfreien Tag: Ein Anstoß für mehr Miteinander in unserer Gesellschaft', *Die Zeit*, 26 May 1978, pp. 9-10.

<sup>320</sup> Id., 'Die Verantwortung des Politikers für die Entwicklung der Medien und eine humane Gesellschaft', in *Media Perspektiven*, 11/1979, pp. 767-76: 768-69.

<sup>321</sup> Caricature, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 10 May 1978, Private Collection of Caricatures, Private Archive Helmut Schmidt (hereafter referred to as PAHS).

lives and leisure activities.<sup>322</sup> Schmidt's view, however, resembled a general scepticism towards television and its potential negative societal effects. At the same time, within the sociological discourse of the 1960s and 1970s, television was seen as a passive medium. It wasn't until the late 1970s that sociologists considered watching television to be a 'creative and active process' in which viewers decoded the information presented to them in their own, individual ways leading to contrasting interpretations.<sup>323</sup> The contemporaneous debates underline that it was a widespread assumption among intellectuals and the educated middle classes that television was an unintellectual media and had negative effects on the political culture and social life.

The opposition's call for the broadcasting market to be opened up was not only based on a different economic policy that favoured a free market media but was also based on the assumption that the broadcasting stations entertained a rather left-liberal outlook thereby representing SPD positions. In the eyes of the CDU, the social democratic tendency of most of the broadcasting boards provided the primary reason for the government's decision to maintain the status quo of the media to the advantage of the government.<sup>324</sup> The opposition accused the public broadcasting stations of biased reporting at several occasions.<sup>325</sup> One driving force of the debate over social pluralism and free-market pluralism, thus, was a confrontation over political representation in the media.<sup>326</sup>

At the level of the *Länder*, the conservatives made several attempts to couple a better representation in broadcasting with the advancement of technological innovation. In 1972, an amendment to the Bavarian Broadcasting Law was authorised which gave the CSU more control over

---

<sup>322</sup> Anonymus, 'Ein ganz anderer: Helmut Schmidt. Kanzlerberater wollen Helmut Schmidt eine neue werbewirksame Rolle zuteilen als Lebenshelfer. Dem Bürger Empfohl der Kanzler einen fernsehfreien Tag pro Woche', *Der Spiegel*, 29 May 1978, pp. 32-4.

<sup>323</sup> C.v. Hodenberg, 'Expeditionen in den Methodendschungel: Herausforderungen der Zeitgeschichtsforschung im Fernsehzeitalter', *Journal of Modern European History*, 10/1 (2012), pp. 24-48: 42.

<sup>324</sup> See Hermann, *Medienpolitik*, p. 73.

<sup>325</sup> See Bösch, 'Macht', pp. 199-203.

<sup>326</sup> See also chapter VI.

the broadcasting station *Bayerischer Rundfunk* (BR) triggering widespread resistance within the media and population, even including some supporters of the CSU. Against the state government's plans to establish conservative 'black-broadcasting'<sup>327</sup>, a referendum was passed by a people's initiative for the 'freedom of broadcasting' under the leadership of political scientist Paul Noack who had worked for the *FAZ* and *Münchener Merkur*. Finally, the government and protesters agreed that Bavarian broadcasting remained public and that the number of state representatives in the control boards must not exceed one third.<sup>328</sup> In August 1973, the additional Section 111a was introduced to the Bavarian Broadcasting Law, ruling that radio and TV must be held in public ownership.

The debates over political representation in public broadcasting developed all across the FRG. The disputes over the WDR (*Westdeutscher Rundfunk*) and NDR (*Norddeutscher Rundfunk*) are particularly noteworthy. From the early 1970s, the WDR was subject to vehement criticism after rumours had been spread that WDR employers had cooperated with *Red Army Faction* (hereafter referred to as *RAF*) terrorists. In reaction, the CDU started the 'red-broadcasting-campaign'.

In 1974, WDR director Klaus von Bismarck voiced his criticism of the political polarisation in television and radio. In his view, the press was characterised by a trend towards conservative reporting, while the broadcasting companies were rather leftist.<sup>329</sup> As a result of subsequent disputes with representatives of the editorial department who rejected his statement forthright, von Bismarck resigned his position in 1975.<sup>330</sup> In the run up to the election of a new director, the *Bild*, *Welt*, and *Bayernkurier* regularly published articles and comments from leading CDU politicians like Heinrich Köppler and Heinrich Windelen who promoted the 'red-broadcasting-campaign'.<sup>331</sup> *Spiegel* warned that particular prudence was necessary in reacting to the CDU's media policy which, it claimed, aimed

---

<sup>327</sup> Black is considered to be the colour of the Conservatives in the FRG whereas red is said to represent the Social Democrats.

<sup>328</sup> See Lindmeyr, 'Novellierung'.

<sup>329</sup> See Schmid, 'Rotfunk', p. 376.

<sup>330</sup> See Hodenberg, *Konsens*, p. 433.

<sup>331</sup> See Schmid, 'Rotfunk', p. 377.

to implement an authoritarian media control by accusing certain papers and broadcasting companies of socialist infiltration.<sup>332</sup> When von Bismarck decided not to run again for the position, Friedrich-Wilhelm von Sell, an SPD member, became his successor.

The debate over the political representation in public broadcasting escalated further when Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, who worked as an advisor for the CDU, developed a theory of a 'spiral of silence' in which she identified an overarching bias in the reporting which disadvantaged the opposition. She argued that the left-liberal dominance within the media would prevent the successful advancement of conservative ideas.<sup>333</sup> Her theory asserted that a person is less likely to voice an opinion on a topic of morality - assuming that they are in the minority - for fear of reprisal or even isolation from the majority.<sup>334</sup> Noelle-Neumann's theory was highly praised among the ranks of the CDU and CSU and was based on polls compiled by the *Institut für Demographie Allensbach (IfD)*. However, the polls were biased. They had been designed by Catholic priests and scholars and were based on a conservative concern over an assumed decline of (conservative) values in the course of a broader societal and political pluralisation.<sup>335</sup> In reality, the 'spiral of silence' theory was hardly defensible. In 1979, Hans Mathias Kepplinger, a former student of Noelle-Neumann, analysed the reporting of different daily newspapers and television programmes of ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands*) and ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*) and identified balanced reporting on the opposition and the government alike.<sup>336</sup>

The CDU's claims of unequal representation in television peaked in 1977. The red-broadcasting accusation was constantly repeated and led

---

<sup>332</sup> See Anonymus, 'Besondere Vorsicht', *Der Spiegel*, 14 Aug. 1978, p. 34.

<sup>333</sup> See A. Kruke, 'Der Kampf um die politische Deutungshoheit: Meinungsforschung als Instrument von Parteien und Medien in den siebziger Jahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2001), pp. 293-326: 316.

<sup>334</sup> See J. A. Anderson, *Communication Theory: Epistemological Foundations* (New York, 1996), pp. 213-4.

<sup>335</sup> See N. Grube, 'Seines Glückes Schmied? Entstehungs- und Verwendungskontexte von Allensbacher Umfragen zum Wertewandel 1947-2001', in B. Dietz, C. Neumaier, and A. Rödder (eds.) *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014), pp. 95-119: 116-7.

<sup>336</sup> See K. Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte* (Konstanz, 2010), pp. 257-8.



to further conflicts over the NDR's reporting on the protests against the nuclear power plant planned to be built in Brokdorf. State premier of Schleswig Holstein, Gerhard Stoltenberg, had complained about the supposedly leftist and tendentious reporting of the NDR. Officially, however, he blamed the financially strained situation of the NDR.<sup>337</sup> On 14<sup>th</sup> July 1977, Stoltenberg declared that he would not extend the existing state treaty for the NDR broadcasting station which was part-financed by the states of Schleswig Holstein, Bremen, and Hamburg. Ernst Albrecht, state premier of Lower Saxony, argued that terminating the treaty would lead to the end of NDR and suggested a new broadcasting company be formed which would be controlled by the CDU-led states of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. This would have led to a CDU-controlled broadcasting station and was seen as a first step towards the introduction of private broadcasting because both *Länder* could have passed new state media laws which would pave the way for the dual system. Following this, a lengthy political debate developed and the question of the future of NDR remained unsolved until finally several judgments and agreements guaranteed its further existence. A new state contract for NDR was signed on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1980.<sup>338</sup>

Stoltenberg and Albrecht's decisive action against NDR triggered a wave of protest in the media further fuelling the ideological confrontations between the left-liberal and conservative press. *Spiegel* accused the CDU/CSU of attempting a centrally planned 'crusade of opinions' in preparation for the federal elections of 1980, referring to an internal planning paper.<sup>339</sup> Christian Schwarz-Schilling, responsible for the CDU's media policy since 1975, argued to the contrary, that 'with the occupation of the electronically media by leftist and ultra-leftists, broadcasting has lost its ability to exercise its integration function in our society [...] the programme is increasingly undermined.'<sup>340</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> See G. Stoltenberg, 'Da gibt es plumpe politische Agitation', *Der Spiegel*, 18 Jul. 1977, pp. 80-1.

<sup>338</sup> See Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte*, p. 808.

<sup>339</sup> See Anonymus, 'Besondere Vorsicht', *Der Spiegel*, 14 Aug. 1978, p. 34.

<sup>340</sup> Quoted from Steinmetz, 'Initiativen', p. 177.

For Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in contrast, the attempts at influencing the media and introducing private broadcasting were seen as evidence of an authoritarian and backward-thinking media policy as envisioned by the Adenauer government:

‘Since the very existence of the Bonn Republic there has been a consensus on the designs of the broadcasting system and also a basic consensus that the media landscape is an urgent organisational task. Some politicians from the opposition among them first and foremost state premier Albrecht have terminated this consensus. [...] There have been attempts by the CDU to undermine the basic agreement that broadcasting should neither be controlled by the state government nor by economic interests [...]. Among these attempts was permanent secretary Otto Lenz’s aim to establish a ‘ministry for propaganda’, as well as attempts of the CSU to establish private broadcasting in Bavaria which backfired at the CSU. [...] I am not an opponent of television. [...] However, this does not prevent me from recognizing the dangers ensuing from an oversupply and excessive consumption of television: for both the coexistence of family members and the political culture of a representative democracy.’<sup>341</sup>

In this statement, Chancellor Schmidt explicitly reinforced the separation of the media system envisioned by the Allies in the post-war years. As a result of these conflicts over political influence in television, a new pressure to conform emerged among the public broadcasting agencies and the political reporting within TV experienced a loss in argumentative keenness and ‘readiness for engaged television journalism dwindled.’<sup>342</sup> The continuity of the existing system and, with it, the resulting pressure to conform and not allow such ideologised confrontation on TV as seen in the press, made the latter the key media through which the disputes between the left and the right took place and embodied a greater variety of ideological and political pluralism.

It took until the late 1970s and early 1980s for media policy to change. A central turning point in the FRG’s history of media policy was the passing of the so-called *FRAG* judgment referring to the introduction

---

<sup>341</sup> H. Schmidt, ‘Die Verantwortung des Politikers’, p. 767.

<sup>342</sup> Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, p. 336; See also J. Hoffmann and U. Sarcinelli, ‘Politische Wirkungen der Medien’, in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Cologne, 2001), pp. 720-48.

of commercial television in the Saarland on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1981.<sup>343</sup> It ruled that the introduction of private broadcasting must consider governmental rules and plurality within television must be guaranteed.<sup>344</sup> In 1967, the Saarland had already issued an amendment to its broadcasting law providing the legal basis for the introduction of private broadcasting. Following this, the '*Freie Rundfunk AG*' (*FRAG*) was founded and applied for a concession. The application was dismissed by the state's government in order to protect public broadcasting. The Federal Constitutional Court then ruled that the Saarland's decision not to issue a permit was unconstitutional. Further, it ruled that private broadcasting was not unconstitutional so long as pluralism was granted.<sup>345</sup> The judgment represented a milestone in the establishment of private broadcasting.

At around the same time, the FDP began to change its media policy and promote the introduction of private broadcasting. In 1979, the FDP passed the *Liberale Leitlinien Neue Medien*,<sup>346</sup> a concept paper serving as a follow-up publication of the above-mentioned Wiesbaden Guidelines of 1973. It made certain concessions to the proponents of private broadcasting while cementing the overall position formulated in the guidelines of 1973. It called for the establishment of new media and cable TV under government control.<sup>347</sup> In 1980, Günter Verheugen declared himself to be against the Chancellor's halting of the cable projects and in 1981, Hans-Dietrich Genscher argued that he was against a broadcasting monopoly and presented a vision for the introduction of private broadcasting.<sup>348</sup> The official statements of Verheugen and Genscher which put forward the differing media policy conceptions of the coalition partners, proved to be a serious test for the government. With the change of government in 1982, the Free Liberals supported the CDU positions. Genscher prevailed against internal party protests and the FDP helped

---

<sup>343</sup> The judgment is published in Anonymus, 'FRAG-Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vom 18. Juni 1981', *Media Perspektiven*, 6/1981, pp. 421-43.

<sup>344</sup> See Steinmetz, 'Initiativen', p. 176.

<sup>345</sup> See J. Möller and H.-J. Papier, 'Presse- und Rundfunkrecht' in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp.449-68: 462-4.

<sup>346</sup> See Anonymus, 'Liberale Leitlinien „Neue Medien“', *Media Perspektiven*, 7/1979, pp. 509-16.

<sup>347</sup> See Hermanni, *Medienpolitik*, p. 87.

<sup>348</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 87-9.

to pave the way for the beginning of private broadcasting under Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Christian Schwarz-Schilling, then head of the CDU's study commission 'New Media' and later Minister for Communication Technologies under Chancellor Kohl, wrote: 'the FDP did not create any difficulties and supported the CDU's objective.'<sup>349</sup> Up to that point, however, the SPD and FDP had maintained the established system.

#### Debates over the 'Internal Freedom of the Press'

Debates between proponents of social pluralism and the press regulation by the SPD and FDP, in addition to the free market backers from the conservative opposition also affected relations between the editorial departments and publishing houses. Within the government as well as among journalists, the question of the 'internal freedom of the press' became hotly debated. The press concentration and declining numbers of independent newspapers and editorial departments sparked concerns over an increasing dependency of journalists on the political views of publishers and the advertising market. In 1969, for example, the percentage of advertisements in 222 selected newspapers reached 40.7% of the pages.<sup>350</sup> The publishers, on the contrary, argued that any regulation of the 'internal freedom of the press' by law would undermine their influence and impede the successful organisation of the publishing houses under the auspices of economic competition. As a result, several disputes emerged over the 'internal freedom of the press'. Until then, as Gerd Bucerius, publisher of the *Zeit* and shareholder of the publishing house *Gruner+Jahr*, has claimed, the 'internal freedom of the press' had been a widely forgotten term which was only revitalised through the process of the press concentration.<sup>351</sup>

In 1969, negotiations over consistent regulation between the publishers' association BDZV and journalist associations began. In 1974, however, they were abandoned without result. A similar outcome can be

---

<sup>349</sup> Quoted from Hermanni, *Medienpolitik*, p. 161.

<sup>350</sup> See Skriver, *Schreiben*, p. 21.

<sup>351</sup> G. Bucerius, *Der angeklagte Verleger: Notizen zur Freiheit der Presse* (Munich, 1974), p. 12.

identified with respect to the journalist associations' attempts to solve the issue through collective agreements in different publishing houses. These attempts were also unsuccessful.<sup>352</sup>

After Willy Brandt had become Chancellor in 1969 and had, on several occasions, declared his ambition to pass a general press law, the publishers felt pressurised to find a solution and prevent a press law which would restrict their role in determining the overall outlook of the respective media. Thus, from the late 1960s the publishers began to fear the legislative reduction of their rights and several editorial by-laws were passed.

In 1970, the by-law of the *Stern* was ratified as one of the early by-laws<sup>353</sup> and received wide attention:<sup>354</sup>

'The *Stern* is a politically engaged journal independent, however, from parties, business associations, and other interest groups aiming to inform and entertain its readers. The editorial department of *Stern* commits itself to the free and democratic order and progressive and liberal principles.'<sup>355</sup>

The overall political orientation was a central aspect in several by-laws: that of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, for example, defined its overall outlook as 'social-liberal' while the *Kölnische Rundschau* highlighted its orientation towards the 'ethical principles of Christianity'.<sup>356</sup> On 4<sup>th</sup> August 1971, an editorial by-law was passed at the *SZ* stressing the social-liberal outlook of the paper:

'The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* is a political newspaper independent of parties, interest groups, and trade associations. It endeavours to achieve a pure and comprehensive reporting on all issues of public interest. It defends and supports the free and democratic societal order following liberal and social principles. [...] The editorial department designs the editorial part uninfluenced under the responsibility of the chief editorial staff.'<sup>357</sup>

In comparison to these by-laws, the *Stern*'s by-law granted journalists far-reaching rights: 'No journalist can be forced to write something against his conviction. There shall be no disadvantages based on his refusal to

---

<sup>352</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 68.

<sup>353</sup> The first by-law was passed on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1969 at the *Rhein-Zeitung* in Koblenz.

<sup>354</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, *Mitspracherechte*, p. 25.

<sup>355</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>356</sup> Quoted from Bucerius, *Verleger*, p. 73.

<sup>357</sup> Quoted from Heß, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, pp. 71-2.

do so.<sup>358</sup> Besides these concessions to the journalists, the *Stern's* by-law further included a right of veto to the editorial department in the appointment process of an editor-in-chief. A central reason for editor-in-chief Henri Nannen's approval of the by-law was the press concentration. He argued that journalists would only reluctantly criticise the publishers given the fact that there were only a few publishing houses left.<sup>359</sup> An advisory board representing the editorial department was given the opportunity to reject the appointment of deputy editors-in-chief as well as members of the political section of the paper and heads of the respective sections of the magazine. The by-law was passed for five years.

The FAZ came to a different solution. It adopted an agreement that was similar to the by-laws. Given the structure of the FAZ and the Board of five publishers making decisions on the outlook of the paper, it was stated that representatives of the editorial department were to be elected who would be granted co-determination in the appointment procedure of editors.<sup>360</sup> At the *Zeit*, in July 1974, a by-law came into effect following the discussion of 17 drafts, beginning in 1971.<sup>361</sup> Initially, the editor-in-chief Marion Dönhoff tried to avert the statute. Shortly after she became editor-in-chief, she noted that the younger generation had suddenly discovered its 'revolutionary sense' arguing that it would take an authoritarian leadership to calm debates within the political section of the paper.<sup>362</sup> Dönhoff decided to keep the leadership of the political section of the paper as it was to prevent any further shifts to the left. Nevertheless, concessions were made: the editorial department was also granted a right of veto in the appointment of an editor-in-chief and afterwards, when the *Zeit* went into the black for the first time in 1972, a profit distribution plan was applied for the members of the editorial department.

---

<sup>358</sup> Quoted from Holtz-Bacha, *Mitspracherechte*, p. 204.

<sup>359</sup> See S. Nannen, *Henri Nannen: Ein Stern und sein Kosmos* (Munich, 2013), p. 285.

<sup>360</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, *Mitspracherechte*, p. 32.

<sup>361</sup> See T. Sommer, 'Mitsprache und Kollegialität', *Die Zeit*, 28 Jun. 1974, p. 4.

<sup>362</sup> Dönhoff to Carl J. Burckhardt, 18 May 1968, published in Schlie (ed.), *Ein Briefwechsel*, pp. 254-6: 255.

A more serious dispute over a possible by-law broke out at the *Spiegel*. In April 1969, as a direct result of the reform impetus of the 1968 movement, an anonymous pamphlet was circulated among the *Spiegel* employees insisting that it was time to establish a democratic co-determination of the editorial department.<sup>363</sup> Referring to the radical rhetoric of 1968, it was argued that the 'system *Spiegel* was a system of violence against individual journalists.'<sup>364</sup> An 'action group' formed under the leadership of Hermann L. Gremliza and Bodo Zeuner who tried to reform the *Spiegel* into becoming more like the leftist magazine *konkret* and called for a right of veto in the appeal procedure of editors-in-chief.<sup>365</sup> *konkret* supported Gremliza's attempt by publishing lengthy articles claiming that Augstein would manipulate the reporting and suppress the opinions of the editorial department.<sup>366</sup> The demands raised in the pamphlet can be seen as an attempt to strip publisher Rudolf Augstein of his power. In reaction, Augstein made his point very clear:

'[...] there won't be a night of long knives. Co-determination remains our goal as well as a working representational board of the editorial department which can be consulted by the management and editor-in-chief [...]. In cases of doubts we are and remain a left-liberal editorial department.'<sup>367</sup>

The conflict between the leftist members of the editorial department and the so-called 'gentlemen's club' around Augstein, who tried to avert the ratification of a statute by offering to give 50% of his share of the *Spiegel* to the editorial department, resulted in economic imbalances. Major advertisers withdrew their ads and the conservative CSU politician Franz Josef Strauß openly called for an advertising boycott of the *Spiegel*.<sup>368</sup> Finally, a representational body of the editorial department was established and the editorial department got the 50% share. Despite this solution, several of the leftist *Spiegel* journalists left the editorial department,

---

<sup>363</sup> See Redaktionsstatut 1969, SAH.

<sup>364</sup> Quoted from D. Schröder, *Augstein* (Munich, 2004), p. 174.

<sup>365</sup> See Zeuner, *Veto*.

<sup>366</sup> See Anonymus, 'Das System "Spiegel" ist ein System der Gewalt', *konkret*, 22 Apr. 1969, pp. 6-10.

<sup>367</sup> Quoted from 'Auf den Trümmern ein Fanal: Kontroverse um Mitbestimmungsforderungen, in J. Bölsche (ed.), *Rudolf Augstein schreiben was ist: Kommentare, Gespräche, Vorträge* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 177-9.

<sup>368</sup> See Merseburger, *Rudolf Augstein*, p. 414 ff.

including Hermann Gremliza who re-founded *konkret* after it had been abandoned in November 1973, with the aim of making the journal the spearhead of the intellectual left.

Most of the by-laws protected the individual freedom of journalists from the influence of publishers and can, therefore, be seen as forming a counter-model to the Springer principles where every journalist working for one of the Springer papers was contractually obliged to follow its line. The rediscovery of the topic of the 'internal freedom of the press' after 1968, thus, can also be seen as a consequence of the anti-Springer campaign. In reaction to the left-liberal dominance assumed to exist within the press and the attempts to reduce Springer's market power, he had already introduced four basic principles in 1967 that seemed to limit the diversity of opinion within his papers:

1. The unconditional commitment to German reunification
2. The reconciliation with the Jews and, with it, the support for Israel and the right to exist of the Israeli people
3. The rejection of any kind of political extremism
4. The affirmation of the free and social market economy

It was in these guidelines that the anti-communist and anti-totalitarian consensus of the 1950s became binding for the Springer papers with an additional tweak towards re-unification which seemed increasingly out of touch with the developments towards *Ostpolitik*. Springer's interpretation of these four principles was so restrictive that 'only one opinion was accepted.'<sup>369</sup> Throughout the long 1970s, these principles determined the reporting of the Springer papers which had a 'national anti-communist' outlook.<sup>370</sup>

The social-liberal governments followed the debates around the 'internal freedom of the press' with great interest, supported efforts to establish by-laws, and carefully observed the by-law-movement.<sup>371</sup> By the end of 1972, more than 20 by-laws and internal agreements had been established. However, the by-laws exhibited significant differences. Some determined the political and ideological outlook of a paper, while

---

<sup>369</sup> Kruip, *"Welt"- "Bild"*, pp. 110-1.

<sup>370</sup> K.-H. Harenberg, 'Aus Bonn für "Deutschland": "Die Welt"', in M.W. Thomas, *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 109-126: 117.

<sup>371</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1970*, VI/692, p. 5.



others dealt with the internal organisation of the editorial departments, instead. Some highlighted the journalistic duty to report accurately or to act as defined in the public role of the press, and others considered provisions for journalistic trainee programmes.<sup>372</sup> With regard to the effects of the by-law movement, a study commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior came to the extremely positive, but somewhat ambivalent conclusion that conflicts between the editorial department and the publishing companies had been dealt with quite publically which had 'facilitated a constructive working atmosphere.'<sup>373</sup>

Many of the publishers, however, did not accept any limitations to their decision-making powers and demanded to be the sole decision-making authority in questions of economic strategy. This demonstrated the extent to which they favoured free-market pluralism. Several by-laws were abandoned. The media report of 1978 briefly stated that the by-law movement had stagnated with only 11 by-laws still existing.<sup>374</sup> One reason for the declining by-law movement was the fact that collective agreements were passed which granted the work councils greater influence.<sup>375</sup> Another reason was a number of disputes between publishers and editorial departments leading to the repeal of by-laws.

One example of these conflicts is the 'Stern scandal' during which the flagship by-law for liberal co-determination ideals was repealed. Similar to the conflicts over political representation in broadcasting, the 'Stern scandal' was at its heart also a conflict about the political control of the media. The scandal began when a telephone conversation between Helmut Kohl and Kurt Biedenkopf - the CDU's general secretary - that took place on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1974 was intercepted and published in the *Stern*.<sup>376</sup> In the telephone conversation, Kohl and Biedenkopf discussed

---

<sup>372</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1974*, 7/2104, p. 42.

<sup>373</sup> See W. Hoffmann-Riem, 'Mitbestimmung in der Presse: Eine empirische Untersuchung über Redaktionsstatute in deutschen Tageszeitungen', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ereignisse* (Bonn, 1974).

<sup>374</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 70.

<sup>375</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>376</sup> See Anonymus, 'Die Abhör-Affäre: Worüber Kohl mit seinem Generalsekretär Biedenkopf wirklich gesprochen hat', *Stern*, 19 Jun. 1975, pp. 12-20; D. Doppler, 'Ein gestohlenes Gespräch', *Der Spiegel*, 23 Jun. 1975, p. 30.

the current state of the press, agreeing that the 'leftist dominated' press had triggered an unknown level of politicisation which is why there was no 'normal political landscape anymore'.<sup>377</sup> Both agreed that the *Stern* would take every opportunity to create confusion and rivalry within the CDU. In fact, Kohl called the *Stern* journalists 'human pigs' and their paper a leftist 'militant publication' (*Kampfblatt*).<sup>378</sup> In the eyes of Kohl, the article confirmed his assumption that the 'leftist media' - including the *Stern*, *Spiegel*, and the ARD TV-show *Panorama* - had organised against him.<sup>379</sup>

Kurt Biedenkopf had been informed of the article planned and, though failing, attempted to impede its publication. The transcript's publication triggered a wave of protest not only among the conservative press but also by papers like the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Zeit* as well as the German Press Council which reprimanded the magazine for its 'particularly serious infringement of the journalist principles of fairness'.<sup>380</sup>

The actual conflict, however, occurred in the editorial department of the *Stern*. The scandal intensified on the *Stern's* editorial board, which consisted of representatives of the publishing company *G+J* as well as *Bertelsmann* which had become the majority shareholder in 1975.<sup>381</sup> The *Stern* journalist Manfred Bissinger, editor-in-chief Henri Nannen, and Manfred Fischer of *G+J* became the central actors in the dispute.<sup>382</sup>

For Fischer, who was said to be Reinhard Mohn's (head of *Bertelsmann*) right-hand man and thus a representative of Mohn's conservative CDU-affiliated views, Manfred Bissinger was a protagonist of the left.<sup>383</sup>

---

<sup>377</sup> Quoted from R. Augstein, 'Journalisten und andere Schweine', *Der Spiegel*, 23 Jun. 1975, p. 24.

<sup>378</sup> Quoted from D. Doppler, 'Ein gestohlenes Gespräch', *Der Spiegel*, 23 Jun. 1975, p. 30.

<sup>379</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*

<sup>380</sup> Quoted from Anonymus, "'Großer Gott, so what'", *Der Spiegel*, 23 Jun. 1975, pp. 21-32.

<sup>381</sup> Since 1972 *Bertelsmann* bought shares and became the majority shareholder in 1975. Bucerius in turn became shareholder of the *Bertelsmann Company*; See M.W. Thomas, 'Der "Stern"', in *id.* (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 163-82.

<sup>382</sup> See G. Bucerius, 'Das Sentimentale in Henri Nannen: Der Streit im „Stern“ - eine vernünftige Ursache hatte er nicht', *Die Zeit*, 27 Aug. 1976, p. 2.

<sup>383</sup> See Schreiber, *Henri Nannen: Drei Leben*, pp. 350-1; Thomas, 'Stern', pp. 174-5.

In addition to these ideological differences, economic motives were involved. Within the *G+J* and *Bertelsmann* group, the *Stern* became their top-seller. Between 1972 and 1978, its turnover grew from 645.1 million DM to 1,021.2 million DM and the magazine generated 40% of *G+J*'s total revenue.<sup>384</sup> After it merged with *Bertelsmann*, the conservative Reinhard Mohn seemed to be aiming at getting a hold on the overall political agenda of the journal. Manfred Fischer was known for his sympathy for the CDU and was said to regularly coordinate measures with Helmut Kohl.<sup>385</sup>

The conflict escalated when Nannen made Manfred Bissinger his designated successor and editor-in-chief in 1975. Fischer and Mohn opposed Bissinger for his leftist orientation. Within the left-liberal press and the SPD, Fischer's reservations against Bissinger were seen as an attempt to get rid of an 'engaged leftist journalist' especially in the context of Fischer thinking about making the rather conservative Diether Stolze of *Zeit* an offer to join the *Stern*.<sup>386</sup> Helmut Schmidt also shared this view and felt that the paper should be brought into line with Helmut Kohl's agenda.<sup>387</sup> Moreover, Mohn's intervention was seen as a violation of the by-law and the newly established right of the editorial department and the editor-in-chief Nannen to co-determine personnel policy. Nannen further fuelled the conflict by threatening Fischer with his resignation. In this situation, Schmidt encouraged Nannen to keep going given the rumours that the press landscape could lose plurality.<sup>388</sup> Nannen replied '[a]s long as God and my self-esteem allow me to, I will not retreat.'<sup>389</sup> Outraged by the Chancellor's letter, Fischer demanded that Schmidt explained his partisanship.<sup>390</sup> Schmidt did not reply.

---

<sup>384</sup> See Thomas, 'Stern', p. 169.

<sup>385</sup> In an internal information sheet of August 20<sup>th</sup> 1976 of the SPD-leadership it was mentioned that Manfred Fischer would discuss the overall strategy with Helmut Kohl, see HSAA006363.

<sup>386</sup> *Vorwärts*, 26 Aug. 1976, quoted from Thomas, 'Stern', p. 175.

<sup>387</sup> See Telefax Schmidt to Nannen, 20 Aug. 1976, HSAA 006363.

<sup>388</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>389</sup> Quoted from H. Schmidt, *Weggefährten: Erinnerungen und Reflexionen* (Berlin, 1996), p. 229.

<sup>390</sup> See Schreiber, *Henri Nannen: Drei Leben*, p. 353.

The conflict escalated further when the *Stern* published an article about tax evasion mentioning Reinhard Mohn and Richard Gruner in December 1977. Nannen, who had been on vacation at the time, gave Bissinger temporary leave because in his eyes the article had not been thoroughly researched. Meanwhile, Mohn and Gruner pressured Nannen to let Bissinger go. One year later Bissinger left the *Stern* and joined the government of Hans-Ulrich Klose (SPD) in Hamburg.<sup>391</sup> This conflict demonstrates how the editorial department was unable to prevail against publishers Mohn and Gruner. On 15<sup>th</sup> November 1978 *G+J* reversed the editorial by-law guaranteeing the co-determination of the editorial departments.

The 'Stern scandal' embodied a common trend of the time in which several by-laws were reversed during conflicts between editorial departments and their publishing houses.<sup>392</sup> In 1982, for example, Gerd Bucerius reversed the *Zeit* by-law during debates over the future strategy of the *Zeit Publishing Company*. Due to this, the by-law-movement was not able to establish itself widely. The efforts to introduce by-laws in the respective departments were not unified and there was little exchange between the editorial committees representing the editorial departments.<sup>393</sup>

While the West German by-laws faltered rather quickly, they made far-reaching concessions and thus were unique in Europe. In France, a by-law movement failed in the 1940s but, since the 1950s, several collective agreements had been passed.<sup>394</sup> In Sweden, several internal agreements between the works councils and publishers had been made.<sup>395</sup> In the UK there were House Agreements which were expanded collective agreements including regulations on working conditions and, in some cases, co-determination rights of journalists.<sup>396</sup>

---

<sup>391</sup> See Thomas, 'Stern', pp. 173-82.

<sup>392</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, *Mitspracherechte*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>393</sup> See *ibid.* 76-8.

<sup>394</sup> See Fischer, Molenveld, Petzke, et al., *Innere Pressefreiheit*, p. 145 ff.

<sup>395</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>396</sup> See H.-D. Fischer, 'Zur Situation der "inneren Pressefreiheit" im internationalen Vergleich', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974)* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 167-78: 170-5. See also *id.*, Molenveld, Petzke, et al., *Innere Pressefreiheit*, p. 134.

The by-law movement was an attempt to solve the problem of political representation by soft-law. These attempts were typical for the 1970s because the government was, for good reasons, reluctant to interfere into the press through more formal laws. In 1973, the German Press Council published a *press codex* summing up the ethical principles of journalism and its responsibility towards the public.<sup>397</sup> The principles obliged journalists to thoroughly check information, to 'respect the truth' and, if necessary, to correct their reporting. Further, the duty of the press to the public was stressed, alongside the importance of independent research, the responsibility to respect privacy, and the importance of considering any possible violations of religious or medical issues. It was agreed that sensational reporting was to be avoided. Journalists were obliged to respect ongoing judicial trials and refrain from prejudging defendants. If these principles were violated, the Press Council retained the power to pass objections that had to be published in the respective paper or magazine. The government welcomed the press codex as a further step in the self-regulation of the press without political interference.<sup>398</sup>

The Press Council further established an independent Board of Appeals in August 1976 to solve disputes within the press.<sup>399</sup> The board was financially supported by the government.<sup>400</sup> At the same time, the professionalisation of the nature and extent of training for journalists took place in the long 1970s. Since 1969, guidelines for the education of trainees in journalism existed in the segment of newspapers.<sup>401</sup> In 1973, the Press Council published new guidelines for training journalists.<sup>402</sup> These guidelines called for professionalised career entrances in which trainee contracts were issued and journalists could have access to further vocational training. At the American-founded German Journalism School (*Deutsche Journalistenschule, DJS*), for example, the number of graduates had

---

<sup>397</sup> Published in Deutscher Presserat, *Tätigkeitsbericht 1975/1976* (Bonn, 1976).

<sup>398</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1974*, 7/2104, p. 43.

<sup>399</sup> See id., *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. XVII.

<sup>400</sup> See ibid., p. 72.

<sup>401</sup> See H.H. Fabris, 'Rekrutierung und Ausbildung des journalistischen Nachwuchses in der Presse der BRD', in J. Aufermann and E. Elitz (eds.), *Ausbildungswege zum Journalismus: Bestandsaufnahmen, Kritik und Alternativen der Journalistenausbildung* (Duesseldorf, 1975), pp. 14-33. The guidelines are published ibid., p. 267.

<sup>402</sup> These principles are published ibid., p. 286.

grown significantly in the second half of the 1960s,<sup>403</sup> and in 1973, the *DJS*, financed by the television stations and the journalists' association *DJV*, began to cooperate with the University of Munich. Students also attended courses in journalism at the university. At the University of Dortmund students had been able to study journalism since 1975/76.

A further impetus to the debate over the 'internal freedom of the press' and working conditions were the printers' strikes. The introduction of offset printing and desktop publishing allowed the number of personnel and thus expenses to be minimised.<sup>404</sup> This led to calls for job security and collective agreements by the printers. The two printers' strikes in 1976 and 1978 propelled the debates over work relations within the press. As early as 1973, a one-day printers' strike resulted in wage increases of 10.8%.<sup>405</sup> In protest against the bargaining agreement of the printers union (6.4%), the printers refused to work on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1973. Most of the West German dailies could not function as usual and only a few publishing companies managed to publish so-called emergency papers (*Not-Zeitungen*). In West-Berlin, the Springer papers of the *Welt*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Bild*, for example, were all published as one paper. Although the Press Council expressed its condemnation of the strikes in the strongest terms, new strikes emerged in 1976 and 1978.<sup>406</sup> In the wage negotiations of 1976, the printers were not able to gain a similar wage increase again. The printers' union (*IG Druck und Papier*) called for wage rises of 9% while employers offered merely 4.7%. After long negotiations, the printers began to strike on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1976. More than 48 companies took part in the strike affecting Hamburg, Munich, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and North-Rhine Westphalia.<sup>407</sup>

Later, the strike became a mass strike after the employers refused to provide access to the printing facilities for those printers who did not

---

<sup>403</sup> See [www.djs-online.de](http://www.djs-online.de), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>404</sup> See Wilke, 'Überblick', p. 21.

<sup>405</sup> See M. Knoche and T. Krüger, *Presse im Druckerstreik: Eine Analyse der Berichterstattung zum Tarifkonflikt* (Berlin, 1978), p. 18.

<sup>406</sup> See J. Bermes, *Der Streit um die Presse-Selbstkontrolle: Der Deutsche Presserrat. Eine Untersuchung zur Arbeit und Reform des Selbstkontrollorgans der bundesdeutschen Presse* (Baden-Baden, 1991), pp. 244-7.

<sup>407</sup> See P.E. Dorsch, *Die Zeitung, Medium des Alltags: Monographie zum Zeitungsstreik* (Munich, 1984).

participate in the strike, thereby underlining their accusation of unjustified interference into the freedom of the press. On 13<sup>th</sup> May, the strike ended when the bargaining partners agreed on a 6% wage rise. During the strike the weeklies could not be published, though 79 out of the 121 independent newspapers with a main editorial department in 1976 offered *Emergency papers* and eleven substitute papers (*Ersatzzeitungen*) were established after the publication of newspapers had been prevented by the strikes for 13 days.<sup>408</sup>

For several journalists, the strikes represented a violation of the freedom of the press especially when the printers refused to print articles critical of the strike leading to 'white spots' in the *Frankfurter Neue Presse* and *Bild* (in Hannover). In the *Zeit*, Diether Stolze called the strikes a 'class battle with censorship',<sup>409</sup> in the *Welt*, Enno v. Lowenstern called for legal measures in reaction to the violation of the freedom of the press.<sup>410</sup> Several leftist papers, among them *Unsere Zeit*, the central organ of the German Communist Party as well as the communist paper *Wahrheit* together with the leftist paper *Spandauer Volksblatt*, the SPD-owned *Hamburger Morgenpost* and several SPD-owned papers in Bavaria, were excluded from the strikes and were still printed. The overwhelmingly negative reactions within the press propelled a debate over the question of whether the printers' right to strike could be declared compatible with the freedom of the press. The publishers also argued that the printers had infringed upon the freedom of the press.

In 1978, a new printers' strike broke out. This time, the printers were protesting against the technological innovations threatening their job security. Their main concern was that they wished to continue to have sole responsibility for the new techniques of electronic publishing which could in theory have been used by the journalists themselves.<sup>411</sup> In order to put pressure on their demands to be met, the printers came out on strike on

---

<sup>408</sup> See Dorsch, *Die Zeitung*, p. 39.

<sup>409</sup> D. Stolze, 'Klassenkampf mit Zensur: Der Druckerstreik hat allen nur Schaden gebracht', *Die Zeit*, 7 May 1976, p. 1.

<sup>410</sup> An overview of the reactions within the press is published in Knoche and Krüger, *Druckerstreik*, pp. 114-53.

<sup>411</sup> See Dorsch, *Die Zeitung*, pp. 32-4.

9<sup>th</sup> February 1978.<sup>412</sup> Initially, the strike affected the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Abendzeitung*, *Hessisch-Niedersächsische Allgemeine*, *Rheinische Post* and *Westdeutsche Zeitung*.<sup>413</sup> It took until late March to reach an agreement on job security and a rise in wages. Substitute papers were established at the local level providing limited information for readers. Both strikes helped to lead to the regulation of the press and its 'internal freedom' as well as work relations.

### Summary

The chapter has addressed the key weakness of the concentration approach to press history, namely its limited empirical definition of pluralism. It has been shown that the approach was deeply rooted in a contemporaneous anti-totalitarian notion of pluralism that leading figures of the school, such as Walter J. Schütz, had absorbed as young journalists and media researchers in the 1950s and 1960s. By turning a contemporary concept uncritically into a statistical measure, the concentration approach shut its research off from the analysis of rivalling concepts of press pluralism which developed in the long 1970s. It was ironically blind to the plurality of definitions of 'pluralism' and their impact on the West German press. The chapter has taken this criticism as a starting point for the re-evaluation of the long 1970s and has highlighted conflicting conceptions of press pluralism that led to several political clashes between the government, opposition, journalists, and publishers.

The social-liberal government adopted several laws based on the ideas of a social pluralism that aimed to protect a pluralistic press through merger control and statistical analyses. The central point of reference for the politics of social pluralism was the representation of all relevant segments of society in existing broadcasting councils and the intended press councils. While the press councils, envisaged by Glotz and others, never

---

<sup>412</sup> See Arbeitskreis für Kommunikationsforschung, *Schlussbericht: Materialien zur Medienstruktur und Kommunikationspolitik für den Berichtszeitraum 1977* (Munich, 1978), p. 109.

<sup>413</sup> See Anonymus, 'Druckerstreik: Zeit ohne Zeitung', *Die Zeit*, 10 Mar. 1978, p. 24.



materialised, the social-liberal coalition blocked any moves by the opposition to introduce a free market broadcasting system. Television, which was advancing in other Western countries such as the UK and the United States where cable television had already been introduced in the 1950s, remained under public supervision of the *Länder*. In the eyes of the government, free-market pluralism and the opening of the broadcasting market as envisioned by the opposition, impeded the goals of a socially representative pluralism. Within this framework, the Cartel Office applied a detailed market definition explicitly including smaller regional and local markets. At the same time, the merger control mainly affected the Springer media belonging to the most outspoken opponents of the social-liberal government. Although the SPD did not give in to the calls of the protesters of 1968 to expropriate Springer, several attempts by Springer to acquire further press products were prohibited by the Cartel Office.

Additionally, the debates over the 'internal freedom of the press' contributed to a new sensitivity for the role of a pluralistic, diversified press. The passing of a press codex and the professionalisation of journalistic training represented a growing awareness of a diversified, pluralistic, and independent press which provided quality journalism. All in all, the passing of new media policy papers, new press laws, the publication of media reports analysing the market developments, and the passing of editorial by-laws, mark the years between 1969 and 1982 as a period of codification of pluralism in the press in which an understanding of a pluralistic media system was made manifest. The debate over different press policies, from the approach of 'social pluralists' on one side and 'free marketers' on the other, characterised the period of the long 1970s.

#### IV. Between 'Counter Public' and 'Counterweight': The 'Alternative' and Conservative Weekly and Monthly Press, 1969-1982

It has been shown that the focus of the concentration approach of press history on the development of the daily newspaper market has blinded us to any analysis of the increasing plurality in other segments during the long 1970s. This pluralisation mainly emerged in the political weekly, monthly, and also irregular press. This chapter, therefore, includes the newly founded 'alternative' press and new conservative journals in an overall analysis of the West German press between concentration and pluralisation. The rise of new media in this segment was embedded in two further conceptions of press pluralism, namely the idea of an 'alternative counter public' against the 'established' press and the idea of a conservative 'counterweight' against a supposedly left-liberal hegemony in the media.

Both developments are particularly noteworthy since they led to a broader political diversification of the press. This was especially the case with the rise of hundreds of 'alternative' papers which voiced the concerns of the new social movements. The rise of the 'alternative' press was galvanised by clashes with authorities in the 'German Autumn' of 1977 which paved the way for its professionalisation and consolidation at the end of the long 1970s. New amendments to the criminal code were passed in the crisis of domestic security which were designed to undermine any public support for terrorists. Additionally, the government asked the press and the media not to report on any measures taken by the authorities in the 'German Autumn'. To this day, there has been no parallel to this 'news blockade'. The confiscation of several 'alternative' papers during the crisis of domestic security as well as the legal persecution of 'alternative' journalists contributed to the concept of a 'counter public' and defined the period. The rise of new conservative papers albeit on a much smaller scale was part of the debate over the renewal of conservatism at the time. The journalists of these journals voiced the concerns of the far right and opted for a 'conservative turnaround' by providing arenas for

intellectual debates over the responses to a perceived leftist and liberal dominance in the media.

### The Emergence of the 'Alternative' Press

The concept of 'counter public' was central in the rise of the 'alternative' press as it was a key term used in discussions about the press during the long 1970s. It was directed against the 'established' media and parties, and embodied the assumption that they were suppressing information. The term came to be very actively discussed after Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge published their book: *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung* (1972).<sup>414</sup> Negt and Kluge developed a theory that there was a 'proletarian public' overshadowed by the existing media public which only voiced the concerns of the leading elite, in other words, which suppressed information.<sup>415</sup> They, therefore, called for 'counter products' to be produced by the 'proletarian public'.<sup>416</sup> The authors were aiming to transform the criticism against the 'manipulative public' into a new public model by referring to the theories of Herbert Marcuse and others and criticising the manipulation of society through the media.<sup>417</sup>

The term 'counter public' embodies a rather vague concept and generally describes the intention to provide a counterpart to the 'established' press and media, in addition to representing the core message and aim of citizen initiatives and protest movements. Guidelines on how to 'produce' the 'counter public' were published in 1978 and applied a rather broad definition: 'Buttons, stickers, brochures, demonstrations, movies, photo collages, parties, information booths, and calendars' were

---

<sup>414</sup> See Beywl, 'Alternativpresse', p. 20.

<sup>415</sup> See O. Negt and A. Kluge, *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1972); The debate on the book is described in K.C. Führer, K. Hickethier, and A. Schildt, 'Öffentlichkeit – Medien - Geschichte', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 1-38: 5 ff.

<sup>416</sup> See Weichler, *Medien*, p. 31.

<sup>417</sup> See Hodenberg, *Konsens*, p. 78.

all part of the concept.<sup>418</sup> However, founding journals was seen as the most useful measure because they

‘[...] offer initiatives the best opportunity to comprehensively inform about their goals. This is especially important when the official press reports about the goals and intents in a wrong and incomplete way. Furthermore, a gap arises in the course of the ongoing press concentration which can be closed by the alternative press because it is more in touch with the needs of the citizens and informs about local news from the neighbourhood.’<sup>419</sup>

In several locations, the press concentration and merging of local newspapers opened up a space for press renewal. With the backdrop of the market transformation and theoretical debates, various ‘alternative’ press products were founded from 1972/73 onwards. The terms ‘counter public’ and ‘alternative’ press served as loose reference points for a wide variety of new press products that were opposed to several press developments. New papers founded by the citizen initiatives and new social movements which sprang up all over the FRG aimed to connect the various initiatives and radical left-wing papers establishing themselves as the ‘voice of truth’ in the face of seemingly suppressed or sidelined news. Further, female-run magazines, addressing a female audience, criticised the dominance of men in the publishing sector (*‘Männerpresse’*), and a range of anti-nuclear and pro-peace journals were founded which hoped to educate the public about the dangers of nuclear energy and weapons. In the historiography, several attempts have been made to characterise the ‘alternative’ press, but a coherent definition has not yet been found.<sup>420</sup> However, seen through the prism of the specific concepts of press pluralism and the ‘counter public’, different defining elements and types can be identified.

In contrast to the ‘underground’ press of the 1968 movement which was mainly produced by and for the leftist student milieu, the new social movements established since the early 1970s were broad and diversified

---

<sup>418</sup> F. Maderspacher and H. Winzen, *Gegenöffentlichkeit: Medienhandbuch für Bürgerinitiativen, Gruppen, Schülerzeitungen u.a.* (Hamburg, 1978), no page numbers.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, ‘Alternative Presse’.

and stretched beyond the realms of university.<sup>421</sup> With respect to the concept of a 'counter public', there are four types of papers embodying this which are particularly noteworthy and shall therefore be analysed more closely in the following.

Among them were, initially, the 'initiative papers' including the *Volksblätter* ('people's papers'), *Stadtzeitungen* ('city papers'), and *Stadtteilzeitungen* ('city district papers'). These papers were founded by either a single or a cooperation of several citizen initiatives and can, therefore, be labelled 'initiative papers'. They did not have an explicit political agenda but served as a forum for the respective causes. They all shared a distinctly local outlook and the distribution area was often limited to city districts and cities.

Some of these papers were founded as a direct reaction to the merging of local and regional papers over the course of the press concentration. *Bremer Blatt*, for example, was founded in 1976 after two local newspapers, the *Weser-Kurier* and *Bremer Nachrichten*, began to merge in 1972, leading later to the dominant influence of the *Meyer Publishing Company* on the local press market in 1976 when the merger was completed.<sup>422</sup> The first issue of the *Bremer Blatt* was published on 15<sup>th</sup> November 1976 and declared its role to be to report on '[...] events and problems in Bremen [...] which do not get adequate room in the large media.'<sup>423</sup> The omission of news by the 'capitalistic' press was seen as a potential danger to the political culture. Therefore, the *Bremer Blatt* was '[a]gainst incapacitation and suppression [...]'.<sup>424</sup> The same underlying dynamic led to the foundation of *Klenkes: Zeitung Aachener Bürgerinitiativen* in Aachen in 1975. Just as in the case of Bremen, the two local papers, the *Aachener Nachrichten* (the first paper established in West

---

<sup>421</sup> See D. Rucht, 'Das alternative Milieu in der Bundesrepublik: Ursprünge, Infrastruktur und Nachwirkungen', in S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 61-88.

<sup>422</sup> See R. Gausepohl, 'Das Bremer-Blatt', in K. Farin and H.-J. Zwingmann (eds.), *Alternativen zur Rechtspresse: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme* (Ettlingen, 1980), pp. 21-5; Anonymus, 'Der Meyer-Konzern perfekt: Weser-Kurier und Bremer Nachrichten unter einem Dach', *Bremer Blatt*, 15 Dec. 1976, p. 2.

<sup>423</sup> Anonymus, 'Liebe Leser', *Bremer Blatt*, 15 Dec. 1976, p. 2.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

Germany after the Second World War) and the *Aachener Volkszeitung*, were subsumed under the same company. *Klenkes* thus aimed 'to be the thorn in the flesh of the news. If it were not published, who knows what would be concealed.'<sup>425</sup> Both papers represented various citizen initiatives.

Two of the early examples serving as role models for the rest of the *Volksblätter* and *Stadtzeitungen* were the *Kölner Volksblatt* (Cologne, 1974) and *Blatt: Stadtzeitung für München* (Munich, 1973). In both cases, there were no newspaper monopolies, evidencing that the press concentration was only an additional rather than the primary reason for the criticism of the 'established' press by these media. In fact, the majority were founded in areas where there were no newspaper monopolies. In 1980, only 29.9% of the 'alternative' press was published in 'one-paper districts', 16.5% in cities and towns with a limited local competition and additional newspapers, and 46.4% in cities with existing competition between local newspapers.<sup>426</sup> The core concerns of these media were predominantly to offer a forum for new topics and embody the outlook and agenda of the new social movements. They have, therefore, often been labelled *Stattzeitung* instead of *Stadtzeitung*.<sup>427</sup> While *Stadt* means 'city' in German, the word *statt* can be translated as 'instead of'.

Another example of this type is the *Grosse Freiheit* published in 1976 in Hamburg where different competing newspapers existed, among them the *Bild* and *Hamburger Abendblatt* which both belonged to the Springer media as well as the *Hamburger Morgenpost* which was once founded as a counter-newspaper to the Springer papers.<sup>428</sup> Over a period of eight months, an initiative led by a group of 20 people discussed potential ways to 'activate' as many people as possible, sending a 'request

---

<sup>425</sup> Anonymus, 'Ruhe im Blätterwald', *Aachner Klenkes*, 05/1976, p. 4.

<sup>426</sup> See P.E. Dorsch, 'Die Alternativzeitungen Ihr Markt und Ihre Macher', *Media Perspektiven*, 10/1982, pp. 660-7: 664.

<sup>427</sup> See e.g. *Statt-Zeitung Kiel* (1981), *Statt-Zeitung Singen* (1981), *Stattzeitung in und um Kassel* (1976). M. Tichy and M. Werner, 'Die Nürtinger STATTzeitung', in G. Hooffacker (ed.), *Bürgermedien, Neue Medien, Medienalternativen: 10 Jahre alternativer Medienpreis*, [https://www.journalistenakademie.de/szkaf/dwl/buerger\\_medien.pdf](https://www.journalistenakademie.de/szkaf/dwl/buerger_medien.pdf), pp. 51-60, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>428</sup> See C.K. Wimmer, *Die Anfänge der Hamburger Morgenpost (1949-1960)* (Hamburg, 2012), pp. 221-80.

for collaboration' to several Hamburg-based initiatives. According to the authors:

The foundation of the *Grosse Freiheit* was based on the realisation that the established media do not meet the self-declared standard to create publicity as a precondition of a democratic society. [...] In contrast to the traditional press, the *GF* sees itself as an alternative, as a newspaper "by the people for the people".<sup>429</sup>

Like the other 'alternative' papers published by citizen initiatives, the *Grosse Freiheit* was meant to serve as a forum for those

'[...] who do not find themselves represented in the ruling media and who would like to create a different, better newspaper. Since a newspaper "by the people for the people", something which is an undeniable core element of other cities' press landscape, does not exist in Hamburg so far.'<sup>430</sup>

The request for collaboration sent out by the journalists of the *Grosse Freiheit* demonstrates the rather loose and unspecific political outlook of these media and its aim to serve as an arena for the dispersion of the various issues addressed by the initiatives:

'We do not demand the *GF* be made "independent and impartial". On the contrary, we want to take sides with those who try to press through their interests against any kind of heteronomy and suppression. Partisanship, however, does not mean that we are willing to subordinate the *GF* to any traditional political organisation or party. There is no room for political "truths" in the sense of dogmatic agitation and propaganda in the *GF*, and also in terms of mediation the paper should be "alternative". This entails replacing old clichés with personal experience, easy-to-follow writing, new points of view, and controversial discussions.'<sup>431</sup>

One of the core regions which witnessed this growth of the *Volksblätter* and *Stadtzeitungen* was the state of North Rhine-Westphalia where the *WAZ Publishing Company* developed into the largest local press company in the FRG with unprecedented dominance over the press market.<sup>432</sup> Of all the *Länder* in the country, NRW is the most densely populated area. At the height of the press concentration, it had the lowest

---

<sup>429</sup> *Grosse Freiheit: Zeitung für Hamburg und Umgebung: Aufforderung zur Mitarbeit*, 22 Aug. 1977, Sbe 412, AHIS.

<sup>430</sup> Anonymus, 'Wir über uns', *Grosse Freiheit*, Dec. 1976, p. 2.

<sup>431</sup> *Grosse Freiheit: Zeitung für Hamburg und Umgebung: Aufforderung zur Mitarbeit*, 22 Aug. 1977, Sbe 412, AHIS.

<sup>432</sup> See Bütetführ, *Anspruch*, p. 184.

number of 'one-paper districts' of the *Länder* with 1.8% in 1976.<sup>433</sup> In the late 1970s, the circulation of *WAZ* grew to 640,000 and the four *WAZ*-papers, the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Westfälische Rundschau*, *Westfalenpost* and *Neue Ruhr Zeitung* closely cooperated with each other, determining the regional press in the Ruhr region where the *Rheinische Post* remained the sole rival product as a regional paper for NRW with almost 30 local editions (today 31).<sup>434</sup> Of course there were other local papers which did not belong to the *WAZ Publishing Company* among them for example the left-liberal *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*.<sup>435</sup> However, the four *WAZ* papers reached a circulation of 1.2 million in the late 1970s and combined their management, printing organisation, and advertising acquisition.<sup>436</sup>

As shown above, this development had already attracted the attention of the Cartel Office because of the dominance of the advertising market. In 1975/76, a wave of initiative-led papers were founded. Among them were the *Hagener Volksblatt* (1976), *Wat Löppt* (Wuppertal, 1976), *Ruhr Volksblatt* (Bochum, 1975) and the *Dortmunder Klüngelkerl* (Dortmund, 1976).<sup>437</sup> The papers founded in NRW and the Ruhr region, a traditionally industrial area, also represented those citizen initiatives with a large percentage of non-academics further illuminating the greater appeal of the 'alternative' press in comparison with the 'underground' press of the 1968 movement.<sup>438</sup> The foundation of several papers in NRW was paralleled by the rise of 'initiative papers' all over the FRG, most of them in larger cities. Among them were the *Was Lefft Erlanger Stadtzeitung*

---

<sup>433</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>434</sup> See J. Sobotta, 'Rheinische Post', in H.-D. Fischer (ed.), *Chefredakteure Publizisten oder Administratoren? Status, Kompetenz und kommunikative Funktion von Redaktionsleitern bei Tages- und Wochenzeitungen* (Duesseldorf, 1980), pp. 111-34: 117.

<sup>435</sup> See H. Schmitz, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger: Das Comeback einer Zeitung 1949-1989* (Cologne, 1989).

<sup>436</sup> Quoted from *IVW IV/1979*.

<sup>437</sup> See K.-H. Stamm, *Alternative Öffentlichkeit: Die Erfahrungsproduktion neuer sozialer Bewegungen* (Frankfurt a.M., 1988), p. 176.

<sup>438</sup> See C. Böse, 'Die Entwicklung der Alternativpresse in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland am Beispiel der Städte Dortmund und Bochum' (unpublished B.A. dissertation, Ruhr-University Bochum, 2006), pp. 13-5.



(Erlangen, 1976), *Stadtzeitung Saarbrücken* (Saarbrücken, 1976), *Stuttgarter Volksblatt* (Stuttgart, 1976) *Hochrhein Volksblatt* (Säckingen, 1976), *Hildesheimer Initiativzeitung* (Hildesheim, 1975), *Perlach Stadtteilzeitung für Neuperlach* (Munich, 1975) and the *s'Blättle: Stadtzeitung für Stuttgart und Umgebung* (Stuttgart, 1974).<sup>439</sup> They served as binding elements for the various alternative movements and initiatives and became focal points in the establishment of an alternative network and agenda.

There is only fragmented data available on these papers. In the early stages, many of them were published at irregular intervals and there is only a little data on the development of the circulation. They were mostly published on a weekly, two-weekly, or monthly basis. In December 1976 for example, the *Kölner Volksblatt* reached a circulation of 8,000 copies and was in contact with 70 regional groups. It was produced by 50 people and linked to several initiatives. The *Blatt* (Munich) was published every two weeks and reached a circulation of 10,000 copies in the second half of the 1970s.<sup>440</sup>

One of their core contributions to the debate over press pluralism was 'grassroots journalism' (*Betroffenenberichterstattung*) aiming to 'articulate the immediate experience of the people who are actually affected by a socio-political problem.'<sup>441</sup> Organised non-hierarchically, they introduced a new alternative production process involving different non-professional journalists. The *Bremer Blatt*, for example, was created by an editorial collective of 15 non-professional journalists who democratically decided the content and outlook of the paper.<sup>442</sup> Often the editorial departments experienced considerable fluctuation, functioning without a professional distribution system and adopting a cost structure which avoided advertising.<sup>443</sup>

---

<sup>439</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 176.

<sup>440</sup> See *Blatt München, Dokumentation*, Sbe 412, AHIS, p. 1.

<sup>441</sup> S.v. Dirke, "All Power to the Imagination!": *The West German Counter Culture from the Student Movement to the Greens* (Nebraska, 1997), pp. 124-8: 125.

<sup>442</sup> See Gausepohl, 'Bremer-Blatt', p. 22 ff.

<sup>443</sup> See Käsmayr, *Alternativpresse*, p. 6.

The core aim of the 'alternative' press was to reduce information deficits and remove the separation of author and recipient.<sup>444</sup> A distinction between 'the free-floating philosophising journalists' and recipients, as the journalists at the *Blatt* called it, was abolished.<sup>445</sup> In contrast to the 'established' articles of 'mainstream' journalism, the 'alternative' papers argued that articles of 'grassroots journalism' are of value for the reader because they are not mediated by a journalist, and the 'process of writing gives the people of the numerous initiatives affected by a social problem the opportunity to work through their own experience consciously.'<sup>446</sup> The information published was not researched, prepared or written by professional journalists, but, instead, was written by those persons actually concerned with the issues, free from any editorial influence on the topics, style, and punctuation.<sup>447</sup> Thus, the protagonists of the alternative movement and initiatives could design the 'alternative' press agenda themselves.<sup>448</sup> It thereby introduced new forms of 'citizen journalism' allowing for members of the initiatives who were untrained journalists to write articles, thus offering an alternative to the 'mainstream' media which was seen as corrupted by capitalism and therefore only reflecting the views of the political and economic elites.

A second, larger strand in the 'alternative' press entertained a more ideological outlook and aimed to represent the 'leftist scene', hence labelled 'scene papers'. This type of paper can be seen as a successor to the 'underground' press of the student movement representing the leftist sub-culture but without the same strong local focus of the 'initiative papers'.<sup>449</sup> These journals served as media for the far left, the anarchists, and the *Sponti* movement (spontaneous movement). They criticised the assumed hegemony of elites in the press and politics which suppressed leftist views. These 'scene papers' included the *Pflasterstrand* (Frankfurt

---

<sup>444</sup> This is highlighted by Claus Eurich, see Holtz-Bacha, 'Alternative Presse', p. 331.

<sup>445</sup> 'Gegenöffentlichkeit', *Blatt München, Dokumentation*, Sbe 412, AHIS, p. 11; See also F. Brüseke and H.-M. Große-Oetringhaus, *Blätter von unten: Alternativzeitungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Offenbach, 1981), p. 18.

<sup>446</sup> Dirke, *Power*, p. 125.

<sup>447</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 75-6.

<sup>448</sup> See Bütetführ, *Anspruch*, p. 156.

<sup>449</sup> See Beywl, 'Alternativpresse', p. 27.

a.M., 1976), *Autonomie* (Frankfurt a.M., 1975), *Info-BUG* (Berlin, 1974), *radikal* (Berlin, 1976), and *Knipperdolling* (Muenster, 1975), among others.

The *Pflasterstrand* was edited by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the leading figures of the SDS and today a member of the European Parliament for the Green Party. Founded in October 1976, the *Pflasterstrand* aimed to bring the various strands of the alternative milieu together ranging from 'macrobiotics' to the 'revolutionary cells' and to highlight the 'repression by the police' as well as the 'self-repression within the left'.<sup>450</sup> The paper was the successor of the student paper *Fuzzy* (*Frankfurter Uni-Zeitungs-Ynitiative*, 1975-1976).

In West Berlin, the *radikal* was founded in 1976 in reaction to the splintering of the 1968 movement into various initiatives and, with it, new papers which only targeted a sub-milieu of the left. The *radikal* can be considered the successor of the *Agit883*. One of the former authors of the *Agit883* published an appeal for its founding in the *ExtraDienst* and invited those people who were interested in establishing a socialist paper serving as a 'communicative link between the undogmatic left and socialist, anti-capitalistic groups' to join.<sup>451</sup> The *radikal* provided a forum for all those groups which aimed to 'overcome the capitalist system' to create a concentration of publicist projects of the diversified left, leading to the rise of various different papers such as the *Rote Fahne* (1970) and *Arbeiterkampf* (1971) which had been established as communist papers during the splintering stages of the 1968 movement.<sup>452</sup> The 'scene papers' were predominantly established in larger cities and the centres of the former SDS (West-Berlin and Frankfurt) and often cooperated with local initiatives; hence the distinction between the 'scene' and 'initiative papers' was often blurred. The 'initiative papers', like the 'scene papers', rejected any dependency on advertising, i.e. free-market capitalism. There were no advertisements in their press except for those from the 'scene'. They

---

<sup>450</sup> Quoted from Horn, *Pflasterstrand*, p. 21.

<sup>451</sup> Redaktionskollektiv Sozialistische Zeitung, Westberlin, 11 May 1976, in Medico International, Paranoia City Buchhandlung, Projekt Archiv, et al. (eds.), *radikal*, p. 11.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid.

were initially dependent on voluntary work. While the 'alternative' press in its early stages was a local phenomenon, the foundation of *ID*, an 'alternative' news agency, provided a network linking the various different press products, movements, and initiatives with one another. The two main objectives of the paper were to serve as a unifying link between the numerous disconnected local initiatives and papers and as a news agency which not only served the 'counter public', but the media in general.<sup>453</sup> In doing so, the *ID* aimed to bring the alternative agenda to the attention of a larger public. In 1973, the editorial collective declared that

'the *ID* is an independent bulletin for the dispersion of information about conflicts and big misconducts of the leading elites [...] the *ID* wants to break the manipulation and the monopoly of the bourgeois press.'<sup>454</sup>

In terms of its reporting, it resembled the alternative agenda of the press. Until 1975, for example, all texts were printed in lower case letters, there was no spell check and punctuation was not corrected in order to refrain from 'falsify[ing]' the message. According to the publishers of *ID*, 'suppressed news' referred to those events which were either neglected by the 'established' press or which contradicted the political agenda of the respective medium.<sup>455</sup> In 1976/77, the circulation of the *ID* reached an all-time high with 6,000 copies sold. It closely cooperated with local initiatives and 'scene papers' and informed its readership about the developments of the various local 'alternative' press markets.<sup>456</sup>

Given the rise of a multifaceted and nationwide 'alternative' press and the first 'alternative' news agency (*ID*), the 'alternative' press helped to establish new forms of mediated criticism against the state and the existing elites in politics and the media. Most of these papers, however, were only available in leftist bookstores, pubs, cafes or by subscription and did not have a professional distribution structure.

---

<sup>453</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 73 ff.

<sup>454</sup> Anonymus, 'Erklärung des Kollektivs', *ID*, 4 Nov. 1973, p. 2.

<sup>455</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 80-1.

<sup>456</sup> See e.g. Anonymus, 'Zur ARD-Sendung über Bürgerinitiativen und über das Kölner Volksblatt', *ID*, 10 Apr. 1976, p. 1; Anonymus, 'Wuppertaler Volksblatt „Wat Löppt“ Löppt und Löppt', *ID*, 10 Apr. 1976, p. 1; Anonymus, 'Dicker Hund in München', *ID*, 24 Apr. 1976, p. 1; Anonymus, 'Hamburger Zeitungsinitiative Grosse Freiheit gegründet', *ID*, 24 Apr. 1976, p. 2.

A third group within the 'alternative' papers were the 'city magazines'. They did not adopt a specifically 'counter public' approach but were, instead, organised more professionally. Nevertheless, they are often labelled as part of the 'alternative' press.<sup>457</sup> From their very beginnings, trained journalists worked for these journals and paid advertisements were also published. While there is some controversy over whether these papers truly belong to the 'alternative' press, these papers are important to note, as they served as a guide for the professionalisation of the 'alternative' press in the late 1970s and early 1980s. These magazines linked the alternative agenda with mass consumerism and helped to reach out to all branches of society. They thus served as a fundamental link between the alternative agenda developing throughout the long 1970s and propelled the rise of new forms of consumer society propelled by the movement of 1968.<sup>458</sup> Among the 'city papers' founded were: the *tip* (West-Berlin, 1972), *Oxomox* (Hamburg, 1972), *Szene Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1973), *zitty* (West-Berlin, 1977), and *StadtRevue* (Cologne, 1976), an offshoot of the *Kölner Volksblatt*.<sup>459</sup> *The Szene Hamburg* described its goal as being to report on current events, theatre, lifestyle guidance, living, food, shopping, music, movies, theatre, art, and literature.<sup>460</sup> In the context of a general shift in values, these papers show how more and more people became actively involved in local cultural activities and contributed to the work of initiatives and the creation of a 'scene' reporting on communes and alternative lifestyles. Although the 'city magazines' did not engage with the concept of a 'counter public' as in the cases of the above-mentioned types of 'alternative' press products, the papers were central in the organisation of the left, as they provided detailed information about cultural events, discussion circles, and theatre performances.

---

<sup>457</sup> See Holtz-Bacha, 'Alternative Presse', p. 337.

<sup>458</sup> See S. Malinowski and A. Sedlmaier, "'1968' - A Catalyst of Consumer Society', *Cultural and Social History*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 255-74.

<sup>459</sup> See K. Weichler, *Gegendruck: Lust und Frust der alternativen Presse* (Reinbek, 1983), p. 83.

<sup>460</sup> See e.g. K. Heidorn, '1 Jahr Szene', *Szene Hamburg*, Dec. 1974, p. 3.

The rise of hundreds of local 'alternative' papers in the form of 'initiative papers', 'scene papers', and 'city magazines' contributed to a new local plurality in the press. Commissioned by the Press Office, Petra E. Dorsch analysed the aims of the 'alternative' press and the 'counter public' in 1981. The report highlighted the 'alternative' press's rejection of commercial interests and argued that it should be seen as an 'early warning system' and buffer between an 'oppositional potential' and the parliamentary and administrative decision-making of the predominant culture (*Erstkultur*). Moreover, she argued that the 'established' press had to consider the local 'alternative' weeklies and monthlies as competitors in terms of their selection of content.<sup>461</sup> The close monitoring of the rise of local 'alternative' weeklies and monthlies by the government as well as the reason for their foundation being partly a reaction to the increasing monopoly held by a few newspapers, shows the strong interconnectedness and effect of the mutual influence of developments of the daily as well as of the weekly and monthly press. The 'initiative' and 'scene' press together with the 'city magazines' thus led to a transformation of the local press landscape mostly in cities and densely populated areas such as NRW, West-Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich.

A further contribution to the renewal of the weekly and monthly press market was the foundation of an 'alternative' women's press, this being the fourth key type of 'alternative' press. Protest against the suppression of women in the press gave rise to two supra-regional journals *Emma* and *Courage* - which further contributed to a new plurality of the left, also criticising the representation and role of women in the press. A core aim of the women's movement was to create a female public. Throughout the long 1970s, the question of abortion and women's rights had been subject to a broader discourse within the press to which not only the 'alternative' and women's press contributed. In 1971, the *Stern*

---

<sup>461</sup> See e.g. P.E. Dorsch, 'Neue Medien im sublokalen Kommunikationsraum: Die sog. Alternativpresse im sozialen Umfeld', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985)* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 181-7: 184-5.

published a front cover depicting women who admitted to having had illegally aborted a child. The article and the cover attracted considerable attention and provided a central impetus to the debate over women's rights to have an abortion.



Picture: Stern Issue 6<sup>th</sup> June 1971 headlining 'We have aborted'

The so-called 'self-incrimination campaign', initiated by Alice Schwarzer triggered a new debate over Section 218 prohibiting abortions. 374 women admitted to having aborted a child, including prominent women like Senta Berger, Romy Schneider, Carola Stern, Veruschka von Lehnendorff and others. Today, the campaign is seen as a terminal point in the rise of a new women's movement.

The reform of Section 218 in June 1976 can be seen as a major success of the women's movement and coincided with the implementation of a new 'women's public' symbolized by the foundation of the two first nationwide political women's magazines, *Courage* (1976) and *Emma*, which was founded by Alice Schwarzer in February 1977. Despite the decisive role of the debates over gender relations within the alterna-

tive milieu, the majority of the editorial departments within the 'established' and 'alternative' press remained a male-dominated sphere led by leading writers and representatives of the alternative scene.<sup>462</sup>

By expressing women's perspectives and debating gender relations, the role of women within society and gender equality, the women's movement contributed to the emergence of new visions of life and alternative models to the traditional family.<sup>463</sup> Over the course of 1968, during the student movement, the (male) protagonists argued that the self-liberation of women from their traditional role was a side contradiction (*Nebenwiderspruch*) which was overshadowed by the class struggle. A core aim of the women's movement was, therefore, to create a 'female public'.

In the first half of the 1970s, several women's papers were founded, including the socialist paper *efa* (*Emanzipation, Frauen, Argumente*, 1973) and *Frauen gemeinsam sind stark* (1973). Moreover, *Unsere kleine Zeitung* (1975) a local paper for West-Berlin dealing with the subject of female homosexuality was founded and, in 1976, the *Schwarze Botin* was founded with a focus on the distribution of feminist literature.<sup>464</sup> Most notable, however, was the foundation of the women's magazines *Courage* and *Emma*. Today *Emma* is still the most respected political women's magazine in the FRG. From the outset it had a professional outlook and was designed to be profitable and commercial, though it also made criticism of the 'established' media into its core concern. In 1977, Schwarzer invested her private savings in the project in the hope of making the project viable. She was a trained journalist and had worked for the *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, *Film und Frau*, and *Pardon*, among others. Schwarzer wrote:

'I have been waiting for five years for this moment. Since then it has become harder for female journalists in the men-media. No matter if left or right, tabloid paper or political magazine, radio or television

---

<sup>462</sup> See Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 20.

<sup>463</sup> See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, p. 379.

<sup>464</sup> See U. Nienhaus, 'Wie die Frauenbewegung zu Courage kam: Eine Chronologie', in G. Notz (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er u. 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007), pp. 7-22: 14-21.



men are determining the media. The existing press is a men's press.'<sup>465</sup>

*Emma* fundamentally criticised the male-dominated press as shown in the section 'pasha of the month' where the perceived chauvinism of Rudolf Augstein among others was highlighted in the very first issue. *Emma*, initially published every two months, addressed all women, not only those who were part of movements or initiatives and aimed to propel the 'humanisation of gender'.<sup>466</sup> Moreover, it criticised the perceptions of women presented in the 'established' press and advertisements which were seen as highlighting traditional gender roles. In 1978, the paper even filed a lawsuit against *Stern* arguing that such a presentation of women violated human rights.<sup>467</sup> In court, *Emma* argued that women were being presented as sex objects readily available for men.<sup>468</sup> *Stern*, meanwhile, interpreted the lawsuit as merely a marketing method to increase *Emma*'s circulation.<sup>469</sup> In the end the case was dismissed.

In general, reactions to Schwarzer were hostile. The *Bild* dubbed her a 'witch with piercing eyes' (*Hexe mit stechendem Blick*), the *SZ* labelled her a 'frustrated lesbian' (*Frustrierte Tucke*), and the *Münchner Abendzeitung* called her a 'night owl with the sex appeal of a street lantern' (*Nachteule mit dem Sex einer Straßenlaterne*). Of the leading liberal papers the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* argued that *Emma* would lead to the disengagement of the genders, while in *Pardon*, the literary critic Elke Heidenreich wrote that the paper represented rather non-intellectual journalism similar to that of a school newspaper.<sup>470</sup> *Emma*'s greatest contribution to the feminist movement, however, can be seen as having transformed a minority discourse into a mass media discourse recognised by the leading media.

---

<sup>465</sup> A. Schwarzer, 'Unsere Zeitung', *Emma*, Feb. 1977, p. 3.

<sup>466</sup> See ead., *Lebenslauf* (Cologne, 2011), p. 343.

<sup>467</sup> See U.G. Poiger, 'Das Schöne und das Hässliche: Kosmetik, Feminismus und Punk in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren', in S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu in der Bundesrepublik: Ursprünge, Infrastruktur und Nachwirkungen* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 222-43; 224 ff.

<sup>468</sup> See A. Schwarzer (ed.), *PorNo: Opfer & Täter, Gegenwehr & Backlash, Verantwortung und Gesetz* (Cologne, 1994), p. 225.

<sup>469</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>470</sup> Quoted from ead., *Leidenschaft*, p. 120.

In September 1976, five months prior to *Emma* being founded, the feminist monthly magazine *Courage* was published in Berlin, providing a new form of women's magazine. In contrast to *Emma*, the magazine was published by an editorial collective and was founded by a group of women without journalistic backgrounds.<sup>471</sup> Many of these women had met during the protests against Section 218. *Courage* aimed to become a forum for the concerns of women in general, dealing with 'labour, education, culture, society and politics, sexuality, medicine, women's movements and legal aspects.' Through *Courage*, women should be encouraged 'to debate with other women [...] and encourage women to defend their interests.'<sup>472</sup> Starting with a print run of 20,000 copies it reached a circulation of 70,000 in the late 1970s.<sup>473</sup> It became a forerunner of the nationwide feminist movement that, until the mid-1970s, had remained a purely localised phenomenon. Regularly presenting news from the women's movement and also highlighting the developments in other countries, the paper helped to create an awareness of a global transformation of traditional gender roles.

In light of the analyses of the four types of 'alternative' papers presented above, it is clear that the idea of a 'counter public' was rather a loose umbrella term for various concepts of press pluralism. The 'alternative' papers founded through the cooperation of several citizen initiatives had the most clearly defined concepts of a 'counter public'. They felt mis- and underrepresented in the 'established' local media and claimed to be a discursive arena in which to address the concerns of the new social movements.

The 'scene papers', in particular, had more precisely defined target groups than the others and addressed the radical left. The radical left propagated specific leftist, socialist, anarchist, and communist concepts and ideas. Their papers not only criticised the media and called for par-

---

<sup>471</sup> See Notz, 'Wie es begann', p. 23.

<sup>472</sup> In eigener Sache', *Courage*, Jun. 1976, p. 1.

<sup>473</sup> See E. Zellmer, *Töchter der Revolte? Frauenbewegung und Feminismus der 1970er Jahre in München* (Munich, 2011), p. 189.

ticipation opportunities and representation of their claims in the 'established' press, but called for a radical new organisation of state, society, and the media. They were often anti-capitalist, anti-liberal, and anti-conservative in their outlook. In addition, they did not share the same local focus as the 'initiative papers'. Both the 'scene' and 'initiative papers' shared a common rejection of the capitalist free market organisation of the press and its related advertisements and thus both introduced a new form of media organisation based on radical democratic decision-making processes employed by contributing groups, thereby introducing more popular language to the press. The 'city magazines' can be seen as a buffer between the 'alternative' and commercial free-market press and did not share any such aim to provide a 'counter public' to the 'established' press. Their aim was, rather, to contribute to local press scenes by providing a forum for cultural and political events. The women's press did not reject the inclusion of 'mainstream' advertisements per se and defined itself instead by its critique of gender relations in the media. These differing conceptions were partially rooted in the effects of the press concentration on the local area and partially in their positions against the outlook, agenda, and organisation of the 'established' press.

There are few reliable figures on the exact number of 'alternative' papers and their circulation: precisely because of their rejection of advertisements and their circulation intervals, they were neither included in the statistics of the advertising market nor in the official government statistics.<sup>474</sup> In 1980, the list of 'alternative' papers published by a group of students and scholars of communication science at the University of Muenster, recorded the existence of 391 'alternative' papers.<sup>475</sup> In 1982, there were 529 papers of 17 different types.<sup>476</sup> Other authors estimated

---

<sup>474</sup> For a detailed overview of the statistical data see chapter I.

<sup>475</sup> See 'Alternativpresse 1980: Facts + Daten', AgAp, *Verzeichnis 1981*, p. 62 ff.

<sup>476</sup> Among them were (1) city district papers, (2) city papers, people's papers, city magazines and province papers, (3) women's papers, (4) peace and anti-war journals, (5) ecology journals, (6) youth papers, (7) anarchist and so called Sponti-papers, (8) theory journals, (9) education and social pedagogy papers, (10) health and psychiatry journals, (11) self-help and alternative economy papers, (12) journals for disadvantaged groups, (13) alternative learned journals, (14) literature, art and music journals, (15) spirituality papers (16) Third World/internationalism-papers, (17) others and exotic papers. See AgAp, *Riesengrosses Verzeichnis aller Alternativzeitungen: Extraausgabe 1982* (Bonn, 1982), p. 1 and 33-5.

that there were 700 'alternative' papers in 1981, reaching a circulation of 1.6 million and differing in their individual circulation (from 200 to 95,000 copies).<sup>477</sup> At the same time, the new social movements grew to 80,000 people with between 300,000 and 400,000 sympathisers in 1980.<sup>478</sup>

The years between 1973, when the first wave of 'alternative' papers was founded (e.g. the *Kölner Volksblatt*), and 1976/77, when the foundation of 'alternative' papers peaked, can be labelled the 'incubation phase' of the 'alternative' press.<sup>479</sup> The rise of hundreds of 'alternative' weekly and monthly media provided a central impetus for the transformation of the media market.

#### The Breakthrough and Consolidation of the 'Alternative' Press

The breakthrough and consolidation of the 'alternative' press in the mid-1970s coincided with a crisis in domestic security. The leftist 'counter public' concept was contested through several confrontations with the state authorities. These confrontations fuelled the professionalisation and consolidation of the 'alternative' press. On the one hand, several protagonists drawn from the alternative milieu saw the actions against 'alternative' papers as proof of suppression while others distanced themselves from radical currents, thereby paving the way for the consolidation and professionalisation of the 'alternative' press.

In the 1970s, with the radicalisation of a small number of the protesters of 1968 and the foundation of the *RAF*, the FRG entered its most severe domestic security crisis. After an initial wave of armed actions against the state by the *RAF*, the government decided to implement new amendments to the West German criminal code, arguing that each inci-

---

<sup>477</sup> See O. Jarren, *Kommunale Kommunikation: Eine theoretische und empirische Untersuchung kommunaler Kommunikationsstrukturen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung lokaler und sublokaler Medien* (Munich, 1984), pp. 271-2; Dorsch, 'Alternativzeitungen', p. 660.

<sup>478</sup> See Flieger, *TAZ*, p. 63.

<sup>479</sup> See H. Rösch-Sondermann, *Bibliographie der lokalen Alternativpresse: Vom Volksblatt zum Stadtmagazin* (Munich, 1988), p. 31.

dent of terrorist action had to be criminalised and also pointing to publications potentially supporting terrorism.<sup>480</sup> Section 129a, introduced in August 1976 'outlawed forming, being a member of, promoting, or supporting a criminal association.'<sup>481</sup> Section 130a further ruled that the incitement to and abetting of criminal acts was punishable. In terms of the 'alternative' press, Section 88a, also introduced in 1976, is particularly noteworthy. Under this section, the 'endorsement of violence' was punishable and created penalties for 'anyone who disseminates, publicly issues, produces, owns, offers, stocks, announces, praises, or attempts to import or export' a text supporting or encouraging others to commit specified crimes or acts threatening the existence or safety of the FRG.'<sup>482</sup> The government specifically stressed that 'the production, distribution, storage or offering of newspapers and journals which fall within the terms of the newly introduced amendments' would be persecuted.<sup>483</sup> In August 1976 and under the supervision of the then Federal Public Prosecutor Michael Buback, who was later killed by the *RAF*, the first application of Section 88a resulted in the raiding of several bookstores in Cologne, Bochum, Hamburg, Tuebingen, Essen, Heidelberg and West-Berlin. The police seized issues from the so-called 'revolutionary cells', a militant network of autonomous groups leading to an outcry within the 'alternative' press.<sup>484</sup>

In Bavaria, confrontations between the *Blatt* (Munich) and the local authorities were especially fierce. In 1976, several lawsuits were filed against the paper and some issues were confiscated after it had been accused of having publicly condoned criminal activities punishable under the criminal code. In the eyes of the *Blatt* journalists, the persecution was

---

<sup>480</sup> In the following see J. Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and the Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley, 2004), p. 256 ff.

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>483</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 72.

<sup>484</sup> See Varon, *War*, p. 262.

also a result of a campaign of the 'established' press against the 'alternative' press led by the *Bild* which they compared to the national socialist propaganda paper the *Stürmer*.<sup>485</sup>

The reporting of the *Münchner Stadtanzeiger*, a local weekly owned by the *SZ Publishing House*, about the *Blatt* can be seen as the trigger for the campaign. In March 1974, Christian Ullman wrote an article in the *Münchner Stadtanzeiger* introducing the *Blatt* as an 'alleged city paper' in which 'gangster articles' would be published aiming to link extreme leftist splinter groups. Further, *Blatt* journalists witnessed a campaign by the *Bayernkurier*, owned by the conservative CSU, arguing that the *Blatt* had nothing to do with journalism and the *Passauer Neue Presse* wrote that there was increasing concern over the *Blatt* in Munich.<sup>486</sup> Among conservatives, the new criticism from the left was seen as a threat to the state. The *Bayernkurier* argued:

'As long as anyone can openly buy pamphlets like the *Blatt*, which is working towards the destruction of the state, at newsstands for 1.50 DM, the placating appeals by the Chancellor only seem to be boasting in this critical time.'<sup>487</sup>

The new amendments and conflicts over the 'alternative' press were part of a larger debate over what exactly could be said against authorities and led to the increasing defamation of left-liberal and leftist voices which were seen as supporting terrorist actions or at least providing a seedbed for the establishment of radical views and actions. Several left-liberal intellectuals, politicians, and writers accused the conservative media of creating a climate of fear. One of the most well-known examples of such confrontations is the dispute between Heinrich Böll and the *Bild*. After the *Bild* had anticipated the results of an investigation into the shooting of a police officer in 1972, Heinrich Böll wrote an article in which he warned against the Springer press's 'lynch law' calling *RAF* terrorism a war of 6 against 60 million and thus dismissing it as absurd.<sup>488</sup> Böll accused the

---

<sup>485</sup> See Anonymus, 'Pressefrechheit', *Blatt* 19 Mar.-1 Apr. 1976, p. 11.

<sup>486</sup> See 'Wie alles anfang: Ein Musterbeispiel von Zusammenarbeit zwischen rechter Presse und bayerischer Politik', *Blatt München, Dokumentation*, Sbe 412, AHIS, p. 3.

<sup>487</sup> Quoted from Brüseke and Große-Oetringhaus, *Blätter Von Unten*, p. 88.

<sup>488</sup> See H. Böll, 'Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit? Schriftsteller Heinrich Böll über die Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe und „Bild“', *Der Spiegel*, 10 Jan. 1972, pp. 54-7.

Springer media of scaremongering and warned against the polemic depiction of the left. He claimed the *Bild*'s reporting resembled 'open fascism, incitement, lies, and rubbish'.<sup>489</sup> In response, the *Bild* heavily criticised Böll, calling him a 'silver-spoon anarchist' and 'sympathiser'.<sup>490</sup> In the article, it was argued that the positive reporting about the left triggered sympathies among large parts of society serving as a seedbed for terrorism. In 1974, Böll then published his bestselling novel *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum or: How Violence Develops and Where it can Lead* in which he criticised the tabloid's reporting. The protagonist, Katharina Blum, shoots a reporter because of sensational reporting which subsequently ruins her life. Although Böll did not directly mention the *Bild*, there can be no doubt that the fictional paper is modelled after it. The criticism against the *Bild* was further fuelled when an undercover report publically revealed its working methods. In 1977, Günter Wallraff worked as an undercover journalist at the paper and reported on the research principles of the Springer media, arguing they systematically violated the journalistic principles of the press codex passed in 1973.<sup>491</sup>

Throughout the year 1977, during the crisis in domestic security, the debates over the depiction of the left in the press and the space given to leftist currents in the 'alternative' press intensified. On 7<sup>th</sup> April 1977, the *RAF* killed the then attorney general Siegfried Buback who had been the leading public prosecutor in the '*Spiegel* affair' of 1962 and in 1976 had initiated raids against the 'alternative' press.<sup>492</sup> In the eyes of the terrorists, Buback had been responsible for the 'annihilation' of their comrade Holger Meins, who had died during a hunger strike while imprisoned on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1974. They also blamed Buback for the death of Ulrike Meinhof who committed suicide in her prison cell on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1976, and also for the death of Siegfried Hauser, who was killed by an accidental

---

<sup>489</sup> H. Böll, 'Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit? Schriftsteller Heinrich Böll über die Baader-Meinhof-Gruppe und „Bild“', *Der Spiegel*, 10 Jan. 1972, pp. 54-7.

<sup>490</sup> See A. Musolff, 'Terrorismus im öffentlichen Diskurs der BRD: Seine Deutung als Kriegsgeschehen und die Folgen', in K. Weinbauer, J. Requate, and H.-G. Haupt (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 302-19.

<sup>491</sup> See G. Wallraff, *Der Aufmacher: Der Mann, der bei der Bild Hans Esser war* (Cologne, 2004).

<sup>492</sup> See chapter II.

detonation of the TNT which he and other *RAF* members used during the West German embassy siege in Stockholm, intended to force the release of imprisoned *RAF* comrades in April 1975. Buback's assassination on 7<sup>th</sup> April occurred shortly before the pronouncement of judgment in the Stammheim trial against the *RAF* on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1977 in which the *RAF* terrorists Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe were sentenced to life in prison.<sup>493</sup>

An article under the pseudonym '*Mescalero*' was published by an 'urban Indian' on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1977 in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, the newspaper of the University of Göttingen's chapter of AStA (the local student union) in which the author expressed his feelings of 'clandestine joy' about the assassination of Michael Buback and argued that Buback had 'campaigned against the left and played a central role in the criminalisation and persecution of the left.'<sup>494</sup> The article, however, also stressed their goals:

'Our goal of a society without terror and violence [...] our road to socialism (or if you like: anarchy) cannot be paved with bodies. [...] Our violence, finally, cannot be that of Al Capone, a copy of open street terror and daily terror.'<sup>495</sup>

While these passages from the text clearly denounced terrorism, the above-mentioned quotation was seen as its principle argument which then led to an outcry in the 'established' press and suspensions of the funds for AStA Goettingen.<sup>496</sup> The article is particularly noteworthy in two respects. First, it led to a general polarisation of the debate about sympathisers in which the left-liberal media and socio-democratic politicians also ended up as seeing the intellectual and mental support of the *RAF*

---

<sup>493</sup> All three had been imprisoned until 1972 together with Holger Meins who died after a hunger strike on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1974. Ulrike Meinhof committed suicide and hung herself in her cell on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1976.

<sup>494</sup> Quoted from H. Balz, 'Der "Sympathisanten"-Diskurs im Deutschen Herbst', in K. Weinbauer, J. Requate, and H.-G. Haupt (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 320-50: 341.

<sup>495</sup> See [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=899](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=899) germanhistorydocs, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>496</sup> See M. März, *Linker Protest nach dem Deutschen Herbst: Eine Geschichte des linken Spektrums im Schatten des "starken Staates", 1977-1979* (Bielefeld, 2012), p. 30.



as a danger to the state.<sup>497</sup> Secondly, it provided a major impetus for increasingly determined criticism and taking legal action against the 'alternative' press and left-liberal intellectuals.

Only a few voices warned against the persecution of the 'alternative' press. Filmmaker and advisor to the *ID*, Volker Schlöndorff, who later captured the atmosphere of 1977 in his famous movie '*Germany in Autumn*' (1978), wrote an open letter to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in June 1977 in which he referred to the liberal media's criticism of the 'alternative' press and highlighted the importance of 'alternative' news networks such as *ID*:

'Let us be open about it: a publication such as the *ID* has to feel threatened despite the freedom of the press [...] With every issue I am happy that the *ID* exists, at times when newspapers are dying and merge everywhere.'<sup>498</sup>

In reaction to the highly polarised discourse within the press, 43 professors published an annotated and commented version of the *Mescalero* article in July 1977 seeking to draw the West Germans into a critical evaluation of the text.<sup>499</sup>

'We feel obliged to publish an obituary an obituary which was penalised: it is about the Buback obituary published in the Goettingen student newspaper [...] The completed text has not been published anywhere; on the contrary, the core intention of the article its rejection of the use of violence has been omitted.'<sup>500</sup>

In the *Welt*, Peter Glotz (SPD) the then senator of Science and Research in Berlin, rejected any favourable assessment of the *Mescalero* text in a letter to 12 Berlin based professors who belonged to the 43 editors. He asked the professors to distance themselves from the re-published article or else resign their posts.<sup>501</sup> In a letter of response to senator Glotz in the *Welt*, Professor Claus Offe of Bielefeld University argued that

'What makes the text of the Goettingen student newspaper publishable is not so much the text itself but rather the fact that it served as

---

<sup>497</sup> See H. Balz, *Von Terroristen, Sympathisanten und dem starken Staat: Die öffentliche Debatte über die RAF in den 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M. 2008), p. 79.

<sup>498</sup> Letter Schlöndorff to SZ, 25 Jun. 1977, quoted from <http://protest-muenchen.sub-bavaria.de/artikel/2230>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>499</sup> See Balz, *Terroristen*, p. 106.

<sup>500</sup> Quoted from P. Brückner, *Die Mescalero-Affäre: Ein Lehrstück für Aufklärung und politische Kultur* (Hannover, 1978), pp. 13-4.

<sup>501</sup> See K. Henshaw, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 200.

an impetus for the media and the public prosecutors to initiate a wave of prosecutions [...]'<sup>502</sup>

It was in the debates over the radical left, however, that Glotz most clearly declared his position against the more radical 'alternative' press. Glotz argued in the *Spiegel* that more than half the German population would agree with the *Mescalero* and warned against the rise of what he called 'second culture':<sup>503</sup>

'The one side lives in a subculture within the universities, reading only their flyers and informational materials, they are reading leftist papers maybe even the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and *Spiegel* articles [...]. And then there exists the totally different culture of the many who read their mainstream newspaper no matter whether the paper was produced by the Springer media conglomerate or someone else.'<sup>504</sup>

According to Glotz, the protagonists of the 'second culture' were thus to be found in the university milieu which he labelled a 'giant Hyde Park Corner'. He considered 'alternative' media like the *Pflasterstrand*, *Info-BUG*, *zitty* but also the leftist *FR*, as providing an 'information system' which made the member of the second culture 'hostile' towards state representatives.<sup>505</sup>

Throughout the year 1977, the polarised discourse over the 'alternative' press and the radical leftist 'counter public' was further fuelled by *RAF* terrorism. The killing of Jürgen Ponto, Chairman of the Board of Managing Directors of the *Dresdner Bank* on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1977, the kidnapping of the president of the Employers' Association, Hanns Martin Schleyer, on 5<sup>th</sup> September and the hijacking of the *Lufthansa* plane *Landshut* on 13<sup>th</sup> October which aimed at forcing the release of other imprisoned *RAF* terrorists, marked a further stage of escalation. In this climate of insecurity, the government reacted with a 'news blockade' and centralisation of the flow of information. Although Chancellor Schmidt re-

---

<sup>502</sup> Letter Offe to Glotz, 12 Jul. 1977, quoted from Brückner, *Mescalero-Affäre*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>503</sup> Interview with P. Glotz, Anonymus, 'Jeder fünfte denkt etwa so wie Mescalero: Berlins Wissenschaftssenator Peter Glotz über Sympathisanten und die Situation an den Hochschulen', *Der Spiegel* 3 Oct. 1977, pp. 49-63.

<sup>504</sup> Quoted from Dirke, *Power*, p. 105.

<sup>505</sup> Glotz, *Heimat*, p. 157.

peatedly claimed that he was determined to put an end to terrorism without sacrificing the liberal qualities of society, the liberal understanding of a pluralistic press and the state was teetering on the brink in the domestic security crisis. Such measures went 'beyond anything so far practiced in peacetime in Western democracies.'<sup>506</sup> On 8<sup>th</sup> September 1977, three days after the *RAF* had abducted Hanns Martin Schleyer, press aide Klaus Bölling sent a circular to all editors-in-chief stating:

'Dear chief editor, together with the ARD's chairman, Mr. Hess, with the chairman of the ZDF, Mr. von Hase, and the chairmen of the German Press Agency and the Deutsche Depeschendienst, I have agreed that radio and television and both news agencies will report on the kidnapping of Dr Hanns Martin Schleyer with great caution. They will consult the government before publishing information which might come from the kidnappers or their supporters. I may urge you to not counteract the efforts of the government and the security forces in your reporting, for reasons I do not have to explain any further, in order to prevent a further escalation of the emergency situation.'<sup>507</sup>

Bölling's request has to be seen as the beginning of what was called the 'news blackout'. Bölling continued asking the editors-in-chief to report the results of any potentially relevant research to the intelligence services or the police and set up a hotline in the Chancellery. These constraints sought to prevent the media, and especially the press, from jeopardizing the government's efforts to locate and free Schleyer.

Following this, the Press Office monitored the communications of the leading news agencies and flow of information of twenty foreign news agencies, seventy radio programmes, seven television programmes, fifty-two German dailies, seventeen foreign dailies, and fifty magazines. As soon as a piece of information which the government considered harmful came through the ticker machine of a news agency, the government asked the agency to block the item or issued a denial on it. Even the BBC honoured a request by the German government to refrain from

---

<sup>506</sup> A.P. Schmid and J.d. Graaf, *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media* (London, 1982), p. 152.

<sup>507</sup> Deutscher Bundestag (ed.), *Dokumentation zu den Ereignissen und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshut"* (Bonn, 1977), Appendix p. 7.

broadcasting news about the German Special Forces flying to Mogadishu where they freed the *Landshut* hostages.<sup>508</sup>

The government's strategy to use the media while simultaneously impeding the use of the media by the terrorists, also found support from the German Press Council. On 8<sup>th</sup> September, when the government imposed the 'news blackout', an appeal was published by the Press Council which was dispersed through the news agencies. The appeal asked journalists to follow the 'news blackout' and discuss research results which included potentially confidential information with the crisis units.<sup>509</sup>

While there were no statutory regulations concerning the news embargo, journalists were dependent on close professional relations to the Press Office and Bölling, the government's spokesman. Of the 121 independent main editorial departments in 1977, only 12 did not fully comply with the 'news blackout' in 1977.<sup>510</sup> Scepticism and protest against the news embargo and the government's aim to supervise the flow of information were scarce. In the article '*Information as Bribe*', Gunter Hofmann acknowledged the importance of cooperation between the press and the government but introduced the idea that the news embargo was not to be seen as a matter of course, highlighting the long-term danger of the freedom of the press: 'Cooperation in difficult times goes without saying but the 'news blackout' cannot be seen as pure implicitness [...] At the moment it is all about a hidden interference within the freedom of the press'.<sup>511</sup> Also *Stern* and, in the beginning, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Spiegel* were rather sceptic about the measure. *Stern* reported on an agreement between Helmut Schmidt and the opposition leader Helmut Kohl not to exchange Schleyer for imprisoned *RAF* members. The matter was then discussed by the Press Council.<sup>512</sup> The *SZ* asked for the effects of the 'news blackout' and the success of the authorities in localising and

---

<sup>508</sup> See Schmid and Graaf, *Violence*, p. 155.

<sup>509</sup> See Appell des Deutschen Presserates vom 8. September 1977, in Deutscher Bundestag (ed.), *Dokumentation Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshuth"*, Appendix, p. 5.

<sup>510</sup> See Schmid and de Graaf, *Violence*, p. 154.

<sup>511</sup> G. Hofmann, 'Informationen als Schweigegeld: Das Unbehagen der Presse über die Behandlung des Entführungs-Falles Schleyer wächst', *Die Zeit*, 7 Oct. 1977, p. 4.

<sup>512</sup> See Balz, *Terroristen*, p. 266.

freeing Schleyer.<sup>513</sup> The *Spiegel* highlighted the 'perfect reticence of the government and the opposition.'<sup>514</sup> The *Bild* on the contrary only mentioned the 'news blackout' peripherally.<sup>515</sup> In reaction to the restrained criticism, Bölling sent a second circular to the editorial departments, on 15<sup>th</sup> September, in which he highlighted the Chancellor's appreciation of the press: 'Today the Chancellor thanked the editorial departments for a high level of restraint applied in most cases and the willingness to cooperate in the *Bundestag*.'<sup>516</sup>

A conflict emerged when the French news agency *AFP* (*Agence France-Presse*) reported that it was likely that the police would try to free the *Landshut* hostages on 17<sup>th</sup> October, one day prior to the liberation of the hostages. The *Welt* used the *AFP*-report as the basis for an article. When Chancellor Schmidt and the members of the crisis unit learned about the article, the Chancellor called the then editor-in-chief, Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode, and demanded that the article not be published.<sup>517</sup> According to Mainhardt Graf Nayhauss, Schmidt lost his temper and threatened Hertz-Eichenrode, saying, 'If you do not reclaim the copies which have been sent to the newsstands I will tear strips off you.'<sup>518</sup> After Schmidt's call, the *Welt* journalists rushed off to newsstands and train stations where the paper was already available on the evening before its publication date and bought all copies available while a new version of *Welt* was produced.

At the same time and parallel to the 'news blackout', the government took determined action against those 'alternative' papers which were assumed to be supporting the *RAF*. In Berlin, the anarchist 'alternative' paper, the *Info-BUG*, fashioned after the first 'underground' papers, and founded in 1974 was prohibited in September 1977 and, with

---

<sup>513</sup> See Balz, *Terroristen*, p. 264.

<sup>514</sup> Anonymus, 'Stark genug den Krieg zu erklären?', *Der Spiegel*, 12 Sept. 1977, pp. 17-21: 18.

<sup>515</sup> See Balz, *Terroristen*, p. 264 and 266.

<sup>516</sup> Schreiben des Regierungssprechers an Chefredakteure vom 15. September 1977, in Deutscher Bundestag (ed.), *Dokumentation Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshuth"*, Appendix, p. 9.

<sup>517</sup> See Nayhauß, *Helmut Schmidt*, p. 191.

<sup>518</sup> Quoted from *ibid*.

it, the *Agit* printing collective.<sup>519</sup> Several of its members were prosecuted under Section 88a among others. In the course of the general debates over the media and terrorism, several *RAF* statements and communiqués of other terrorist groups had been published in the *Info-BUG*, and the paper was accused of supporting terrorist organisations. As the articles were published anonymously, the prosecutors charged the printers of the *Agit* printing collective for producing the paper. They were then subsequently arrested in October 1977. The following month, *Info-BUG* issue number 179 was the last to appear and the paper was subsequently abandoned.<sup>520</sup> In 1979, the *Agit* printers received prison sentences of between nine and 12 months.<sup>521</sup>

While the authorities mainly targeted the politically and ideologically preoccupied 'scene papers' that represented the radical left, the 'alternative' press in general felt under pressure. 'Initiative papers' such as the *Kölner Volksblatt* also protested against the legal measures undertaken by the government. In September 1977, in reaction to the raiding of several leftist bookstores, an article in the *Kölner Volksblatt* summed up the perception of the news policy and legal measures against the left as follows:

'Allegedly, after article 5 Basic Law there shall be no censorship. In reality, however, there is censorship. It cannot be said what those who are in power consider to be dangerous although it is the truth. But, the leftist bookshops will continue to take the liberty to spread the truth. The Association of Leftist Booksellers will publish a comprehensive documentation on the police actions soon.'<sup>522</sup>

The public prosecutors investigated 139 members of the *Association of Leftist Booksellers* after they had published the brochure *Section 88a or How to Burn Books without Dirtying your Hands*, documenting the events

---

<sup>519</sup> See März, *Linker Protest*, p. 204.

<sup>520</sup> See <http://ur.dadaweb.de/dada-p/P0000824.shtml>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>521</sup> See März, *Linker Protest*, p. 204. Unofficial follow-up issues of *Info-BUG* were illegally printed and sold until summer 1978 when the authorities again initiated formal investigation procedures forcing the final abandonment.

<sup>522</sup> Anonymus, 'Buchläden durchsucht', *Kölner Volksblatt*, 9/1976, p. 2.

of 18<sup>th</sup> August while making reference to the burning of books by the Nazis in 1933.<sup>523</sup> The Hamburg city paper, the *Grosse Freiheit*, saw these measures as evidence of the rise of a police state and argued that, in the climate of oppression, criticism against the state and the media could no longer be voiced following the kidnapping of Hanns Martin Schleyer in Cologne and the shooting of his chauffeur and bodyguards.<sup>524</sup>

The *Blatt* published an article which highlighted the ‘agitation of the reactionaries’.<sup>525</sup> Highlighting the ‘carcasses’ of former ‘alternative’ papers, the article represented the widely-shared perception that the ‘alternative’ press was to be abandoned by the authorities in the course of the events of the ‘German Autumn’: ‘Be aware people that one can get scared when looking at how much drivel the press has brought upon us. We feel the end is near [...]’.<sup>526</sup> In the eyes of the ‘alternative’ press these raids were not sufficiently debated in the ‘established’ press and more and more voices came to be heard calling for a supra-regional consolidation and common response to the media policy.<sup>527</sup>

With the end of the news embargo, the government printed a lengthy documentation which was sent to more than 200,000 households in the FRG.<sup>528</sup> In April 1978, the Press Council announced that ‘there will not be another news blackout’.<sup>529</sup> The reason for this statement was the fact that the documentation of the ‘German Autumn’, published by the government was shortened after an intervention by the CDU and CSU.<sup>530</sup>

In 1981, Sections 88a and 130a of the Criminal Code were appealed by the Law Amending the Penal Code. Only one final judgment due to the violation of Section 88a and five final judgments due to the

---

<sup>523</sup> Verein des linken Buchhandels (ed.), *88a in Aktion oder wie man Buecher verbrennt, ohne sich die Finger schmutzig zu machen: Dokumentation zu den Staatsschutzaktionen gegen den linken Buchhandel* (Frankfurt a.M., 1976).

<sup>524</sup> See H. Haiblhammer, ‘Schleyer und die Anderen’, *Grosse Freiheit*, 10/1977, p. 3.

<sup>525</sup> See Anonymus, ‘Senden Sie “Das Illustrierte Blatt” and die Front’, *Blatt–Stadtzeitung für München*, 21 Jun. 1977, p. 4, quoted from <http://protest-muenchen.sub-bavaria.de/artikel/2232>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>526</sup> Ibid.

<sup>527</sup> See Anonymus, ‘Zwei Prozesse gegen ID-Redakteure Zwei Freisprüche’, *ID*, 28 Feb. 1978, p. 1.

<sup>528</sup> See Balz, *Terroristen*, pp. 268-9.

<sup>529</sup> Quoted from Bermes, *Streit*, p. 275.

<sup>530</sup> See ‘Deutscher Presserat: “Bild” und „BZ“-Kritik’, *journalist*, 6/1978, pp. 24-5.

violation of Section 130a had been passed.<sup>531</sup> However, a critical examination of the development of the West German press landscape in the crisis of domestic security and the legal challenges for the press during the 'forty-four days without opposition' failed to appear in the 'established' press.<sup>532</sup>

By no means, however, did the anti-pluralistic news management and the legislative measures against the 'alternative' press mark the beginning of its end. Some 'alternative' papers such as *radikal* from West Berlin and a descendant of *Agit 883* as well as the *Pflasterstrand* from Frankfurt and others signalled renewed interest in confronting radical currents within the left and began to open up to self-critique thereby referring to the core message of the *Mescalero* article. In a widely acknowledged article, Joschka Fischer called for a disassociation from militancy. The article was published in several 'alternative' papers and served as a touchstone for a debate over the relations with the radical left.<sup>533</sup> In particular, the *Pflasterstrand* became increasingly critical of the radical left. Other papers, to the contrary, strongly objected to the voices criticising the *RAF* or rejecting the legitimacy of violent resistance. The Hamburg based *Arbeiterkampf* representing the communist league accused parts of the left of supporting the government and 'turning social democrat.'<sup>534</sup> As these few examples show, the 'German Autumn' also led to a rejection and turning away from radical anti-democratic currents within parts of the 'alternative' press.

After the 'German Autumn' in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the weekly and monthly 'alternative' press professionalised and consolidated. Professionalisation in this context meant an intensifying adaption of the communication, structure, and outlook of the 'established' press by 'alternative' papers which at the same time did not lose sight of alternative topics and aims.<sup>535</sup> This process led to a dissolution and transformation

---

<sup>531</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1985*, 10/5663, p. 68.

<sup>532</sup> W. Kraushaar, "44 Tage ohne Opposition", in K. Hartung, C. Enssling, and G. Schneider (eds.) *Der Blinde Fleck: Die Linke, die RAF und der Staat* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), pp. 9-24.

<sup>533</sup> See Henshaw, *Terror*, p. 203.

<sup>534</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>535</sup> See Weichler, *Medien*, p. 59.



of the concept(s) of 'counter public', the abandonment of several 'alternative' papers, and the successful reorientation of others granting their continuity and contributing to a new plurality within the left, predominantly in local urban areas.

A supplement in 1982 entitled the *Great List of Alternative Press Products* resembled an 'obituary of the alternative press.'<sup>536</sup> The crisis of the 'alternative' press was a crisis of the 'initiative papers' and 'grassroots journalism'. Initially, a spill-over effect can be identified. More and more of the 'established' regional newspapers adopted issues addressed by the 'alternative' media. With the adoption of those alternative topics but also event calendars and increasing reporting on local events down at the level of city districts by the 'established' press, these papers lost their function and were not able to compete.<sup>537</sup> In Cologne, for example, the local newspaper, the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, modified its section on local news and the *Express* published a calendar presenting meetings and events of the different initiatives and groups leading to the crisis of the *Kölner Volksblatt*.<sup>538</sup> The larger professional papers embodied a more professional journalism, production, and distribution mechanism making the journalistic quality a core aspect of the crisis of the 'alternative' press.<sup>539</sup> As early as 1981, this was acknowledged by the journalists at the *Kölner Volksblatt* who argued that the paper

'understood itself as a medium and information disperser of the initiatives and oppositional movements without formulating own political or strategic ambitions. We published, in essence, what the initiatives wanted and did not realize that we made ourselves needless.'<sup>540</sup>

In October 1982, after the publication of 129 regular and 30 special topic issues, the *Kölner Volksblatt* was abandoned. The editorial collective stated its decision as follows:

'We have decided that this editorial department will not publish a journal anymore and this has two rationales: This editorial department it only consists of twelve people is not able to do so anymore,

---

<sup>536</sup> Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 199.

<sup>537</sup> See Jarren, *Kommunikation*, p. 270.

<sup>538</sup> See Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 201 ff.

<sup>539</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>540</sup> Elke, 'Kölner Volksblatt: Ende ohne Experimente', AgAp, *Riesengrosses Verzeichnis aller Alternativzeitungen 1981* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 66-8.

it does not have a coherent conception of the paper, and will resign due to the lack of public resonance. Secondly, this means: This newspaper is outdated in its production conditions and political categories.<sup>541</sup>

Several similar examples which followed a similar process to the *Kölner Volksblatt* can be found as further evidence for the 'press concentration on the alternative press market'.<sup>542</sup> At its core, the crisis was based on two conflicting conceptions: one highlighting non-professionalism and claiming to follow the ideal to establish a 'counter public', the other aiming to produce a financially independent paper able to survive on the press market.<sup>543</sup> In this situation, the more commercial and professional 'city magazines' served as role models. 'Initiative papers' transformed into 'city magazines'.

The *Bremer Blatt*, founded in 1976 as a typical 'initiative paper' modified its concept in 1980 and became a 'city magazine' in 1982 introducing coloured prints and containing more than 100 pages.<sup>544</sup> The *Plärrer* (Nuremberg), and *de Schnüss* (Bonn) followed this example and managed to survive.<sup>545</sup> In Muenster the scene paper, the *Knipperdolling* and the events calendar *Ultimo* merged in October 1981.<sup>546</sup>

The transformation of the 'initiative press' into 'city magazines' was accompanied by the hiring of professional journalists and the introduction of paid advertising. Moreover, the articles were now written in a more coherent way. As a result, several of the transformed papers experienced significant growth in their circulation. The *Plärrer's* circulation, for example, grew from 10,000 in 1978 to 13,500 in 1984 while the circulation of the *Bremer Blatt* grew from 7,500 in 1981 to 16,000 in 1984. Other papers, on the contrary, did not manage to survive. With the foundation of the Green Party, the alternative protest entered the parliamentary sphere

---

<sup>541</sup> Anonymus, 'Wir hören auf', *Kölner Volksblatt*, 29 Oct. 1982, quoted from Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 23.

<sup>542</sup> W. Beywl, 'Alternativpresse', p. 30.

<sup>543</sup> Dorsch, 'Alternativzeitungen', p. 664.

<sup>544</sup> Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 204.

<sup>545</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>546</sup> See Anonymus, 'Die neue Zeitung: Knipperdolling ultimo', in AgAp, *Riesengrosses Verzeichnis 1981*, p. 86.

and the acknowledgement of alternative topics and the issues of the citizens' initiatives and new social movements made the 'counter public' concept of the 'initiative papers' obsolete. In Hamburg, one of the last remaining 'city papers', the *Grosse Freiheit* was abandoned in 1985 after its circulation had declined to 3,500 (1982) compared to 8,000 in 1977.<sup>547</sup> Although its outlook and format had adjusted in line with the general professionalisation and transformation towards 'city magazines', it experienced the same problems as several of the 'alternative' papers and declared that its concept was outdated.<sup>548</sup> The *Blatt* (Munich) was abandoned in 1984 and the *Bremer Blatt* only continued running until 1989.<sup>549</sup>

A similar development can be identified in the case of the 'scene papers'. When referring to the situation, the *Pflasterstrand* put it in a nutshell by saying that the 'alternative' press had 'won itself to death'.<sup>550</sup> Political weeklies like the *Stern* also published articles on the alternative scene, 'only more professionally'.<sup>551</sup> As a result, the editorial department wanted to change its style and abandon 'overly-long, opinionated articles' and begin to publish well-researched background reports and comments. It was decided 'not to be a bulletin for the pronouncements of the scene'. A *Pflasterstrand* journalist argued: 'I am in favour of increasing circulation, because I want the scene to open itself up to the outside world, or at least make itself understood'.<sup>552</sup> In 1978, the paper began to include more and more paid advertisements and, starting with issue number 76 in 1980, a TV-schedule was included into the events calendar. While *Pflasterstrand's* calendar had originally been based on a political agenda and the coordination of political and cultural activities, it now focused on the overall completeness not limited to alternative events. The transformation from a 'scene paper' to a 'city magazine' also led to a significant increase in the circulation. In early 1978, the circulation amounted to

---

<sup>547</sup> See <http://ur.dadaweb.de/dada-p/P0000880.shtml>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>548</sup> Anonymus, 'Editorial, Anlässlich der 75. Ausgabe der Grossen Freiheit, *Grosse Freiheit*, 03/1985, p. 2.

<sup>549</sup> Dates quoted from the *zdb*, see: [www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de](http://www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>550</sup> Quoted from Horn, *Pflasterstrand*, p. 48.

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

5,000 while in 1981 it had doubled to 10,000 and in the mid-1980s it increased again to 21,000 (1986).<sup>553</sup>

Overall, the 'city magazines' experienced increases in circulation in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Those media which started as rather apolitical 'city magazines' experienced even higher increases, for example, *tip* which rose from 39,000 copies sold in 1977 to 117,000 in 1984 and *Oxmox* growing from 25,000 copies in 1979 to 84,000 in 1984. Between 1977 and 1984, the circulation of *zitty* grew from 10,000 to 67,000.<sup>554</sup>

With the initial professionalisation of parts of the local 'alternative' press, the distinction between the 'alternative' and 'established' press became blurred. In 1982, 20% of the 'alternative' media already employed professionals. The 'city magazines' were organised in advertising circles and became attractive to potential advertisers due to their target audiences and high circulation figures with 17,000 copies sold on average. Among these circles was the *ssp* (*scene programm presse GmbH*) in which magazines like *zitty*, *Stadt Revue* (Cologne), *Oxmox* (Hamburg), *Plärrer* (Wuerzburg), *Blatt* (Munich), and *Pflasterstrand* (Frankfurt a.M.) were organised. Some advertisements were still rejected, among them those considered sexist, militaristic, or racist.<sup>555</sup> There were two preconditions for membership in the *ssp*: regular professional examination of the circulation figures and most of the papers began to report their circulation to the *IVW*, as well as the indiscriminate acceptance of any kind of newspaper advertisement.<sup>556</sup> There was a shift in the financial cost structure of the 'alternative' press at this point. With the professionalisation of former 'city papers', a move towards a more advertisement-based cost structure can be identified. In 1982, these papers generated 50% of their income through advertisements.<sup>557</sup>

---

<sup>553</sup> See Horn, *Pflasterstrand*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>554</sup> Circulation figures quoted from Bütelführ, *Anspruch*, p. 206.

<sup>555</sup> See O. Jarren, 'Statt weniger Großer - viele Kleine? Funktionswandel der Presse', in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 63-78: 76.

<sup>556</sup> See Dorsch, 'Alternativzeitungen'.

<sup>557</sup> See Beywl, 'Alternativpresse', pp. 30-1; U. Meyer, 'Der Marktzutritt der "Tageszeitung" (TAZ)', *Media Perspektiven*, 3/1983, pp. 155-8.

The professionalisation of parts of the 'alternative' press and the opening up to larger readerships gave rise to a new plurality in the local press market. While these magazines did not have a lengthy political section which provided a serious alternative to that of newspapers, the younger generations, drawn from urban subcultures and the new social movements, used these media as a source of information. This is evidenced when looking at the readership analyses. More than 75% of its readers were around the age of 30 and had an education which was above average. The majority of the magazines' readers voted for the Green Party and did not feel represented by the 'established parties'.<sup>558</sup> The professionalisation of the local 'alternative' press and the opening up to a larger readership resulted in the consolidation of the local 'alternative' press and the abandonment of several smaller 'alternative' papers in the early 1980s.

Finally, a consolidation process can also be identified in the segment of the supra-regional 'alternative' women's press. In October 1982, *Courage* was abandoned due to financial problems. After the editorial department had unsuccessfully searched for a financier who, alongside a newly established team of women, would guarantee the further existence of the paper, it was abandoned. Sybille Plogstedt blamed both the lack of professionalism of the journal and lack of wages for bringing about the end of the paper.<sup>559</sup> *Courage* journalist Regina Kramer also expressed her dissatisfaction over the missing professionalism, complaining about the individualism, naivety and tactical conflict prevention which made each working day at *Courage* unpredictable.<sup>560</sup> The crisis of the weekly and monthly 'alternative' press was signified by the abandonment of the *ID* in 1981. Similar to the ending of several other 'alternative' media, its abandonment, though, can be seen as a success: it was absorbed by *taz* an outgrowth of several local alternative initiatives and papers. *taz*

---

<sup>558</sup> See Weichler, *Medien*, p. 98.

<sup>559</sup> See S. Plogstedt, 'Eine Umfrage mit wichtigen Folgen', *Courage*, 09/1984, p. 10.

<sup>560</sup> See R. Kramer, 'Jenseits von Eden', *Courage*, 09/1984, p. 4.

was founded as a supra-regional daily 'alternative' newspaper with professional journalists and can therefore be seen as a professionalisation of the weekly *ID*.<sup>561</sup>

#### New Conservative Weeklies and Monthlies

The dynamic renewal of the weekly and monthly press of the left was paralleled by the rise of new conservative papers in this segment, yet on a smaller scale and with a different agenda. The student protests of 1968, Brandt's accession to power in 1969, and the assumed repression and discrediting of conservative values sparked widespread criticism from the right.<sup>562</sup>

Proponents of national conservative views were on the defensive in the long 1970s. One strand of conservative journals was founded in the university milieu in direct reaction to the student movement, among them *student* and *Sonde*. In reaction to the perceived hegemony of the protest movement at the universities, the CDU's youth organisation RCDS (*Ring Christlich Demokratischer Studenten*) founded the quarterly *Sonde* in 1968 which served as an arena for the reorganisation of the conservative students against the perceived superiority of the SDS.<sup>563</sup> In the long 1970s, the so-called *Sonde* considerations provided a central impetus for the programmatic renewal of the CDU. Between 1969 and 1980, several lengthy statements were published under the intellectual guidance of Wulf Schönbohm, Peter Radunski, and others which contributed to the debates. This resulted in the opening of the CDU to a larger electoral base and a programmatic renewal which led to success in several state

---

<sup>561</sup> For the foundation of *taz* see chapter V.

<sup>562</sup> See Dirsch, 'Feder'.

<sup>563</sup> See A.v.d. Goltz, 'Eine Gegen-Generation von 1968? Politische Polarisierung und konservative Mobilisierung an westdeutschen Universitäten', in M. Livi, D. Schmidt, and M. Sturm (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 73-90; D. Schmidt, '"Die geistige Führung verloren": Antworten der CDU auf die Herausforderung "1968"', in F.-W. Kersting, J. Reulecke and H.-U. Thamer (eds.), *Die zweite Gründung der Bundesrepublik: Generationswechsel und intellektuelle Wortergreifungen 1955-1975* (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 85-110: 85.

elections between 1969 and 1980 and elections at a national level in 1983.<sup>564</sup>

The foundation of the BFW (*Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft*) can also be seen as a direct reaction to the reform impetus of the 1968 student movement. Among the founding members were several renowned intellectuals and university professors including Wilhelm Hennis, Hans Maier, Thomas Nipperdey, and Ernst Nolte, in addition to members of the SPD including Richard Löwenthal and Hermann Lübke. Within the left-liberal press, the BFW was seen as a mouthpiece for conservatism.<sup>565</sup> In a reader's letter, sociologist Rolf Lepenies even called the founding ceremony a meeting of the 'academic NPD'<sup>566</sup>, while the *Spiegel* and *Zeit* criticised the BFW's scaremongering which had led to a radicalisation within the debates over university reforms.<sup>567</sup> It was during the early 1970s that the BFW increasingly adopted conservative positions developed within the CDU and became an arena for the reformation of conservatism.<sup>568</sup> With this conservative shift, the member structure of the BFW began to change and liberals like Löwenthal left the organisation.<sup>569</sup> The BFW's core aim was to trigger a media echo and several magazines were founded including *moderator* (1971) and *Hochschulpolitische Informationen* (1970).<sup>570</sup>

On the far right, *student: Freiheitliche Zeitung für Politik, Kultur und Gesellschaft* was founded as a counter to the agenda of the student movement also serving as a mouthpiece for the extreme right wing. The paper also served as an arena for conservatives from the CSU. Several articles were directed against the established mechanisms of coming to

---

<sup>564</sup> See F. Bösch, 'Die Krise als Chance: Die Neuformierung der Christdemokraten in den siebziger Jahren', in K.H. Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 296-309; H.-J. Lange, *Responsivität und Organisation: Eine Studie über die Modernisierung der CDU von 1973-1989* (Marburg, 1994), pp. 218-24.

<sup>565</sup> See Wehrs, 'Protest der Professoren', p. 101.

<sup>566</sup> The NPD is Germany's Neo-Nazi party.

<sup>567</sup> Quoted from Wehrs, 'Protest der Professoren' p. 102; D. Münkler, 'Der "Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft": Die Auseinandersetzungen um die Demokratisierung der Hochschule', in D. Geppert and J. Hacke (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 169-87: 183.

<sup>568</sup> See Schildt, 'Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten', p. 454.

<sup>569</sup> Löwenthal left the BFW in 1978.

<sup>570</sup> See Münkler, 'Der "Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft"', pp. 181-3.

terms with the past and compared the protesters with the goon squads of the Weimar Republic, aiming at establishing a totalitarian regime.<sup>571</sup> Again, this example shows how the debate over press concentration and the resulting transformation of the press was influenced by the fascist and totalitarian German past. Established in 1968, the journal reached a print run of 60,000 copies in 1969. On the whole, it targeted a relatively narrow readership from the right-wing conservative student milieu.

The journal *Criticon*, founded in 1970 and published every two months, soon became one of the leading media within the ideological debates over conservatism. Founded and edited by Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing, *Criticon* bore the hallmarks of Armin Mohler.<sup>572</sup> Originally, it was planned as a review magazine. In the first issue the journal's intention was clearly defined: 'When swimming against the current it is becoming harder to identify those publications which offer a central orientation in terms of important issues of our time.'<sup>573</sup> The journal was named after Critilio, one of the protagonists of the novel *Al Criticon* by Baltasar Gracian, who promoted ideas of the counter enlightenment. It saw itself as an intellectual guide for conservative literature and aimed to connect the various strands within the conservative right from the right wing of the conservative parties CDU and CSU with those standing further right. The journal aimed to 'change the cultural majority' in West Germany and popularize conservative values:

'In today's Federal Republic in which a vibrant counter-culture is prospering and is organised down to the last detail and a publicist centralisation is eliminating existing conservative pockets of resistance, it is a fallacy that the only relevant question is the question of parliamentary majorities.'<sup>574</sup>

---

<sup>571</sup> See e.g. A. Boddien, 'Fortsetzung von Weimar', *student* Jan. 1969, pp. 2-3.

<sup>572</sup> See A. Mohler, 'Warum nicht konservativ?', *Die Problematik der nächsten politischen Mode*, *Criticon* 4/1971, pp. 72-3: 73.

<sup>573</sup> Quoted from the right-winged conservative portal [www.sezession.de](http://www.sezession.de): K. Weißmann, 'Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing und Criticón', <http://www.sezession.de/580/caspar-von-schrenck-notzing-und-criticon.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>574</sup> C.v. Schrenck-Notzing quoted from A. Pfahl-Traughber, *Konservative Revolution und Neue Rechte: Rechtsextremistische Intellektuelle gegen den demokratischen Verfassungsstaat* (Opladen, 1998), p. 203.



Schrenck-Notzing thereby highlighted the need for a strong conservative press in the FRG.

The popularisation of conservative thinking was also the main objective of *konservativ heute*, founded in 1970 by Hansjoachim von Rohr, a former member of the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP), as a mouthpiece for protestant-conservatism. Von Rohr was a founding member of the *Gesellschaft für konservative Publizistik* publishing *konservativ heute*. Both journals helped to popularize conservative values as the following quote from Armin Mohler in *Criticon* suggests:

‘It is crucial for Germany that the conservatives develop the courage for a determined stance. As long as they manipulate each other and play each other off, there is no hope that the turn back to conservatism which many symptoms are suggesting will be successful.’<sup>575</sup>

Among the newly founded conservative media was also the monthly *Deutschland-Magazin*, founded in 1969 by Kurt Ziesel.<sup>576</sup> *Deutschland-Magazin* was the publication organ of the Deutschland-Foundation established in 1967 which had the goal of leading a conservative renewal of cultural and political life in the FRG and establish a ‘counterweight’ thereby mirroring the common aim of the new conservative journals.<sup>577</sup> It was founded following the advice of Konrad Adenauer and aimed to protect the commemoration of his chancellorship.<sup>578</sup> The annual periodical *Scheidewege* was published by entrepreneur Max Himmelheber and lyricist Friedrich Georg Jünger and was the spearhead of conservative criticism of technological and industrial growth.<sup>579</sup>

The rise of new papers on the right was not only a reaction to the assumed hegemony of the left-liberal and leftist press but also a result of growing dissatisfaction with the leading conservative press, among others, the Springer papers. The supra-regional conservative journals

---

<sup>575</sup> A. Mohler, ‘Warum nicht konservativ? Die Problematik der nächsten politischen Mode’, *Criticon* 4/1971, pp. 72-3: 73.

<sup>576</sup> See R. Graf, ‘Die Grenzen des Wachstums und die Grenzen des Staates: Konservative und ökologische Bedrohungsszenarien der frühen 1970er Jahre’, in D. Geppert and J. Hacke (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 207-28: 212.

<sup>577</sup> See O. Köhler, ‘Widerwärtiges Zitat’, *Der Spiegel*, 13 Oct. 1969, p. 234.

<sup>578</sup> See F. Dirsch, *Authentischer Konservatismus: Studien zu einer klassischen Strömung des politischen Denkens* (Berlin, 2012), p. 273 ff.

<sup>579</sup> See Graf, ‘Grenzen’, pp. 215-6.

served as journalistic safe havens at times when national conservative views of the far right became less popular in the 'mainstream' media. Throughout the early 1960s, several changes in the personnel of the Springer media, for example, led to the strengthening of the national conservative profile of the Springer papers. Journalists like Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode, Winfried Martini, Armin Mohler, Hans-Dietrich Sander, William S. Schlamm, Matthias Walden, Hans-Georg von Studnitz, and Günter Zehm who thought of themselves as 'theorists of conservatism' wrote for the Springer papers.<sup>580</sup> In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, and also over the course of the growing popularity of the critical media with its more liberal outlook, several of the leading conservative journalists lost their influence. William S. Schlamm, for example, who was frequently published in the early 1960s and wrote for *Welt am Sonntag*, lost his contract in the early 1970s. In the 1960s, Schlamm also worked for *Stern*. When he advocated a position against the freedom of the press and took the side of Franz Josef Strauß during the '*Spiegel* affair', Henri Nannen terminated his contract. In 1965, he then began to write for the *Welt am Sonntag*.<sup>581</sup> Armin Mohler worked for several renowned newspapers. He wrote for the *Zeit* as a correspondent in Paris before the 1960s and for *Christ und Welt* up until the early 1960s. In the late 1960s, he served as an advisor to Axel Springer during Springer's planning of a conservative political magazine.<sup>582</sup>

In the 1970s, these conservative journalists became increasingly critical of the Springer media. In *Criticon*, Hans-Dietrich Sander, representative of the New Right, criticised the *Welt* and claimed that the paper was oriented towards tabloid journalism. While the *Welt* had traditionally offered support in the fight against leftist opportunism and the 'highbrows of the zeitgeist', the new *Welt* had become a 'mainstream tabloid paper', as Sander argued.<sup>583</sup> The increasing isolation of the far right within the

---

<sup>580</sup> Kruij, "*Welt*"-"*Bild*", p. 121; N. Asmussen, 'Hans-Georg von Studnitz: Ein konservativer Journalist im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 45 (1997), pp. 75-119.

<sup>581</sup> See Hodenberg, *Konsens*, pp. 365-70.

<sup>582</sup> Here and in the following see *ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>583</sup> H.-D. Sander, '„Welt“-Untergang in Etappen: Boulevard Lisette Mullère als vorletztes Stadium einer großen Zeitung', *Criticon*, Juli/August 1975, pp. 152-4: 153.

conservative papers was also due to declining circulation figures in the 1960s. The left-liberal critical media, by contrast, experienced growing demand and increasing circulation figures.<sup>584</sup> The newly founded journals gave these conservatives a new journalistic forum and Hans Georg von Studnitz, for example, began to write for *konservativ heute*.<sup>585</sup>

William S. Schlamm founded a new paper in 1972, the *Zeitbühne*, which envisioned an intellectual conservative awakening like that which had occurred in the USA in the 1950s.<sup>586</sup> In 1972, however, he was isolated and because the *Zeitbühne* served as a safe haven for several former conservative Springer journalists, it was the only paper in which he wrote.<sup>587</sup> Schlamm was subject to criticism and a target of malice by the left-liberal media. During the foundation of the *Zeitbühne*, *Spiegel* wrote:

William Sigmund Schlamm, 68, who has written about the Bonn Republic with right-winged hate and right-winged malice simply calls himself a communicative person, who does not miss an opportunity to write. But what William S. Schlamm will be writing will only be published by one person: William Schlamm.<sup>588</sup>

In this situation, national conservatives and critics of a pluralistic democratic culture which began to unfold and prosper found a worthwhile forum in these new conservative media. Liberalism was directly connected to radical leftist tendencies indicating their increasing differentiation from other socio-political camps. For many conservatives, post-war liberalism was seen as imprudent political practice. In the conservative press criticism against leftist intellectuals, proponents of the *Frankfurt School*, and those sympathising with the *RAF* increased as they suspected them of serving as intellectual pioneers of terrorism.<sup>589</sup> In *konservativ heute* an article appeared about 'unruly youth' which, in the eyes of the authors, had been spurred by liberalism. Among those works and people the article quoted were Herbert Marcuse's *Repressive Tolerance*, Sebastian

---

<sup>584</sup> See Hodenberg, *Konsens*, p. 370.

<sup>585</sup> See Dirsch, *Konservativismus*, p. 270.

<sup>586</sup> See S. Peters, *William S. Schlamm: Ideologischer Grenzgänger im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2013), pp. 347-51.

<sup>587</sup> See P. Hoeres, 'Reise nach Amerika: Axel Springer und die Transformation des deutschen Konservatismus in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren', in *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 9/1 (2012), pp. 54-75.

<sup>588</sup> Anonymus, 'Alles ich', *Der Spiegel*, 26 Jun. 1972, pp. 57-9.

<sup>589</sup> See Balz, '"Sympathisanten"-Diskurs'.

Haffner, Heinrich Albertz, Helmut Gollwitzer, Heinrich Böll, Willy Brandt, and the above-mentioned *Mescalero* article.<sup>590</sup> Conservative criticism particularly addressed those sympathisers with ‘pens and typewriters who prevented counter-measures and helped to establish a Marxist consensus’ as Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing argued.<sup>591</sup> The ‘alternative’ press’s only purpose, Schrenck-Notzing further claimed, was to fight against the industry and provide a forum for ‘marginalised groups such as homosexuals and drug addicts.’<sup>592</sup> In an article on the tenth anniversary of *konservativ heute*, the historian, former advisor to the defence attorneys at the Nuremberg trials, and until 1968 director of the conservative Deutschland-Foundation, Georg Stadtmüller, made this very clear, claiming that unlimited pluralism would lead to an anarchistic disintegration which would provide a seedbed for the terrorism of minorities and a lack in any consensus on basic values. Further, he identified the ‘liberalisation, decriminalisation, the judicial and political reforms of the last decades’ as driving elements behind these dynamics, leading to ‘considerable problems.’<sup>593</sup>

The various different conservative journals have to be seen as a closely connected joint effort to provide an answer to the situation of 1968 which were not meant to ‘take refuge in impotent sulking and serve as a journalistic wailing wall.’<sup>594</sup> In the debate over the fight against the *RAF*, they were central for the conservative calls for a strong state culminating in the second half of the 1970s, adhering to the elements of the ‘*Kulturkritik*’ of the conservative revolution.<sup>595</sup> They were central to the formation of the New Right. This self-perception was formulated in *konservativ heute*:

---

<sup>590</sup> See Anonymus, ‘Erinnerungen den Terrorismus betreffend bzw. Die “unruhige Jugend”’, *konservativ heute*, Oct./Sept. 1977, pp. 292-7.

<sup>591</sup> C.v. Schrenk-Notzing, ‘Tendenzwende nur eine Fata Morgana?’, *Criticon*, Nov./Dec. 1979, pp. 265-7: 266.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>593</sup> G. Stadtmüller, ‘Grundwerte und Grundrechte im pluralistischen Staat’, *konservativ heute*, Jan./Feb. 1979, pp. 3-9.

<sup>594</sup> C.v. Schrenk-Notzing, ‘Tendenzwende nur eine Fata Morgana?’, *Criticon*, Nov./Dec. 1979, pp. 265-7: 266.

<sup>595</sup> See S. Scheiper, ‘Der Wandel staatlicher Herrschaft in den 1960er/70er Jahren’, in K. Weinbauer, J. Requate, and H.-G. Haupt (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik*:

‘Conservatism, fascism, and National Socialism are seen as synonymous terms. This made the foundation of a conservative journal urgent; more precisely the foundation of different conservative journals with different intentions and target groups. Before, with, and after us several journals were founded with which we feel closely connected, *Student* 1968, *Deutschland Magazin* 1969, *Criticon* 1970, *Zeitbühne* and *Scheidewege* 1972 [...].’<sup>596</sup>

Together with other conservative institutions, they contributed to the popularisation of conservative politics and ideas and helped to usher in the ‘conservative turnaround’ under Chancellor Helmut Kohl. With the end of the reform period under Willy Brandt and the beginning of the economic crisis after the oil price shock of 1973, conservative values experienced growing popularity and intellectuals identified a shift in the political climate in favour of the conservatives.<sup>597</sup>

In contrast to the rise of a ‘counter public’ through the ‘alternative’ press, the latter targeting a mass audience and reaching an estimated circulation of 1.6 million in the late 1970s, the new conservative papers instead contributed to the intellectual re-orientation of conservatism ranging from the moderate voices in the CDU to the far right. These media can be seen as a reaction to the assumed hegemony of leftist ideas but they differed significantly from the ‘alternative’ press and its goal of establishing a ‘counter public’. The newly founded conservative papers reached relatively small circulation figures compared to the rest of the supra-regional press and were published at different intervals. Papers such as the *Zeitbühne* did not even reach a circulation of 10,000 copies and the *Criticon* reached an average circulation of 8,000 copies.<sup>598</sup> It would thus be misleading to interpret the conservative journals of the late 1960s and early 1970s as being equivalent to the ‘alternative’ press and the ‘counter public’ of the left. Neither was the conservative press a protest press in the sense that it might transform the political system and the

---

*Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 188-216; Balz, ‘“Sympathisanten“-Diskurs’, p. 337.

<sup>596</sup> K. Motschmann, ‘5 Jahre Konservativ heute’, *konservativ heute*, Nov./Dec. 1975, pp. 57-8: 57.

<sup>597</sup> For a broad analysis of the conceptions and aspects of the debate over a conservative turnaround see: Schildt, ‘Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten’.

<sup>598</sup> See Anonymus, ‘Alles ich’, *Der Spiegel*, 26 Jun. 1972, pp. 57-9; Pfahl-Traugher, *Konservative Revolution*, p. 204.

media landscape, nor was the internal organisation or the conception of journalism, different from the existing media.

The rise of new papers by the right was, rather, a reaction to the assumed suppression of conservatism in the aftermath of the 1968 student movement, thereby being part of the larger debate over press pluralism. The journals and magazines presented here did not aim to be competition for the existing mass media but were, instead, embedded in the intellectual and ideological debates of the right. In addition, the rise of conservative journals contributed to the significant renewal of the weekly and monthly press so characteristic of the long 1970s. The conservative papers founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s were published on a monthly (e.g. the *Zeitbühne*), two-monthly (the *konservativ heute* and *Criticon*), or annual basis (the *Scheidewege*) and had a supra-regional sphere of distribution. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the conservative monthlies and periodicals had been consolidated. In 1980, the *Criticon* and *konservativ heute* merged. Meanwhile, other conservative media were abandoned, among them the *Zeitbühne* in 1979, *Scheidewege* in 1981, and *Hochschulpolitische Informationen* in 1983. The *student* existed until 1987 and *Sonde* until 1995.<sup>599</sup>

### Summary

The key result of the concentration approach has been that the 1970s were characterized by the lowest number of independent daily newspapers with a main editorial department ever measured in the history of the Bonn Republic.<sup>600</sup> This chapter has shown that the focus on daily newspapers and the depiction of the 1970 as a period of press concentration is misleading and is largely based on the exclusion of the 'alternative' press and new conservative media. If one includes these two segments, the picture changes dramatically. In fact, there is reliable evidence to argue that the 1970s were characterized by an extremely high number of

---

<sup>599</sup> Dates quoted from [www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de](http://www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>600</sup> See chapter I.

new - and often short-lived - weekly, monthly, and irregular press products which were signs of an increasing plurality of the press and underlined contemporaries' high interest in the press and in conceptions of press pluralism. The rise of new weekly and monthly media among the left and the right grew out of the developments in the conceptualisation of a 'counter public' on the left and a conservative 'counterweight' on the right.

For 'alternative' journalists, the process of concentration appeared to be proof of a dangerous development towards unknown centralised power in the hands of the 'establishment' in politics and the press and the organisation of the press under capitalist auspices. The conservative press was established as an intellectual forum for right-wing views. Conservatives felt underrepresented in the 'established' media, where a 'liberalisation' was identified. Its emergence was not a reaction to the press concentration but rather to the assumed leftist hegemony and 'vibrant counter-culture'. Moreover, it was published as a supra-regional press. It has been shown that these papers, established in smaller numbers than the 'alternative' press and with relatively small circulation figures, were written by journalists who still maintained a strong feeling of solidarity.

There are no reliable data on the exact developments of the 'alternative' press and the conservative media. However, an estimation of the circulation of the 'alternative' press shows that there were 1.6 million copies per interval (including the weekly and daily 'alternative' press) thus presumably reaching an annual circulation of 40 million in 1982/83. The circulation of the daily newspapers in 1983 was 21.2 million on a daily basis, making the annual circulation more than 6 billion. The relevance of the newly founded press on the left and on the right, however, was that it addressed those particular target groups that felt misrepresented in the existing media and voiced specific concepts of press pluralism and criticism against the developments within the press landscape.

V. The Regionalisation and Transformation of the Daily Press  
in the Long 1970s

*The newspaper's future is the local realm.*<sup>601</sup>

[Georg Mahlein, 1977]

It has been shown that the rise of 'one-paper districts' and, with it, the number of citizens living in areas where local and regional events and politics were reported on by only one newspaper, increased throughout the 'long 1970' and formed the main reason for the depiction of the 1970s as an era of press concentration.<sup>602</sup> In contrast, this chapter shows that the development of the daily press was not only characterised by the concentration but was also affected by a transformation and even a partial renewal of the press. The 'region' can be seen as a key reference point for the development of this segment, the significance of which has so far been overlooked. It not only led to the establishment of new regional editions of different supra-regional daily newspapers but also to a wide debate over the quality of local and regional journalism and its central role for the democratic bottom-up process.

The 'alternative' supra-regional daily newspaper, the *taz* is the most lasting legacy of this era of West German press history. The *taz* not only brought the 'counter public' idea and alternative criticism to the supra-regional daily press, it soon added regional editions to its content as well, which helped to strengthen its market position during times of press concentration and market consolidation. *taz*'s introduction of regional coverage reflected a general trend within the supra-regional daily press which began to strengthen its regional sections. Never again in the history of the FRG have so many local and regional editions been founded as in the long 1970s. They were economically efficient and their high circulation figures contributed to the market transformation within the daily press segment. Finally, the decade saw wide-spread discussion on the effects

---

<sup>601</sup> Quoted from Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Zukunft*, pp. 88-9.

<sup>602</sup> See chapters I and III.



of press concentration and debates over the quality of local and regional journalism. Thus, in cooperation with the Press Office, journalists introduced new forms of quality assessment and educational programmes for local journalists.

This chapter traces the developments leading to the foundation of *taz* as an outgrowth of several regional 'alternative' papers. Further, it explores the dynamics behind the regionalisation of the supra-regional daily press and the re-evaluation of this particular section as part of the transformation and partial renewal in the long 1970s. Thus, it shows that the regionalisation of the press and the criticism raised against the 'dying of local newspapers', was not limited to the alternative milieu where several 'alternative' papers were founded in direct response to the effects of the press concentration on the local and regional newspaper plurality.<sup>603</sup>

In fact, the long 1970s have come to stand for the 'rediscovery of the region as a journalistic task.'<sup>604</sup> This orientation towards the region as the immediate sphere of work and living was, furthermore, the result of larger socio-political shifts. The rediscovery of the region reflected a search for (self-) identification opportunities. The centralisation tendencies of public administration led to a perceived gap between citizens and the state. Between the mid-1960s and late 1970s, West Germany experienced its largest territorial reform (mentioned above) affecting the immediate living environment of all West German citizens. The number of independent boroughs was reduced between 1968 and 1978 (from 24,278 to 8,514), the number of municipalities fell (from 425 to 235) as did the number of urban municipalities (from 135 to 88).<sup>605</sup> The territorial reform was part of the technocratic planning of the time. The reorganisation of the local and regional as well as governmental administration was based on the government's intent to increase efficiency and simplify administration.<sup>606</sup>

---

<sup>603</sup> See chapter IV.

<sup>604</sup> W. Teichert, *Die Region als publizistische Aufgabe: Ursachen, Fallstudien, Befunde* (Hamburg, 1982), p. 13.

<sup>605</sup> See Mecking, *Bürgerwille*, p. 461.

<sup>606</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 14-21.

Larger homogeneous entities were seen as a precondition for a more effective and professionalised state administration. This centralisation of administration spurred a re-orientation, with its focus moving onto the immediate environment, and led to 'a perceived powerlessness against anonymous political institutions which were far away.'<sup>607</sup> Decision-making powers were transferred from being solely held by the municipalities to being shared between the municipalities and the *Länder*. A perceived loss of political influence not only led to the rise of new social movements and citizen initiatives but also further encouraged the focus on every-day life and the local sphere, where opportunities for participation seemed more promising. This development encouraged a growing interest in local and regional news and journalism. While the territorial reform did not accelerate the rise of 'one-paper districts', it provided the context for debate over the quality of local and regional journalism and its role in the democratic process.

Additionally, the 1970s, as an era of 'crisis management', saw many issues - international developments such as the oil crisis of 1973, the international economic crisis and the severe recession which came with it, which, together with the crisis of international security at the beginning of the 'second cold war',<sup>608</sup> led to an 'end of confidence'<sup>609</sup>: A 'perceived crisis of modernity had taken root'.<sup>610</sup> With the end of the reconstruction period and the 'economic boom'<sup>611</sup>, a change of values and thoughts took place. The crisis of domestic security and *RAF* terrorism spurred further scepticism of the state and debates about the 'failure of the state' and

---

<sup>607</sup> Teichert, *Region*, p. 14.

<sup>608</sup> P. Gassert, T. Geiger, and H. Wentker (eds.), *Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung: Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive* (Munich, 2011).

<sup>609</sup> See the contributions in Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?*; See especially A. Doering-Manteuffel, 'Langfristige Ursprünge und dauerhafte Auswirkungen: Zur historischen Einordnung der siebziger Jahre', *ibid.*, pp. 313-28.

<sup>610</sup> A.H. Cooper, *Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements since 1945* (Ann Arbor, 1996), p. 117; For the societal and cultural effects of the oil price shock of 1973 see J. Hohensee, *Der erste Ölpreisschock 1973/74: Die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen der arabischen Erdölpolitik auf die Bundesrepublik und Westeuropa* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 229-35.

<sup>611</sup> Doering-Manteuffel and Raphael, *Nach dem Boom*.

'ungovernability' emerged.<sup>612</sup> Faced with international and global crises as well as the pessimistic outlook of the environmentalists and the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* report (1972), the 1970s signified an era of pessimistic expectations for the future and provided additional impetus to the new focus on the individual's immediate surroundings as the perceivable and immediate vicinity where changes and individual influence seemed possible.<sup>613</sup> Taken together, these developments led to the 'regionalisation of the historical and political culture.'<sup>614</sup>

With a declining number of local newspapers, several smaller communities had to share a regional newspaper. Thus, it was argued that the mass media had to respond to the 'ongoing incapacitation of citizens', strengthen citizens' calls for participation, and provide information.<sup>615</sup> With respect to the regional and local realm, the press's duty to comment critically on politics and provide the information necessary for citizens to consider their political orientation and opinions, was increasingly discussed in the context of the press concentration and contributed to a re-evaluation of the local and regional press.

Finally, the new focus on the region had an economic element. As many local and regional newspapers vanished, a space was opened up for renewal and economic expansion in the press. The introduction of regional editions was seen as a worthwhile endeavour which would strengthen readers' loyalty and increase circulation figures.

---

<sup>612</sup> See G. Metzler, 'Staatsversagen und Unregierbarkeit in den siebziger Jahren?', in K.H. Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 243-60.

<sup>613</sup> See Graf, 'Grenzen'; K.F. Hünemörder, 'Kassandra im modernen Gewand: Die umweltapokalyptischen Mahnrufe der frühen 1970er Jahre', in J. Hohensee and F. Uekötter (eds.), *Wird Kassandra heiser? Die Geschichte falscher Ökoalarme* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 78-98.

<sup>614</sup> S. Quandt and J. Calließ, 'Die Regionalisierung der historisch-politischen Kultur: Zur Einführung', in id. (eds.), *Die Regionalisierung der historisch-politischen Kultur: Nahwelt und Geschichte im Rundfunk* (Giessen, 1984), pp. 1-3.

<sup>615</sup> H. Bausinger, *Vermittlung der Nahwelt? Zur Funktion der Regionalprogramme* (Tuebingen, 1977), p. 5.

Out of the Region into the Region: The Foundation of the 'Alternative'  
Daily Newspaper *tageszeitung* (*taz*)

*For Journalistic Independence against Monopolies  
of Public Opinion.*

*[taz Motto]*

The *tageszeitung* (*taz*) was established in 1978/79 as a joint effort by several local and regional 'alternative' weeklies and monthlies and was meant to bring the 'counter public' conception envisioned by the 'alternative' press to a supra-regional level. From its very beginnings, it entertained strong regional and local bonds. It soon introduced regional editions which greatly contributed to the paper's success. Moreover, the *taz* is the only example of a successful supra-regional daily newspaper being founded in the history of the Bonn Republic since the foundation of the tabloid *Bild* in 1952. It is the most successful 'alternative' paper to date and is among the top ten leading supra-regional newspapers in the FRG.<sup>616</sup>

The project was first discussed at the anti-repression congress of the *Socialist Bureau* in 1976, at the height of the period in which the weekly and monthly 'alternative' papers were founded.<sup>617</sup> Following the congress, two groups began to discuss the foundation of an 'alternative' newspaper: In Frankfurt one group of founders mainly consisted of editorial staff from the *Pflasterstrand*, *ID*, and *Autonomie*, while a second group in West Berlin formed around Hans-Christian Ströbele and the bookseller Max Thomas Mehr. While several initiatives for an 'alternative' daily sprang up all over the FRG, those from West Berlin and Frankfurt, the two cities with the most vibrant 'alternative' press scenes and strongest countercultural presence, became the driving forces behind the project. During the 'German Autumn' of 1977, the fifth national meeting of the 'alternative' press was held in Frankfurt, bringing together representatives from different 'alternative' papers. Among them were the *Blatt*, the

---

<sup>616</sup> 'Die Top 10 Tageszeitungen', <http://www.dermerkur.de/die-top-10-tageszeitungen/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>617</sup> See Anonymus, 'Wir begrüßen das tägliche Erscheinen der Tagezeitung auf das Schärfste', *taz*, 20/21 Apr. 1979, p. 5.

*ID*, and *Pflasterstrand*. In the aftermath, a common call for a supra-regional 'alternative' newspaper to be formed was published in several 'alternative' papers.<sup>618</sup>

In 1978, the project was first presented to a larger public at the *Tunix* congress in January 1978, bringing together more than 10,000 of the protagonists of the left and the alternative milieu. A core concern of the congress was to discuss the 'hopeless situation' and to find practical ways to achieve the goals of the left.<sup>619</sup> The meeting under the slogan 'We are leaving the Model Deutschland' addressed not only the state of the alternative scene but also the perceived capitalist media landscape and political and economic situation in the FRG. In the 1976 federal elections, the SPD ran for power under the electoral slogan 'Model Deutschland' which referred to the socio-political foundations of the FRG and was echoed in radical calls for a fundamental change to the situation. The situation was seen by many as embodying a repressive state which later showed its true nature during the 'German Autumn' of 1977. Also at the *Tunix* congress, Hans-Christian Ströbele presented plans to establish a nationwide paper and representatives of the French paper *Liberation* from Paris and the Italian *Lotta Continua* from Rome reported on their projects. The *Liberation* was founded in May 1968 in Paris and, by 1978, had a steady circulation of 35,000 copies while the *Lotta Continua* had a circulation of 30,000 in the same year. Both papers voiced the agenda of those who did not feel bound to socialist or communist party agendas thereby aiming to establish a 'counter public'. These were seen as a role model for the establishment of a new daily which was 'left from the *FR*' which has to be seen as the paper closest to the views of the alternative milieu.<sup>620</sup> For the protagonists of the alternative milieu, the meeting served as an information-sharing event and an opportunity to network.

---

<sup>618</sup> See Magenau, *taz*, p. 28.

<sup>619</sup> M. Bröckers, 'Gegenmodell Deutschland', <http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/digitaz/artikel/?ressort=sp&dig=2008%2F01%2F25%2Fa0017&cHash=5d92fa6dd990af77b5cfe8d1ea51efa5>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>620</sup> See E. Elitz, 'Tageszeitungsprojekt: Links von der „Frankfurter Rundschau“, *journalist*, 7/1978, p. 11-2; H. Flottau, 'Liberal auf schwankendem Boden: Die „Frankfurter Rundschau“, in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 97-108.

Following the meeting, several additional *taz* initiatives were founded throughout the FRG.<sup>621</sup> Journalists and members of the editorial collectives of several 'alternative' weeklies and monthlies joined the various *taz* initiatives, among them now also representatives from the *Klenkes Aachen* and *Kölner Volksblatt*.<sup>622</sup> Just one month after the *Tunix* congress, on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1978, the association 'Friends of an Alternative Daily' was founded, providing the project with the necessary legal underpinnings. Under the leadership of Otto Schily, Hans-Christian Ströbele and Ulrich K. Preuß (the former lawyer of *RAF* terrorist Ulrike Meinhof), a network of companies was established under the supervision of the association.<sup>623</sup> In April 1978, a prospectus - '*Prospekt Tageszeitung*' - including the various ideas of an 'alternative' daily was widely distributed communicating the initiators' ideas on 'alternative' journalism and visions for the overall outlook of the daily. Today, the prospectus provides detailed insight into the motives for the foundation of the *taz*, the different views influencing the project, and debates over the outlook of a supra-regional weekly emerging from the regional initiatives and papers.

One central point of criticism was the press concentration and the capitalist organisation of the media. From an economic point of view, it was argued that existing newspapers were forced to represent the 'grey middle' and their journalism was made to conform to the 'dominant climate of opinions and state institutions' thus marginalizing the views of minorities.<sup>624</sup> In the eyes of those initiatives which contributed to the *taz*, the 'alternative' papers provided

'the only opportunity in many regions of the Federal Republic to take an unequivocal stand towards political topics or communal conflicts if one does not share the view of the monopoly press or belong to the town hall party.'<sup>625</sup>

---

<sup>621</sup> See Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 180.

<sup>622</sup> See M. Sontheimer, 'taz da! 30 Jahre „tageszeitung“', 14 Apr. 2009, <http://www.spiegel.de/einestages/30-jahre-tageszeitung-a-949767.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>623</sup> See J. Agnoli, 'Jesuiten, Kommunisten und Indianer', in D. Hoffmann-Axthelm, O. Kallscheuer, E. Knödler-Bunte, et al. (eds.), *Zwei Kulturen? TUNIX, Mescalero und die Folgen* (Gießen, 1978), pp. 80-93: 93.

<sup>624</sup> Anonymus, 'Pressekonzentration oder die Quadratur des Kreises', in *Initiativgruppen für eine linke Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1978), pp. 24-5.

<sup>625</sup> Anonymus, 'Alternativpresse', *ibid.*, p. 15.

Secondly, the founding of the *taz* also emerged out of the criticisms of the social-liberal media policy which, in the eyes of the 'alternative' press, did not go far enough. They felt that the measures taken by the government - financial help for smaller businesses as well as the passing of editorial by-laws in the publishing houses - were merely a proverbial drop in the ocean and would not change the fact that a 'bourgeois system' dominated the media:

'The resurgent discussion over press concentration in the bourgeois public nourishes the illusion that legislative and economic measures will lead to an improvement of the publicist quality and that by introducing more independence through by-laws the journalists will have a wider freedom of expression. [...] For the bourgeois public and for parts of the established parties the uneasiness over the situation of the press is growing [...] The hopes to implement alternative reporting against the press concentration by transforming the existing bourgeois system or the press policy are illusionary [...] Only by founding an alternative newspaper primarily focusing on its political function and avoiding the market mechanisms, and through alternative reporting can it begin.'<sup>626</sup>

In the eyes of those involved in the founding initiatives of the *taz*, the assumed dominance of the 'bourgeois system' became apparent in the 'German Autumn' when the government persecuted 'alternative' journalists, 'alternative' papers were abandoned, and the 'established' press complied with the 'news blockade'.<sup>627</sup> Moreover, it is clear that the *taz* was founded in response to the social-liberal media policy and the measures taken to secure 'internal freedom of the press', both of which were seen as insufficient. This provided a third reason for fostering such a project to establish a supra-regional daily 'alternative' newspaper in the aftermath of the 'German Autumn' of 1977. The 'German Autumn' itself was perceived as a 'pogrom-like' climate by large parts of the 'alternative' papers.<sup>628</sup> As such, it was continuously referred to in the early years of the *taz*. For example, a series of advertisements read: 'Since autumn 1977 we know how unresistingly the German is willing to accept being

---

<sup>626</sup> Anonymus, 'Alternativpresse', in *Initiativgruppen für eine linke Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, p. 15.

<sup>627</sup> For the conflicts between the 'alternative' press and state authorities as well as the 'news blockade' see chapter IV.

<sup>628</sup> Horn, *Pflasterstrand*, p. 24.

coordinated by the government', referring here to the restructuring of the press under Joseph Goebbels in the Third Reich.<sup>629</sup>

Further, the role adopted by the 'established' media, which 'accepted the news blackout or at least did not oppose it', for several 'alternative' journalists signalled a need for a leftist and radical newspaper.<sup>630</sup> In an internal circular sent to 'alternative' projects and papers in 1978 it was therefore stated that:

'From 1979 on, the *tageszeitung* on your breakfast table! Why the *tageszeitung*? Don't we have enough newspapers? For the established press there is the news blackout ordered in Bonn (as in autumn 77). Even worse: Information of all kinds is subject to an everyday news blackout. The often affirmed consensus among the democrats leads to a kind of voluntary centralisation [*Gleichschaltung*].'<sup>631</sup>

These statements have to be seen as part of the alternative marketing and it is certainly an exaggeration to compare the situation during the 'news blackout' with the situation of the press in the Third Reich. It has been shown that there was no legal basis for the 'news blackout' and that it was voluntary while there was, of course, a certain dependency on good relations with the government. Moreover, it seems to be highly exaggerated to speak of a 'voluntary centralisation' in the sense that the 'established' press did exercise its role of critically questioning political and social developments. In this respect, it has been shown that some of the 'established' newspapers saw the freedom of the press threatened by the 'news blackout' and that media like the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Stern*, and *Zeit* were concerned over such measures.<sup>632</sup>

In addition, the claim made by the founders of the *taz* and repeated throughout the long 1970s that the 'established' media agreed on a 'voluntary centralisation', is also hardly defensible against the backdrop of the role of critical media in uncovering and analysing political scandals.

---

<sup>629</sup> See e.g. *taz* advertisement in *radikal*, 6 Apr. 1979, quoted from Medico International, Paranoia City Buchhandlung, Projekt Archiv, et al. (eds.), *radikal*, p. 21. For the role of the 'German Autumn' for the foundation of the *taz* see 'Selbstdarstellung des Projektes *Die Tageszeitung 1978*', *taz*-archive.

<sup>630</sup> See Anonymus, 'Chronik', *taz*, 17 Apr. 1984, p. 4.

<sup>631</sup> *Selbstdarstellung des Projektes die tageszeitung*, 1978, *taz*-archive.

<sup>632</sup> See chapter IV.



Examples where the 'established' press fulfilled its critical role in the long 1970s were the 'Filbinger affair' of 1978 and the 'Garski affair' of 1981.

The 'Filbinger affair' developed in 1978. In February, the weekly *Die Zeit* published text passages from Rolf Hochhuth's book *Eine Liebe in Deutschland (A Love in Germany)* as a preprint in which he called the then state premier of Baden-Wurttemberg, Hans Filbinger, 'a dreadful lawyer' (*furchtbarer Jurist*).<sup>633</sup> In his book, Hochhuth described the love between a married German woman and a Polish prisoner-of-war during the national socialist era. When the affair was revealed, the German was sentenced to do forced labour and the Polish man was sentenced to death. Hochhuth claimed that no one was interested in such stories, especially in the state of Baden-Wurttemberg where the state premier and former judge had passed sentence on a German sailor on the basis of 'Nazi laws' in June 1945 after the German surrender. Further, he argued that Filbinger was only free because of the 'reticence of those who knew him'. Hochhuth made reference to a *Spiegel* article of 1972 in which the story of Kurt Olaf Petzold was described, a man who was sentenced to six months in prison by Filbinger because he had criticised the Nazis - calling them 'Nazi dogs' - while he was in British war captivity.<sup>634</sup> In reaction to Hochhuth's book, Filbinger asked for an injunction. The regional court in Stuttgart prohibited Hochhuth from arguing that Filbinger was free because of the reticence of those who knew him but allowed him to label him a 'dreadful judge'. The affair led to an electrified atmosphere and a large-scale debate in the press. In the course of the debate, several death sentences by Filbinger from the national socialist era were made public. Filbinger claimed that these were 'phantom judgments' and were never meant to be enforced which is why he had forgotten about them. A heated debate emerged whether Filbinger was an opponent of National Socialism, as he claimed, highlighting that he passed the sentences under the

---

<sup>633</sup> R. Hochhuth, 'Schwierigkeiten, die wahre Geschichte zu erzählen', *Die Zeit*, 17 Feb. 1978, p. 41.

<sup>634</sup> See Anonymus, 'Affäre Filbinger: "Was rechtens war..."', *Der Spiegel*, 15 Aug. 1978, pp. 23-7; Anonymus, '"Er hat die Manneszucht zersetzt"', *Der Spiegel*, 10 Apr. 1972, p. 49.

law applicable at the time or if he was a supporter of national socialist ideology during his time as a judge.

The local and regional press in particular played a central role. The *Stuttgarter Zeitung* opened its pages to supporters and critics of Filbinger alike. It published an article by philosopher Max Müller who argued that Filbinger did not embrace Nazi ideology. At the same time, it published calls for Filbinger's resignation by the SPD and gave Hochhuth room to express his view. Hochhuth published a letter written by Filbinger in July 1945 in which he seemed to advocate that offences committed prior to the German surrender had to be punished under National Socialist principles.<sup>635</sup> In the course of the affair, Filbinger experienced the opposition of large parts of the West German press including left-liberal as well as conservative media. The *Bremer Nachrichten* wrote that the credibility of the CDU/CSU was at stake.<sup>636</sup> The *Welt* feared that the affair could cost the CDU/CSU votes. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote that it would be a 'massive nuisance' if Filbinger were to remain state premier.<sup>637</sup> Finally, on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1978, more than five months after the beginning of the affair, Filbinger resigned.

Another example where the press played a critical part and became highly critical of authorities is the 'Garski affair' in West Berlin in which the local paper the *Tagesspiegel* had a central role.<sup>638</sup> In the late 1970s, the building contractor Dietrich Garski planned several projects in Saudi-Arabia whereupon the state of Berlin stood surety but without checking Garski's creditworthiness sufficiently enough. The project in Saudi-Arabia never materialised, Garski's company went bankrupt in December 1980, and he was charged with credit fraud. In the end, the city of West-Berlin lost almost 125 million DM. Because parts of the credit had been granted

---

<sup>635</sup> See W. Jäger, 'Der Sturz des baden-württembergischen Ministerpräsidenten Hans Filbinger 1978 - Dokumentation und Analyse', in B. Heck (ed.), *Hans Filbinger der "Fall" und die Fakten: Eine historische und politologische Analyse* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 103-75: 109-11.

<sup>636</sup> See Anonymus, 'Wie lange noch mit erhobenem Haupt? Pressestimmen zur Affäre Filbinger', *Der Spiegel*, 10 Jun. 1978, pp. 28-9: 29.

<sup>637</sup> Quoted from T. Ramge, *Die großen Polit-Skandale: Eine andere Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt a.M., 2003), p. 146.

<sup>638</sup> See H.-J. Heß, *Die Auswirkungen der Tätigkeit innerparteilicher Gruppierungen auf die Regierungsfunktion einer politischen Partei am Beispiel der Berliner SPD in den Jahren von 1963 bis 1981* (Berlin, 1983), p. 598.

behind closed doors, this was seen as evidence of cronyism within the traditionally SPD-led government by the local press. The left-liberal and SPD-affiliated *Tagesspiegel* not only opened its pages to critics and proponents of the government alike, it became increasingly critical and contributed to the ultimate downfall of the SPD-government of Dietrich Stobbe. In an article under the headline ‘*A changeover of power is normal*’, for example, the paper strongly urged its readers to work towards ‘a new majority in the city parliament’ thus contributing to the ‘fundamental recuperation of political life in Berlin.’<sup>639</sup>

As these two examples show, the claim made by the *taz*, and repeated throughout the long 1970s, that there was a ‘centralisation’ and ‘voluntary news blackout’ by the ‘established’ press, and at the same time, a connection made to the legacy of the press history of the Third Reich, is hardly defensible. Such a claim has rather to be seen as an aggressive marketing method in which the paper tried to popularise its self-proclaimed mission. By referring to the fascist German past and linking this to the ‘German Autumn’, leftist criticism was channelled and the ‘news blackout’ served as an increased impetus to intensify criticism. In the eyes of the founders of the *taz*, the ‘German Autumn’ triggered:

‘[...] a maturation process of the left. [...] the project to establish a leftist newspaper already existed in the heads of the participants of the [...] protesters against Springer [...] but never before did the urgency and need so obviously come together.’<sup>640</sup>

The *taz* understood itself to be the product of a long leftist criticism of the existing media.<sup>641</sup> In fact, the founding of the *taz* was also inspired by an increasing perception of the left’s fragmented discourse, unprofessionalism, ‘biased reporting’ and its need for unification.<sup>642</sup> Hans-Christian Ströbele, wrote:

‘We were annoyed with the pamphlets of the undogmatic left, which were actually full of biased and often false information, and we were upset about the alignment of formerly left-liberal papers like the

<sup>639</sup> J.B. ‘Der Wechsel ist normal’, *Tagesspiegel*, 10 May 1980, quoted from Heß, *Auswirkungen*, p. 598.

<sup>640</sup> *Initiativgruppen für eine linke Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, p. 2.

<sup>641</sup> See numerous information circulars of the *taz*-initiatives, ‘*taz intern unsortiert ab 1978*’, *taz-archive*.

<sup>642</sup> See P.S. Gorski and A.S. Markovits, *The German Left: Red, Green and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 85.

*Frankfurter Rundschau* and *Spiegel*, which had, in the meantime become social democratic-liberal and loyal to the government.<sup>643</sup>

While most of the 'alternative' media targeted a local audience and thus mainly dealt with local issues and the concerns of local citizens' initiatives, the 'alternative' press embodied significant ideological fragmentation as well. The debates over the foundation of the *taz* resulted in a consolidation process of the left in line with six basic principles which were introduced into the prospectus.

The first principle of 'Objectivity no thank you!' referred to the overall outlook and reporting of the daily. Contrary to the 'established' press, the *taz* aimed to provide a mouthpiece for suppressed news, offer background reports and add to the information of the 'mainstream' media. The second principle of 'Not a mainstream paper/Openness towards Controversies' rejected any overall agenda and defined the paper's role as a binding element for all kinds of thought within the alternative milieu. The daily's third focus was to include news often omitted elsewhere by opening its pages to 'grassroots journalism'. Contrary to large parts of the existing 'alternative' press, the paper, fourthly, did not try to address the 'scene' but instead had a larger public in mind: 'With the daily newspaper we want to leave the corner of the alternative and scene press to aggressively present critical views and information and bring it to a broad public discussion.'<sup>644</sup> In doing so it planned, fifthly, to 'experiment' in terms of language, pictures, and layout. Finally, the paper was designed to be an alternative to the organisations of the 'established' editorial departments by being based on a non-hierarchical organisation in which everyone was given the opportunity to influence the content. The prospectus mirrors how, in the aftermath of the 'German Autumn', a widespread willingness to cooperate emerged within the alternative milieu and, with it, the conviction that only a common effort to establish a counter-newspaper to the 'established' press would be successful.

---

<sup>643</sup> Quoted from Dirke, *Power*, p. 120.

<sup>644</sup> Anonymus, in *Initiativgruppen für eine linke Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, p. 5.

Many renowned journalists, writers and prominent figures who did not come from the alternative milieu supported the project. Among the contributors to the prospectus were Otto Schily, Günther Wallraff, Carl Amery, Rudi Dutschke, Fritz Teufel, Peter Brückner, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit. The articles in the prospectus crucially expressed the expectations for the paper: Among them was the writer and member of 'group 47', Carl Amery, who had left the SPD in resistance against Helmut Schmidt's economic policy and the perceived depreciation of ecological issues within the SPD. He was head of the German Writers Association in 1976/77, and part of the founding generation of the Green Party.<sup>645</sup> Amery was a decided conservative and envisioned a paper that would serve as the backbone of green networks, dealing with the destruction of the rainforest, bad terms of trade for the cacao farmers in West Africa, and redesigning the classical structure of the paper into sections such as economy, features pages, and local news - as in papers like the *Zeit*.<sup>646</sup> Peter Brückner, who was one of the publishers of the annotated Buback obituary in 1977, called for a paper that would help to 'jump out of marginalisation'. He called for a scandal-oriented paper in order to 'expose the political elite'.<sup>647</sup>

Several journalists also contributed to the prospectus. Gabi Schwall, a former journalist at the *Frankfurter Rundschau* who was forced to resign after being seen as a sympathiser of the *RAF*, criticised the suppression of women within the media and called for a focus on gender relations within the press.<sup>648</sup> Her view was shared by a women's group which claimed that an 'alternative' daily had to be published in addition to *Emma* and *Courage* which would present certain key topics on a monthly basis leaving aside everyday issues concerning women.<sup>649</sup>

---

<sup>645</sup> See Mende, "Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn", pp. 264-9.

<sup>646</sup> See C. Amery, 'Gruene Hilfe', in *Initiativgruppen für eine Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>647</sup> P. Brückner, 'Micky der Meistergeiger vom vielgenannten Mobilen Einsatzorchester', *ibid.*, pp. 16-7.

<sup>648</sup> See G. Schwall, 'Journalistin FR', *ibid.*, pp. 26-8.

<sup>649</sup> See Anonymus, 'Frauen in der Tageszeitung: Weg durch die Männerinstitution und Frauenautonomie', in *Initiativgruppen für eine Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, p. 37.

Investigative journalist Günter Wallraff, who was one of the fiercest critics of the Springer media and especially of the *Bild*, reiterated the urgency of establishing a leftist newspaper which he envisioned as a 'counter-*Bild*'. In his eyes 'the alternative press of citizen initiatives increasingly fulfilled the obligation to present news which was not dispersed anywhere else.'<sup>650</sup> Otto Schily, then lawyer of the *RAF* and later founder of the Green party and Minister of the Interior between 1998 and 2005, envisioned a mixture of the French *Le Monde*, *Liberation*, and the Italian leftist paper *Repubblica*. Schily argued that one had to make sure of reducing the sole purpose of the paper to becoming an 'alternative' to the existing press:<sup>651</sup> 'One has to be careful that the leftist newspaper does not take the wrong focus, that one does not get the impression the report is simply based on the resistance against the established press, as so often is the case with the alternative city papers.'<sup>652</sup> Daniel Cohn-Bendit who was one of the journalists of the *Pflasterstrand*, envisioned a more professional 'alternative' paper: 'Although I think that the approach of the "alternative press" to let anyone who is concerned write themselves, I am an absolute supporter of the professionalisation of the newspaper.'<sup>653</sup>

Besides these rather moderate voices, the far left also presented its vision of the project. Tilman Fichter envisioned a paper similar to both the socialist paper, the *Neues Deutschland* published in the German Democratic Republic and *Unsere Zeit* published by the German Communist Party in 1969.<sup>654</sup> An article further described *taz*'s approach as being to serve as an additional source contributing to the diversified 'alternative' press scene as envisioned by Fritz Teufel in the prospectus of the *tageszeitung*: 'it benefits from the *ID*, *Courage*, *Blatt*, *Kölner Volksblatt*, and many other approaches to the 'alternative' media in Germany and elsewhere.'<sup>655</sup>

---

<sup>650</sup> Günter Walraff, in *Initiativgruppen für eine Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, p. 30.

<sup>651</sup> Rechtsanwalt Otto Schily, *ibid.*

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>653</sup> D. Cohn-Bendit, *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>654</sup> See T. Fichter, 'Das 7. Weltwunder', *ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>655</sup> F. Teufel, 'Von einer neuen Tageszeitung erwarte ich zu viel', *ibid.*, p. 1.

After the publication of the prospectus, those representing the initiatives then met in April 1978 in Hannover to further discuss the organisation and outlook of the daily. In September 1978, the name *tageszeitung*, meaning 'daily newspaper', was chosen as representing the lowest common denominator of the initiatives. In the preceding discussion, names like 'The Other Newspaper', 'Streetpaper', 'The Nameless Newspaper', and 'Under the Pavement' were suggested.<sup>656</sup> From the very beginning, the introduction of regional editions was discussed in order to maintain the regional outlook of the 'alternative' press. Various different concepts were considered, ranging from weekly editions for eastern, western, northern, and southern Germany, editions published at the level of the *Länder* and regional editions for cities and rural areas alike, where the effects of the press concentration had become most visible. Several initiatives claimed that the articles of the *taz* were all to be written and researched by regional offices.<sup>657</sup> Such an organisation without a main editorial department, however, led to a feeling that it was an 'attempt to square a circle' and the application of this plan remained motionless.<sup>658</sup> From 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1978, the 15 *taz* initiatives existing at the time voted for the *taz* to be produced in Berlin and published on a daily basis as from 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1979. Nine initiatives voted for Berlin and six for Frankfurt and so it was agreed that the editorial department would be in Berlin for the first three months and in Frankfurt after that.<sup>659</sup> In reality, however, the plan was never implemented and the editorial department remained in West Berlin. 20 journalists were recruited from different *taz* initiatives among others from Frankfurt, Mainz, Stuttgart, and Hamburg. The main reason the situation developed in this way was the financial support granted by the government to companies and business in West Berlin.<sup>660</sup> In the early stages of the *taz*, between 15 and 30 local initiatives

---

<sup>656</sup> See Protokoll vom Treffen 2.-3. September 1978 in Trautskirchen, *taz*-archive; Magenau, *taz*, p. 35.

<sup>657</sup> See 'Strukturen von Zentralismus und Dezentralismus', in *Initiativgruppen für eine Tageszeitung* (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>658</sup> Magenau, *taz*, p. 99.

<sup>659</sup> See Protokoll zur Arbeitstagung vom 08.-10. Dezember 1978 in Frankfurt, *taz*-archive.

<sup>660</sup> See 'Editorial', *taz*, 20 Jan. 1979, p. 2.

from different cities and regions contributed to the papers and sent ideas and articles.

The need to make the project profitable posed another challenge. *taz*'s 'alternative' entitlement was not limited to its content and whether to adopt the conditions of the 'capitalistic' press market was also disputed. By the beginning of its daily appearance in April 1979, approximately 500,000 DM had to be invested to start the project.<sup>661</sup> *taz*'s success was dependent on its subscriptions and it was estimated that 25,000 subscriptions were needed. As regards the third dummy run, the editorial department claimed that

'If there are not 20,000 subscriptions already by February '79, the dream of our newspaper, of your newspaper, the '*tageszeitung*' will come to an end. It will die before being born. [...] A core moment of the student movement was the Anti-Springer Campaign. Mr. Springer still calmly manipulates his papers, printed in millions. Nobody seems to be bothered by that. But also the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, as critically as it reports at certain points, is not enough for daily information.'<sup>662</sup>

When the required number of subscriptions was not reached, it was agreed that paid advertisements were to be accepted. A circular was sent to the initiatives stating that the *taz* would introduce paid advertising but only on the conditions that not more than six pages weekly or more than two issues a week would include advertisements. Furthermore, it was agreed that any advertisements which they regarded as sexist, fascist, or hostile to humans would not be accepted.<sup>663</sup> The *taz* applied equality principles to the cost structure and level of wages. Fixed wages of 700 DM were granted to those who did not have an additional income and no remuneration was granted at all to those who already had an income over 1,000 DM.<sup>664</sup> The idea was not to distinguish between intellectual workers and blue-collar workers. In fact, the early *taz* became famous for the typesetters' annotations which they added to the articles handed in for production. These annotations accompanied articles, statements, and letters to the editor and often broke the train of thought of an article. They

---

<sup>661</sup> See Circular, 3 Jan. 1979, *taz*-archive.

<sup>662</sup> Anonymus, 'Wir warten nicht auf bessere Zeitungen', *taz*, 2 Dec. 1979, p. 12.

<sup>663</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>664</sup> See Magenau, *taz*, p. 49; Tolmein and Winkel, *tazsachen*, p. 19.



were seen as a control mechanism and 'since they represented another voice within the text, undercut the one-way communication of the printed media.'<sup>665</sup> They demonstrate how the radical democratic approach to journalism of the 'alternative' press and its 'grassroots journalism' was adopted by the initiatives. The typesetting itself proved to be a debate before the reader's very eyes, thereby encouraging him or her to engage in further questioning of the articles' argument. By visually breaking up the traditional division of labour in the production process of newspapers, they further embodied *taz*'s entitlement to trigger debates and contribute to the internal discourses of the left. Also in terms of internal organisation, the *taz* was thus meant to provide an alternative to the 'established' editorial work. All journalists had to choose a department they would like to work in. A rotation principle was agreed on to avoid hierarchical structures and provide the opportunity to include the ideas of all journalists. Every four weeks the journalists rotated to another department.

The streamlining of the organisation as well as the introduction of a controlled cost system paved the way for the daily appearance of the *taz*. It was initially printed in Hannover and Frankfurt and later also in Berlin. The first regular *taz* was produced by 32 journalists, among them 26 men and six women. Most of them were between 25 and 30 years old, held a higher education degree, and did not have any professional experience in journalism though they had often contributed to other existing 'alternative' papers.<sup>666</sup> In April 1979, the *taz* was supplied to 33 wholesalers as well as 33 bookshops in train stations.<sup>667</sup> The editorial described the *taz* as

'[...] a newspaper directed against any kind of voluntary censorship and news embargo. Not a mainstream paper, but a leftist radical and also satirical paper - on a daily basis. It aims to provide a forum for different people to write against the traditional, distancing, and professional journalism. It is an attempt to change the functional value of newspapers - to leave the content of the paper to its readers! We hope to transform the press landscape.'<sup>668</sup>

---

<sup>665</sup> Dirke, *Power*, p. 132.

<sup>666</sup> See Anonymus, 'In eigener Sache', *taz*, 2 Apr. 1979, p. 2.

<sup>667</sup> See Flieger, *TAZ*, p. 177.

<sup>668</sup> Anonymus, no title, *taz*, 17 Apr. 1979, p. 1.

The taz published on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1979 consisted of the following sections: News, Discussion/Readers Letters, Foreign Policy, Domestic Policy, Unions, Ecology, Culture, Magazine, and Green Field (Wiese).<sup>669</sup> These sections were produced by nine departments: News, Foreign Policy, Domestic Policy, Social Engagement, Women, Unions, Ecology, Magazine, and Culture. It was the first supra-regional newspaper from West Berlin, cost one DM and consisted of 12-16 pages.



Picture: taz 20/21 Apr. 1979: The photograph depicts the barricade fights in Berlin's newspaper district during the Spartacist rebellion in January 1919. The headline reads 'The alternative press and taz united in the fight against the bourgeois press.'

<sup>669</sup> See Flieger, TAZ, p. 130.

The *taz* was sold by the initiatives themselves and was dependent on subscriptions, while sales at the newsstands grew slowly.<sup>670</sup> When the first regular issue of the *taz* was published on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1979, only 7000 subscriptions had been signed and it was estimated that double as many were needed to make the project economically sustainable.<sup>671</sup>

The establishment of the *taz*, was accompanied by confrontations with radical leftist currents of thought in the alternative milieu through the course of which the paper turned away from radical ideas and established a more liberal profile. On 13<sup>th</sup> June 1979, a group of *RAF* sympathisers stormed and occupied the editorial department and, in consultation with several initiatives who mistrusted the Berlin-based department, pushed their demands through to publish the declarations made by the imprisoned *RAF* members who were on hunger strike. The next day, seven declarations were published but the editorial department underlined its concept that a leftist newspaper had to represent the left in general and not only selected groups and their respective agenda with their sometimes revolutionary style.<sup>672</sup>

Another incident occurred one month later. On 15<sup>th</sup> July 1979, the proofs were secretly exchanged by the so-called *Friday 13<sup>th</sup> July Movement*. The next day the group published a lengthy critique of the leftist media strategies and called for a radical leftist paper headlining 'The *taz* is hostage to the Friday 13th July Movement.'<sup>673</sup> In reaction, the *taz* journalists claimed that 'those 20,000 people who buy the *taz* on a daily basis do not want to read the *Info-BUG* one day and *Arbeiterkampf* and *Pflasterstrand* the next', and went on to say that 'the *taz* is not a self-serving institution.'<sup>674</sup> The conflict led to the exclusion of the radical left and paved the way for a more pluralistic design of the paper. While there are no reliable statistics on the 'alternative' press, the *taz* experienced

---

<sup>670</sup> See Vertrieb: Alternativen Überlegen!, *taz*-archive.

<sup>671</sup> See Vera G., 'Uns ist heute gar nicht zum Feiern zumute', *taz*, 17 Apr. 1979, p. 2.

<sup>672</sup> See Tolmein and Winkel, *tazsachen*, pp. 23-5.

<sup>673</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>674</sup> Anonymus, 'Die taz ist kein Selbstbedienungsladen', *taz*, 19 Jul. 1979, p. 2.

significant growth rates. Between 1979 and 1982 alone, its circulation grew from 20,000 to 26,117.<sup>675</sup>

The establishment of the *taz*, triggered considerable criticism, however. Several smaller weeklies and monthlies saw the *taz* as a competitor. Among them was the *radikal* in which an article claimed that the *taz*'s decision-making structure was unclear. All central decisions were made at meetings where all initiatives were represented. The above-mentioned *ID*, founded as a supra-regional weekly and monthly in 1973 and serving as a leftist news agency, even demanded that the *taz* be abandoned and called for a boycott of the paper. The official reason for the criticism was that the *taz* used 'dehumanizing technology' and high quality paper for which 'whole forests were chopped down.'<sup>676</sup> The *taz* journalists made it very clear that they saw the paper as an addition to the regional and local 'alternative' weeklies. However, it is striking that the beginning of the above-mentioned crisis of the 'alternative' press, (more precisely, the weekly and monthly 'initiative' and 'scene papers'), coincided with the successful implementation of the *taz*.<sup>677</sup> With the rise of the *taz*, the *ID* had lost its function as a binding link for the 'alternative' milieu and its circulation fell significantly. While the initial circulation of 600 copies sold in 1973 grew significantly, reaching 6,000 in 1977, by 1980, however, it had dropped to 3,000. Up until its abandonment, its circulation fluctuated between 2,000 and 2,300. The *ID*'s criticism of the *taz* and its refusal to cooperate was a central reason for its failure. The *ID* journalists stated:

'Meanwhile, *taz* has now been in existence for one year. It is not a child of the *ID* but there can be no doubt that it was influenced by its spirit, structure, and content. Until one year ago, the *ID* was the only supra-regional medium for the undogmatic leftist-radical movements [...] this function has been adopted by the *taz* in a centralised manner.'<sup>678</sup>

Some of the *ID* journalists continued working for the *taz* and in the years to come, the introduction of regional editions contributed to its success.

---

<sup>675</sup> See Appendix: Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

<sup>676</sup> Anonymus, 'Dieses obscure Objekt der Kritik', *taz*, 22 Feb. 1979, p. 2.

<sup>677</sup> See chapter IV.

<sup>678</sup> Anonymus, '„id“ und „taz“ im Gespräch', *ID*, 20 Feb. 1980, p. 61.

The regionalisation of the *taz* had already been debated by the initiatives contributing to its foundation.<sup>679</sup> Regional editions were also initially planned for the Ruhr region of North Rhine-Westphalia, as well as Hamburg, Northern Germany, and Berlin. Soon after *taz*'s foundation, several local offices were established in Essen, Hannover, Duesseldorf, Bonn, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Freiburg, Munich, and Nuremberg, which entertained a strong local outlook and had contact with various initiatives. These regional offices did not publish regional editions but were key to the professionalisation of the paper and its journalistic network, providing a constant flow of information from different regions.<sup>680</sup>

Between 1980 and 1981, two regional editions of the *taz* were founded in Berlin and Hamburg in addition to already existing regional editorial departments. The establishment of these regional editions was intended to strengthen the overall financial situation. It also followed a general trend of the time by moving towards a larger company size. Between January and September 1980, the *taz* experienced losses of approximately 46,000 DM at which point it was assumed that local editions directed at the local initiatives would help to improve the overall financial situation.<sup>681</sup>

Further, it was argued that new forms of journalism could be established which would be more conducive to the alternative cause and its local and regional focus. An internal planning paper written by Michael Sontheimer highlighted the importance and specifics of local journalism, which could be characterised by its interventionist political approach and the politicisation of regional media in which the 'alternative' press played a central role:

'In terms of the principles of journalistic work, regional and local journalism significantly differs from the traditional telephone research at Wattstraße [where the main editorial department was]. Local and regional journalism has a stronger political and investigative character because the journalists are in the middle of ongoing discussions and can influence them by applying investigative journalism. We further think that our readers', especially the *taz* readers'

---

<sup>679</sup> See Schregel, *Atomkrieg*.

<sup>680</sup> See Flieger, *TAZ*, p. 122 ff.

<sup>681</sup> See 'Gesamtgewinn- und Verlustrechnung der *taz* vom 01. Januar bis 30. September 1980', *taz*-archive.

interest, demands local or regional sections because they want to know what is going on in their immediate environment.<sup>682</sup>

The decision to establish the first regional edition in Berlin was based on the assumption that there were no other quality newspapers in Berlin and their only competition would be the left-liberal paper, the *Tagesspiegel*, against which they felt sure to prevail. A second argument in favour of Berlin was the fact that 'there was no leftist city paper such as the *Blatt* in Munich, *Pflasterstrand* in Frankfurt or *Grosse Freiheit* in Hamburg which could be led into ruin by a local edition.'<sup>683</sup> Further, it was argued that

'The existence of the *radikal* which in the meantime is barely read and appears every four weeks for the activists in Kreuzberg and a non-intellectual radical leftist milieu and provides a discussion forum is not threatened in our opinion [...] To try to cut the ground from under *tip* and *zitty*'s feet should be worth it, however.'<sup>684</sup>

As mentioned above, the *radikal*, representing the more radical wing of the left, was one of the critics of the *taz* and it appears that the potential negative effects of the introduction of a local edition did not play a role at the *taz*. The third reason was that, in the eyes of the editorial department, the potential of the *taz* was not fully realised: they had planned to widen the sections on cultural activities and also offer an event calendar.

By the end of April 1981, the national plenary decided to introduce a four-page regional edition for Northern Germany addressing Hamburg, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein. Regional offices were further established in Munich in 1982, contributing to the professionalisation of the permanent network of national correspondents.<sup>685</sup> The regionalisation of the *taz* provided new locally-based information for its core readership which could be found in large cities such as Hamburg and Berlin where the newsstand sales reached the highest numbers.<sup>686</sup>

---

<sup>682</sup> 'Circular', 29 Sept. 1980, *taz*-archive.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>685</sup> See Flieger, *TAZ*, p. 111.

<sup>686</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 178.

With this regionalisation, *taz*'s revenues increased rapidly from 3,936,744 DM in 1980 to 7,565,895 DM in 1982.<sup>687</sup> In 1982, the purchasing price was raised from one DM to 1.20 DM.<sup>688</sup> Although the financial situation of the *taz* remained unstable, it still managed to survive whilst also maintaining its 'alternative' outlook and structure. Compared to other subscription newspapers, which made 66.4% of their revenue from advertisements, the *taz* managed to survive with only 4% of revenue raised through advertising in 1983.<sup>689</sup> In 1984, looking back on its first five years, the paper claimed that 'the *taz* has the greatest chance to be an expression of generation 25-40, of this sense of life, this societal conquest of the media, an important medium of the informed-leftist public.'<sup>690</sup> It opened itself up to the political 'mainstream' and became a central part of West Germany's media landscape arguing that the

'delineation towards the established press blocks a further development of the *taz* [...] a *taz* which is able to fulfil this function will also be the journalistic avant-garde for parts of the bourgeois press: not fearful delineation but self-confident influence comes first.'<sup>691</sup>

The *taz* aimed to become a 'front-row paper' (*Erstzeitung*) read, not in addition to other papers, but as a central source of information.<sup>692</sup> Therefore, the paper should provide a detailed overview of domestic and international affairs. It was argued that the *taz* should not replace existing papers and that those interested in entrepreneurs' and managers' views should read the *FAZ*, 'nationalists' should read the *Welt*, 'liberal conservatives' the *FR* and the far-left should read the 'scene papers'. The stronger focus on certain alternative topics which also increasingly triggered the attention of large parts of society was seen as *taz*'s unique selling point.<sup>693</sup>

---

<sup>687</sup> See 'Kurvenreiche Strecke', *taz*-archive.

<sup>688</sup> See Meyer, 'Marktzutritt', p. 157.

<sup>689</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 157-8.

<sup>690</sup> Anonymus, 'Fünf Jahre *taz*: zur medienpolitischen Funktion und Konzeption der *taz*', *taz* intern 79-84, *taz*-archive.

<sup>691</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>692</sup> See 'Vier Thesen zum Inhalt der *taz*', *taz*-archive.

<sup>693</sup> See *ibid.*

With the regionalisation of the *taz*, and its opening up to a wider readership, the paper and, with it, the local weekly and monthly 'alternative' press were also acknowledged by the 'established' press. In March 1981, the *Spiegel* journalist Jörg Mettke wrote an article called '*Milli Tanz & Anna Schie*' in which he depicted the 'alternative' press's scene.<sup>694</sup> The title alludes to an article published in the *taz* in which two journalists - a certain *Milli Tanz* and *Anna Schie* - were stated as being the authors responsible. Both names are fictitious and, taken together, onomatopoeically represent the German words for militancy and anarchy respectively. While the *Spiegel* article's headline reflected an already widely established perception of the 'alternative' press, it also illuminated a change in attitude towards the 'alternative' media:

'The extra-parliamentary opposition has failed to expropriate Springer but within one decade it has established a close network of self-made media [...] this communication chain is easily reaching all the way into smaller communities.'<sup>695</sup>

In the *Zeit*, Klaus Pokatzky wrote in an appreciatory tone about the 'alternative' press in 1982, describing its approach and internal organisation.

'Altogether 439 newspapers and journals are listed on the Great List of Alternative Papers. Most of these media have been founded in recent years and reach a circulation of between 500 and 3,000 copies [...]. If you add the widely circulated papers [...] the alternative press reaches a monthly circulation of 1.6 million. Most of these papers are only published locally at the place of publication.'<sup>696</sup>

*Spiegel* published a lengthy article in 1983 introducing the *taz* to its readers as

'[...] one of the most stimulating newspapers in the Federal Republic, surely the most unusual in this country. It protocols everything going on and being thought in the scene sometimes meticulously, sometimes polemically, sometimes humorously [...] The ideological spectrum goes from green to red [...] *taz* is a press product which has never existed before on the left or on the right. Middle class readers might be shocked by it as well as traditional Marxists [...] However, the newspaper is only seemingly without a direction [...].

---

<sup>694</sup> See J. Mettke, '"Verantwortlich: Milli Tanz & Anna Schie"', *Der Spiegel*, 23 Mar. 1981, pp. 43-59.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid.

<sup>696</sup> See K. Pokatzky, 'Hinterwäldler und Plärrer: Monatlich 1,6 Millionen Exemplare kommen aus der Alternativpresse', *Die Zeit*, 20 Aug. 1982, p. 38.



The leftist pluralism is wanted it has been at the core of *taz*'s outlook since the very beginning.<sup>697</sup>

This example shows that, in the early 1980s, the *taz* was indeed recognised by the 'established' media. A *taz* article examining the paper's situation argued that the *taz* had experienced an increase in attention from different sides in a way that no other newspaper had before. 'Ministers with bodyguards visit us and ask for an interview, squatters occupy us and we ask them for interviews, prosecutors clean our desks.'<sup>698</sup> In fact, the *taz* had become the main link between the 'mainstream' culture and alternative milieu while at the same time propelling the opening up of the left to larger parts of society and protagonists of the left-liberal scene. 'We are', the article concluded, 'recognised and appreciated everywhere.'<sup>699</sup> Today it belongs to the lead media of the FRG, provocatively presenting leftist positions and has been labelled 'a paper tiger with real teeth':

'While pack journalism may describe much of the world's press, there is one daily, based in Berlin that can only be described as a lone wolf. The paper *Die Tageszeitung*, is the most unusual daily in West Germany, if not in the Western world. Its politics are radical-leftist in style as a throwback to the underground press of the 60s and its stormy history has seen more ups and downs than Chuck Yeager.'<sup>700</sup>

The foundation of the *taz* reflected a process of nationalisation of the local and regional 'alternative' press. The re-regionalisation of the *taz* helped to maintain the strong regional and local focus of the 'alternative' press and calls for decentralisation. In this way, it adapted to the very information deficits in the local and regional segments that the 'alternative' press had perceived. The *taz* was thus an alternative, decentralised project designed as a supra-regional paper of the regional initiatives. Rooted in the region, it represented the various regional issues and views at a supra-regional level. The professionalisation of the *taz* and the opening up to a larger readership led to the end of the 'counter public' and the *taz*

---

<sup>697</sup> "'taz": Hörrohr in die Bewegung: Aufstieg und Gefährdung der linksalternativen "tageszeitung"', *Der Spiegel*, 4 Apr. 1983, pp. 86-100.

<sup>698</sup> Quoted from Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 188.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>700</sup> J. Cohen, 'West Germany's Taz: a paper tiger with real teeth', *Chicago Weekly*, May 1986, English Articles, *taz*-archive.

was acknowledged as a serious contribution to the media landscape by the 'established' press.

### New Regional Strategies in the Daily Press

The implementation of new regional strategies of several supra-regional daily newspapers in order to strengthen their local profile and introduce regional editions also characterised the decade. It has been shown above that the press concentration mainly affected the local and regional press, opening up space for renewal. Additionally, the region became a central factor in the debates over press pluralism. As shown in the second chapter, the West German daily press has always entertained a strong local focus, ever since its very beginnings.<sup>701</sup>

Throughout the 1960s and long 1970s, several publishing houses strengthened their local and regional profile. This was especially noticeable in North Rhine-Westphalia where the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) Company* became the undisputed leader of the press market and West Germany's largest regional press company. The WAZ was licensed by the British military government in 1948 and had its main circulation in the cities of Essen and Bochum. During the process of press concentration, the company became one of the largest press companies in the FRG with a particularly local focus. As early as 1954, it had already taken over the *Essener Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Kettwiger Zeitung* as well as the *Hörder Volksblatt*. In 1960, the *Annener Zeitung* followed and, in 1963, the *Westdeutsche Tageblatt*. A new concentration process was triggered by the first economic crisis in 1966/67. As a result, the WAZ Company took over the *Duisburger Regionalanzeiger*, the *Generalanzeiger für Groß-Oberhausen*, the *Herner Zeitung*, the *Wanne-Eickler-Zeitung* in 1966, and the *Ruhrwacht Oberhausen* as well as the edition of the *Westfälische Rundschau* for Recklinghausen in 1967.<sup>702</sup> With its

---

<sup>701</sup> The Western Allies established the daily press as a local and regional press as a precondition for newspaper plurality, see chapter II.

<sup>702</sup> See H. Janke, 'Riese im Revier. Die "Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung"', in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 45-62: p. 51.

subsequent takeover of the *Westfälische Rundschau* (Dortmund, affiliated with the SPD) and the *Neue-Ruhr-Zeitung* (Essen, affiliated with the SPD) and the *Westfalenpost* (Hagen, affiliated with the CDU), the *WAZ* came to dominate its three previous competitors with differing political profiles in the field of the regional newspapers.<sup>703</sup> The *WAZ* maintained its position as the most successful paper in the local market segment, reaching a circulation of 700,000 in 1980.<sup>704</sup>

The success of the *WAZ Company* and its undisputed role as market leader in NRW resembles a trend towards a more regionally oriented outlook of the West German press in the long 1970s thereby strengthening a tendency which was already characteristic of the German press. The overwhelming majority of the newspapers had their markets in the local or regional realm. From its very beginnings, the *WAZ* followed a strategy of regional expansion, as its editor-in-chief Siegfried Maruhn stated in 1980:

‘Of course we are clearly a regional newspaper which is not popular nationally. That was a decision of the publishing company 25 years ago. The *WAZ* never attempted to establish itself on a supra-regional level as other papers did.’<sup>705</sup>

Given the success of these regional publishing houses and the effects of the press concentration in this realm, several supra-regional dailies now followed a strategy of regionalisation. The Springer tabloid, the *Bild*, is one of the most striking examples of this process. In 1968, Springer had already established a regional edition of the *Bild* in Munich to add to the regional editions in Hamburg (1953) and Berlin (1957).<sup>706</sup> Since the mid-1970s, regional editions in Aachen (1975), Hannover (1975), Bremen (1975), Duesseldorf (1977), Frankfurt (1978), and Stuttgart (1979) followed. In the years to come, a further edition was introduced for Kiel/Schleswig Holstein (1983/84). Throughout the years of the Bonn Republic only *Bild* Cologne was introduced as an additional regional edition in 1988. In many of these cities, two regional newspapers had merged,

---

<sup>703</sup> See Schütz, 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse', p. 119.

<sup>704</sup> See Janke, 'Riese', p. 53.

<sup>705</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>706</sup> BILD-Chronik, <http://www.axelspringer.de/dl/25552/chronik.pdf>, accessed 25 May 2015.

among them Hannover where the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Hannoversche Presse* had merged in 1975, Bremen where the *Weser-Kurier* and *Bremer Nachrichten* merged in 1976, and Aachen, where the *Aachener Nachrichten* and the *Aachener Volkszeitung* were subsumed under the same company. In addition, a number of editions were introduced between 1972 and 1975 with a strong focus on regional advertising markets in the state of NRW.

In 1972 Springer built a printing house in the city of Essen which enabled him to introduce further regional editions to several smaller markets.<sup>707</sup> Since the 1960s, Springer had attempted to enter regional advertising markets and introduced new editions (*Bundesteilausgaben*). This was the case with the editions introduced in 1966 for Essen Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich, and Hannover. In the same year regional advertisements were also included in the Hamburg edition.<sup>708</sup> Most of these regional editions were founded in cities where a local football club played in the German premier league, the *Bundesliga*, which was founded in 1962/63. The *Bild* made reporting on football central to its sport sections, which fuelled circulation figures.<sup>709</sup> The introduction of these regional editions led to significant increases in the circulation of the *Bild*. While its circulation dropped from 3,977.115 in 1968 to 3,387.173 in 1971, it soon experienced a growing demand after the foundation of new regional editions in 1972, with growth rates of more than 10%, reaching a circulation of 4,458.129 in 1976 at the peak of press concentration.<sup>710</sup>

---

<sup>707</sup> See Arnim, *Unternehmer*, p. 402.

<sup>708</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>709</sup> In 1975 e.g., clubs from Munich, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Duesseldorf, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Köln as well as several clubs from NRW (Mönchengladbach, Gelsenkirchen, Bochum, Essen, Duisburg, Wuppertal) played in the *Bundesliga*.

<sup>710</sup> See circulation of *Bild*, Appendix Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

## Introduction of Regional Editions of the Bild 1952-1989<sup>711</sup>

9 Jul. 1952 Edition North, Edition West  
18 Jul. 1952 Rhine-Main edition, Hamburg edition  
11 Apr. 1953 combination of editions: the only remaining were the Hamburg edition and the Rhein-Main edition  
4 Jun. 1954 Rhine-Main edition is renamed in national edition  
14 Oct. 1957 *BILD*-Berlin ("Berlin edition")  
1 Jan. 1966 Editions (*Bundesteilausgabe*): Hamburg, Hannover, Essen, Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich  
1 Apr. 1968 *BILD* Munich  
1 Sept. 1969 *BILD* Munich (with paid advertisements)  
1 Jul. 1972 Regional edition (RE) Duesseldorf  
1 Jul. 1972 RE Frankfurt  
1 Jul. 1972 RE Cologne  
1 Jul. 1972 RE Ruhr  
1 Jul. 1972 RE Stuttgart  
1 Oct. 1972 RE Nuremberg  
1 Apr. 1974 RE Bielefeld  
1 Apr. 1974 RE Muenster  
1 Apr. 1974 RE South-Westphalia  
1 Oct. 1975 RE Aachen (*BILD* Aachen until 31 May 1983)  
1 Oct. 1975 RE Bergisches Land  
1 Oct. 1975 RE Ruhr-East  
1 Oct. 1975 RE Ruhr-West  
10 Feb. 1975 *BILD* Hannover  
29 Sept. 1975 *BILD* Bremen (local edition)  
01 Oct. 1977 RE Lower Rhine (on 1 Jan. 1999 it merged with the RE South-Westphalia)  
01 Oct. 1977 *BILD* Duesseldorf  
17 Apr. 1978 *BILD* Frankfurt  
11 Jun. 1979 *BILD* Stuttgart  
07 Dec. 1983 *BILD* Kiel (until 30 Sept. 1984)  
01 Oct. 1984 *BILD* Schleswig-Holstein  
11 Apr. 1988 *BILD* Cologne  
11 Jul. 1989 RE Mainz/Wiesbaden

---

<sup>711</sup> The data were provided by the *Springer Publishing Company* and have to be interpreted carefully. Due to the private ownership of the Springer press and limited access to the Springer archive, it is not clear which of these editions were 'full' regional editions (including regional news) and which of them only included regional advertisements. Several of the regional editions are not centrally archived while others are not accessible in public archives. Information about the first appearance and development of the regional editions, provided by the *Springer Publishing Company*, varies from the data in the in the leading data base on the German press, the *zdb* ([www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de](http://www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de)) and the data provided by the *IVW*. One can say with certainty that those editions which are named '*Bild*-' (e.g. *Bild*-Munich) were full regional editions including regional news.

The regionalisation of the *Welt* (Springer's second supra-regional daily), in contrast, did not reach the same scale. In 1961, editions for Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein were introduced as well as for Berlin, Lower Saxony, and an edition for West and South Germany. In 1966, a new edition for the northern and southern part of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein was founded as well as new editions for Hamburg, East Frisia, and the northern parts of Schleswig-Holstein. A further edition for NRW was established (covering the regions of Aachen, Cologne, Duesseldorf, and Essen) and a new edition for Berlin. In 1975 a regional section was also introduced for Bonn.

Regionalisation strategies of the supra-regional daily newspapers can also be identified, for example, at the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* based in Munich. In May 1977, one year after the peak of press concentration in 1976, the *SZ* established seven regional editions in Bavaria and provided seven districts around Munich with regional editions, these being Freising, Erding, Ebersberg, Bad Tölz-Wolfratshausen, Starnberg, Fürstfeldbruck, and Dachau. According to the *SZ*, the introduction of regional editions was a reaction to the growing demand for information and growing importance attributed to the local press.<sup>712</sup> These papers played a key role in the growing circulation of the *SZ*. Within each of the seven districts, the *SZ* maintained an editorial department and a local office and aimed at catering for the growing importance of quality local journalism which formed part of the core market strategy.<sup>713</sup> The regional offices produced between four and eight pages with local news and an events calendar. At its core, the *SZ* thus remained a regionally focused paper. In 1980, 50% of its readers lived in Munich and the surrounding municipalities.<sup>714</sup> Hans Heigert, the editor-in-chief of the *SZ* explained the regionalisation of the *SZ* and also identified a communication deficit within the local realm. He therefore called for a change in the focus of German newspapers, a 'return to the city'. In other words, the local and regional urban

---

<sup>712</sup> See Anonymus, 'Die *SZ* zieht Kreise', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 May 1977, p. 1.

<sup>713</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>714</sup> See A. Dürr, 'Weltblatt und Heimatzeitung: Die „Süddeutsche Zeitung“, in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), p. 79.

areas were where he saw the greatest potential for the newspaper's future. He focused on the cultural characteristics of urban societies, such as the search for identity experienced by the inhabitants of cities and the peculiar problems of city life and asked the newspapers to set up an agency which would tackle such concerns.<sup>715</sup> The regionalisation of the *Bild* and *SZ* illuminates the market transformation which took place in the long 1970s. Regionalisation did not occur in areas where press concentration peaked but rather in those where there were few 'one-paper districts' and which were densely populated thus offering the potential for high circulation figures and a demand for new regional press products. At the peak of press concentration, one *Land* in particular had the smallest numbers of 'one-paper districts': In 1976, only 1.8% of all districts in NRW were 'one-paper districts', but 52.9% of the districts in Bavaria (the highest number of all *Länder* at the time).<sup>716</sup> In the districts where new editions of the *SZ* were introduced, the *Münchener Merkur* had, until then, held a regional monopoly. However, the suburban area of Munich was densely populated and thus granted great profitability. The regionalisation of the *SZ* has further to be seen against the Springer press's attempt to enter the regional market in Munich. Springer bought 24.9% of the *Münchener Zeitungsverlag*, publishing the *Münchener Merkur*. With the introduction of regional editions, the *SZ* had the most comprehensive regional reporting in the FRG. In 1981, it sold more than half of its circulation in Munich.<sup>717</sup>

The smaller papers with a local outlook - sometimes limited to city districts - which vanished in the course of press concentration, were not replaced. This development has to be seen within the context of the territorial reform and rise of larger administrative entities as it fuelled the market transformation towards larger reporting areas. While it could be

---

<sup>715</sup> See M.W. Thomas, 'So wie es ist, so wird es nicht bleiben: Perspektiven für die 80er Jahre', in id. (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 7-36: 10.

<sup>716</sup> See Schütz, 'Zeitungsdichte', p. 63.

<sup>717</sup> See P.E. Dorsch and O.B. Roegele, 'Zeitungswettbewerb in der Region München: Eine empirische Untersuchung', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985)* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 151-72.

shown that the territorial reform did not accelerate press concentration in the local realm, the regionalisation of the press corresponded to the transformation of administrative entities.<sup>718</sup> With respect to the press, the opportunities to report on politics were shifted from the local to the regional realm and greater administrative entities. In 1977, a study commissioned by the Press Office highlighted this transformation:

‘Not the local newspaper but the regional newspaper can be seen as typical of the structure of the West German daily press [...] the borough as a political system and societal communication system is largely not considered by the daily media.’<sup>719</sup>

With the regionalisation of the daily newspapers, a core characteristic of the West German press was strengthened. Ever since the establishment of a democratic press in the Western zones it had particularly focused on the regional realm. This is not only evidenced by the very names of several media like the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* meaning ‘Southern German Newspaper’, but also the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* which clearly both focus strongly on the Frankfurt region.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, for example, introduced regional sections to its paper as early as November 1949. In September 1953, these pages were renamed the *Zeitung für Frankfurt*, serving as a predecessor for the *Rhein-Main-Zeitung* established in 1988.<sup>720</sup> In its outlook, the paper was a regional edition which was presented as a supplement to the supra-regional *FAZ* in the Frankfurt area. In 1980, Erich Helmensdorfer, the editor-in-chief of the *Zeitung für Frankfurt*, highlighted the regional edition’s role as the second pillar of the company.<sup>721</sup> He also claimed that ‘the depiction of all those districts and the events in the communities and places around Frankfurt are particularly popular [...]’.<sup>722</sup>

---

<sup>718</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>719</sup> P.E. Dorsch, ‘Zur Lage der lokalen Pressemedien unterhalb der traditionellen Lokalzeitung’, in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974-1978)* (Bonn, 1977), pp. 167-77.

<sup>720</sup> Information provided by the Media Service of the *FAZ*.

<sup>721</sup> See R.M. Korda, ‘Für Bürgertum und Business: Die “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”’, in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 81-96: 95.

<sup>722</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*



The regional outlook was central to the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, too, which is regarded as a supra-regional daily newspaper despite maintaining a strong focus on Frankfurt and providing local sections. A number of regional editions were founded in 1969 and replaced by an East-South version, and a West-North version in 1971. In 1972, a regional edition for the Höchst-Taunus district<sup>723</sup> was established and existed until 1974, and in 1976, the existing regional and local editions were further diversified into an eastern version<sup>724</sup> and a southern version.<sup>725</sup> In 1976, four regional editions of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* were published.<sup>726</sup> Between 1976 and 1979, the circulation of the *FR* grew from 167,093 to 183,336 alone.<sup>727</sup>

Throughout the 1970s, the reach of the local sections of the press considerably increased and it was by far the most popular section of the newspapers. Between 1970 and 1980, the reach of the local sections increased from 55% in 1970 and 61% in 1974 to 63% in 1980, remaining at this percentage even in 1985.<sup>728</sup> The reach of the local section of the West German daily press even exceeded the reach of the political section (49% in 1970, 54% in 1974, and 57% in 1980).<sup>729</sup> Regionalisation, therefore, helped to strengthen the circulation of West Germany's supra-regional dailies in the 1970s.<sup>730</sup> Statistically, regionalisation led to growing numbers of newspaper editions, as between 1976 and 1983, numbers increased from 1229 to 1255.<sup>731</sup>

---

<sup>723</sup> Dates quoted from [www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de](http://www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>724</sup> City districts Altstadt, Innenstadt, Nordend, Bornheim, Ostend, Seckbach, Riederwald, Fechenheim, Bergen-Enkheim.

<sup>725</sup> City districts Sachsenhausen, Oberrad, Niederrad, Goldstein und Schwanheim.

<sup>726</sup> See [www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de](http://www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>727</sup> See Appendix: Circulation of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

<sup>728</sup> See K. Berg and M.-L. Kiefer, *Massenkommunikation III: Eine Langzeitstudie zur Mediennutzung und Medienbewertung 1964-1985* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), p. 129; Eid., *Massenkommunikation II: Eine Lanzeitstudie zur Mediennutzung und Medienbewertung 1964-1980* (Frankfurt a.M., 1982), p. 17.

<sup>729</sup> See eid., *Massenkommunikation II*, p. 85.

<sup>730</sup> See Appendix: Circulation of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

<sup>731</sup> See Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte*, p. 777. See also Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

‘How good local journalism should be and how bad the situation is passages like that have been firmly established in comments on the present and future. The discrepancy between reality and the pretention to make the most read section the best one is still remarkable.’<sup>732</sup>  
[*Handbook for Local Journalists, Vol. I 1977*]

The region formed the centre of attention among journalists, scholars of journalism, and the Press Office. The regionalisation of the supra-regional daily press could not conceal the fact that the number of newspapers with an independent main editorial department declined and several cities and municipalities did not witness any renewal. It has been shown above that the number of ‘one-paper districts’ even grew. Several renowned local and regional newspapers were abandoned or merged during the course of the press concentration, as the following examples show: in June 1972 the *Saarbrücker Landeszeitung* was sold to its competitor the *Saarbrücker Zeitung*; in June 1973, the *Regensburger Tagesanzeiger* merged with the *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, and in April 1974 it was decided that the *Fuldaer Zeitung* and *Fuldaer Volkszeitung* would also merge.<sup>733</sup> In Baden-Württemberg, the merging of the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* with the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* led to the end of a third local newspaper, the *Neue Württembergische Zeitung* in July 1974. In Hannover, the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Hannoversche Presse* merged between 1973 and 1975.<sup>734</sup> Further, the *Langener Zeitung* became a local paper without a political section in the same year, the *Bergsträßer Anzeiger* (Bensheim) merged with the *Wetzlarer Neue Zeitung* in November 1975, and the *Norddeutsche Rundschau* merged with the *Schleswig Holsteinische Landeszeitung* in September 1976. In the same year, the *Weser Kurier* and *Bremer Nachrichten* merged. Then in June

---

<sup>732</sup> Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 1* (Munich, 1977/79), p. 3.

<sup>733</sup> See Flottau, ‘Situation’, pp. 24-5.

<sup>734</sup> See Anonymus, ‘Metternich im Revier’, *Der Spiegel*, 3 Nov. 1975, pp. 31-2.

1978, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Holsteiner Nachrichten/Pinneberger Tageblatt* merged with the centralised editorial department of the *Norddeutsche Nachrichten/Bergedorfer Zeitung*.<sup>735</sup>

As a result of this 'dying of newspapers' and the negative implications assumed for political plurality, the quality of reporting, and the provision of information for citizens, a serious debate over local and regional journalism emerged.<sup>736</sup> Media scholars and journalists identified central flaws in local journalism. In 1969, Peter Glotz und Wolfgang R. Langenbucher identified issues of quality in the local and regional sections which were the most widely read and most popular sections among readers in their seminal book (mentioned above) *Der mißachtete Leser*. In their view, the future of the medium-sized and smaller newspapers lay in the regional reporting and they demanded that this focus was to be applied throughout, from the front page to the extensive Saturday issues. Further, they demanded that the local newspapers be protected from becoming the mouthpieces of local officials and called for a more critical approach.<sup>737</sup> Both authors identified considerable deficits in reporting and argued that the journalists were disregarding their readers.

Further, a wave of individual case studies and empirical social research investigating the effects of the local and regional press concentration on the outlook and design of the papers, their critical approach, and the reactions within society to the local concentration emerged.<sup>738</sup> Several of these studies were financed and published by the Press Office.<sup>739</sup> They have to be seen against the background of the widely established belief that the existence of several competing papers would lead to an ideological plurality within the press. This assumption suggests

---

<sup>735</sup> See Overview of mergers in the press between March 1974 and June 1978: Chart B 7, in Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 14.

<sup>736</sup> Schütz, 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse', p. 115.

<sup>737</sup> See Glotz and Langenbucher, *Leser*, pp. 82-105, 118, and 122.

<sup>738</sup> For a systematic overview of the research projects on the local press in the 1970s, see M. Begemann, *Zur politischen Funktion der Lokalpresse: Ein gemischt normativ-empirischer Erklärungsansatz* (Muenster, 1982), pp. 96-197.

<sup>739</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, *Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974)*; Id., *Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974-1978)*; Id., *Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985)*.

that the declining numbers of newspapers and the rise of 'one-paper districts' automatically leads to a deficit of information and, subsequently, a deficit of democracy.<sup>740</sup>

Wolfgang Langenbucher argued in 1975 that the elimination of competition in the local newspaper market leads to a motivation deficit among journalists.<sup>741</sup> In 1976, Manfred Knoche and Norbert Schulz revealed that the size of the local section in areas with and without competition differed significantly. They argued that monopoly papers do not publish names of local politicians and officials in government authorities as often as papers with a local competitor. Furthermore, they showed that monopoly papers do not apply criticism as often as papers with competitors and usually publish non-committal commentaries.<sup>742</sup> In 1980, Josef-P. Benzinger showed that where a local newspaper had no competitors, the quality and quantity of the local section is reduced.<sup>743</sup> Numerous other studies were published by scholars of journalism, all dealing with general criticism of the regional and local press: its uniformity, unbalanced reporting in favour of local associations and local party associations, the fact that the journalists were closely connected to local politicians, and that most regional journalists had insufficient training, were inexperienced and merely informed about rather than critically questioned local events.<sup>744</sup>

On the other hand, other studies argued that the rise of 'one-paper districts' and newspaper monopolies would not have any considerable effect. Among these studies, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's analysis which was commissioned and published by the Press Office, received a great deal of attention. She merely identified a general uneasiness among the

---

<sup>740</sup> See F. Ronneberger and H.-W. Stüber, 'Das Problem der lokalen Alleinanbieterstellung von Tageszeitungen', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 87-94.

<sup>741</sup> See G. Gericke, 'Verlorene Vielfalt: Zur Rolle der Lokalzeitung', in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 37-52: p. 44.

<sup>742</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>743</sup> See J.-P. Benzinger, *Lokalpresse und Macht in der Gemeinde: Publizistische Alleinstellung von Tageszeitungen in lokalen Räumen* (Nuremberg, 1980).

<sup>744</sup> See P. Mross, 'Regionalisierung und Subregionalisierung im Rundfunk und die Rezipientenbedürfnisse', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Hamburg, 1982), p. 11.

population with local press concentration.<sup>745</sup> Noelle-Neumann was accused of doing research for the publishers after she had served as an advisor for the CDU, favouring free-market pluralism in which competition naturally led to the rise of larger press companies and the abandonment of smaller newspapers typically within the local realm.<sup>746</sup>

Noelle-Neumann, was not alone in her criticism of the theory that competition in the field of local and regional newspapers leads to quality improvement and pluralism. In 1979, Dieter Wolz published an analysis on the relations between the press and local authorities in the community.<sup>747</sup> He analysed the local press market in the city of Forchheim where several competing local newspapers existed. While he supported the theory that newspaper competition fuelled the journalist's motivation, he also argued that the existence of several newspapers does not have any effect on plurality and that economic competition as well as dependency on advertisements would lead to strong homogeneity in reporting.

These studies were received by journalists with considerable criticism. They feared that decreasing numbers of work opportunities and a lowering in quality of local reporting would lead to a decline in local and regional journalism. The local press concentration led to debates over the future of the profession and the journalist's contribution to the revitalisation of the local press and local sections within the supra-regional media. Given the importance attributed to the local realm, the first Hamburg Media Days were held in May 1977 and dealt with the future of the press generally and the local and regional press specifically. They were organised by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Hamburger Medientage e.V.*, which served as a forum for debates between publishers, journalists, and politicians. Hans Heigert, the editor-in-chief of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, for

---

<sup>745</sup> See E. Noelle-Neumann, 'Folgen lokaler Zeitungsmonopole: Ergebnisse einer Langzeitstudie', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 79-85; Begemann, *Lokalpresse*, pp. 114-5.

<sup>746</sup> See M. Knoche, 'Kein Freispruch für lokale Monopolzeitungen', *die feder*, 12/1973, pp. 3-8.

<sup>747</sup> See D. Wolz, *Die Presse und die lokalen Mächte: Eine empirische sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchung über Pressekonkurrenz und Herrschaft in der Gemeinde* (Duesseldorf, 1979).

example, argued that the quality of regional journalism needed to be improved, given the new competition with local television stations:

‘If we do not improve the quality of the local section we will face great difficulties in the local area given the rise of new media in this realm. I am afraid that the overall quality of newspapers has improved but that the quality of the local sections has declined. What is being published is a little bit of this and a little bit of that for everybody, but does not deserve to be called local section.’<sup>748</sup>

This quote shows how the new attention paid to the region was also a result of intensifying intra-media competition. Over the course of press concentration, the regional and local spheres increasingly attracted the attention of the broadcasting stations. It was argued that press concentration led to deficits in the local and regional reporting at times when a new interest in political participation was identified. As a reaction, several television stations in the *Länder* began to hone their local and regional orientations. While the broadcasting stations were founded with a supra-regional outlook corresponding to the country’s division into *Länder*, they began to introduce programmes addressing smaller regions within the *Länder*. In 1974, for example, the WDR established *Forum West* thereby following the decentralisation project of the broadcasting stations.<sup>749</sup> Faced with this new inter-media competition in addition to the rise of a local and regional ‘alternative’ press, Georg Mahlein, head of the journalists and printers’ union at *IG Druck und Papier*, stressed the urgent need for improvement in the quality of local and regional journalism:

‘A key aspect is the term regionalisation. In this respect the newspaper has some competitive advantages compared to the other mass media - broadcasting. What radio and television are currently enhancing, the strengthening of regional programmes has ever been the case at the majority of newspapers. That is where the saying comes from “The newspaper’s future is the local realm” [...] The monopoly situation today and even more in the future requires special demands of the regional newspapers. Not only should its focus be on the local and regional reporting, moreover it will have to entertain a greater degree of cooperation with citizens. That the newspapers are failing in this specific aspect is exemplified by the dissatisfaction of large parts of the West Germans with “their newspaper”. [...] I would dare to say that the citizen initiatives and other

---

<sup>748</sup> Quoted from Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Zukunft*, p. 83.

<sup>749</sup> See L. Flamm, *Westfalen und der Westdeutsche Rundfunk: Eine Rundfunkhistorische Studie zur Regionalisierung* (Cologne, 1993), p. 261 ff.

forms of extra parliamentary and informal opposition are rooted in the fact that their concerns are not represented by the newspaper in an appropriate way. [...] It is not without reason that alternative papers and city district papers emerge.<sup>750</sup>

Mahlein directly referred to the 'success' of the 'alternative' press and the dynamic renewal of the press on the left, which triggered considerable attention among journalists. Werner Herminghaus, former journalist of *Rheinische Post* and *Associated Press* argued that the 'city papers' were not an alternative to the existing local press but instead offered a new approach to local journalism:

[...] even if one assumes that there are some muddled heads among the editors and journalists of these 3,000 print products whose views remain better unpublished, one has to state that - God knows why - the "classic daily newspaper" with a regional section does not deal with the problems of the readers on a local basis.<sup>751</sup>

While Herminghaus's claim that there were 3,000 'alternative' papers is far too exaggerated, his statement reflects the fact that 'established' journalists recognised that the 'alternative' press had identified key topics which were marginalised in the main press. At the Hamburg Media Days in 1981, after the 'alternative' press had professionalised and the *taz* had been founded in 1978/79, the contribution of the 'alternative' press was again debated. SPD media politician, Freimut Duve, described it as a product of the criticism of the journalistic profession and argued that the

'phenomenon alternative city papers and papers of citizen initiatives of all kind not only in the larger cities such as Berlin and Hamburg but also in the smallest communities and quarters are a phenomenon to which not enough attention is paid. Ten thousand citizens who are not professional journalists organise this press, this counter-press. Their existence should really give everyone in the industry food for thought.'<sup>752</sup>

The debate over the weaknesses and flaws of local and regional journalism were paralleled by different measures taken by the Press Office in cooperation with the regional press. The question of the quality assess-

---

<sup>750</sup> Quoted from Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Zukunft*, pp. 88-9.

<sup>751</sup> W. Herminghaus, 'Stadtteilzeitungen Keine Alternative, aber ein Ansatz zu einem neuen Lokaljournalismus', *Media Perspektiven*, 8/80, pp. 558-60.

<sup>752</sup> F. Duve contribution to the Hamburg Media Days: Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Journalisten*, pp. 168-70: 170.

ment of the local press also attracted considerable attention at the *German Federal Agency for Political Education (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, BPB)*. The BPB was founded in 1952 and serves as a cross-party organisation fostering political education and deepening the understanding of political content in order to promote the democratic conscience and willingness to participate in the political process. Several research projects on press concentration were initiated by BPB. The Press Office commissioned the Consortium of Communication Research (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kommunikationsforschung*) to investigate communal journalism.<sup>753</sup> A project team based in local journalism was formed and the investigation came to the conclusion that

‘[...] against a background of a growing importance of local communication, a consensual conviction has established that the core domain of the daily newspaper and its competition with other media, is local communication.’<sup>754</sup>

The consortium highlighted the need for high-quality local journalism, identifying the local sections of the paper as the most read pages, and called for improvements in the training of local journalists which was seen as a central selling point for the press in the intra-media competition.<sup>755</sup>

Glötz and Langenbucher approached the BPB and asked them for their intervention and professional quality management whereupon the BPB reacted to the criticisms made of local and regional reporting by appointing Dieter Golombek, to found a programme for local journalists in 1975. Initially the programme primarily targeted journalists of the daily newspapers. Regular seminars were established two to three times a year where usually up to 40 local journalists would discuss their work. In addition, the journal *drehscheibe* meaning ‘hub’ was established in 1981.<sup>756</sup> This journal, published regularly, included selected articles from the local newspapers thereby providing practical examples of high quality

---

<sup>753</sup> See e.g. Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Journalismus und kommunale Öffentlichkeit* (Munich, 1979).

<sup>754</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>755</sup> See Meyn, ‘Lokalpresse’, p. 40.

<sup>756</sup> Today the journal is published online: [www.drehscheibe.org](http://www.drehscheibe.org), accessed 25 May 2015.



journalism.<sup>757</sup> To date, the local journalism programme is the only training and education programme specifically addressing local journalists.

Most notably, however, a handbook for local journalism was established in 1977 and 1978.<sup>758</sup> The handbook was published by the project team established over the course of the BPB programme which focused on local journalism and served as a guideline for what was considered high quality journalism in the local realm. The programme members consisted of journalists, scholars of communication science, and journalists from local and regional newspapers.<sup>759</sup>

The three-volume handbook included practical guidance to the range of topics of national and local events to be addressed. The first compendium identified and described the core issues of local journalism, among them the local and regional working world and, in particular, highlighted guest workers, the health care system, churches, local and regional politics, crime, schools, consumer affairs, local clubs and local elections.<sup>760</sup> The second compendium dealt with the question of overall outlook, target groups, the acquisition of new topics and fields of reporting, and ways to attract readers. Further, Bonn topics meaning national politics and the linkage to the local realm, were tackled in addition to citizen initiatives, rural culture areas, the organisation of editorial departments, legal aspects, urban planning, environmentalism, and newspaper design. The individual sections had an introduction and description of the most relevant aspects, suggestions for research, and even examples of possible topics for articles. In addition, each of the different sections had

---

<sup>757</sup> See L. Feierabend, 'Die Emanzipation des Lokalen: Das Lokaljournalistenprogramm der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung - eine Erfolgsgeschichte', in H. Pöttker and A. Vehmeier (eds.), *Das verkannte Ressort: Probleme und Perspektiven des Lokaljournalismus* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 115-27.

<sup>758</sup> Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Handbuch Teil 1*; Id. (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 2* (Munich, 1978/80); Id. (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 3* (Munich, 1979).

<sup>759</sup> The members of the Board of Editors in 1977 included Helmut Glofke (*Südkurier*/Konstanz), Dieter Golombek (BPB/Bonn) Rudolf Huber (University of Munich), Curt Kallwitz, (*WAZ/Velberter Zeitung*/Velbert), Walter E. Keller (*Treuchtlinger Kurier*/Treuchtlingen), Wolfgang R. Langenbucher (University of Munich), Gerhard Merk (*Abendzeitung*/Munich), Gustav Moré (*Südwestpresse*/Ulm), Klaus Rein, (*Allgemeine Zeitung*/Mainz), Hans-Joachim Schlüter (*Stuttgarter Nachrichten*/Stuttgart). All of the board members had participated in the model seminars of the BPB and had together developed the idea to establish the handbook.

<sup>760</sup> See Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Handbuch Teil 1*, p. 5.

an abridged bibliography for further research. A third issue then provided advice on how to conduct interviews and build up an archive, and published the journalistic guidelines of the Press Council as well as giving advice on the different journalistic genres, including an address directory listing the addresses of all relevant government agencies and the different courts.<sup>761</sup>

The handbook's stated aim was to improve the overall quality of journalism in local editorial departments where a 'fortuitous nature determined the choice of topics'. It also revealed that many articles were written without sufficient prior research. In addition, journalists were encouraged to take up new topics which 'were lying idle'.<sup>762</sup> The handbook, therefore, gave detailed advice on how to establish archives with a particular focus on selected core issues.<sup>763</sup> The role of the local press as a critical control organ of local regional politics was highlighted in particular. It was stated that

'the times of silent yet praised town hall politics and cosy compromises seem to be over. Political mistakes are highlighted, conflicts are presented more openly, alternatives are provided, and the citizens themselves participate in local politics.'<sup>764</sup>

The compendium, therefore, came to the conclusion that there had been a change in the concept of democracy which the regional press had to adapt to. The authors further directly referred to the above-mentioned territorial reform which had a lasting effect on the local and regional press because the sphere of action was transformed where local papers became regional papers, and, in reverse, regional papers became local ones. In this context, the regional press's role in democratic culture was highlighted because in many of the communities which were incorporated into larger administrative units, the distance between politics and citizens was widened as, for example, where several smaller communities no longer had a mayor or representative. The local press was to fill these

---

<sup>761</sup> See Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Handbuch Teil 1*, p. 5.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>763</sup> See ibid., p. 5.

<sup>764</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

voids left by the territorial reform and prevent these communities from becoming 'forgotten villages'.<sup>765</sup>

A second major renewal demanded by the authors of the handbook was the call for a stronger consideration of citizen initiatives because they 'need the press as a platform for the dispersion of their ideas'. When commenting that journalists were to apply the same objectivity when reporting about citizens' initiatives as when reporting on local politics, the authors demanded that these movements be considered because they were part of a broader critique of the 'old-boy networks' of politics and a more critical public. Additionally, the handbook argued that the citizens' initiatives often included members of the newspaper's most significant target group, the educated middle-class aged between 25 and 40.<sup>766</sup>

The new role attributed to high-quality local journalism and the codification of quality standards was further underlined by the establishment of an annual prize for local journalism in 1980 by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in cooperation with the BPB. In 1980, 143 journalists and teams participated in the competition.<sup>767</sup> The award-winning articles were published and commented on by a jury. The various measures taken to improve the quality of local journalism highlighted a growing sensitivity towards the role of the local and regional press. These measures taken by the government and the BPB in reaction to press concentration have to be seen as an attempt to cushion its social and political implications and the transformation of the press in the long 1970s. Moreover, this invitation to consider the topics raised by the 'alternative' press points to the central significance attributed to its role as an arena for discourse between the different societal and political currents.

The effects of the quality assessment of local and regional journalism cannot effectively be measured. However, in 1981, Hermann Meyn analysed the local newspapers, the *Buxtehuder Tageblatt*, *Velberter Zeitung*, and the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* in an exemplary fashion and

---

<sup>765</sup> See Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Handbuch Teil 2*, p. 132.

<sup>766</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>767</sup> Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, *Lokaljournalismus '81: Lokaljournalistenpreis der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* (Limburg, 1982).

identified a 'turnaround within local journalism' towards a greater criticality and distance from regional politics.<sup>768</sup>

### Summary

It has been shown that it is misleading to assume that the regional and local press markets in the 1970s were only characterized by an increase in local 'one-paper districts' as suggested by the concentration approach. This chapter has thus provided another comprehensive correction to the argument of the concentration approach and has illustrated that the region became the focal point for the transformation of West Germany's daily press in the long 1970s.

The founding of the *taz* marked the 'accession' of the 'alternative' press to the West German media ensemble. Numerous local and regional initiatives contributed to its foundation and the introduction of regional editions for Berlin in 1980 and Hamburg in 1981 contributed to the success of the paper. It has been shown here how it sparked interest and even a certain fascination among 'established' journalists, who encouraged the press to consider the numerous local and regional citizens' initiatives and new social movements more carefully. The region also became the central focal point for the transformation of the 'established' supra-regional daily press. As regards the *Bild* and *SZ* among others, it has been shown that new regional editions were introduced in densely populated areas, just as was the case for the *taz*. At the same time, the regionalisation of the supra-regional daily press led to growing circulation figures. Furthermore, the assessment of the quality of local journalism, educational programmes, and handbooks were a reaction to the assumed negative effects of press concentration and the rise of monopolies. They contributed to a growing sensitivity towards the central role of the press in the political opinion-making process.

---

<sup>768</sup> H. Meyn, 'Wird die Lokalpresse munterer? Tendenzen am Ausgang der 70er Jahre', in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 37-44: p. 40.

## VI. The Press as Partial Political Lead Medium

Following the preceding chapters' findings - the transformation of the West German press through processes of concentration, pluralisation, and the rise of new concepts of press pluralism - the question of the significance of the press in the long 1970s arises. The history of the West German media is often portrayed as a linear historical narrative of certain leading media or even a sequence of substitution of one leading media for another.<sup>769</sup> The 1970s are said to embody the 'age of television', a view which suggests that the press played an increasingly marginalised role.<sup>770</sup> Radio had already been pushed to a position on the fringes in the 1960s and arguably did not have the same impact on the formation of public opinion as did television and the press.<sup>771</sup> Further, there is, to date, very little understanding of the significance of the transformations of the press in terms of its concentration and pluralisation. This chapter addresses these issues and seeks to explore the role of the press in the West German media ensemble in the long 1970s.

Initially, the term 'lead medium' as a tool of analysis and often misguided assumption of the characteristics of the media is analysed and structural and organisational differences between the press and television are illuminated. Further, the chapter particularly focuses on the role of the press in regional protests, and the 'alternative' press's role in paving the way for the Green movement. Additionally, press-government relations are considered since these were peculiar in the long 1970s. Willy Brandt was a trained journalist, and Helmut Schmidt became editor of the weekly *Zeit* after his chancellorship in 1983. Both entertained especially

---

<sup>769</sup> See A. Fickers, 'The Emergence of Television as a Conservative Media Revolution: Historicising a Process of Remediation in the Post-War Western European Mass Media Ensemble', *Journal of Modern European History*, 10/1 (2012), pp. 49-75: 50; Schildt, 'Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien'.

<sup>770</sup> K. Dussel, 'Vom Radio- zum Fernsehzeitalter: Medienumbrüche in sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive', in A. Schildt (ed.), *Dynamische Zeiten* (Hamburg, 2000), pp. 673-94; Schildt, 'Massenmedien im Umbruch', p. 642.

<sup>771</sup> See I. Marszolek and A.v. Saldern, 'Mediale Durchdringung des deutschen Alltags: Radio in drei politischen Systemen (1930er bis 1960er Jahre)', in A. Schildt and U. Daniel (eds.), *Massenmedien im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 2010), pp. 84-120: 114.

close relationships with leading left-liberal journalists. The chapter, therefore, enquires into the prestige of the press and the 'printed word' vis-à-vis television. It will be shown that the press was able to reaffirm its role as a partial political lead medium in the 'era of television'.

#### The Question of Lead Media and the Distinguishing Characteristics of the Press

The term 'lead medium' is rather vague. With regard to the press, Wilke argues that lead media are said to have a wide range of distribution, high circulation figures, target the political elite, and are used by journalists as a source of information. Further, they have a political intention and aim to be exclusive in their reporting.<sup>772</sup> Kepplinger identifies three main categories which determine a lead medium. According to him, lead media target political elites, journalists, and the overwhelming mass population including those who do not belong to the former two groups mentioned.<sup>773</sup> With respect to the press, Anglo-American scholars have coined the terms 'prestige papers' and 'quality papers' which, in contrast to the popular press, did not address the broad masses but the political and economic elites.<sup>774</sup> These definitions are often applied by the papers themselves. The *Zeit* for example understands itself as a 'German world paper' (*Deutsches Weltblatt*). In 1974, the *FAZ* published a brochure on the history of the paper in which it described itself as an 'internationally renowned lead medium'.<sup>775</sup>

With respect to the long 1970s, these definitions seem to be rather imprecise. It was the criticism against the 'established' press which led to the rise of new conservative weeklies and the 'alternative' press. The new social movements developed their own 'lead media', resulting in the rise of numerous weekly and monthly 'alternative' journals and the founding

---

<sup>772</sup> See J. Wilke, 'Leitmedien und Zielgruppenorgane', in id. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 302-29.

<sup>773</sup> See H.M. Kepplinger, *Ereignismanagement: Wirklichkeit und Massenmedien* (Zurich, 1992), p. 33.

<sup>774</sup> See K. Koszyk and K.H. Pruys, *Wörterbuch zur Publizistik* (Munich, 1970), p. 380.

<sup>775</sup> *FAZ, Alles über die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, p. 3.

of the *taz* which was an offshoot of several smaller papers. Additionally, the rise of conservative papers was central to intellectual discourses over the future of conservatism which was considered marginalised within the press.<sup>776</sup> In order to grasp the significance of the press and analyse its role as a 'lead medium' it is worthwhile including more factors, such as the views on television and the press, the organisational differences between the two systems, their very own characteristics, and differences in the media usage.

When comparing television and the press, some central characteristics can be identified: With respect to media consumption, television was by far the most consumed medium. The depiction of the 1970s as an 'era of television' is based on the high consumption of television by the Germans. Between 1970 and 1980, the average time spent watching television increased from 113 to 125 minutes while the average time spent listening to the radio increased from 73 to 135 minutes. The time spent reading newspapers grew from 35 minutes in 1970 to 38 minutes in 1974 and remained at this level until 1980.<sup>777</sup> These usage figures, however, refer to the daily newspapers excluding political weeklies and monthlies. In addition, the figures for television and radio include entertainment shows and music programmes.

Central differences can be identified with regard to the time of day television and the press are consumed. The newspaper, in particular, was a morning medium while television was more an evening one. In 1980, the peak of the consumption of newspapers was between 7 and 10 a.m. The West Germans only began to watch television to any substantial extent in the evening - the peak was between 7.30 and 10.00 p.m.<sup>778</sup> The newspaper was read in the morning by politicians and journalists and contributed to the setting of the daily agenda. Its central role is also evidenced by its reach; here only marginal differences can be identified between television and newspapers. Ever since the mid-1970s,

---

<sup>776</sup> See chapter IV.

<sup>777</sup> See R. Schulz, 'Nutzung von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften' in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 401-26: 409.

<sup>778</sup> See Berg and Kiefer, *Massenkommunikation II*, pp. 60-1.

the reach of television has experienced extensive growth. In 1964 television reached 47% of the West German population, in 1970, 72%; in 1974, 78%, and in 1980, 77%. The reach of the daily press grew slightly from 69% in 1964 to 70% in 1970, to 73% in 1974 and then to 76% in the 1980s thus exhibiting similarities to television.<sup>779</sup>

The great appreciation for the press is also evidenced by contemporary polls. In 1980, West German citizens were asked which of the three media (newspapers, radio or television), they would miss the most. 60% put the newspapers first followed by the radio with 52% and television at 47%.<sup>780</sup> In 1970 and 1974, on the contrary, television held first place (in 1974 together with the press).<sup>781</sup> This development suggests a growing appreciation for the press which supports this thesis's findings that a new sensitivity for the press emerged in the late 1970s. Between 1970 and 1980, television experienced a loss in subjective indispensability. Appreciation for the press differed. The higher the level of education the survey participant had, the greater the appreciation of the press they expressed.<sup>782</sup>

Eventually, in the long 1970s the views of television and the media came to play a central role for the definition and depiction of the role of the press. Throughout the 1950s, the rise of television and its effects on society and the political culture was seen with scepticism among intellectuals. Above all, Theodor Adorno criticised television and warned against the rise of the popular culture industry, referring explicitly to the American television system. During the 1968 student protests against the press concentration and rise of large media corporations, these ideas were adopted.<sup>783</sup> In 1970, Enzensberger warned against the dangers of television for the political culture and social interference of the West Germans, in the intellectual literary journal *Kursbuch*.<sup>784</sup> In fact, the rise of television

---

<sup>779</sup> Reach of daily newspapers Mon.-Fri.; Schulz, 'Nutzung', p. 409.

<sup>780</sup> See Berg and Kiefer, *Massenkommunikation II*, pp. 89-98.

<sup>781</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

<sup>782</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

<sup>783</sup> See Münkler, *Willy Brandt und die "Vierte Gewalt"*, p. 143.

<sup>784</sup> H. Marmulla, 'Das Kursbuch: Nationale Zeitschrift, internationale Kommunikation, transnationale Öffentlichkeit', in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 37-48; The



contributed to the transformation of intellectual discourse as it demanded a different approach including short sound bites and trenchant interviews, eventually leading to a 'loss of intellectual influence in the media.'<sup>785</sup> The printed press is a 'gift for intellectuals' providing room for complex essays, articles, comments and petitions.<sup>786</sup> The scepticism was also shared in politics, leading to the above-mentioned call for a 'day without watching television' by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the debates over media policy.<sup>787</sup>

On closer inspection and when considering the opportunities for political engagement of the consumers as well as the organisation and outlook of the respective media, it is clear that some central differences between broadcasting and the press can be identified which suggest a more careful analysis be applied. From the beginning of the West German media, broadcasting was under the supervision of the *Länder* while private broadcasting stations did not exist until the mid-1980s. The public broadcasting system established by the Allies was meant to be decentralised, supervised by broadcasting councils, and protected against any interference of the government. The design of the West German public broadcasting system embodies a high degree of 'internal pluralism' which aims to maintain a balanced content and represent the various societal and political currents.<sup>788</sup>

In line with their function to serve the public ethos, the stations were supervised by several bodies which acted as filters for proportional reporting. The supreme supervisory and control bodies were the broadcasting councils which were mandatory in accordance with the broadcasting laws of the *Länder*. They were meant to represent the public interest and were either organised on a pluralistic basis representing all

---

septicism of several West German intellectuals towards television is also depicted in Glaser, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 188.

<sup>785</sup> H. Kaelble, *Kalter Krieg und Wohlfahrtsstaat: Europa 1945-1989* (Bonn, 2011), p. 103.

<sup>786</sup> A. Ziemann, 'Vom Schreiben, Sprechen und Zeigen - intellektuelle Medienpraxis', in T. Kroll and T. Reitz (eds.), *Intellektuelle in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Verschiebungen im politischen Feld der 1960er und 1970er Jahre* (Goettingen, 2013), pp. 151-66: 158.

<sup>787</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>788</sup> See D. Schuster, *Meinungsvielfalt in der dualen Rundfunkordnung* (Berlin, 1990), p. 141 ff.

societally relevant groups including representatives from the areas of culture, church, science, and the social sector or on a parliamentary basis under which the parliaments of the *Länder* elected members of which only a certain number of could come from the parliament itself. Further, each station's board of directors supervised the rules of procedures and its director produced an annual report as head of the broadcasting agency. In 1976, the WDR's board consisted of 20 members each representing a different social group or collection of groups. Among them were: youth; home care associations; the Evangelical Church; the Catholic Church; the Jewish communities; writers, composers, journalists and practitioners of the fine arts; performing arts, publishers and chairs of the television companies; universities and adult education centres and museums; the German Expellee organisations; the unions; employers' associations; the crafts; farmers; consumers; women; sport; municipalities; welfare organisations; the *Länder*; and the government.<sup>789</sup>

At the NDR, the board even consisted of 24 members while other stations had smaller boards, such as the *Hessischer Rundfunk* (HR) with only 13 members.<sup>790</sup> While all programme advisory boards were meant to provide a comprehensive cross-section of society, certain differences can be identified. The NDR's board, for example, did not have representatives of women's groups among its ranks but did have representatives of the Association of Expellees, child-care workers associations, and theatre personnel.<sup>791</sup> At the *Süddeutscher Rundfunk* (SDR), the free churches were represented. The *Bayerischer Rundfunk* (BR) only had representatives of Catholic women among its ranks but was also the only station to have representatives of the nature conservation association.<sup>792</sup> Despite these different focuses of the personnel policy, societal pluralism was the binding element.

At the national level, several stations in the *Länder* established ARD in 1950 which began to broadcast television in 1954.<sup>793</sup> In March 1953, a

---

<sup>789</sup> See ARD, *ARD Jahrbuch 76* (Hamburg, 1976), pp. 157-8.

<sup>790</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>791</sup> See Overview of the NDR's Organisation, *ibid.*, pp. 136-9.

<sup>792</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>793</sup> The local stations were the BR, HR, NDR, RB, SR, SFB, SDR, SWF, and the WDR.

treaty between the regional stations was concluded introducing a permanent programme conference. Its members were the directors of the *Länder* stations who discussed the shows suggested by the respective stations and entrusted them with the production of certain shows on a proportional basis. In 1972, the WDR produced 25% of the shows, the NDR 20%, *Hessischer Rundfunk* (HR), *Sender Freies Berlin* (SFB), and *Südwestfunk* (SWF) 8% each and *Radio Bremen* (RB) and *Saarländischer Rundfunk* (SR) 3% each.<sup>794</sup> In addition, a broadcasting council was established to represent the stations, mostly comprising members of the broadcasting councils of the *Länder*.

The ZDF, which began to broadcast television in 1963, was designed to be a counter model to the ARD. It was not under the supervision of the *Länder* stations but, instead, of a television board which also embodied the characteristics of 'internal pluralism'. It consisted of 66 members, among them eleven representatives of the *Länder*, three of the government, 12 of the political parties of the *Bundestag*, five of the churches and 35 who had been put forward by the state premiers of the *Länder*.

With its basic organisation of 'internal pluralism' and under the control of several bodies representing the societal relevant groups, television broadcasting and the press had fundamentally different organisational structures. While there can be no doubt that television played an increasingly greater role in politics, the opportunities for participation within each medium were different. The organisation and the strengthening of 'internal pluralism' in television led to the press becoming the medium with greater ideological plurality. In terms of politics, the parties could influence reporting in television through their representatives but were always faced with the concerns of several other interest groups. In addition, the ideological range and limited possibilities to choose different channels in the 'era of limited choice' provided a further central difference between television and the press. The 'era of limited choice' lasted until the mid-1980s and describes a period in which all West Germans could choose

---

<sup>794</sup> See H. Flottau, *Hörfunk und Fernsehen heute* (Munich, 1972), p. 44.

between three television channels and where the options of the viewers were limited.<sup>795</sup> Additionally, the debates over the representation in the media and the conflicting concepts of social pluralism and free-market pluralism in the press dulled the sharpness of the reporting and increased the pressure to conform.<sup>796</sup> The press, in contrast, offered greater opportunities for political and ideological splinter groups to publish their opinions and did not have a structure which fostered social pluralism.

### The Regionalisation of Protest

The organisational differences and low entry barriers made the press the central medium of protest in the long 1970s. It has been shown that the region was the central field of the agitation of citizens' initiatives and new social movements. The 'alternative' press embodied an unusual proximity to regional protest forms and development and tackled issues long before they were introduced in the wider reporting of the 'established' press and television. Several of the citizens' initiatives and local groups initially were not able to present their aims in the 'established' local and regional newspapers, which fuelled the rise of 'alternative' papers in regions with more than one local newspaper.<sup>797</sup> Thus, the regional 'alternative' press played a central role in formulating criticism against local and regional politics, by connecting the numerous alternative projects such as alternative residential projects, youth centres, and regional political groups and initiatives.<sup>798</sup> While the range of topics of the 'alternative' press included ecology, repression, peace, alternative lifestyles, suppressed groups, and internationalism, they mostly focused on the local

---

<sup>795</sup> C.v. Hodenberg, 'Fernsehrezeption, Frauenrolle und Wertewandel in den 1970er Jahren: Das Beispiel "All in the Family"', in B. Dietz, C. Neumaier, and A. Rödder (eds.), *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014), pp. 285-306: 286.

<sup>796</sup> See Hoffmann and Sarcinelli, 'Politische Wirkungen', p. 729.

<sup>797</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 175.

<sup>798</sup> See Schregel, *Atomkrieg*, pp. 11-3.

or regional realm.<sup>799</sup> With its mostly local and regional outlook, the 'alternative' press contributed to the 'politicisation of everyday life' so characteristic of the alternative milieu.<sup>800</sup>

Further, the pioneering role of the 'alternative' press in the setting of agendas must not be underestimated. At times of an increasing number of monopoly papers which were assumed to be the mouthpieces of the 'established' elites in politics and the media, it formulated a distinct entitlement of criticality. In 1983, Weichler was even more outspoken in his assessment, arguing that 'the local daily newspapers are not even remotely considered to fulfil their ideal role of serving as opinion leaders of citizen protests.'<sup>801</sup> The 'alternative' press thus aimed to fill this gap and to critically question local and regional politics. In Aachen, the local 'alternative' paper *Klenkes*, representing several initiatives, for example, established a section on local politics which regularly reported on the decisions of the city parliament, committees, and parties which were hardly mentioned in the 'established' press.<sup>802</sup> Further, the opportunities for alternative lifestyles played a central role and led to criticism of living conditions in large cities. Comprehensive articles about the developments of the Hamburg rental market were published in the *Grosse Freiheit* where readers were informed about the legal opportunities to defend themselves against their landlords and rental increases.<sup>803</sup> Similar articles can also be found in other 'alternative' papers such as the *Bremer Blatt* and *Kölner Volksblatt*.<sup>804</sup> Additionally, the local and regional history often played a significant part in the reporting of the 'alternative' press. The focus was on those parts of local history which were widely unknown or not mentioned in the existing historiography. Among the preferred topics was the democratic pre-history of the Peasant Wars, the revolutions of 1848/49 and 1918/19, the Weimar Republic, and general topics which

---

<sup>799</sup> See Rösch-Sondermann, *Alternativpresse*, p. 44; Weichler, *Medien*, p. 62.

<sup>800</sup> Schregel, *Atomkrieg*, p. 13.

<sup>801</sup> Weichler, *Gegendruck*, p. 161.

<sup>802</sup> See Rösch-Sondermann, *Alternativpresse*, p. 44.

<sup>803</sup> See Anonymus, 'Mieten 77: Wir lehnen jede Erhöhung ab', *Grosse Freiheit*, 12/1976, pp.1-2; Anonymus, 'Wohnen im Sanierungsviertel', *Grosse Freiheit*, 12/1976, p. 10.

<sup>804</sup> See e.g. Anonymus, 'Mieterinitiative zwingt Hausbesitzer zum Nachgeben', *Bremer Blatt* 11/1976, p. 8; Anonymus, 'Leben im Sanierungsviertel', *Kölner Volksblatt*, 10/1974.

dealt with protest history and 'history from below'.<sup>805</sup> The 'alternative' press thereby consciously placed itself within the tradition of protest against the state.

The difference between the 'established' local and regional papers and the 'alternative' press lay in the presentation and formulation of protest. Several 'alternative' papers, among them the 'scene papers' in particular, presented a new language and a more aggressive and provocative tone to the political press which had been introduced by the 'underground' press of the 1968 movement.<sup>806</sup> Often articles were written in a colloquial style using obscene terms, and pornographic language.<sup>807</sup> Local and regional 'alternative' papers also often used dialect. The 'alternative' press thereby purposefully broke 'bourgeois' taboos and was contemporarily perceived as 'gross, irrational, and disrespectful'.<sup>808</sup> In the *Kursbuch*, the author Martin Walser, highlighted its 'tendency towards narcissism and its asocial elements'.<sup>809</sup> 'Initiative papers' such as the *Bremer Blatt* as well as 'city magazines' such as *zitty* largely followed the established journalistic standards but also included provocative picture collages and cartoons.<sup>810</sup> The breaking of taboos and the use of obscene and aggressive language was meant to articulate opposition to the system. Moreover, it was intended to foster cohesion within the alternative milieu and its protest against 'established' journalism and politics. Not only the government policy, but the perceived 'elitism' and 'bourgeois' set of values and language was questioned and authorities were treated with little respect. In 1976, for example, several lawsuits were filed against the *Blatt* (Munich), among other reasons because Alfons Goppel, the then

---

<sup>805</sup> Rösch-Sondermann, *Alternativpresse*, p. 45.

<sup>806</sup> See chapter II.

<sup>807</sup> For the relations between the 'alternative' press, leftist publishing houses, and pornography in the 1970s see E. Heinemann, 'Jörg Schröder, linkes Verlagswesen und Pornografie', in S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 290-312.

<sup>808</sup> F. Dröge, 'Mescalero-Sprache und alternative Öffentlichkeit', in E. Knödler-Bunte, U. Preuss-Lausitz, and W. Siebel (eds.), *Normalzustände: Politische Kultur in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1978), pp. 181-202:193.

<sup>809</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*

<sup>810</sup> For a systematic analysis of the language in different 'alternative' papers see Bütelführ, *Anspruch*, p. 363.

state premier of Bavaria, had been labelled a '*senile weisswurst sausage president*' in an article by Wolfgang Stoye and Armin Witt.<sup>811</sup> This kind of journalism led to the demise of highbrow culture in the political discourse of the long 1970s. In this respect, the 'alternative' press served as an arena for the popularisation of politics which was becoming increasingly subject to satirical depictions, cartoons, and mockery.

One of the best known examples of this satirical criticism is the depiction of Helmut Kohl as a pear in *Titanic*, (a satirical magazine founded in 1979), surrounded by numerous West Germans, with Helmut Schmidt among them and seemingly laughing at him.



Front page of *Titanic* Nov. 1982 headlining 'Pear has to Remain Chancellor'.

The German term 'a hollow pear' (*Hohlbirne*) is used to describe someone who is stupid and unintelligent. Throughout his career, Kohl was seen as a non-intellectual and provincial politician by large parts of the left-liberal press and among many intellectuals. The nickname 'pear'

---

<sup>811</sup> Anonymus, 'Pressefrechheit', *Blatt*, 19. Mar.-1 Apr. 1976, p. 11.

soon became very popular and was widely used by his critics, comedians, and in everyday life.<sup>812</sup> When Kohl became Chancellor, the *taz* headlined 'A New Government in Bonn: Pear Will be Chancellor'.<sup>813</sup>

In addition to the popularisation of politics, the 'alternative' press also set a different kind of agenda. By casting a close eye over the local and regional 'alternative' press, a change in the agenda-setting can be identified at the mid-point of the 1970s. In the first half of the 1970s, a vibrant scene dotted around the country can be seen in which the 'alternative' press dealt with local issues and was part of the enactments of protest against the state and the organisational formation and extension of the agenda of the alternative movement and the 'alternative' press.<sup>814</sup> This change was also part of the transformation taking place within the alternative movement with the citizens' initiatives leading towards the ecology movement.<sup>815</sup>

In the second half of the 1970s, however, the resistance against the government's energy policy and the planning of several nuclear power plants in reaction to the oil price shock as well as the protest against the Western deterrence strategy in the course of the dual track decision, played a determining role in the 'alternative' press and the formation of anti-nuclear and peace movements. In fact, the years leading up to 1976 can be seen as a period in which a national alternative camp formed in the anti-nuclear protests.<sup>816</sup> In the 'alternative' press, the themes of ecology, protest against nuclear power plants, and later, peace, all became determining and defining aspects in its reporting and contributed to the cohesion of the protest against the state.

One central link between the various 'alternative' papers including journals like *Emma* and *Courage* with a distinct agenda focused on the situation of women, was the anti-nuclear protest. The introduction and growth of most 'alternative' papers between 1973 and 1977 coincided

---

<sup>812</sup> See A. Besand, 'Die Birne Helmut Kohl in der Satire', in G. Paul (ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder Band II: 1949 bis heute* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 516-23.

<sup>813</sup> 'Neue Regierung in Bonn: Birne wird Kanzler', in *taz*, 29. Sept. 1982, p. 1.

<sup>814</sup> See Büteführ, *Anspruch*, p. 114.

<sup>815</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 157.

<sup>816</sup> See Mende, "Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn", p. 47.



with the developing protest against several planned nuclear power plants in response to the oil price shock. Over the course of the rise of the anti-nuclear movement, increasingly large parts of society felt underrepresented in the press as shown when the journalists of the *Pottkieker*, an 'alternative' paper in NRW argued: 'especially the anti-nuclear groups [...] do not have an opportunity to be published in the free press.'<sup>817</sup> In 1976/77, during the height of the foundation of local 'alternative' papers, the citizens' initiatives movement was absorbed by the ideologically coherent ecology movement.<sup>818</sup>

The protests against the plan to build a power plant in Wyhl, located close to Freiburg in southern Germany, can be seen as marking the beginning of the anti-nuclear movement and have become part of West Germany's collective memory. In February 1975, 25,000 protesters occupied the construction site among them local farmers, students and representatives from all segments of society.<sup>819</sup> Hans-Christoph Buchholtz has produced an exemplary analysis of the reporting of the regional paper, the *Badische Zeitung* and shown that it was far more difficult for the citizens' initiatives to be considered in the reports. Overall he identified a 2:1 ratio between the supporters of the plant and opponents.<sup>820</sup> He saw a confirmation of the assumptions made by Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge that 'if the masses fight against the ruling class and its instruments of publicity, their fight is forlorn.'<sup>821</sup> On several occasions the citizen initiatives tried to implement subscription boycotts which did not prove successful.<sup>822</sup> In this situation, the 'alternative' press became the binding link thereby serving as a partial lead medium in the regional protests. Several

---

<sup>817</sup> Quoted from Weichler, *Medien*, p. 105.

<sup>818</sup> See K.-W. Brand, D. Büsser, and D. Rucht, *Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft: Neue Soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt a.M., 1983), p. 96.

<sup>819</sup> See M. Mutz, 'Die Volkshochschul für unser Volksgewühl - Zur Bedeutung der Volkshochschule Wyhler Wald für den Widerstand gegen das Kernkraftwerk Wyhl', *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins "Schau-ins-Land"*, 124 (2005); Mende, *"Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn"*, p. 332.

<sup>820</sup> See H.-C. Buchholtz, 'Öffentlichkeitsarbeit in den Auseinandersetzungen um das Atomkraftwerk Wyhl: Prozess demokratischer Willensbildung oder Beispiel für die Herrschaft der veröffentlichten Meinung?', in H.-C. Buchholtz, L. Mez, T.v. Zabern, et al. (eds.), *Widerstand gegen Atomkraftwerke: Informationen für Atomkraftgegner und solche, die es werden wollen* (Wuppertal, 1978), pp. 49-82: 73.

<sup>821</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>822</sup> See Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 165.

'alternative' papers and also those from other regions covered the Wyhl protests: for example, the *Blatt* began to report on the Wyhl protests in 1975.<sup>823</sup> In the *Bremer Blatt*, it was argued that 'people who see nuclear energy as the only solution for the energy crisis belong to the nuclear mafia.'<sup>824</sup> With the rise of the 'alternative' press in the mid-1970s, it provided a central arena for the mobilisation of mass protest and linked the numerous local protest groups.

In November 1976, the protests against the construction of a power plant planned in Brokdorf near Hamburg, added to the new wave of societal protest against the state and led to a suspension of the building work. It coincided with the height of 'alternative' paper foundations and can be seen as the onset of new forms of mediated protest against the state. On 13<sup>th</sup> November, the 'Battle of Brokdorf' took place when 30,000 protesters occupied an area beside the construction and the police began to clear the site with gas grenades being fired at the protesters from helicopters. In the 'established' press, the confrontations were compared to a civil war. *Stern* headlined 'The storming of Brokdorf was impeded', the Springer press wrote about the event as a 'Civil War in Hamburg'.<sup>825</sup> In a *Spiegel* interview, Gerhard Stoltenberg, the state premier of Schleswig Holstein where Brokdorf is located, declared his stance against the 'leftist radicals, Maoists, and Communists' who in his view had begun 'to determine the agenda of the protest movements'.<sup>826</sup> In the years to come, the ideological camps within the press hardened. In February 1977, the confrontations over the protests against nuclear power plants reached its culmination. Stamm even speaks of the time as the 'peak of a smear campaign' against the protesters and Hans-Jürgen Benedict argued that

'[o]n the eve of the major demonstration, the parties rose to a pitch of hysteria as if the invasion of the Huns was immanent: between

---

<sup>823</sup> See e.g. Anonymus, 'Wyhl der Kampf geht weiter: Oder Mit Speck fängt man Mäuse aber keine Wyhl-Mäuse', *Blatt*, 5 Mar. -18 Mar. 1976, p. 5.

<sup>824</sup> Anonymus, 'Argumente gegen Kernkraftwerke' (I) + (II), *Bremer Blatt*, 11/1976, p. 6 and 12/1976, p. 6.

<sup>825</sup> Quoted from Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 159.

<sup>826</sup> Anonymus, 'Rundumschlag mit der chemischen Keule: Ministerpräsident Gerhard Stoltenberg über den Polizei-Einsatz auf der Kernkraftwerks-Baustelle Brokdorf', *Der Spiegel*, 22 Nov. 1976, pp. 74-82.

the *Bild* on the one side and the *FAZ* and *Zeit* on the other side, there were hardly any differences in terms of style and content.<sup>827</sup>

Several issues about nuclear power plants were established in the 'alternative' press. In its first issue, the *Bremer Blatt* declared that 'the BUU<sup>828</sup> is proud that so many citizens and especially young citizens with exemplary courage, have participated in occupying the construction site.'<sup>829</sup> Also, in its very first issue, the *Grosse Freiheit* headlined '*Christmas Greetings from Brokdorf*' and reported on the protests comprehensively.<sup>830</sup> *The Blatt* also reported in detail on the protests in Brokdorf and began to organise car pools in order to enable activists to travel to Brokdorf, located 840 kilometres north of Munich.<sup>831</sup> Also the radical leftist 'alternative' press regularly reported on the anti-nuclear protests. In the *Arbeiterkampf*, a regular section covering the anti-nuclear conflict was established in 1977 and in the *Pflasterstrand*, numerous articles on the protests were published leading to the convergence between the 'Sponti-movement' and the anti-nuclear movement.<sup>832</sup>

Besides the political 'alternative' press, the women's press also supported the anti-nuclear movement. In *Courage*, articles on the plans to complete a plant in the Luneburg Heath were published, exposing the effects of radioactivity on pregnant women and small children and announcing that '[w]omen declare war on nuclear energy and lead'.<sup>833</sup> Several other anti-nuclear protests emerged in Gorleben, Grohnde, Kalkar, and elsewhere. The 'alternative' press also played a central role in organising and communicating about these conflicts and numerous anti-

---

<sup>827</sup> Quoted from Stamm, *Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 163-4.

<sup>828</sup> Citizen Initiatives of the Lower Elbe Region, (*Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz Unterelbe*).

<sup>829</sup> Anonymus, 'Initiative: "Atombauer in den Knast": Bürger wollen weiterkämpfen', *Bremer Blatt*, 11/1976, p. 7.

<sup>830</sup> Anonymus, 'Noch ein Brokdorf und wir können die Kernenergie abschreiben', *Grosse Freiheit*, 12/1976, pp. 6-8.

<sup>831</sup> See Anonymus, 'Brokdorf: Divide et impera: Teile und Herrsche', *Blatt*, 18 Feb.-3 Mar. 1977, p. 4.

<sup>832</sup> See Mende, *"Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn"*, p. 204 and 27.

<sup>833</sup> Anonymus, 'Briefe aus dem Lichtenmoor', *Courage*, 02/1977, pp. 6-7; Anonymus, 'Die einen stehen im Dunkeln, die anderen sterben im Licht', *Courage*, 02/1977, pp. 8-10; Anonymus, 'Frauen erklären Atom und Blei den Krieg', *Courage*, 01/1977, pp. 14-5.

nuclear papers were founded.<sup>834</sup> With regular reporting and by providing information about the dates of protests as well as organising car pools, the 'alternative' press contributed to the mass mobilisation of society and served as a central communicative link for the anti-nuclear movement which was attracting more and more parts of society. In 1977, 300,000 West Germans joined the anti-nuclear protests and by 1979 this had grown to 400,000 people.<sup>835</sup>

The 'alternative' press thus not only fuelled the regionalisation of protests but also introduced new topics to the political agenda. The anti-nuclear protests coincided with the aforementioned crisis of domestic security and the 'news blockade' against the government, as well as the legal persecution of several local 'alternative' papers which were seen as seedbeds for terrorism.<sup>836</sup> While the legal persecutions of the 'German Autumn' led to the foundation of the *taz* in April 1979 in the same year, the Green Party competed with other parties in the European elections for the first time.<sup>837</sup> Only two years before, in 1977, had the first green groups been founded at the *Länder* level. They addressed those groups who felt marginalised and ignored in the 'established' press who then soon became a melting pot for the alternative milieu, among them ecologists, environmentalists, homosexual groups, tenant groups, and other alternatives.<sup>838</sup>

The cohesion of these projects and the significance of the 'alternative' press's role in this process is evidenced by the fact that two of the founders of the Green party were also the founders of the *taz*, among them Hans-Christian Ströbele and Otto Schily. Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Joschka Fischer, two of the leading figures of the Green party both had

---

<sup>834</sup> *Wyhlarbeiter* (1977) for example was published by the 'Projektgruppen AKW und Umweltschutz im Sozialistischen Büro. Other regional protest papers were *Atomexpress Zeitung der Initiativen gegen Atomenergie* founded by the *Göttinger Arbeitskreis gegen Atomenergie* in 1977, *Atommüll: Politisch unabhängige Zeitschrift der 'Bürger gegen Atommüllaufbereitung in der Heide'* established in 1976, and *Gorleben Informiert: Bürgerinitiative Lüchow Dannenberg*, established in 1977.

<sup>835</sup> See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, p. 369.

<sup>836</sup> See chapter IV.

<sup>837</sup> See chapter V.

<sup>838</sup> See S. Richter, *Die Aktivistin: Das Leben der Petra Kelly* (Munich, 2010), p. 187.

a close relationship with the city magazine *Pflasterstrand* which was edited by Cohn-Bendit. The founding of the *taz* and the Green party was part of an institutionalisation of the alternative milieu in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>839</sup> The Greens saw themselves as an 'anti-party party'.<sup>840</sup> Both projects - the *taz* and the Greens - developed as an alternative to the 'mainstream' in politics and the media. During the institutionalisation of the Greens, the 'alternative' press served as a central link. The *taz* soon introduced the so-called '*Ecolumn*' on a weekly basis, reporting comprehensively on nuclear energy. From its very beginnings in 1979, the *taz* distinguished itself from the 'established' press by reporting daily on ecological issues long before the traditional press had become aware of environmental problems, an awareness largely due to the constitution of the Federal Party of the Greens in 1980. The *taz* had its own department for ecological issues and reported on environmental problems in at least one page daily.<sup>841</sup> In the years after it had been founded, the paper expanded its reporting on ecology.<sup>842</sup> The *taz* also insistently published background articles and discussed the consequences of a nuclear war.<sup>843</sup> With the founding of both the *taz* and the Green party in 1979, the issue of peace was also placed high on the alternative agenda.

The ecology and peace movements merged to become the ecopax (*Ökopax*) movement with the aim of establishing a broad public resonance through the media.<sup>844</sup> The peace movement came into existence as an answer to the dual track decision by NATO on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1979 and the debates over deploying US Pershing II missiles in reaction to the Soviet deployment of SS-20 rockets in order to re-establish nuclear parity, thereby consolidating the strategic and military balance between the

---

<sup>839</sup> In 1978 for example the *Netzwerk Selbsthilfe* was established serving as network between the different alternative projects and groups.

<sup>840</sup> See S. Mende, 'Von der "Anti-Parteien-Partei" zur "ökologischen Reformpartei": Die Grünen und der Wandel des Politischen', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 52 (2012), pp. 273-316.

<sup>841</sup> See Dirke, *Power*, p. 122.

<sup>842</sup> See Flieger, *TAZ*, p. 250.

<sup>843</sup> See the selection of articles on 'Peace and War' published by the *taz* in Bröckers, Berentzen, and Brugger (eds.), *taz*, p. 134 ff.

<sup>844</sup> See S. Mende and B. Metzger, 'Ökopax', in C. Becker-Schaum, P. Gassert, M. Klimke, et al. (eds.), *"Entrüstet Euch!" Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn, 2010), pp. 118-34.

East and the West at the beginning of the Second Cold War. The *taz* soon made the peace movement central to its agenda and regularly reported on nuclear weapon locations in the FRG. It became the spearhead of the mediatised protest against the FRG's defence policy in the late 1970s and 1980s and contributed to the rise of a new peace movement from below.<sup>845</sup> It has been shown that the peace movement developed expressive strategies and introduced a new 'iconography of peace' using posters to present possible nightmare scenarios of a nuclear war and labelling this a 'nuclear holocaust'.<sup>846</sup> The 'alternative' press provided the discursive arena for the peace movement and was central to its agenda setting and organisation. Its role must not be underestimated, especially because neither the Greens nor the peace movement were taken seriously by the 'established' media in the early stages.

Despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of Germans participated in the peace demonstrations, the 'established' press initially failed to report on the peace movement, and on the rare occasions it was reported on, presented the movement in a rather derogatory light. Within the leading West German press and, more precisely, in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Stern*, *Spiegel*, and *Bild*, the predominant line of argument criticised the peace protests with accusations of a 'communist infiltration, a trivialisation and de-politicisation of its actions as well as highlighting mishaps and failing to include political arguments.'<sup>847</sup> The *FAZ* and *Bild*, in particular, highlighted the alleged communist infiltration thereby re-enforcing the conservative anti-communism (which must be seen against the backdrop of the Cold War) and the assumption that the peace movement was being supported by the Soviets in order to undermine the Western consensus among West Germans.

---

<sup>845</sup> See Schregel, *Atomkrieg*, p. 74 and 132; K. Fahlenbach and L. Stapane, 'Mediale und visuelle Strategien der Friedensbewegung', in C. Becker-Schaum, P. Gassert, M. Klimke, et al. (eds.), *"Entrüstet Euch!": Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn, 2012), pp. 229-46.

<sup>846</sup> See B. Ziemann, 'The Code of Protest: Images of Peace in the West German Peace Movements, 1945-1990', *Contemporary European History*, 17/2 (2008), pp. 237-61: 252.

<sup>847</sup> Quoted from R. Wick, '"Eine Bewegung über die nicht berichtet wird, findet nicht statt." Das Bild der Friedensbewegung in bundesdeutschen und britischen Zeitungen', in C. Baumann, N. Büchse, and S. Gehring (eds.), *Linksalternative Milieus und Neue Soziale Bewegungen in den 1970er Jahren* (Heidelberg, 2011), pp. 133-60: 140.

The *FAZ* quoted Chancellor Helmut Schmidt when he said that that the 'protest was organised by communist groups' and Helmut Kohl made the accusation in the *Bild* that the peace demonstrators were 'stooges of Moscow'.<sup>848</sup> While the liberal media like *Stern*, *Spiegel* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* did not repeat these accusations and described them warningly as being 'hysterical', they entertained a more distanced approach to the peace movement and questioned its political goals and agenda.<sup>849</sup>

The Greens were not taken seriously among the political parties at the beginning and the 'established' newspapers too, became highly critical. In 1980, the *Zeit* organised a 'Green Forum' as they began to recognise the Green Movement as a serious political current. In the invitation letter sent to the participants, Marion Dönhoff wrote with considerable scepticism on the movement, alluding to its potential to entertain close proximity to 'anarchists' and 'nutters'.<sup>850</sup> With the accession of the Green party to the *Bundestag* in 1983, the institutionalisation of the 'alternative' press reached its peak. The professionalisation of the *taz* and its success as newcomer to the press market thus coincided with the shift from a three to a four-party system in the *Bundestag*.

This 'success' of political newcomers which had been propelled by the 'alternative' press, coincided with the consolidation of the 'alternative' press and its professionalisation at the local level.<sup>851</sup> Many 'alternative' papers were replaced by local and regional papers of the Green party. During the rise of the Green movement, from the voicing of the regional protests of the initiatives to the breakthrough of a new national party entering the *Bundestag*, the 'alternative' press served as a partial lead medium at times when the movement was marginalised by the 'established' media. It spurred the cohesion of the regional and local protests, linked the various different groups, and served as a communicative arena for the formation of the Green Party. Overall, it played a central role in the mediatisation of protest on a regional level so characteristic of the long

---

<sup>848</sup> Quoted from Wick, *Bild*, p. 140.

<sup>849</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>850</sup> Letter to the participants of the 'Green Forum', 19 Jul. 1980, F 1066/22, Nachlass Marion Dönhoff, Hamburg (hereafter referred to as NMDH).

<sup>851</sup> See chapter IV.

1970s.<sup>852</sup> It has been shown that the conservative media, founded in the 1970s, and their idea of establishing a 'counterweight' in contrast was not meant to address a broad mass but to fuel the programmatic renewal of conservatism. This protest from the left and the right finally brought the Helmut Schmidt government down in 1982, when he was voted out of office by a constructive vote of no confidence.

#### Press-Government Relations in the Social-Liberal Era

It has been highlighted that the SPD followed a particular strategy to implement and maintain social pluralism in the press, whereas the CDU favoured free-market pluralism.<sup>853</sup> Both political visions have to be considered within the context of the relations between the press and the government. A particularly close relationship between left-liberal journalists and the social-liberal government developed. Both social democratic Chancellors regarded television with scepticism. For them, the press remained the first choice for the dispersion of political ideas and debates. At the same time, the government and opposition used the advantages of television to promote their own ideas through image campaigns.<sup>854</sup>

Throughout the social-liberal years, a unique relationship grew between the press and the government. During Willy Brandt's tenure (1969-1974) a new way of relating between the press and politics developed and Brandt himself labelled his government a 'government by journalists for journalists'.<sup>855</sup> Brandt himself was a trained journalist who had started his professional career on a local paper, the *Lübecker Volksbote*, and worked as a correspondent for the Norwegian press at the Nuremberg Trials. From the very beginning of his tenure as mayor of West Berlin, he

---

<sup>852</sup> See H. Nehring, 'Debatten der medialisierten Gesellschaft: Bundesdeutsche Massenmedien in den globalen Transformationsprozessen der siebziger und achtziger Jahre', in T. Raithel, A. Rödder, and A. Wirsching (eds.), *Auf dem Weg in eine neue Moderne? Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren* (Munich, 2010), pp. 45-68.

<sup>853</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>854</sup> See D. Münkel, 'Politiker-Image und Wahlkampf: Das Beispiel Willy Brandt', in B. Weisbrod (ed.), *Die Politik der Öffentlichkeit - Die Öffentlichkeit der Politik: Politische Medialisierung in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Goettingen, 2003), pp. 55-78.

<sup>855</sup> Quoted from Schreiber, *Kanzlersturz*, p. 101.



began to use the electronic media more frequently, and especially the Berlin-based radio station RIAS (*Radio im Amerikanischen Sektor*) where he met Egon Bahr, his press aide and a journalist at SFB. Together with John F. Kennedy and Harold Wilson, Brandt represented a new type of politician 'who was young, charismatic, visionary', and who utilised the media to promote a politics of modernisation and democratic renewal.<sup>856</sup>

The election of the social-liberal coalition in 1969 marked the beginning of a new relationship with the media, especially the press. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, several leading columnists and highly educated experts in different fields of expertise gained influential positions in the government and were offered space by the press to publish lengthy opinion pieces which explicitly took sides whereby gaining an excellent reputation within politics, the media, and society alike. Theo Sommer of the *Zeit*, who holds a PhD in history, worked under the then defence secretary Helmut Schmidt as head of the advisory council between 1969 and 1970. In addition, Ralf Dahrendorf, one of the leading liberal sociologists and a member of the FDP, regularly published in the *Zeit* and became parliamentary state secretary in the foreign office (1969-1970). Katharina Focke, who holds a PhD in political science and was the daughter of the *Zeit* journalist Ernst Friedländer, joined Brandt's government as Minister for Youth, Family, and Health in 1972 and Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, with a PhD in chemistry, regularly published in the *Zeit* and became state secretary in the Ministry for Educational Affairs and Research between 1970 and 1972.<sup>857</sup> Furthermore, journalists from other media also worked closely with the Brandt government. During Brandt's second term, Klaus Harpprecht, who worked as a ZDF correspondent and editor of *Monat*, founded by Melvin Lasky as an anti-communist journal in 1948, even served as his speechwriter. Further, Rudolf Augstein owner and publisher of *Spiegel* became a member of parliament - with support from other left-liberal journalists like Henri Nannen and Marion Dönhoff - for the FDP after the 1972 elections but resigned from his position 44 days

---

<sup>856</sup> Münkler, 'John F. Kennedy - Harold Wilson - Willy Brandt', p. 25.

<sup>857</sup> See Haase, 'Weltblatt', p. 52.

into the new government, arguing he would have greater influence as the publisher of *Spiegel*.<sup>858</sup>

Over the course of Brandt's chancellorship, other prestigious columnists gained influential positions in the editorial departments, further underpinning the left-liberal dominance. Günter Gaus, a decided supporter of Brandt and the social-liberal coalition, for example, became editor-in-chief at *Spiegel* in 1969 and, in 1973, began to serve as state secretary in the Chancellery. In 1968, one year prior to the beginning of Brandt's tenure, Dönhoff became editor-in-chief at the *Zeit* and editor in 1973 while Theo Sommer took over the editor-in-chief position in 1973. Together with other journalists such as Klaus Harpprecht and Conrad Ahlers, who had written the article leading to the '*Spiegel* affair' in 1962 Gaus and Dönhoff have to be seen as political advisors to Chancellor Brandt.<sup>859</sup> Accordingly, a new, symbiotic relationship between press and politics emerged: the journalists around Brandt gained prestige and, in turn, politics seemed to be more transparent. Brandt accepted the press's 'important role in shaping the formation of opinion and critical reporting on the government.'<sup>860</sup>

His contacts who had helped to put him into power and who had thus paved the way for the *Ostpolitik* throughout the 1960s, were decisive.<sup>861</sup> The Chancellor's decision to invite Dönhoff and Henri Nannen, the editor and founder of *Stern* respectively, to accompany him to the signing of the Warsaw treaties reflected the shoulder-to-shoulder relationship of the left-liberal press and social-liberal government. In Brandt's eyes, Dönhoff embodied 'the desire of big parts of the population for reconciliation with Poland'.<sup>862</sup> Dönhoff refused the offer but Nannen did join the Chancellor.<sup>863</sup> Rudolf Augstein was not invited, and later mentioned this in a rather bitter tone, arguing that his name should have been the

---

<sup>858</sup> See 'Fragen an Rudolf Augstein', in H. Nannen, *Lieber Leser! Briefe an den Leser 1958-1983* (Hamburg, 1984), pp. 436-7.

<sup>859</sup> See D. Münkel, 'Die Medienpolitik von Konrad Adenauer und Willy Brandt', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 297-316: 314.

<sup>860</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>861</sup> The politicisation of the press is depicted in the second chapter.

<sup>862</sup> Letter Brandt to Dönhoff, 28 Nov. 1970, F 0042/163, NMDH.

<sup>863</sup> See Merseburger, *Willy Brandt*, p. 614.

first on the invitation list, 'not only because of the alphabetical order'.<sup>864</sup> In his view, *Spiegel* played the dominant role as the journalistic mouthpiece for the social-liberal coalition. Brandt apologised and stated that Augstein had addressed a 'sore spot', referring to planning deficiencies and underlining the need for cooperation in order to gain majorities for his foreign and domestic policy.<sup>865</sup>

The close relationship Brandt had with the media also had its downside. After the 1972 elections, criticism of Willy Brandt reached a peak. During the coalition talks, Brandt fell ill and suffered from depression in the following months. Brandt was heavily criticised not only by the opposition but even more so within his own party. Even the loyal left-liberal press also began criticising Brandt.<sup>866</sup> The *Zeit* headlined '*Is Brandt lost in reverie?*' arguing that he had reached his 'final phase as Chancellor' and criticising his lack of leadership.<sup>867</sup> *Spiegel* also distanced itself from Brandt with the headlines '*Leaderless to the Left?*',<sup>868</sup> '*Chancellor in Crisis*',<sup>869</sup> and '*Who is saving the SPD?*'<sup>870</sup>. Now comedians began to mock Brandt and a 'climate of hate' was to be seen, reflecting the new intensity of criticism.<sup>871</sup> The final turning point in the relations between the press and Brandt was the 'Guillaume affair' in which Günter Guillaume, Brandt's assistant, was uncovered as an East German spy in April 1974, which led to Willy Brandt's resignation. The press began to investigate Brandt's private life and rumours of his relationships with other women, made public by his bodyguards, polarised society and the media. This kind of journalism broke taboos and changed the limitations of 'what could be said in the press.'<sup>872</sup> Politicians were not able to control the scandalisation of the media anymore. Brandt's resignation on May 7<sup>th</sup> 1974 initially came

---

<sup>864</sup> Letter Augstein to Brandt, 7 Dec. 1970, SAH.

<sup>865</sup> Letter Brandt to Augstein, 20 Dec. 1970, SAH.

<sup>866</sup> See Zons, *Das Denkmal*, p. 137 ff.

<sup>867</sup> R. Zundel, 'Wie „entrückt“ ist Willy Brandt?', *Die Zeit*, 7 Dec. 1973, p. 3.

<sup>868</sup> *Der Spiegel*, 26 Mar. 1973, front page.

<sup>869</sup> *Der Spiegel*, 11 Dec. 1973, front page.

<sup>870</sup> *Der Spiegel*, 1 Apr. 1974, front page.

<sup>871</sup> Zons, *Das Denkmal*, p. 141.

<sup>872</sup> Bösch, 'Öffentliche Geheimnisse', p. 142.

as a relief to many conservatives: Axel Springer commented that he was so happy, he could not sleep at night.<sup>873</sup>

Helmut Schmidt shared Brandt's later opinion of the press. His catchy statements often seemed to suggest that he had a low opinion of the press and journalists. His labelling of journalists as 'buccaneers' is one of his most repeated quotes, much to Schmidt's displeasure who wished he had never said it.<sup>874</sup> During a speech given at the National Press Club in Washington, he portrayed the role of the press as follows: 'Back in medieval times there was the inquisition today there is the press.'<sup>875</sup> In a nutshell, Schmidt had summed up the transformed role of the press. The scandalisation of politics which had become ever more visible during the Brandt government led to a transformation of the relations between the press and politics. On closer inspection, however, the depiction of Schmidt's relations to the media only based on these statements is rather incomplete.

Like Brandt, Schmidt had a long-standing relationship of cooperation with the press. In the 1960s, he had made a name for himself as a columnist in several media and wrote articles for the *Zeit* as well as for the *Welt*, but his articles were also published by other newspapers such as the *Münchener Abendzeitung*, *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, and *Kölner Express* and journals such as *Quick* and *Stern* together with international media such as *Foreign Affairs*.<sup>876</sup> When Schmidt took office, he was very experienced in dealing with the media. From the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, Schmidt began to establish a close relationship with leading left-liberal journalists of the Hamburg-based press.<sup>877</sup> As mentioned above, Theo Sommer worked under Schmidt as head of the advisory council between 1969 and 1970 when Schmidt was the defence minister.

---

<sup>873</sup> See Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, p. 512.

<sup>874</sup> See T. Birkner, *Mann des gedruckten Wortes: Helmut Schmidt und die Medien* (Hamburg, 2014), p. 12.

<sup>875</sup> Manuscript 'Speech by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herr Helmut Schmidt before the National Press Club in Washington, 15 Jul. 1976', HSA 006681.

<sup>876</sup> See Sommer, *Unser Schmidt*, p. 67.

<sup>877</sup> The exceptional role of Hamburg as a media city is described in K.C. Führer, *Medienmetropole Hamburg: Mediale Öffentlichkeiten 1930-1960* (Hamburg, 2008).

Further, the Chancellor greatly admired Kurt Becker, head of the political section of the *Zeit* who later became his press aide in 1980.<sup>878</sup>

His relationship with Marion Dönhoff is particularly noteworthy. There was no doubt in Dönhoff's mind that the SPD should remain the governing party because in her view the CDU was not well enough prepared to take over the government at all.<sup>879</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> May 1974, Dönhoff encouraged Schmidt to unite the SPD and stabilise the political sphere.<sup>880</sup> Six weeks into his chancellorship, Schmidt asked Dönhoff to continue to critically comment on his governance and let him know when he did anything wrong in her view: 'Please remain favourably critical.'<sup>881</sup> The *Zeit* proved to be a worthwhile ally to Schmidt by greatly supporting his policy, and in turn, Schmidt helped to strengthen the paper's national and international reputation. The close connections between the *Zeit* journalists and the prestige of those press journalists close to the SPD Chancellors is evidenced by Willy Brandt's decision to appoint Dönhoff as a candidate for the German presidency in 1979. Such a decision was without precedent in the history of the FRG and Dönhoff recognised that this had the potential to undermine the 'widespread aversion against the alleged impervious political cliques and respond to the calls of the intellectuals for more participation.'<sup>882</sup> However, she decided not to take up the offer and, in the end, Karl Carstens became president.

The close relationship with the *Zeit* gave a unique weekly insight into Schmidt's governance. Nina Grunenberg, a *Zeit* journalist, was permitted to accompany the Chancellor for a couple of days and write a series on him which became one of the most comprehensive journalistic pieces done during Schmidt's chancellorship. Schmidt's appreciation of the press was limited to a small group of journalists, including several experts and specialists in distinct policy fields and she argued that the 'number of journalists whose articles the Chancellor regularly read could

---

<sup>878</sup> See T. Sommer, 'Kurt Becker nach Bonn', *Die Zeit*, 7 Nov. 1980, p. 1.

<sup>879</sup> See letter Dönhoff to G. Mann, 3 Aug. 1973, F 1497/192, NMDH.

<sup>880</sup> See letter Dönhoff to Schmidt, 7 May 1974, PAHS.

<sup>881</sup> Letter Schmidt to Dönhoff, 30 May 1974, F 0048/146, NMDH; Birkner, *Mann*, p. 54.

<sup>882</sup> Letter Dönhoff to Brandt, 23 May 1979, F 1738/223, NMDH.

be counted on ten fingers'.<sup>883</sup> Grunenberg named several of these prestigious journalists, politicians, and columnists like Hans Heigert between 1970 and 1984 editor-in-chief of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and economist Jürgen Eick, who held a PhD in political science and was a renowned economic journalist and co-editor of the *FAZ*.<sup>884</sup> Klaus Bölling added Günther Gillesen of the *FAZ*, an expert on foreign and security policy, who held two PhDs from the universities of Oxford and Freiburg and who became professor for press journalism in Mainz in 1978<sup>885</sup>, Fritz Ullrich Fack, who had a PhD in political science and was co-editor of the *FAZ* from 1971<sup>886</sup>, as well as Franz Thoma, head of the economic section of the *SZ*, and Hans Reiser, a member of the editorship of the *SZ*.

Schmidt also had a long-standing relationship of mutual respect with the news magazine *Spiegel*. The relations between *Spiegel* and Schmidt are often described as distanced and strained.<sup>887</sup> This view does not reflect the regular and close consultations Schmidt had with Augstein despite the former's annoyance and complaints about several articles of the magazine. There are numerous letters in the correspondence between Schmidt and Augstein in which Schmidt complained about articles in *Spiegel* and demanded fair treatment. Following the '*Spiegel* affair', Schmidt had entertained a close relationship with journalists from *Spiegel* and the publisher Augstein.<sup>888</sup> *Spiegel* published a lengthy article titled '*Chancellor Schmidt: Hoping for a Man of Action*' after the beginning of his chancellorship in which he was depicted as the only politician capable of dealing with the beginning and multifaceted crises of the 1970s (the domestic security crisis, the economic crisis, and the crisis of international relations).<sup>889</sup> The paper thereby reflected the overall positive reporting in the left-liberal press at the beginning of Schmidt's

---

<sup>883</sup> N. Grunenberg 'Beim Kanzler sitzt der liebe Gott im Detail', *Die Zeit*, 31 Oct. 1975, p. 9.

<sup>884</sup> See *ibid*; see also Birkner, *Mann*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>885</sup> See *FAZ* (ed.), *Sie Redigieren und Schreiben*, pp. 32-3. For Bölling's statement see Birkner, *Mann*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>886</sup> See *FAZ* (ed.), *Sie Redigieren und Schreiben*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>887</sup> See recently Birkner, 'Strategie'. Of a similar opinion is also A. Zipfel, see *ead.*, *Der Macher*, pp. 151-4.

<sup>888</sup> See chapter II.

<sup>889</sup> Anonymus, 'Kanzler Schmidt: Hoffen auf den Macher', *Der Spiegel*, 13 May 1974, pp. 19-34.

chancellorship.<sup>890</sup> Augstein, in turn, regularly asked Schmidt to write articles, knowing that this would lead to an increase in circulation figures. Proudly, Augstein wrote telling Schmidt that *Spiegel* issue 44/1977 had achieved a new bestselling record with 1,040,000 million copies sold.<sup>891</sup> At this point, Schmidt had reached the height of his popularity due to his crisis management during the 'German Autumn' in 1977.



*Spiegel*, issue 44, 24 Oct. 1977 headlined 'After Mogadishu: The Admired German'

Augstein left no doubt as to what *Spiegel*'s outlook was, which he called a 'prime combat instrument'.<sup>892</sup> In his eyes, the magazine played the central role in decoupling the FDP from the CDU and paving the way for a social-liberal coalition in 1969: 'Let me assure you such action could not have been expected from the colleagues at the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* or *Zeit*. These are top-end people and we are not that distinguished'.<sup>893</sup>

<sup>890</sup> See 'Allgemeine Beurteilung des künftigen Bundeskanzlers', in *Inlandsecho* auf den Rücktritt von Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt, p. 7 ff, PAHS.

<sup>891</sup> See Letter Augstein to Schmidt, 11 Nov. 1977, SAH.

<sup>892</sup> Correspondence HS, 1 Sept. 1978, SAH.

<sup>893</sup> *Ibid.*

The often-mentioned tensions between Schmidt and *Spiegel* were more a result of Schmidt's general scepticism. Moreover, the conflicts over reporting were part of a transforming relationship between the press and politics, in which debate and conflict contributed to the criticality of the press. For Augstein, it was 'in the nature of things that we complain about each other' and he compared the relationship between *Spiegel* and the Chancellor with a 'good marriage'.<sup>894</sup>

Helmut Schmidt's high regard for the press is also evidenced by his appreciation of leading international journalists who helped to underline his image as an international leader. The selection of press cuttings compiled for the Chancellor by press aide Klaus Bölling reveals how his international reputation was closely analysed and utilised to calm domestic criticism.<sup>895</sup> In the United States, Schmidt was widely respected and was in regular contact with leading foreign policy experts like Henry Kissinger and journalists like Flora Lewis, foreign and diplomatic correspondent of *The New York Times* and James 'Scotty' Reston also working for the *New York Times*. Furthermore, Jonathan Carr and David Marsh, both *Financial Times* correspondents in Bonn, regularly met the Chancellor who also maintained close contact with other selected foreign journalists, among them André Fontaine, the editor-in-chief of *Le Monde* and John Vincour of the *International Herald Tribune*.<sup>896</sup>

His relationship with the leading Springer papers such as the *Bild* and *Welt* were rather critical and often characterised by disdain. For Schmidt, the Springer media's reporting on Brandt and the decisive opposition to the social-liberal government seemed to be unforgivable. Since the very beginning of his chancellorship, his relations with the Springer media and the conservative press had remained strained. Together with his press aide, Klaus Bölling, Schmidt developed more subtle techniques and ways to counter the criticism of the conservative press. Bölling, the mastermind behind Schmidt's media strategy, became head

---

<sup>894</sup> Letter Augstein to Schmidt, 13 Jun. 1979, PAHS.

<sup>895</sup> See 'Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung: Presseecho der Auslands-  
presse auf die Kanzlerwahl, die Regierungsbildung und die Regierungserklärung', 24  
May 1974, PAHS.

<sup>896</sup> See Schmidt, *Weggefährten*, pp. 220-2.



of the Press Office in 1974 together with the former economic journalist Armin Grünewald who served as his deputy.

Together with Schmidt, they developed a strategy paper which focused on dealing with the conservative Springer press. It shows how criticism in the press in particular was monitored since it did not represent the same political balance as television and the attacks were more hostile than those of conservative television journalists and political shows. With regard to the techniques of the *Springer* press in particular, Bölling argued that, in order to prevent being seen as politically narrow-minded, positive stories about some SPD politicians would be published every now and then. Against the background of these stories, however, he identified that the Springer media flattered SPD politicians more effectively when the opportunity arose.<sup>897</sup> Moreover, Bölling identified that alleged scandals by SPD politicians were revealed shortly before elections, accompanied by an explicit recommendation to vote CDU, together with manipulated interviews in which statements made by SPD politicians were taken out of context. It was, therefore, agreed that the Chancellor and the Press Office would carefully cooperate with the conservative and highly critical media in order to quieten the criticism.<sup>898</sup>

The relationship between Springer and Schmidt reached a low point in 1975 when the editorial department of the *Welt* moved from Hamburg to Bonn. This event was specifically noted by the Chancellor, who commented that there was no place for such a paper in his hometown.<sup>899</sup> Describing the relations between himself and Axel Springer, Schmidt wrote of an 'increasing alienation' caused by the fact that Springer had turned into an 'ultra conservative' which had led to a 'political swing to the right' by the media owned by Springer and which had also made the *Welt* into an 'ideological battle paper'.<sup>900</sup> In several letters to Springer, Schmidt heavily criticised the *Welt's* tendency towards tendentious journalism as well as its ideological stance.<sup>901</sup> Further, Schmidt explained his view to

---

<sup>897</sup> See Bild-Zeitungs-Strategie 1976, PAHS.

<sup>898</sup> See Correspondence Schmidt and Holger Börner in 1974, PAHS.

<sup>899</sup> See Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, p. 549.

<sup>900</sup> Schmidt, *Weggeföhrt*, p. 227 ff.

<sup>901</sup> See e.g. Letter Schmidt to Springer, 18 Jun. 1975, PAHS.

his SPD colleague Herbert Weichmann stating that he rejected the newspaper because it ignored the reality of the Bonn Republic.<sup>902</sup>

Schmidt also felt that the *FAZ* had become increasingly critical of his leadership. In reaction to the article '*Whoever endangers peace*' ('*Wer den Frieden gefährdet*'), for example, Schmidt wrote to the editor Fritz Ullrich Fack, arguing that it seemed the *FAZ* had openly begun to support the opposition. Further, the Chancellor wrote that such bias was not appropriate for a reputable highly-respected paper like that one.<sup>903</sup> When the editorial board expressed its annoyance at Schmidt calling the *FAZ* 'a conservative paper', he then asked it to comment critically on his governance. In the eyes of the *FAZ* journalists, they were the only truly critical ones among the daily newspaper journalists who did not belong to the tabloid press such as the *Bild* and who critically and intellectually contested Schmidt's governance.<sup>904</sup> The conflict reveals Schmidt's more careful approach to the press and biased criticism. The above-mentioned strategy paper also reveals the SPD's handling of *Quick*. It was argued that the SPD's refusal to cooperate with the magazine had led to a continuous decline in circulation figures in 1974.<sup>905</sup>

Although Schmidt kept a more distanced approach to the press than Brandt, he consolidated his close relations with the *Zeit*. With the end of his chancellorship, Schmidt became the editor of the weekly and has held this position until the present day.<sup>906</sup> He still considers the press to be the main political lead medium and has remained a 'man of the printed word' as a book commissioned by the former Chancellor and published by the Helmut and Loki Schmidt Foundation, has claimed.<sup>907</sup>

---

<sup>902</sup> See Letter Schmidt to Weichmann, 24 Jun. 1975, HSAA 006912.

<sup>903</sup> See Letter Schmidt to Fack, 10 Oct. 1976, PAHS; Birkner, *Mann*, p. 58.

<sup>904</sup> See Birkner, *Mann*, p. 58-9.

<sup>905</sup> See Bild-Zeitungs-Strategie 1976, PAHS.

<sup>906</sup> Schmidt, *Weggefährten*, pp. 234-6.

<sup>907</sup> Birkner, *Mann*.

## The Press and the Opposition's Criticism against the 'Leftist Propaganda Apparatus'

The unique role of the press in the socio-liberal era becomes ever more apparent when looking at the relationship of Schmidt's conservative challengers, Franz Josef Strauß and Helmut Kohl, with the press and the media. Their relationships with the press were more distant than those of the social democratic Chancellors. The Springer media were included amongst the most outspoken critics of the social-liberal government but their relationship to the CDU and CSU were ambivalent in the long 1970s. In the 1972 elections, Axel Springer had supported the CDU based on his strict opposition to the Brandt government and *Ostpolitik*. With the acceptance of the Eastern Treaties by the CDU, however, Springer became deeply disappointed with the conservatives while he saw the CDU and CSU as the 'lesser of two evils'.<sup>908</sup>

Springer did not think highly of Rainer Barzel who was a candidate for Chancellor in 1972. In his opinion, Barzel was too moderate and represented a CDU which had accepted the SPD's *Ostpolitik* he had so vehemently fought against. In June 1973, Barzel was superseded by Helmut Kohl as the CDU's chairman and Kurt Biedenkopf became his secretary general. Barzel accused the Springer media of having 'brought him down' and according to Hans-Erich Bilges, the Bonn correspondent of the *Welt*, he was burdened with a 'deep-rooted hate' of the Springer media.<sup>909</sup>

Barzel's successor, Helmut Kohl, as well as Kurt Biedenkopf were both largely unknown politicians for Springer. Kohl was regarded with scepticism by the Springer media. On the one hand, his provincialism was highlighted while, on the other hand, focus was given to his potential to pave the way for a coalition with the FDP, thereby ending the social-liberal coalition. The relationship between Kohl and Springer remained rather distanced and was limited to only occasional correspondence.<sup>910</sup>

---

<sup>908</sup> Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, pp. 530-1.

<sup>909</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>910</sup> See Correspondence between Herbert Kremp, Bonn correspondent of the *Welt* and Springer in 1973, in Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, pp. 553-4.

Within the CDU, Springer favoured protagonists of the conservative wing such as Gerhard Stoltenberg and Hans Filbinger and his party political involvement for the CDU was rather limited while still favouring the CDU's agenda to that of the SPD. Springer had a closer relationship with Franz Josef Strauß, who was running for Chancellor in 1980. After his role in the '*Spiegel* affair', he was never able to improve his reputation in the left-liberal press and was dependent on a close relationship with the Springer media.<sup>911</sup> Strauß made no secret of his low regard for Augstein and *Spiegel*: 'The *Spiegel* [...] is also an expression of the fragmentation and nihilism of the German soul and significantly contributes to this fragmentation.'<sup>912</sup> In his eyes large parts of the left-liberal press and the broadcasting stations were a 'leftist propaganda apparatus'.<sup>913</sup> Strauß represented the conservative wing of the opposition and attracted Springer's interest. When Strauß thought about founding a new conservative party after the lost elections of 1972, Springer supported him to the immense displeasure of Biedenkopf who claimed that the CDU 'had to distance itself from the Springer media'.<sup>914</sup>

Kohl's relationship with Axel Springer, on the contrary, remained rather distant and can be seen as being paralleled in Kohl's deep contempt of the left-liberal press-government networks. His criticism, however, mainly targeted those media which entertained close relations to his social democratic counterparts. Throughout the first half of the 1970s, several disputes took place between Kohl and the Hamburg-based papers *Stern*, *Spiegel*, and *Zeit* which he referred to as left-liberal 'media mafia'.<sup>915</sup> Kohl claimed that this 'mafia' went for him 'with all guns blazing'

---

<sup>911</sup> The '*Spiegel* affair' is depicted in chapter II. See also M. Doerry and H. Janssen (eds.), *Die Spiegel-Affäre: Ein Skandal und seine Folgen* (Munich, 2013).

<sup>912</sup> Strauß, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 422-3.

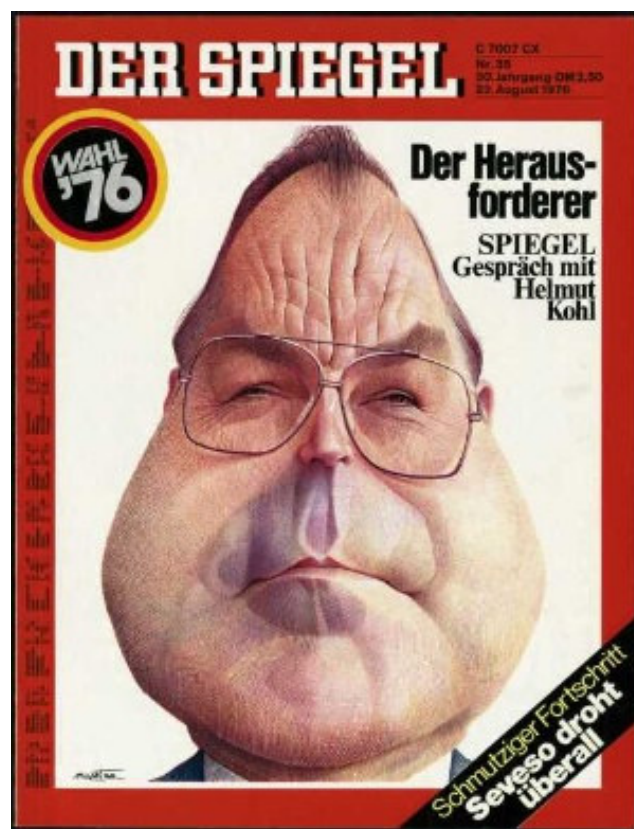
<sup>913</sup> Franz Josef Strauß in an interview with Rudolf Rohlinger and Klaus Hinrich Casdorff. (WDR on Oct. 9, 1972):

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=FeGNXnZRYw8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FeGNXnZRYw8), accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>914</sup> Quoted from Schwarz, *Axel Springer*, p. 555.

<sup>915</sup> H. Kohl in an interview with *taz*. The interview was conducted by Kai Diekmann, editor-in-chief at *Bild* who served as *taz*'s editor-in-chief at its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Diekmann interviewed Kohl, who for the first time gave the *taz* an interview. *taz* was a paper which he normally refused to read. '„Linke wird es immer geben“' 2003, <http://www.taz.de/!147213/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

and depicted him as a 'duffer', 'elephant', and 'idiot'.<sup>916</sup> In 1976, Kohl gave his last interview with *Spiegel*. According to him, the left-liberal press had become hostile as soon as he had become chairman of the CDU, leading to the 'total destruction' of his once good relationship with Rudolf Augstein.<sup>917</sup> He noted that *Spiegel* was a 'conveyor belt' for the politics of Brandt and Schmidt and he once referred to *Spiegel* as 'representing a Hamburg sewer rather than a reality' therefore advising potential buyers 'to save their money and enjoy life'.<sup>918</sup> According to Kohl, *Spiegel* made every effort to show him in a bad light and contextualised his interviews with derogatory articles. Throughout his chancellorship he refused to give interviews to *Stern*, *Spiegel*, and *Zeit*. Marion Dönhoff's position towards Kohl was also clear: In the 'German Autumn' of 1977, she encouraged Schmidt with the words, 'just imagine Kohl as Chancellor'.<sup>919</sup>



*Der Spiegel* 23 Aug. 1976 in which Helmut Kohl gave the magazine his last interview.

<sup>916</sup> Quoted from Schwan and Jens, *Vermächtnis*, p. 76.

<sup>917</sup> Quoted from "Linke wird es immer geben" 2003, <http://www.taz.de/!147213/>, accessed 25 May 2015.

<sup>918</sup> Bering, *Helmut Kohl*, p. 62.

<sup>919</sup> Dönhoff to Schmidt, 15 Nov. 1977, F 0048/132, NMDH.

While Kohl's relations to the print media remained strained, the relations between the government and the media transformed when his government introduced the dual system soon after the beginning of his chancellorship. While it has been shown that Helmut Schmidt was rather sceptical about television and its influences on society, Helmut Kohl regarded it as the central medium for politicians and entertained a close relationship with several leading television journalists. Among them was Willibald Hilf, a member of the CDU and the party's executive board, who had served as head of the State Chancellery in Rhineland-Palatinate where Kohl had been state premier between 1969 and 1976. Hilf was director of the *Südwestfunk*, the broadcasting station of Rhineland-Palatinate and the southern part of Baden-Württemberg between 1977 and 1993.<sup>920</sup> Since the late 1960s and until 1978, Helmut Kohl was further head of the ZDF's board of directors. He utilised his contacts to influence personnel decisions. When he left the ZDF, six senior heads of department were members of the CDU.<sup>921</sup> Kohl further had a close relationship with Hans Bausch, a journalist at the *Süddeutscher Rundfunk* (SR) in Stuttgart, the broadcasting station for the northern part of Baden-Württemberg. Before his career at the SR, Bausch had been a member of the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg for the CDU.<sup>922</sup>

The opening of the broadcasting market and the rise of private cable stations in 1984 was seen as an opportunity to further develop alliances with the media by Kohl and the CDU/CSU. The decision to deregulate the media market was a paradigm shift in West Germany's media policy and has been labelled the 'big bang in media policy'.<sup>923</sup> In the long 1970s, however, the unique press-government relations, the assumption of the negative effects of television and the opportunities of the press to deal with topics in a more comprehensive way, made it a partial political lead medium for the governments of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

---

<sup>920</sup> See Schwan and Jens, *Vermächtnis*, p. 211.

<sup>921</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>922</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>923</sup> W. Bergsdorf, 'Zwanzig Jahre medienpolitischer Urknall: Zur Geschichte eines politischen Erfolges', *Die Politische Meinung*, 411/2004, pp. 5-9.

## Summary

It has been shown that taking a more detailed approach to the question of lead media (not only in terms of the overall time of consumption but also in terms of the views of the press and television, the different organisation and characters of the respective media, and their accessibility for politicians) results in a more differentiated conclusion. The prestige of the press within the media ensemble grew between 1970 and 1980 and, as it was typically read in the morning, the newspaper remained the central source of information not only for the majority of citizens but also for politicians and journalists. In the context of the regional protests of the late 1970s and the anti-nuclear and ecopax movement, the 'alternative' press was able to reaffirm its role as a partial political lead medium addressing the issues of the new social movements long before the 'established' media did. Additionally, it held a central role in the debates which led to the foundation of the Green Party which reflected the pluralisation of the politics of the time. Finally, the government regarded the press as the central medium. The unique press-government relations in the social-liberal era and the left-liberal networks connecting the press and government fuelled an appreciation of the press as the medium of prestige. In the 'era of television', the press was thus able to reaffirm its role as a partial political lead medium with regard to regional citizens' protests, a 'door opener' for political newcomers, and as a central medium for the discourses of the political and intellectual elites which shaped the social-liberal policy.

## VII. Conclusion

### Towards a New Analysis of the Press in the Long 1970s

The starting point of this thesis consisted of a criticism of the concentration school's approach to press history. Traditional views applied by scholars of media history, have described the 1970s as an era of 'concentration' and 'consolidation'. This thesis has shown, to the contrary, that the press was characterised by a profound transformation. This development was fuelled by the concentration and regionalisation in the segment of newspapers, the renewal of the political weekly and monthly press, and new debates over the 'external' and 'internal freedom of the press' which resulted in specific concepts of press pluralism.

The thesis has highlighted, for the first time, the significance of the four different concepts of press pluralism that were characteristic of the 1970s: social pluralism, free-market pluralism, 'counter public', and 'counterweight'. In addition, it has unearthed new facts about a number of newspapers, including the *taz*, and has shown the hitherto under-studied significance of the regional press. The thesis has concluded that the partial renewal of the press in the segment of the weekly and monthly press together with the transformation of the regional press, helped the press to reaffirm its role as a partial political lead medium between 1968 and 1982.

However, these new results do not imply that the whole market was, in fact, reinvented. The circulation figures of the new 'alternative' papers, conservative journals, and new regional editions of supra-regional dailies could not make up for those daily newspapers which perished as a result of the press concentration. While supra-regional daily and weekly newspapers achieved a significant growth in the 1970s, the 'alternative' press remained rather a niche product. Dependable data on the circulation of the *taz* have been presented for the first time in this thesis and show how the paper's circulation was rather low in its early years compared to the other supra-regional newspapers to which the *taz* was aiming to be an alternative. Its circulation did not pass 30,000 in the long 1970s but in



later years, in 1986/87, and with the introduction of a Saturday issue and additional regional editions, it reached over 60,000.<sup>924</sup> While the *taz* marked a renewal of the supra-regional daily press with a strong regional outlook, it could not replace newspapers which had been shut down in the course of the press concentration. The *taz* and the local 'alternative' weeklies and monthlies rather presented a symbolic 'alternative'. However, the existence of such 'alternatives' is crucial to the scholarly evaluation of the plurality of the press market in the 1970s which was not as bleak as has been assumed so far.

Despite a re-evaluation of most claims of the concentration approach, there can be no doubt that the concentration was central to the long 1970s, though it was arguably not the characterising *signum* of the period. The development of this process, which started in the 1950s and culminated in the mid-1970s, has been shown here. It has been argued that several reasons led to the press concentration: the market imbalance following the re-founding of the West German press, the rise of licence papers and new press products founded by West German publishers, the economic competition for circulation areas, and the growing production costs which required larger operating units and higher circulations.

The levelling-off of the concentration has to be seen in the light of the social-liberal Law on Merger Control, which was passed in 1976 at the peak of the concentration process. It was the central measure of social-liberal press regulation, succeeding the Grand Coalition's decision in 1968 to issue ERP credits to smaller businesses. The merger control was implemented at a time when there were hardly any 'press products left for the concentration', as Schütz put it pointedly in 1979.<sup>925</sup> However, it has been shown that the Cartel Office, in pursuing the concept of social pluralism, applied a detailed market delineation, focusing on smaller local and regional markets. Larger mergers of newspapers which led to 'one-paper districts', however, were not prohibited. It has been shown that the

---

<sup>924</sup> See Appendix: Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989.

<sup>925</sup> Schütz, 'Kaum noch Objekte für die Pressekonzentration?'

*Springer Publishing House* - being highly critical of the social-liberal government - was affected the most when several attempts to enter advertising markets with advertising papers were prohibited.

In addition, there are several consequences of the press concentration to be found in this thesis that have seemingly gone undetected previously. The press concentration not only led to economic recovery and the success of publishing houses, it also opened up space for the regionalisation of the supra-regional press. The new attention paid to the region as a result of the increasing number of 'one-paper districts' and the abandonment of several smaller local and regional newspapers, also became part of the expansion strategies of the supra-regional daily press. The long 1970s have been shown here to have exhibited a profound regionalisation. This has been demonstrated using the case studies of the *Bild*, *taz*, and *SZ*, among others. Regionalisation helped these papers to increase their revenues and circulation which reached an impressive 21.2 million copies (all newspapers combined) sold on a daily basis in 1983 - the all-time high of the Bonn Republic.<sup>926</sup>

The transformation of the West German press in the long 1970s, characterised as it was by press concentration, partial renewal, regionalisation, and market transformation, highlights the fact that more extensive data has to be considered in order to evaluate the press history of those years. The common depiction of the 1970s as an era of press concentration is rooted in the strong focus that contemporaries have placed on the development of the daily newspaper market. This view was largely adopted by the government and the Press Office. The Press Office also followed the rise of the 'alternative' and so-called 'citizen media' with great interest because it corresponded with ideas of social pluralism. However, it did not consider these press products as part of the official press statistics. Further, it has been argued in this thesis that the definitions of the press applied in journalism are too rigid. A more flexible definition of periodicity allows for the inclusion of new press products that did not initially achieve a perfect periodicity. A more extensive source base

---

<sup>926</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

including irregular press products, and the 'alternative' press and its 'un-official' statistics employed here, has shown how the development of different segments influenced each other and that the period was also characterised by renewal.

A more detailed understanding of the press in the 1970s depends also on the widening of the period of examination - the long 1970s. The question of periodisation is particularly difficult when not writing press history as institutional history but, instead, when considering ideas of the press, economic influences, and political regulations. It has been shown here that the onset of the concentration can be traced to 1945 and the debate over press pluralism was rooted in the second half of the 1960s. Both developments, as demonstrated here, culminated during the long 1970s.

The emerging concepts of press pluralism fuelled a far-reaching and dynamic market transformation of the political daily, weekly, and monthly press that has so far not been analysed from this perspective. Especially the 'counter public' and 'counterweight' concepts fuelled the renewal of the press market first and foremost in the segment of the weekly and monthly press. More than 500 'alternative' papers were established. It could be shown that these papers were mostly founded as offshoots of several local and regional initiatives and groups and thus demonstrated a local outlook in their reporting. The 'alternative' press served as an arena for the debates which led to the founding of the Green party and helped to propel the agendas of the new social movements long before the mass protest of the anti-nuclear and peace movement became the subject of reporting in the 'established' press. The protests against the 'hegemony' of the political centre also led to the founding of new conservative papers. Conservative journalists and publicists who felt cornered and unheard in the 'established' press due to the liberalisation process of the press in the 1960s and 1970s, founded these new papers. Even though they were published in much smaller numbers, they felt a strong sense of unity and saw themselves as part of a joint publishing effort against the supposedly 'left' zeitgeist.

This new approach to the press history of the 1970s aims to make not only a contribution to a new press history of the Federal Republic, but also to a wider and more nuanced understanding of the political culture of the 1970s. Research on the political and cultural history of West Germany has attached a series of buzzwords to the 1970s, describing it variously as an era of 'politicisation society'<sup>927</sup> and the transformation of the 'culture of civil society'<sup>928</sup> in which the 'expressive side' of the 'political culture of participation' came to light.<sup>929</sup> Rödder argues that the rise of 'participatory culture' was characterised by three main developments: 'individualisation radical pluralisation and the replacement of existing norms' leading to a change of values.<sup>930</sup> Values such as 'discipline, reliability, obedience, and subordination were increasingly replaced by those such as post-materialism, self-fulfilment, emancipation, independence, participation', and quality of life.<sup>931</sup> On the level of collective mentalities, a new acceptance of new lifestyles emerged, gender relations and traditional family constellations were questioned and new topics were put on the agenda, among them sustainability, environmentalism, peace, and the role of women, to only name a few. This larger shift of norms and values towards post-modern and post-materialistic values was embedded in the transition of the era of the 'euphoria of modernisation' in the Brandt years to the era of 'crisis management', when the international economic crisis and the crisis of international and domestic security, shattered the political foundation of the FRG.<sup>932</sup>

The new analysis of the 1970s press history presented here provides a unique insight into this change. The arising debates over press pluralism provided an important contribution to the larger debate over the

---

<sup>927</sup> Wolfrum, *Demokratie*, p. 401.

<sup>928</sup> Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, p. 331 and 65.

<sup>929</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.

<sup>930</sup> Rödder, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, p. 30.

<sup>931</sup> Wolfrum, *Demokratie*, p. 241 ff.

<sup>932</sup> Rödder, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, pp. 31-74; A. Doering-Manteuffel, 'Langfristige Ursprünge und dauerhafte Auswirkungen'.

organisation of pluralism. In these debates, conflicting ideas and concepts were developed. These were partially the result of the effects of the press concentration and the 'dying of newspapers' since the mid-1950s, but were mainly a result of criticism of an assumed uneven coalescence of political representation and power in the press.

In this context, the social-liberal government advocated the concept of social pluralism. The theory asserted that all societal groups were to be represented in the media as a precondition for the democratic bottom-up process. Further, the theory asserted that the existence of a greater number of press products would fuel the political pluralism represented in the press. The ideas of social pluralism went as far as to introduce press committees in the *Länder* and on a national level supervising the press. Furthermore, regulation for the 'internal freedom of the press' was debated within the SPD and several drafts of a press law were published which suggested a legal regulation of this matter. The broadcasting councils of television and radio stations served as a role model for the SPD's ideas of social pluralism. While press committees were never instated and a press law was never passed, either, the possibility of such measures became a 'Sword of Damocles' in the debates over internal press pluralism and triggered a decisive protest from the publishers and opposition.

In the eyes of the SPD, a precondition for social pluralism also lay in the different organisations of the media system in which the press was privately owned and television controlled by the government. With its government majority, the SPD was able to block the introduction of the dual system. The party feared that technological progress and private television would lead to a flattening of content and have far-reaching consequences for social and family life. In the course of the conceptual development of social pluralism, the social-liberal government introduced several measures, among them regular media reports analysing the development of the different segments of the media, a Law on Press Statistics (1975) leading to a widened and reliable data basis as well as a Law on Merger Control in the Press (1976) which aimed to protect the

regional and local markets which were seen as particularly vulnerable to the press concentration.

The opposition, in contrast, developed a concept of press and media pluralism very much in contrast to this view: free-market pluralism. While in the late 1960s, the Grand Coalition under the leadership of the CDU, initiated financial support for smaller newspapers, the CDU's media policy in the long 1970s began to advocate a free market approach, the deregulation of the media, and the opening of the broadcasting market to private investment. The reason behind this decision was the assumption that competition would fuel the quality of journalism. Further, the opposition saw a left-liberal dominance in the media, especially in broadcasting. The opening of the broadcasting market was seen as a promising way to introduce new alliances into the media. It has been shown in this thesis that the social democratic Chancellors entertained an especially close relationship with leading left-liberal journalists of different papers while the Chancellor candidates of the opposition had rather strained relations to the print media.

A central aspect of the debates over press pluralism fuelling the transformation of the press, was the question of the regulation of the 'internal freedom of the press' as an additional aspect in the formation and reformation of a pluralistic press in the long 1970s. The thesis has shown how the idea of social pluralism was favoured by journalists while the publishers championed the free-market pluralism approach. Between these two poles, new regulations were put into place and agreements were made which aimed to ensure the 'internal freedom of the press' and the quality of journalism, particularly in terms of the democratic role of the press which was seen as being threatened by the rise of large publishing houses. They were meant to be seen as beneficial to journalists and publishers alike, given the fact that the passing of a press law and far-reaching regulations were also being contemplated by the SPD government. Faced with declining numbers of independent editorial departments in the segment of newspapers, the journalists feared the loss of their independence and called for co-determination in the appointment of editors-in-

chief while the publishers demanded decision-making authority in economic aspects, personnel questions, and the political outlook of the paper.

These debates resulted in several measures, among them being the professionalisation of journalistic training and trainee programmes, the scientification of journalist education and a growing number of students of journalism studies, a press codex (1973), and a Board of Appeals (1976), as well as numerous editorial by-laws introduced from 1969 onwards, regulating the co-determination rights of journalists. These measures contributed to the general understanding of and esteem for the press. The journalist's role was further strengthened by legal regulations such as the right to '*Silence in Legal Proceedings*' (1975). With respect to the local and regional markets, the introduction of educational programmes for local and regional journalists as well as the publication of an extensive handbook, attempted to cushion the effects of the concentration and avoid uncritical reporting.

The 'counter public' conceptions of the 'alternative' press and the new social movements as well as the 'counterweight' idea of conservatives were also a reaction to an assumed misbalance of the power relations in the press. The 'counter public' was based on the belief that the media was corrupted by its capitalist organisation which omitted news coming from the new social movements and supported the 'ruling class'. It was also a reaction to the social-liberal media policy which, in the eyes of many protagonists on the left, did not go far enough. The introduction of 'alternative' papers, new anti-capitalistic distribution models, and a non-hierarchical organisation of the editorial departments were at the core of their calls for a radical democratisation of the press. The conservative 'counterweight', by contrast, was designed to serve as a reaction to the assumed leftist hegemony of the press and politics and brought together conservative critics against the liberalisation and pluralisation of the press and society in the aftermath of the 1968 protests and the beginning of the social-liberal coalition in 1969.

A common focus among these concepts was the region and effects of the press concentration on the regional segment of the newspapers as

well as the potential dangers for the political culture of monopoly positions being held. The government's social pluralism idea saw the rise of 'one-paper districts' as posing a threat to the political culture. The opposition argued that free-market pluralism was a prerequisite for the functioning of the press in all segments and argued that competition would ensure the quality of journalism, thereby rejecting any regulation of the regional markets. The 'counter public' idea saw the rise of monopoly papers as evidence of their assumption that the 'capitalist press' was characterised by aggressive competition in favour of large publishing houses and monopoly papers, both of which were seen as the mouthpieces of a 'capitalist agenda' and the leading elites in the media and politics. 'Grass roots journalism' and 'citizen journalism' of the 'alternative' press provided unique opportunities to introduce new topics into the political agenda and the press offered unique opportunities for participation vis-vis television. It has been shown that the low entry barriers of the press provided a main reason for its role as lead medium in protests and for minorities. It provided opportunities which were not being offered by radio and television and paved the way for newcomers to enter the media ensemble long before the 'mainstream' press adopted those issues.

The larger and smaller dailies, weeklies, magazines, grey-market products such as the 'underground' papers and the new conservative and 'alternative' journals, were seismographic indicators and catalysts of political and social shifts in West German society. The years between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s are said to be characterised by new forms of pluralistic participation.<sup>933</sup> This development became visible in the transformation and pluralisation of the press.

It has been shown how the debates over press pluralism were not only a West German phenomenon but that press concentration also emerged in other Western democracies. In the FRG, however, the debates over the press reached a certain intensity because they were overshadowed by the anti-totalitarian view of the German past and press

---

<sup>933</sup> See e.g. H. Knoch, "'Mündige Bürger", oder: Der kurze Frühling einer partizipatorischen Vision. Einleitung', in id. (ed.), *Bürgersinn mit Weltgefühl: Politische Moral und solidarischer Protest in den sechziger Jahren* (Goettingen, 2007), pp. 9-56: 18.



tradition that influenced the development of the concentration approach and protest against 'opinion monopolies'. This thesis has also highlighted the conservative criticism of the development of the press and its reference to the fascist past when it argued that the 'alternative' press was working towards the destruction of the state. At their core, what the different concepts of press pluralism had in common was that they were driven by the aspiration to ensure a democratic and diversified press which enabled participation and representation opportunities. The debates over press pluralism thereby centrally shaped the contours of the West German democratic debate and helped to exercise democratic practice in the long 1970s.

At the same time, the debates over press pluralism and claims on participation and representation in the press were part of a larger debate of how to organise pluralism which went beyond the realm of the press. It is thus worth embedding the findings in this thesis in the larger discourse in this conclusion. With the rise of the participatory culture, new social movements, and the formation of new interest groups which experienced an 'erratic increase' in the 1970s, the organisation of pluralism became a central task.<sup>934</sup> The West German discourse over the pluralistic organisation of state and society centred on ideas by Ernst Fraenkel and Winfried Steffani as its most prominent representatives in the 1970s and 80s.<sup>935</sup> In the pluralist theory of democracy, the interest groups are seen as the motor of the political process and their cooperation by way of compromise is considered to lead to the best solution for all.<sup>936</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, pluralism became a heavily debated concept. A series of scholarly books was published which introduced pluralism as a guiding principle for the political organisation of the FRG.<sup>937</sup>

---

<sup>934</sup> M. Sebaldt, *Organisierter Pluralismus: Kräftefeld, Selbstverständnis und politische Arbeit deutscher Interessengruppen* (Opladen, 1997), p. 177; See also H. Voelzkow, 'Die Institutionalisierung der Politikbeteiligung von Verbänden', in T.v. Winter and U. Willems (eds.), *Interessenverbände in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 139-69.

<sup>935</sup> See E. Fraenkel, *Deutschland und die westlichen Demokratien* (Stuttgart, 1964); W. Steffani, *Pluralistische Demokratie: Studien zur Theorie und Praxis* (Opladen, 1980); Id., 'Vom Pluralismus zum Neopluralismus', in H. Oberreuter (ed.), *Pluralismus: Grundlegung und Diskussion* (Opladen, 1980), pp. 37-108.

<sup>936</sup> See Voelzkow, 'Institutionalisierung', p. 140.

<sup>937</sup> See e.g. K.v. Beyme, *Interessengruppen in der Demokratie* (Munich, 1969); H. Kremendahl, *Pluralismustheorie in Deutschland: Entstehung, Kritik, Perspektiven*

While the pluralisation of values is highlighted as the most central process in the histories of the intellectual and cultural transformation of the long 1970s, several other fields were also affected, among them education and science as well as the judiciary.<sup>938</sup> Among public law scholars and their theories of the state, 'pluralism was the most prominent term' in the 1970s. While the 1960s were characterised by a changing understanding of the state in West Germany based on a shift from 'integration' to 'pluralism' as a guiding principle, the long 1970s were characterised by the rise of concrete ideas of how to organise this pluralism.<sup>939</sup> The common good was now seen as the result of a 'parallelogram of social forces' and the 'the freedom of opinion [and] the freedom of the press [...]' came to the centre of attention.<sup>940</sup> The various conflicting concepts of press pluralism presented in this thesis mainly developed in reaction to an assumed uneven coalescence of political power and were part of this larger debate over the changing relationship between state and society at the time.<sup>941</sup> The four key concepts introduced, represented conflicting schools of how to organise pluralism and participation in the long 1970s and shall be reviewed with regard to their wider significance in the following.

The concept of social pluralism embodied strong similarities to what was contemporarily described as 'democratic social pluralism'. It aimed at implementing a decentralised and differentiated organisational structure of interest groups and saw the widening of participation opportunities as a foremost task of the state.<sup>942</sup> The merger control as well as the debate over a general press law and, with it, plans to regulate the 'internal

---

(Leverkusen, 1977); A. Gehring, *Freiheit und Pluralismus: Eine Analyse zum Problem der Stabilität einer pluralistischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1977).

<sup>938</sup> See Doering-Manteuffel, 'Langfristige Ursprünge und dauerhafte Auswirkungen', p. 322.

<sup>939</sup> See M. Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland vol. 4: Staats- und Verwaltungswissenschaft in Ost und West 1945-1990* (Munich, 2012), p. 366; Günther, 'Vom Staat zum pluralistischen Gemeinwesen: Die bundesdeutsche Staatsrechtslehre und die Rudolf Smend-Schule im Wandel 1949-1970', in A. Bauerkämper, K.H. Jarausch, and M.M. Payk (eds.), *Demokratiewunder: Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands 1945-1970* (Goettingen, 2005), pp. 281-304.

<sup>940</sup> Stolleis, *Geschichte*, p. 366.

<sup>941</sup> See Sebaldt, *Pluralismus*.

<sup>942</sup> See Assel, *Demokratischer Sozialpluralismus*, pp. 32-3.

freedom of the press' and strengthen the position of journalists, embodied striking parallels to these claims. At its core, the concept was based on the belief that pluralism could be applied through regulation and intervention. The social pluralism *concept* of the SPD and its application thus symbolised the interventionist approach to pluralism which would enable democratic conflict and discussion between interest groups.<sup>943</sup>

The SPD's concept of pluralism, especially in the form of social pluralism and interventionist politics, triggered considerable criticism from the left and the right. With respect to the press it has been shown that the free-market pluralism of the CDU called for less interventionist politics thereby mirroring the CDU's general scepticism towards a strengthening of interest groups, unions (such as the journalists' unions), and associations.<sup>944</sup> The regulation of participation of many societal groups was considered a threat to the state's capacity to act.<sup>945</sup> Therefore, free-market pluralism was seen as a way of ensuring a 'natural balance of power'. Deregulation was seen as a precondition for the functioning of the state in which interest groups were not strengthened by intervention. The concept of a 'social democratic state' or 'union state' became a nightmare scenario among conservatives and debates over 'ungovernability' emerged.<sup>946</sup> Conservative criticism against pluralism also found its way into the discourse over the press in the 'counterweight idea', aiming to restore 'genuine statehood' and trigger a 'conservative turnaround' thereby rolling back pluralisation.<sup>947</sup> The newly founded conservative journals became spearheads in the conservative criticism against the 'social democratic state' and pluralism. They were an outgrowth of a general

---

<sup>943</sup> See e.g. Steffani, 'Vom Pluralismus zum Neopluralismus', pp. 66-8.

<sup>944</sup> See H.O. Hemmer and U. Borsdorf, "'Gewerkschaftsstaat' - Zur Vorgeschichte eines aktuellen Schlagworts', *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 25 (1974), pp. 640-53.

<sup>945</sup> See K. Biedenkopf and R.v. Voss (eds.), *Staatsführung, Verbandsmacht und innere Souveränität: Von der Rolle der Verbände, Gewerkschaften und Bürgerinitiativen in der Politik* (Stuttgart, 1977).

<sup>946</sup> See G. Metzler, 'Staatsversagen und Unregierbarkeit'; Biedenkopf and Voss (eds.), *Staatsführung*.

<sup>947</sup> See H. Oberreuter, 'Pluralismus und Antipluralismus', in id. (ed.), *Pluralismus: Grundlegung und Diskussion* (Opladen, 1980), pp. 13-36: 32; Schildt, "'Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten'".

conservative criticism against pluralism.<sup>948</sup> These journals voiced the concerns of the far right which saw pluralism as an attempt to replace the state and 'fallacy'.<sup>949</sup>

Leftist criticism against pluralism and the social pluralism which characterised the press policy of the government formulated in the alternative 'counter public' concept, also represented a particular concept of pluralism. In Marxist discourse, pluralism was seen as a 'bourgeois ideology'.<sup>950</sup> Scholars like Herbert Marcuse argued that pluralism was an 'ideology of integration' that would strengthen the power of the political elites.<sup>951</sup> Further, the 'elitist pluralism', whereby selected or elected individuals represented larger interest groups, was criticised. The 'counter public' idea has to be seen as an outgrowth of this criticism. In this respect, it could be shown how the rise of the 'counter public' idea was a reaction to the social pluralism of the government and its press policy in the long 1970s. It called for a 'participatory pluralisation' thereby following contemporary ideas to apply a stronger 'democracy within organisations' and thus dealing with the question of hierarchies.<sup>952</sup> This wider idea of how to organise the pluralism of interest groups tied in with participation claims by the 'alternative' press, its 'citizen journalism' and non-hierarchical organisation of the departments and its specific concept of journalism as removing the separation of authors and recipients.

The transformation of the press based on different concepts of press pluralism, shows how the theoretical debates had concrete, meas-

---

<sup>948</sup> See N. Büchse, 'Von Staatsbürgern und Protestbürgern: Der deutsche Herbst und die Veränderung der politischen Kultur in der Bundesrepublik', in H. Knoch (ed.), *Bürgersinn mit Weltgefühl: Politische Moral und solidarischer Protest in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren* (Goettingen, 2007), pp. 311-32: 317-8 and 328.

<sup>949</sup> See T. Kleinknecht, 'Demokratisierung als Staats- oder Lebensform: Konservative Einreden in den Cappenberger Gesprächen der Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gesellschaft in den 1970er Jahren', in M. Livi, D. Schmidt, and M. Sturm (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung und Mobilisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 113-30.

<sup>950</sup> Stolleis, *Geschichte*, p. 366.

<sup>951</sup> Assel, *Demokratischer Sozialpluralismus*, pp. 62-5.

<sup>952</sup> F. Naschold, *Organisation und Demokratie: Untersuchung zum Demokratisierungspotential in komplexen Organisationen* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 56 ff.; P. Bachrach, *Die Theorie der demokratischen Elitenherrschaft: Eine kritische Analyse* (Frankfurt a.M., 1970).

urable effects. In the transformation of the press the 'increase in pluralism' which is said to define the period, could be experienced in practice.<sup>953</sup> The debates over the press and the transformation of the press that has so far been largely undetected, were a catalyst for the changing relationship between state and society in the long 1970s. In this sense, a new press history of the 1970s adds an important cornerstone to enhance, refine, and add detail to the ongoing research on the political culture of the 1970s.

#### Outlook: The Press in the 1980s

By the end of the long 1970s, with the beginning of the chancellorship of Helmut Kohl, media policy experienced a fundamental re-orientation through the introduction of private broadcasting and private television stations.<sup>954</sup> In his government statement in 1983, Helmut Kohl declared that

'A fresh impetus is given to the plurality of opinions by the new communication technologies. Therefore, the government welcomes the initiatives of the *Länder* to introduce new forms of economic exposure for radio and television [...]. The government will push forward decisions allowing for the free usage of new technologies.'<sup>955</sup>

Many of the publishers entered the broadcasting market at this point, at a moment when the economic conditions of the media system were being transformed. In 1984, the SPD also decided to support the introduction of private broadcasting. The Green Party was the only party represented in parliament which remained critical on the issue of private broadcasting. At the Federal Assembly of the Green Party in December 1985, a media strategy paper was passed, arguing that people would be encouraged to become passive if general societal communication were commercialised.

---

<sup>953</sup> Wolfrum, *Demokratie*, pp. 241-82.

<sup>954</sup> See Hermanni, *Medienpolitik*, p. 13; J. Wilke, 'Die Tagespresse der achtziger Jahre: Zwischen Stabilisierung, Reichweitenverlusten und (supramedialer) Konzentration', in W. Faulstich (ed.), *Die Kultur der 80er Jahre* (Munich, 2005), pp. 69-90.

<sup>955</sup> Anonymus, 'Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl zu den neuen Medien: Auszug aus der Regierungserklärung vom 4. Mai 1983', *Media Perspektiven*, 5/1983, pp. 357-8.

It called for a reduction of advertisements and a strict separation between the communication of the masses, business, and individuals.<sup>956</sup>

The press landscape of the 1980s had remained widely unchanged since the mid-1970s. In terms of the newspaper market, numbers remained stable until the mid-1980s, with 126 newspapers with an independent main editorial department in 1985 which then slowly declined to 119 in 1989.<sup>957</sup> No new supra-regional newspapers were founded until the end of the Bonn Republic. The number of 'one-paper districts' slightly increased in the 1980s. Where previously there had been 85 'one-paper districts' in 1954 and 156 in 1976, there were as many as 160 on the eve of German unification.<sup>958</sup> A downward trend can be identified with respect to the number of publishing houses. There were 392 publishing companies in 1981, 382 in 1985, 375 in 1987, and finally 358 in 1989.<sup>959</sup> With the introduction of private broadcasting in 1984 and 1985, the consumption of the press declined from 38 minutes per day in both 1974 and 1980 to 33 minutes in 1985 and finally 30 minutes in 1990.<sup>960</sup>

To date, however, there has been a great lack in our understanding of the development of the press during the 1980s until the end of the Bonn Republic. So far, there is little understanding of the ways in which the dual system transformed the media system and affected the press. Future research should consider the role of the different market segments, the local and regional and supra-regional press, and the changing ideas and concepts of the press. A further lack of research can be identified with regard to individual press products. Comprehensive studies on the history of leading papers such as the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Bild-Zeitung*, and *Spiegel* are missing, as are studies on the development of media policy conceptions of the political parties throughout the Bonn Republic.

---

<sup>956</sup> See Schütz (ed.), *Medienpolitik*, pp. 389-90.

<sup>957</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

<sup>958</sup> See Deutscher Städte- und Gemeindebund (ed.), *Lokale Öffentlichkeit - Zukunft von Ortspresse und Technischen Medien* (Goettingen, 1982), p. 14; Pürer and Raabe, *Medien*, pp. 124-6.

<sup>959</sup> See Appendix: Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989.

<sup>960</sup> See Schulz, 'Nutzung', p. 409.

It is in the nature of things that historians require archival material and primary sources to unveil larger transformations and processes. The limitations on access to press archives have so far been a major obstacle for research into the press history of the FRG. Just recently, however, with the project on *Die Zeit* and the papers of Marion Dönhoff<sup>961</sup>, as well as the celebration of two anniversaries, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ‘*Spiegel* affair’ in October 2012 as well as the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Axel Springer’s birthday in the same year, a new interest in the press has emerged.<sup>962</sup> It is hoped that publishing companies and newspapers will apply a less restrictive archiving policy and allow for more source-based research on the German press to be conducted.

As this thesis has shown, it is a worthwhile task to analyse press history as part of the changing political culture in the FRG. With a particular eye on the long 1970s, the increasing role attributed to press pluralism, the factual market transformation, and the press’s role as a partial political lead medium in the context of political pluralisation made it central to the cultural and political shifts which defined the period. In addition, a consolidation process rooted in the foundation of the West German press in 1945, as well as the burst of growing demand for press pluralism in politics, society, and the publishing houses contributed to the shaping and protection of a highly diversified press in the FRG.

---

<sup>961</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>962</sup> The results of the conference are published in Doerry and Janssen (eds.), *Spiegel-Affäre*.

## VIII. Sources and Bibliography

### Unpublished Sources

Archive of the *tageszeitung*, Berlin (*taz*-archive)

- Taz 78-79
- Taz intern 79-84
- Presseecho
- Zahlen und Papiere 1982

Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Hamburg (AHIS)

SBe 410 Gegenöffentlichkeit

SBe 411 Alternative Medien

SBe 412 Alternative Medien

Collection of 'alternative' papers and conservative journals

Papers of Helmut Schmidt, Hamburg/Bonn (PAHS, HSAA)

#### Private Papers (Private Archive Helmut Schmidt, PAHS)

Helmut Schmidt Privat Politisch 1953-1982

Korrespondenz Helmut Schmidt Marion Dönhoff

#### Official Papers (Bonn, HSAA)

HSAA006363, 006681, 006912

Papers of Marion Dönhoff, Hamburg (Nachlass Marion Dönhoff Hamburg, NMDH)

- Korrespondenz Pumpenkamp
- Wichtige Korrespondenz
- Korrespondenz 1945-2002

Spiegel Archive Hamburg, Papers of Rudolf Augstein (Spiegel-Archiv Hamburg, SAH)

- Correspondence Rudolf Augstein
- Internal Documents



## Published Primary Sources

### Newspapers and Journals

Bayernkurier, Bild, Blatt München, Bremer Blatt, Bremer Nachrichten, Charlie kaputt, Chicago Weekly, Courage, Criticon, Der Spiegel, Die Zeit, Emma, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Grosse Freiheit, ID, Kölner Stadtanzeiger, konservativ heute, Münchner Abendzeitung, Münchner Stadtanzeiger, Pflasterstrand, radikal, Stern, student, Stuttgarter Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Szene Hamburg, tageszeitung, Titanic, Vorwärts, Welt.

### Article Collections and Published Correspondence

Bölsche, J. (ed.), *Rudolf Augstein schreiben was ist: Kommentare, Gespräche, Vorträge* (Stuttgart, 2003).

Bröckers, M., Berentzen, D., and Brugger, B. (eds.), *Die taz das Buch: Aktuelle Ewigkeitswerte aus zehn Jahren "tageszeitung"* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989).

Ellwein, T., Liebel, M., and Negt, I. (eds.), *Die Spiegelaffäre: Die Reaktion der Öffentlichkeit*, vol. II, *Die Spiegel-Affäre* (Olten, 1966).

Kuenheim, H.v. (ed.), *Ein wenig betrübt, Ihre Marion: Ein Briefwechsel aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Munich, 2005).

Nannen, H., *Lieber Leser! Briefe an den Leser 1958-1983* (Hamburg, 1984).

Schlie, U. (ed.), *Mehr als ich Dir jemals werde erzählen können: Ein Briefwechsel* (Hamburg, 2008).

### Grey Literature

AgAp *Das Riesengrosse Verzeichnis aller Alternativzeitungen* (Bonn, 1980).

———, *Riesengrosses Verzeichnis aller Alternativzeitungen* (Bonn, 1981).

———, *Riesengrosses Verzeichnis aller Alternativzeitungen* (Bonn,

1982).

FAZ, *Alles über die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1974).

——— (ed.), *Sie Redigieren und Schreiben die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: Zeitung für Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 1985).

Heß, H., *50 Jahre Süddeutsche Zeitung: Eine Chronik* (Munich, 1995).

Initiativgruppen für eine Tageszeitung (ed.), *Prospekt: Tageszeitung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1978).

Maderspacher, F. and Winzen, H., *Gegenöffentlichkeit: Medienhandbuch für Bürgerinitiativen, Gruppen, Schülerzeitungen u.a.* (Hamburg, 1978).

Medico International, Paranoia Buchhandlung, Projekt Archiv, et al. (eds.), *20 Jahre radikal: Geschichte und Perspektiven autonomer Medien* (Hamburg, 1996).

Springer, A., *Deutsche Presse zwischen Konzentration und Subvention* (Kiel, 1967).

———, *Viel Lärm um ein Zeitungshaus: Rede des Verlegers Axel Springer vor dem Übersee Club in Hamburg* (Berlin, 1967).

Verein des linken Buchhandels (ed.), *88a in Aktion oder wie man Bücher verbrennt, ohne sich die Finger schmutzig zu machen: Dokumentation zu den Staatsschutzaktionen gegen den linken Buchhandel* (Frankfurt a.M., 1976).

#### Contemporary Literature and Memoirs

Agnoli, J., 'Jesuiten, Kommunisten und Indianer', in Hoffmann-Axthelm, D., Kallscheuer, O., Knödler-Bunte, E., et al. (eds.), *Zwei Kulturen? TUNIX, Mescalero und die Folgen* (Gießen, 1978), pp. 80-93.

Bucerius, G., *Der angeklagte Verleger: Notizen zur Freiheit der Presse* (Munich, 1974).

Dahrendorf, R., *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland* (Munich, 1968).

- Dönhoff, M.v., *Die Bundesrepublik in der Ära Adenauer: Kritik und Perspektiven* (Reinbek, 1963).
- Dröge, F. Mescalero-Sprache und alternative Öffentlichkeit, in Knödler-Bunte, E., Preuss-Lausitz, U., and Siebel, W. (eds.), *Normalzustände: Politische Kultur in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1978), pp. 181-202.
- Flach, K.-H., *Macht und Elend der Presse* (Mainz, 1967).
- Glötz, P. and Langenbucher, W.R., *Der mißachtete Leser: Zur Kritik der deutschen Presse* (Cologne, 1969).
- Negt, O. and Kluge, A., *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1972).
- Schmidt, H., *Weggefährten: Erinnerungen und Reflexionen* (Berlin, 1996).
- , 'Die Verantwortung des Politikers für die Entwicklung der Medien und eine humane Gesellschaft', *Media Perspektiven*, 11/1979, pp. 767-76.
- Schwarzer, A. *Lebenslauf* (Cologne, 2011).
- (ed.), *PorNo: Opfer & Täter, Gegenwehr & Backlash, Verantwortung und Gesetz* (Cologne, 1994).
- Strauß, F.J., *Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1989).
- Zeuner, B., *Veto gegen Augstein: Der Kampf in der "Spiegel"-Redaktion um Mitbestimmung* (Hamburg, 1972).

#### Official Publications and Published Documents

- Anonymus, 'Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl zu den neuen Medien: Auszug aus der Regierungserklärung vom 4. Mai 1983', *Media Perspektiven*, 5/1983, pp. 357-8.
- , 'CDU/CSU legt medienpolitisches Grundsatzpapier vor: Forderungen der Union für die Pilotprojekte Kabelfernsehen', *Media Perspektiven*, 1/1978, pp. 33-5.
- , 'FRAG-Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vom 18. Juni 1981', *Media Perspektiven*, 6/1981, pp. 421-43.

- , 'Leitlinien zur Zukunftsentwicklung der elektronischen Medien: SPD-Parteivorstand verabschiedet medienpolitische Leitsätze', *Media Perspektiven*, 1/78, pp. 25-32.
- , 'Liberales Leitlinien Neue Medien', *Media Perspektiven*, 7/1979, pp. 509-16.
- , 'So denkt die CDU: Zur Diskussion in den unteren Gliederungen der Unionsparteien hat die Medienkommission der CDU/CSU ein Medienpapier vorgelegt aus dem wir die wichtigsten Passagen auszugsweise veröffentlichen', *journalist*, 7/1973, pp. 12-4.
- Arbeitskreis für Kommunikationsforschung, *Schlussbericht: Materialien zur Medienstruktur und Kommunikationspolitik für den Berichtszeitraum 1977* (Munich, 1978).
- ARD, *ARD Jahrbuch 76* (Hamburg, 1976).
- Bundesminister für Wirtschaft, 'Bekanntmachung der Allgemeinen Bedingungen für die Vergabe von ERP-Mitteln sowie der Richtlinien zur Gewährung von ERP-Darlehen für 1973', *Bundesanzeiger*, 23/199 (1973), pp. 1-4.
- Bundesregierung, *Dokumentation zu den Ereignissen und Entscheidungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entführung von Hanns Martin Schleyer und der Lufthansa-Maschine "Landshut"* (Bonn, 1977).
- Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Erfahrungen mit der Fusionskontrolle bei Presseunternehmen Drucksache 8/2265* (Bonn, 1978).
- , *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1994 - Medienbericht 1994 - Drucksache 12/8587* Bonn 1994.
- , *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Drucksache 10/5663* (Bonn, 1985).
- , *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1974), Drucksache 7/2104* (Bonn, 1974).
- , *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1978) - Medienbericht - Drucksache 8/2264* (Bonn, 1978).

- , *Bericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der Wettbewerbsgleichheit von Presse, Funk/Fernsehen und Film Drucksache V/2120* (Bonn, 1967).
- , *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit im Jahre 1977 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 8/1925* (Bonn, 1978).
- , *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit im Jahre 1978 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 8/2980* (Bonn, 1979).
- , *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1979/1980 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 9/565* (Bonn, 1981).
- , *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1981/1982 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 10/243* (Bonn, 1983).
- , *Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Dorn, Moersch und der Fraktion der FDP - Drucksache V/1579* (Bonn, 1967).
- , *Schlussbericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der wirtschaftlichen Existenz von Presseunternehmen und der Folgen der Konzentration für die Meinungsfreiheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Pressekommission) Drucksache V/3122* (Bonn, 1968).
- , *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Schlussbericht der Pressekommission (Drucksache V/3122) Drucksache V/3856* (Bonn, 1969).
- , *Stellungnahme der Kommission zur Untersuchung der Wettbewerbsgleichheit von Presse, Funk/Fernsehen und Film zu Drucksache V/2120* (Bonn, 1968).
- , *Zwischenbericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Drucksache VI/692* (Bonn, 1970).
- Deutscher Städte- und Gemeindebund (ed.), *Lokale Öffentlichkeit - Zukunft von Ortspresse und Technischen Medien* (Goettingen, 1982).
- Deutscher Presserat, *Tätigkeitsbericht 1975/1976* (Bonn, 1976).

- Dorsch, P.E., 'Neue Medien im sublokalen Kommunikationsraum: Die sog. Alternativpresse im sozialen Umfeld', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung. (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985)* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 181-7.
- , 'Zur Lage der lokalen Pressemedien unterhalb der traditionellen Lokalzeitung', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974-1978)* (Bonn, 1977), pp. 167-77.
- Dorsch, P.E. and Roegele, O.B., 'Zeitungswettbewerb in der Region München: Eine empirische Untersuchung', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985)* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 151-72.
- Fischer, H.-D., 'Zur Situation der "inneren Pressefreiheit" im internationalen Vergleich', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung. (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974)* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 167-78.
- Hans-Bredow-Institut, *Die Zukunft der Zeitung: Die Dokumentation der Hamburger Medientage '77 vom 24. Mai bis 26. Mai 1977* (Hamburg, 1977).
- , *Journalisten heute: Die Dokumentation der Hamburger Medientage '81 vom 10. Juni bis 12 Juni 1981* (Hamburg, 1981).
- IG Druck und Papier, *Pressekonzentration in Nordrhein-Westfalen: Ursachen, Folgen, Forderung* (Duesseldorf, 1977).
- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, *Lokaljournalismus '81: Lokaljournalistenpreis der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* (Limburg, 1982).
- Negrine, R. (ed.), *Television and the Press since 1945* (Manchester, 1998).
- Noelle-Neumann, E., 'Folgen lokaler Zeitungsmonopole: Ergebnisse einer Langzeitstudie', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikations-*

*wissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974)* (Bonn, 1973).

Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsergebnisse der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1974).

———, *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974-1978): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1978).

———, *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1978-1985): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse Teil 1* (Bonn, 1986).

Projektteam Lokaljournalisten, (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 1* (Munich, 1977/79).

——— (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 2* (Munich, 1978/80).

——— (ed.), *Handbuch für Lokaljournalisten Teil 3* (Munich, 1979).

Projektteam Lokaljournalisten (ed.), *Journalismus und kommunale Öffentlichkeit* (Munich, 1979).

Ronneberger, F. and Stüiber, H.-W., 'Das Problem der lokalen Alleinanbieterstellung von Tageszeitungen', in Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), *Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1971-1974): Eine Übersicht über wichtige Ergebnisse* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 87-94.

Statistisches Bundesamt, 'Bildung und Kultur Fachserie 11/ Reihe 5/ Presse (Stuttgart: Statistisches Bundesamt, 1978 ff.).

## Secondary Literature

Abelshauser, W., *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte seit 1945* (Munich, 2004).

Anderson, J. A., *Communication Theory: Epistemological Foundations* (New York, 1996).

Anonymus, 'Deutscher Presserat: "Bild" und "BZ"-Kritik', *journalist*,

- 6/1978, pp. 24-5.
- , 'Die bundesdeutsche Presse im Spiegel der amtlichen Statistik: Statistisches Bundesamt veröffentlicht Ergebnis der ersten Erhebung 1975', *Media Perspektiven*, 4/1978, pp. 241-50.
- , 'Die Top 10 Tageszeitungen', <http://www.dermerkur.de/die-top-10-tageszeitungen/>, accessed 25 May 2015.
- , 'Konzentrationsbewegungen auf dem Pressemarkt 1974', *Media Perspektiven*, 3/1975, pp.128-33.
- Arndt, H., *Die Konzentration in der Presse und die Problematik des Verleger-Fernsehens* (Frankfurt a.M., 1967).
- Arnim, T.v. "Und dann werde ich das größte Zeitungshaus Europas bauen." *Der Unternehmer Axel Springer* (Frankfurt a.M., 2012).
- Asmussen, N., 'Hans-Georg von Studnitz: Ein konservativer Journalist im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 45 (1997), pp. 75-119.
- Assel, Hans-Günther, *Demokratischer Sozialpluralismus* (Munich, 1975).
- Aufermann, J. and Elitz, E. (eds.), *Ausbildungswege zum Journalismus: Bestandsaufnahme, Kritik und Alternativen der Journalistenausbildung* (Duesseldorf, 1975).
- Bachrach, P. *Die Theorie der demokratischen Elitenherrschaft: Eine kritische Analyse* (Frankfurt a.M., 1970).
- Bajohr, F., 'Hamburg, DIE ZEIT und die Liberalisierung der Bundesrepublik', in Haase, C. and Schildt, A. (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 84-99.
- Balz, H., 'Der "Sympathisanten"-Diskurs im Deutschen Herbst', in Weinbauer, K., Requate, J., and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 320-50.
- , *Von Terroristen, Sympathisanten und dem starken Staat: Die öffentliche Debatte über die RAF in den 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2008).
- Bauerkämper, A., Jarausch, K.H., and Payk, M.M. (eds.), *Demokratie-*



- wunder: *Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands 1945-1970* (Goettingen, 2005).
- Bausinger, H., *Vermittlung der Nahwelt? Zur Funktion der Regionalprogramme* (Tuebingen, 1977).
- Begemann, M., *Zur politischen Funktion der Lokalpresse: Ein gemischt normativ-empirischer Erklärungsansatz* (Muenster, 1982).
- Benzinger, J.-P., *Lokalpresse und Macht in der Gemeinde: Publizistische Alleinstellung von Tageszeitungen in lokalen Räumen* (Nuremberg, 1980).
- Berg, K. and Kiefer, M.-L., *Massenkommunikation II: Eine Langzeitstudie zur Mediennutzung und Medienbewertung 1964-1980* (Frankfurt a.M., 1982).
- , *Massenkommunikation III: Eine Langzeitstudie zur Mediennutzung und Medienbewertung 1964-1985* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987).
- Bergsdorf, W., 'Zwanzig Jahre medienpolitischer Urknall: Zur Geschichte eines politischen Erfolges', *Die Politische Meinung*, 411/2004, pp. 5-9.
- Bering, H., *Helmut Kohl: The Man Who Reunited Germany, Rebuild Europe, and Thwarted the Soviet Empire* (Washington DC, 1999).
- Bermes, J., *Der Streit um die Presse-Selbstkontrolle: Der Deutsche Presserat. Eine Untersuchung zur Arbeit und Reform des Selbstkontrollorgans der bundesdeutschen Presse* (Baden-Baden, 1991).
- Besand, A., 'Die Birne Helmut Kohl in der Satire', in Paul, G. (ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder Band II: 1949 bis heute* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 516-23.
- Beyme, K. v. *Interessengruppen in der Demokratie* (Munich, 1969).
- Beywl, W., 'Die Alternativpresse - ein Modell für Gegenöffentlichkeit und seine Grenzen', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 46 (1982), pp. 18-31.
- Biedenkopf, K. and Voss, R. v. (eds.), *Staatsführung, Verbandsmacht und innere Souveränität: Von der Rolle der Verbände, Gewerkschaften und Bürgerinitiativen in der Politik* (Stuttgart, 1977).

- Birkner, T., *Mann des gedruckten Wortes: Helmut Schmidt und die Medien* (Hamburg, 2014).
- , 'Strategie Schmidt: Strategische Kommunikation in Politik und Publizistik am Beispiel Helmut Schmidt', in Röttger, U., Gehrau, V., and Preusse, J. (eds.), *Strategische Kommunikation: Umriss und Perspektiven eines Forschungsfeldes* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 151-72.
- Bohrmann, H., 'Entwicklung der Zeitschriftenpresse', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 135-45.
- Bösch, F. 'Die Krise als Chance: Die Neuformierung der Christdemokraten in den siebziger Jahren', in Jarausch, K. H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 296-309.
- , 'Später Protest: Die Intellektuellen und die Pressefreiheit in der frühen Bundesrepublik', in Geppert, S. and Hacke, J. (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 91-112.
- , 'Öffentliche Geheimnisse: Die verzögerte Renaissance des Medienkandals zwischen Staatsgründung und Ära Brandt', in Weisbrod, B. (ed.), *Die Politik der Öffentlichkeit - Die Öffentlichkeit der Politik* (Goettingen, 2003), pp. 125-50.
- , 'Politische Macht und Gesellschaftliche Gestaltung: Wege zur Einführung des privaten Rundfunks in den 1970/80er Jahren', in Woyke, M. (ed.), *Wandel des Politischen: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland während der 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2013), pp. 195-214.
- Böse, C., 'Die Entwicklung der Alternativpresse in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland am Beispiel der Städte Dortmund und Bochum' (unpublished B.A. Dissertation, Ruhr-University Bochum, 2006).
- Brand, K.-W., Büsser, D., and Rucht, D., *Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft: Neue Soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt a.M., 1983).
- Brawand, L., *Die Spiegel-Story: Wie alles anfang* (Duesseldorf, 1987).

- Brückner, P., *Die Mescalero-Affäre: Ein Lehrstück für Aufklärung und politische Kultur* (Hannover, 1978).
- Brüseke, F. and H.-M. Große-Oetringhaus, H.-M. *Blätter von unten: Alternativzeitungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Offenbach, 1981).
- Buchholtz, H.-C., 'Öffentlichkeitsarbeit in den Auseinandersetzungen um das Atomkraftwerk Wyhl: Prozess demokratischer Willensbildung oder Beispiel für die Herrschaft der veröffentlichten Meinung?', in Buchholtz, H.-C., Mez, L., Zabern, T.v., et al. (eds.), *Widerstand gegen Atomkraftwerke: Informationen für Atomkraftgegner und solche, die es werden wollen* (Wuppertal, 1978), pp. 49-82.
- Buchwald, F.A., *Adenauers Informationspolitik und das Bundespresseamt* (Mainz, 1991).
- Büchse, N. 'Von Staatsbürgern und Protestbürgern: Der deutsche Herbst und die Veränderung der politischen Kultur in der Bundesrepublik', in Knoch, H. (ed.), *Bürgersinn mit Weltgefühl: Politische Moral und solidarischer Protest in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren* (Goettingen, 2007), pp. 311-22.
- Büteführ, N., *Zwischen Anspruch und Kommerz: Lokale Alternativpresse 1970-1993* (Muenster, 1995).
- Carlebach, E., *Zensur ohne Schere: Die Gründerjahre der "Frankfurter Rundschau" 1945/47, Ein unbekanntes Kapitel Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Frankfurt a.M., 1985).
- Conze, E., *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (Munich, 2009).
- Cooper, A.H., *Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements since 1945* (Ann Arbor, 1996).
- Dahrendorf, R., *Liberal und unabhängig: Gerd Bucerius und seine Zeit* (Munich, 2000).
- Daum, T., *Die 2. Kultur: Alternativliteratur in der Bundesrepublik* (Mainz, 1981).
- Dietz, B., Neumaier, C., and Rödder, A. (eds.), *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014).
- Dirke, S.v., *"All Power to the Imagination!": The West German Counter*

- Culture from the Student Movement to the Greens* (Nebraska, 1997).
- Dirsch, F., *Authentischer Konservatismus: Studien zu einer klassischen Strömung des politischen Denkens* (Berlin, 2012).
- , 'Mit spitzer Feder gegen den Zeitgeist: Ausgewählte konservative Zeitschriften und ihre Kritik an kulturevolutionären Tendenzen', in Becker, H., Dirsch, F., and Winckler, S. (eds.), *Die 68er und ihre Gegner: Der Widerstand gegen die Kulturrevolution* (Graz, 2003), pp. 64-99.
- Doering-Manteuffel, A., 'Langfristige Ursprünge und dauerhafte Auswirkungen: Zur historischen Einordnung der siebziger Jahre', in Jarasch, K.H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 313-28.
- Doering-Manteuffel, A. and Raphael, L., *Nach dem Boom: Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (Goettingen, 2008).
- Doerry, M. and Janssen, H. (eds.), *Die Spiegel-Affäre: Ein Skandal und seine Folgen* (Munich, 2013).
- Dorsch, P.E., 'Die Alternativzeitungen Ihr Markt und Ihre Macher', *Media Perspektiven*, 10/1982, pp. 660-7.
- , *Die Zeitung, Medium des Alltags: Monographie zum Zeitungsstreik* (Munich, 1984).
- Dovifat, E. (ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik* (Berlin, 1968/69).
- Drücke, B., 'Anarchist and Libertarian Media, 1945-2010 (Federal Republic)', in Downing, J.D.H. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Social Movement Media* (Los Angeles, 2011), pp. 36-42.
- Dürr, A., 'Weltblatt und Heimatzeitung: Die "Süddeutsche Zeitung"', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 63-80.
- Dussel, K., *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte* (Konstanz, 2010).
- , 'Vom Radio- zum Fernsehzeitalter: Medienumbrüche in sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive', in Schildt, A. (ed.), *Dynamische Zeiten* (Hamburg, 2000), pp. 673-94.
- Elitz, E., 'Tageszeitungsprojekt: Links von der "Frankfurter Rundschau"', *journalist*, 7/1978, pp. 11-2.

- Emig, G., Engel, P., and Schubert, C. (eds.), *Die Alternativpresse: Kontroversen, Polemiken, Dokumente* (Ellwangen, 1980).
- Engel, P. and Schmitt, C.W., *Klitzekleine Bertelsmänner: Literarisch-publizistische Alternativen 1965-1973* (Hann.-Muenden, 1974).
- Fabris, H. H., 'Rekrutierung und Ausbildung des journalistischen Nachwuchses in der Presse der BRD', in Aufermann, J. and Elitz E. (eds.), *Ausbildungswege zum Journalismus: Bestandsaufnahmen, Kritik und Alternativen der Journalistenausbildung* (Duesseldorf, 1975), pp. 14-33.
- Fahlenbach, K. and Stapane, L., 'Mediale und visuelle Strategien der Friedensbewegung', in Becker-Schaum, C., Gassert, P., Klimke, M., et al. (eds.), *"Entrüstet Euch!": Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn, 2012), pp. 229-46.
- Farin, K. and Zwingmann, H.-J. (eds.), *Alternativen zur Rechtspresse: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme* (Ettlingen, 1980).
- Faulstich, W., *Die Mediengeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2012).
- , 'Gesellschaft und Kultur der siebziger Jahre: Einführung und Überblick', in Faulstich, W. (ed.), *Die Kultur der 70er Jahre* (Munich, 2004), pp. 7-18.
- Feierabend, L., 'Die Emanzipation des Lokalen: Das Lokaljournalistenprogramm der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung - eine Erfolgsgeschichte', in Pöttker, H. and Vehmeier, A. (eds.), *Das verkannte Ressort: Probleme und Perspektiven des Lokaljournalismus* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 115-27.
- Feser, A., *Vermögensmacht und Medieneinfluss - parteieigene Unternehmen und die Chancengleichheit der Parteien* (Hamburg, 2003).
- Fickers, A., 'The Emergence of Television as a Conservative Media Revolution: Historicising a Process of Remediation in the Post-War Western European Mass Media Ensemble', *Journal of Modern European History*, 10/1, (2012), pp. 49-75.
- Fischer, H.-D., Molenveld, R., Petzke, I. et al., *Innere Pressefreiheit in Europa: Komparative Studie zur Situation in England, Frankreich,*

- Schweden (Baden-Baden, 1975).
- Flamm, L., *Westfalen und der Westdeutsche Rundfunk: Eine Rundfunkhistorische Studie zur Regionalisierung* (Cologne, 1993).
- Flieger, W., *Die TAZ: Vom Alternativblatt zur linken Tageszeitung* (Munich, 1991).
- Flottau, H., 'Liberal auf schwankendem Boden: Die "Frankfurter Rundschau"', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 97-108.
- , 'Finanziell abhängig, aber dennoch frei? Zur wirtschaftlichen und rechtlichen Situation der Presse', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 11-36.
- , *Hörfunk und Fernsehen heute* (Munich, 1972).
- Fraenkel, E., *Deutschland und die westlichen Demokratien* (Stuttgart, 1964).
- Frei, N., *Amerikanische Lizenzpolitik und deutsche Pressetradition: Eine Geschichte der Nachkriegszeitung Südost-Kurier* (Munich, 1986).
- , '"Was ist Wahrheit?" Der Versuch einer Pressegesetzgebung 1951/52', in Wagner, H. (ed.), *Idee und Wirklichkeit des Journalismus* (Munich, 1988), pp. 75-92.
- Führer, K.C., 'Erfolg und Macht von Axel Springers "Bild"-Zeitung in den 1950er Jahren', *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 4/3 (2007), pp. 311-36.
- , *Medienmetropole Hamburg: Mediale Öffentlichkeiten 1930-1960* (Munich, 2008).
- Führer, K.C., Hickethier, K., and Schildt, A., 'Öffentlichkeit - Medien - Geschichte', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 1-38.
- Fulda, B., *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Oxford, 2009).
- Gallus, A., 'Deutschlandpolitische Querdenker in einer konservativen "Zeit" - die ersten beiden Chefredakteure Samhaber und Tüngel 1946-1955', in Haase, C. and Schildt, A. (eds.), *"Die Zeit" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 225-45.

- , 'Scharnierzeit zwischen Konsolidierung und Demokratisierung Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Jahr 1957', in Gallus, A. and Müller, W. (eds.), *Sonde 1957: Ein Jahr als symbolische Zäsur für Wandlungsprozesse im geteilten Deutschland* (Berlin, 2010), pp. 12-28.
- Gausepohl, R., 'Das Bremer-Blatt', in Farin, K. and Zwingmann, H.-J. (eds.), *Alternativen zur Rechtspresse: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme* (Ettlingen, 1980), pp. 21-5.
- Gehring, A. *Freiheit und Pluralismus: Eine Analyse zum Problem der Stabilität einer pluralistischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1977).
- Gericke, G., 'Verlorene Vielfalt: Zur Rolle der Lokalzeitung', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 37-52.
- Gillies, P., Koerfer, D., and Wengst, U., *Ludwig Erhard* (Berlin, 2010).
- Glaser, H., *Kleine Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1991).
- Goltz, A.v.d., 'Eine Gegen-Generation von 1968? Politische Polarisierung und konservative Mobilisierung an westdeutschen Universitäten', in Livi, M., Schmidt, D., and Sturm, M. (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 73-90.
- Gorski, P.S. and Markovits, A.S., *The German Left: Red, Green and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Gossel, D., *Die Hamburger Presse nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Neuanfang unter britischer Besatzungsherrschaft* (Hamburg, 1993).
- Graf, R., 'Die Grenzen des Wachstums und die Grenzen des Staates: Konservative und ökologische Bedrohungsszenarien der frühen 1970er Jahre', in Geppert, D. and Hacke, J. (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 207-28.
- Grube, N., 'Seines Glückes Schmied? Entstehungs- und Verwendungskontexte von Allensbacher Umfragen zum Wertewandel 1947-2001', in Dietz, B., Neumaier, C., and Rödder, A. (eds.), *Gab es*

- den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014), pp. 95-119.
- Günther, F., 'Vom Staat zum pluralistischen Gemeinwesen: Die bundesdeutsche Staatsrechtslehre und die Rudolf Smend-Schule im Wandel 1949-1970', in Bauerkämper, A., Jarausch, K.H., and Payk, M.M. (eds.), *Demokratiewunder: Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands 1945-1970* (Goettingen, 2005), pp. 281-304.
- Haase, C., '"Das deutsche Weltblatt" DIE ZEIT und die Außenpolitik der Bonner Republik', in Haase, C. and Schildt, A. (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 28-58.
- , 'From "Occident" to "Western Europe": Ernst Friedlaender and the Idea of 'Europe' in West Germany', in Gorrara, C., Feldner, H., and Passmore, K. (eds.), *The Lost Decade? The 1950s in European History, Politics, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 118-32.
- , 'The German Mass Media in the Twentieth Century: Between Democracy and Dictatorship', *European History Quarterly*, 40 (2010), pp. 484-92.
- , 'Um der ehrenhaften Erinnerung willen: Marion Gräfin Dönhoff und die Medialisierung adliger Erinnerungskultur in der Bundesrepublik', *Jahrbuch für Politik und Geschichte*, 3, (2012), pp. 171-97.
- Haase, C., Kraiker, C., and Kreuzer, J., 'Germany's Foreign Relations and the Nazi Past', *Contemporary European History*, 21/1 (2012), pp. 79-93.
- Haase, C. and Schildt, A. (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008).
- Hachmeister, L., 'Ein deutsches Nachrichtenmagazin: Der frühe "Spiegel" und sein NS-Personal', in Hachmeister, L. and Siering, F. (eds.), *Die Herren Journalisten: Die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945* (Munich, 2002), pp. 87-120.



- Hake, L., 'Der Aufbau einer Pressestatistik', *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 5 (1977), pp. 291-6.
- Harenberg, K.-H., 'Aus Bonn für "Deutschland": "Die Welt"', in Thomas, M.W., *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 109-26.
- Harpprecht, K., *Die Gräfin Marion Dönhoff: Eine Biographie* (Reinbek, 2008).
- Hausmann, P., 'Laudatio: Dr. Walter Schütz zum 65. Geburtstag', in Schneider, B., Reumann, K., and Schiwy, P. (eds.), *Publizistik: Beiträge zur Medienentwicklung* (Konstanz, 1995), pp. 19-22.
- Heide, M.v.d. and Wagener, C., "'Weiter rechts als die CDU': Das erste Jahrzehnt der 'Zeit'", in Hachmeister, L. and Siering, F. (eds.), *Die Herren Journalisten: Die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945* (Munich, 2002), pp. 165-84.
- Heinemann, E. 'Jörg Schröder, linkes Verlagswesen und Pornografie', in Reichardt, S. and Siegfried, D. (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 290-312.
- Hemmer, H.O. and Borsdorf, U. "'Gewerkschaftsstaat" - Zur Vorgeschichte eines aktuellen Schlagworts', *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, 25 (1974), pp. 640-53.
- Hempel-Küter, C., *Die KPD-Presse in den Westzonen von 1945 bis 1956: Historische Einführung, Bibliographie und Standortverzeichnis* (Frankfurt a.M., 1993).
- Henshaw, K., *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Herbert, U. (ed.), *Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland: Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945-1980* (Goettingen, 2002).
- Hermanni, A.-J., *Medienpolitik in den 80er Jahren: Machtpolitische Strategien der Parteien im Zuge der Einführung des dualen Rundfunksystems* (Wiesbaden, 2008).
- Herminghaus, W., 'Stadtteilzeitungen Keine Alternative aber ein Ansatz zu einem neuen Lokaljournalismus', *Media Perspektiven*, 8/1980, pp. 558-60.

- Heß, Hans-Jürgen, *Die Auswirkungen der Tätigkeit innerparteilicher Gruppierungen auf die Regierungsfunktion einer politischen Partei am Beispiel der Berliner SPD in den Jahren 1963 bis 1982* (Berlin, 1983).
- Hodenberg, C.v., 'Expeditionen in den Methodendschungel: Herausforderungen der Zeitgeschichtsforschung im Fernsehzeitalter', *Journal of Modern European History*, 10/1 (2012), pp. 24-48.
- , 'Fernsehrezeption, Frauenrolle und Wertewandel in den 1970er Jahren: Das Beispiel "All in the Family"', in Dietz, B., Neumaier, C., and Rödder, A. (eds.), *Gab es den Wertewandel? Neue Forschungen zum gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Wandel seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich, 2014), pp. 285-306.
- , *Konsens und Krise: Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945-1973* (Goettingen, 2006).
- , 'Zeitkritik in der ZEIT: Der Umgang mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit', in Haase, C. and Schildt, A. (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 151-72.
- Hoeres, P., 'Reise nach Amerika: Axel Springer und die Transformation des deutschen Konservatismus in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren', *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 9/1 (2012), pp. 54-75.
- Hoffmann, J. and Sarcinelli, U., 'Politische Wirkungen der Medien', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Cologne, 2001), pp. 720-48.
- Hohensee, J., *Der erste Ölpreisschock 1973/74: Die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen der arabischen Erdölpolitik auf die Bundesrepublik und Westeuropa* (Stuttgart, 1996).
- Holtz-Bacha, C., 'Alternative Presse', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 330-49.
- , *Mitspracherechte für Journalisten - Redaktionsstatuten in Presse und Rundfunk* (Cologne, 1986).
- , 'Presseförderung im westeuropäischen Vergleich', in Bruck, P.A. (ed.), *Medienmanager Staat: Von den Versuchen des Staates*,

- Medienvielfalt zu ermöglichen. Medienpolitik im internationalen Vergleich* (Munich, 1993), pp. 443-568.
- Horn, S., *Abschied vom Kollektiv: Der Frankfurter Pflasterstrand* (Frankfurt a.M., 1989).
- Hünemörder, K.F., 'Kassandra im modernen Gewand: Die umweltapokalyptischen Mahnrufe der frühen 1970er Jahre', in Hohensee, J. and Uekötter, F. (eds.), *Wird Kassandra heiser? Die Geschichte falscher Ökoalarme* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 78-98.
- Hurwitz, H., *Die Stunde Null der deutschen Presse: Die amerikanische Pressepolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949* (Cologne, 1972).
- Jäger, W., 'Der Sturz des baden-württembergischen Ministerpräsidenten Hans Filbinger 1978 - Dokumentation und Analyse', in Heck, B. (ed.), *Hans Filbinger Der "Fall und die Fakten: Eine historische und politologische Analyse* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 103-75.
- Jäger, W. and Link, W., *Republik im Wandel 1974-1982: Die Ära Schmidt* (Stuttgart, 1987).
- Janke, H., 'Gratis frei Haus: Anzeigenblätter - eine Folge der Pressekonzentration', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin 1981), pp. 53-62.
- , 'Riese im Revier. Die "Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung"', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 45-62.
- Janßen, K.-H., Kuenheim, H.v., and Sommer, T., *DIE ZEIT: Geschichte einer Wochenzeitung 1946 bis heute* (Goettingen, 2006).
- Jaraus, K.H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008).
- , 'Verkannter Strukturwandel: Die siebziger Jahre als Vorgeschichte der Probleme der Gegenwart', in Jaraus, K.H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 9-29.
- Jarren, O., *Kommunale Kommunikation: Eine theoretische und empirische Untersuchung kommunaler Kommunikationsstrukturen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung lokaler und sublokaler Medien* (Munich, 1984).

- , 'Statt weniger Großer - viele Kleine? Funktionswandel der Presse', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 63-78.
- Kaack, H., *Die F.D.P. Grundriß und Materialien zu Geschichte, Struktur und Programmatik* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978).
- Kaelble, H., *Kalter Krieg und Wohlfahrtsstaat: Europa 1945-1989* (Bonn, 2011).
- Käsmayr, B., *Die sogenannte "Alternativpresse", ein Beispiel für Gegenöffentlichkeit in der BRD und im deutschsprachigen Ausland seit 1968* (Gersthofen, 1974).
- Kepplinger, H.M., *Ereignismanagement: Wirklichkeit und Massenmedien* (Zurich, 1992).
- Kisker, K.P., Knoche, M., and Zerdick, A., *Wirtschaftskonjunktur und Pressekonzentration in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1979).
- Kleinknecht, T. 'Demokratisierung als Staats- oder Lebensform: Konservative Einreden in den Cappenberger Gesprächen der Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gesellschaft in den 1970er Jahren', in Livi, M., Schmidt, D., and Sturm, M. (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung und Mobilisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 113-30.
- Knoch, H. "Mündige Bürger", oder: Der kurze Frühling einer partizipatorischen Vision. Einleitung, in id. (ed.), *Bürgersinn mit Weltgefühl: Politische Moral und solidarischer Protest in den sechziger Jahren* (Goettingen, 2007), pp. 9-56.
- Knoche, M. and Krüger, T., *Presse im Druckerstreik: Eine Analyse der Berichterstattung zum Tarifkonflikt* (Berlin, 1978).
- Knoche, M. 'Kein Freispruch für lokale Monopolzeitungen', *die feder*, 12/1973, pp. 3-8.
- Köpf, P., *Schreiben nach jeder Richtung: Goebbels-Propagandisten in der westdeutschen Nachkriegspresse* (Berlin, 1995).
- Korda, R.M., 'Für Bürgertum und Business: Die "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung"', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse:*

- Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 81-96.
- Koszyk, K., 'Presse unter alliierter Besatzung', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Medien-  
geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 31-  
58.
- , *Pressepolitik für Deutsche 1945-1949* (Berlin, 1986).
- , 'Die Zeitung: 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart', in E. Dovifat  
(ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik Band 3 Praktische Publizistik 2.  
Teil* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 76-97.
- , *Deutsche Presse 1914-1945* (Berlin, 1972).
- , *Geschichte der deutschen Presse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin,  
1966).
- Koszyk, K. and Pruys, K.H., *Wörterbuch zur Publizistik* (Munich, 1970).
- Kraushaar, W., "'44 Tage ohne Opposition'", in Hartung, K., Ensslin, C.,  
and Schneider, G. (eds.), *Der Blinde Fleck: Die Linke, die RAF  
und der Staat* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), pp. 9-24.
- , '1968 und die Massenmedien', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41  
(2001), pp. 317-47.
- , *Dauerstreit um Israel: Das prekäre Verhältnis zwischen Axel  
Springer und der Linken*,  
[http://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/cms/de/mediathek/mag-  
azin/magazin18/kraushaar/](http://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/cms/de/mediathek/mag-<br/>azin/magazin18/kraushaar/), accessed 25 May 2015.
- Kremendahl, H. *Pluralismustheorie in Deutschland: Entstehung, Kritik,  
Perspektiven* (Leverkusen, 1977).
- Kruip, G., *Das "Welt"- "Bild" des Axel Springer Verlags: Journalismus zwi-  
schen westlichen Werten und deutschen Denktraditionen* (Mu-  
nich, 1999).
- Kruke, A., 'Der Kampf um die politische Deutungshoheit: Meinungsfor-  
schung als Instrument von Parteien und Medien in den siebziger  
Jahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2001), pp. 293-326.
- Kuenheim, H.v., *Marion Dönhoff: Eine Biographie* (Reinbek, 2002).
- Lachenmeier, D., 'Die Achtundsechziger-Bewegung zwischen etablierter  
und alternativer Öffentlichkeit', in Klimke, M. and Scharloth, J.  
(eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der  
Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 61-74.

- Lange, H.-J., *Responsivität und Organisation: Eine Studie über die Modernisierung der CDU von 1973-1989* (Marburg, 1994).
- Lessem, R. and Schieffer, A., *Integral Research and Innovation: Transforming Enterprise and Society* (Surrey, 2010).
- Lindmeyr, S., 'Die Novellierung des Bayerischen Rundfunkgesetzes 1972 und seine Folgen', in Behmer, M. and Hasselbring, B. (eds.), *Radiotage, Fernsehjahre: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Rundfunkgeschichte nach 1945* (Muenster, 2006), pp. 29-32.
- Link, W., *Die Ära Brandt 1969-1974* (Stuttgart, 1986).
- Löblich, M., '"Michel-Kommission" und "Günther-Kommission": Medienpolitische Entscheidungen über die Zusammensetzung von Kommissionen in den 1960er Jahren', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 10 (2008), pp. 107-33.
- Löffler, M. *Presserecht Kommentar 3 Auflage Band I Landespressesetze* (Munich, 1983).
- Magenau, J., *Die taz: Eine Zeitung als Lebensform* (Munich, 2007).
- Magnus, G. and Reinbach, U. (eds.), *Pressegesetze mit einem Blick* (Frankfurt a.M., 1967).
- Malinowski, S. and Sedlmaier, A., '1968' - A Catalyst of Consumer Society', *Cultural and Social History*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 255-74.
- Marmulla, H., 'Das Kursbuch: Nationale Zeitschrift, internationale Kommunikation, transnationale Öffentlichkeit', in Klimke, M. and Scharloth, J. (eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 37-48.
- Marszolek, I. and Saldern, A.v., 'Mediale Durchdringung des deutschen Alltags: Radio in drei politischen Systemen (1930er bis 1960er Jahre)', in Schildt, A. and Daniel, U. (eds.), *Massenmedien im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 2010), pp. 84-120.
- März, M., *Linker Protest nach dem Deutschen Herbst: Eine Geschichte des linken Spektrums im Schatten des "starken Staates", 1977-1979* (Bielefeld, 2012).
- Mecking, S., *Bürgerwille und Gebietsreform: Demokratieentwicklung und Neuordnung von Staat und Gesellschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1965-2000* (Munich, 2012).

- Mende, S., *"Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn": Eine Geschichte der Gründungsgrünen* (Munich, 2011).
- , 'Von der "Anti-Parteien-Partei" zur "ökologischen Reformpartei": Die Grünen und der Wandel des Politischen', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 52 (2012), pp. 273-316.
- Mende, S. and Metzger, B., 'Ökopax', in Becker-Schaum, C., Gassert, P., Klimke, M., et al. (eds.), *"Entrüstet Euch!" Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung* (Paderborn, 2010), pp. 118-34.
- Merseburger, P., *Rudolf Augstein: Der Mann, der den SPIEGEL machte* (Munich, 2009).
- , *Willy Brandt 1913-1992: Visionär und Realist* (Munich, 2002).
- Metzler, G., 'Staatsversagen und Unregierbarkeit in den siebziger Jahren?', in Jarausch, K.H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 243-60.
- Meyer, U., 'Der Marktzutritt der "Tageszeitung" (TAZ)', *Media Perspektiven*, 3/1983, pp. 155-8.
- Meyn, H., 'Wird die Lokalpresse munterer? Tendenzen am Ausgang der 70er Jahre', in Thomas, M.W. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 37-44.
- Mohler, A. and Weissmann, K., *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932: Ein Handbuch* (Graz, 2005).
- Möller, J. and Papier, H.-J., 'Presse- und Rundfunkrecht', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 449-68.
- Moses, D., *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Mross, P., 'Regionalisierung und Subregionalisierung im Rundfunk und die Rezipientenbedürfnisse', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Hamburg, 1982).
- Münch, I.v. (ed.), *Grundgesetz Kommentar Band 1 Präambel bis Art. 20* (Munich, 1975).
- Münkel, D., 'Der "Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft": Die Auseinandersetzungen um die Demokratisierung der Hochschule', in Geppert, D. and Hacke, J. (eds.), *Streit um den Staat: Intellektuelle Debatten*

- in der Bundesrepublik 1960-1980* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 169-87.
- , 'Die Medienpolitik von Konrad Adenauer und Willy Brandt', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 297-316.
- , 'John F. Kennedy - Harold Wilson - Willy Brandt: "Modernes" Image für "moderne" Zeiten', in Münkler, D. and Seegers, L. (eds.), *Medien und Imagepolitik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2008), pp. 25-46.
- , 'Politiker-Image und Wahlkampf: Das Beispiel Willy Brandt', in Weisbrod, B. (ed.), *Die Politik der Öffentlichkeit - Die Öffentlichkeit der Politik: Politische Medialisierung in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Goettingen, 2003), pp. 55-78.
- , *Willy Brandt und die "Vierte Gewalt". Politik und Massenmedien in den 50er bis 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2005).
- Musolff, A., 'Terrorismus im öffentlichen Diskurs der BRD: Seine Deutung als Kriegsgeschehen und die Folgen', in Weinbauer, K., Requate, J., and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 302-19.
- Mutz, M., 'Die Volkshochschul für unser Volksgewühl - Zur Bedeutung der Volkshochschule Wyhler Wald für den Widerstand gegen das Kernkraftwerk Wyhl', *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins "Schau-ins-Land"*, 124 (2005), pp. 203-20.
- Nannen, S., *Henri Nannen: Ein Stern und sein Kosmos* (Munich, 2013).
- Naschold, F. *Organisation und Demokratie: Untersuchung zum Demokratisierungspotential in komplexen Organisationen* (Stuttgart, 1969).
- Nayhauf, M.G.v., *Helmut Schmidt: Mensch und Macher* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1988).
- Nehring, H., 'Debatten der medialisierten Gesellschaft: Bundesdeutsche Massenmedien in den globalen Transformationsprozessen der siebziger und achtziger Jahre', in Raithel, T., Rödder, A., and Wirsching, A. (eds.), *Auf dem Weg in eine neue Moderne? Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren* (Munich, 2010), pp. 45-68.



- Nienhaus, U., 'Wie die Frauenbewegung zu Courage kam: Eine Chronologie', in Notz, G. (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er u. 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007), pp. 7-22.
- Notz, G. (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007).
- , 'Courage: Wie es begann, was daraus wurde und was geblieben ist', in id. (ed.), *Als die Frauenbewegung noch Courage hatte: Die "Berliner Frauenzeitung Courage" und die autonomen Frauenbewegungen der 1970er u. 1980er Jahre* (Bonn, 2007), pp. 23-56.
- Oberreuter, H. 'Pluralismus und Antipluralismus', in id. (ed.), *Pluralismus: Grundlegung und Diskussion* (Opladen, 1980), pp. 13-36.
- Payk, M.M., *Der Geist der Demokratie: Intellektuelle Orientierungsversuche im Feuilleton der frühen Bundesrepublik: Karl Korn und Peter de Mendelssohn* (Munich, 2008).
- , '"...die Herren fügen sich nicht; sie sind schwierig." Gemeinschaftsdenken, Generationenkonflikte und die Dynamisierung des Politischen in der konservativen Presse der 1950er und 1960er Jahre', in Kersting, F.-W., Reulecke, J., and Thamer, H.-U. (eds.), *Die zweite Gründung der Bundesrepublik: Generationswechsel und intellektuelle Wortergreifungen 1955-1975* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 43-68.
- Peters, S., *William S. Schlam: Ideologischer Grenzgänger im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2013).
- Pfahl-Traughber, A., *Konservative Revolution und Neue Rechte: Rechtsextremistische Intellektuelle gegen den demokratischen Verfassungsstaat* (Opladen, 1998).
- Pfeifer, E.L.B., 'Public Demonstrations of the 1960s: Participatory Democracy or Leftist Fascism', in Gassert, P. and Steinweis, A.E. (eds.), *Coping with the Nazi Past: West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (New York, 2006), pp. 194-209.
- Pirelli, M., 'Longing, Lust, Violence, Liberation: Discourses on Sexuality

- on the Radical Left in West Germany, 1969-1972', in Spector, S., Puff, H. and Herzog, D. (eds.), *After the History of Sexuality: German Genealogies with and beyond Foucault* (New York, 2012), pp. 248-81.
- Poiger, U.G., 'Das Schöne und das Hässliche: Kosmetik, Feminismus und Punk in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren', in Reichardt, S. and Siegfried, D. (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu in der Bundesrepublik: Ursprünge, Infrastruktur und Nachwirkungen* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 222-43.
- Pruys, K. H. and Schulze, V., *Macht und Meinung: Aspekte der SPD-Medienpolitik* (Cologne, 1975).
- Pürer, H. and Raabe, J., *Medien in Deutschland: Presse* (Konstanz, 1996).
- , *Presse in Deutschland* (Konstanz, 2007).
- Quandt, S. and Calließ, J., 'Die Regionalisierung der historisch-politischen Kultur: Zur Einführung', in id. (eds.), *Die Regionalisierung der historisch-politischen Kultur: Nahwelt und Geschichte im Rundfunk* (Giessen, 1984), pp. 1-3.
- Ramge, T., *Die großen Polit-Skandale: Eine andere Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt a.M., 2003).
- Richter, S., *Die Aktivistin: Das Leben der Petra Kelly* (Munich, 2010).
- Rödder, A., *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969-1990* (Munich, 2004).
- , 'Moderne-Postmoderne-Zweite Moderne: Deutungskategorien für die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren', in Raithel, T., Rödder, A., and Wirsching, A. (eds.), *Auf dem Weg in eine neue Moderne? Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren* (Munich, 2010), pp. 181-201.
- Rösch-Sondermann, H. *Bibliographie der lokalen Alternativpresse: Vom Volksblatt zum Stadtmagazin* (Munich, 1988).
- Rucht, D., 'Das alternative Milieu in der Bundesrepublik: Ursprünge, Infrastruktur und Nachwirkungen', in Reichardt, S. and Siegfried, D. (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983*

- (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 61-88.
- Scheer, B., *Deutsches Presserecht: Die Pressegesetze in den Bundesländern Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland und Schleswig-Holstein: Kommentar* (Hamburg, 1966).
- Scheibe, M., 'Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Gesellschaft', in Herbert, U. (ed.), *Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland: Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945-1980* (Goettingen, 2002), pp. 245-77.
- Scheiper, S., 'Der Wandel staatlicher Herrschaft in den 1960er/70er Jahren', in Weinbauer, K., Requate, J., and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.), *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), pp. 188-216.
- Schildt, A., 'Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien: Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 27/2 (2001), pp. 177-206.
- , '"Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten": Zur konservativen Tendenzwende in den Siebzigerjahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2004), pp. 449-78.
- , *Die Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis 1989/90* (Munich, 2007).
- , 'Immer mit der Zeit: Der Weg der Wochenzeitung DIE ZEIT durch die Bonner Republik eine Skizze', in Schildt, A. and Haase, C. (eds.), *"DIE ZEIT" und die Bonner Republik: Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 9-27.
- Schildt, A. and Siegfried, D., *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte: Die Bundesrepublik 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2009).
- Schissler, H., 'Introduction: Writing About the 1950s West Germany', in ead. (ed.), *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany 1945-1968* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 3-16.
- Schmid, A.P. and de Graaf, J., *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media* (London, 1982).
- Schmid, J., 'Intendant Klaus von Bismarck und die Kampagne gegen den

- "Rotfunk" WDR', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), pp. 349-81.
- Schmidt, D., "'Die geistige Führung verloren': Antworten der CDU auf die Herausforderung '1968'", in Kersting, F.W., Reulecke, J., and Thamer, H.-U. (eds.), *Die zweite Gründung der Bundesrepublik: Generationswechsel und intellektuelle Wortergreifungen 1955-1975* (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 85-110.
- Schmitz, H., *Kölner Stadtanzeiger: Das Comeback einer Zeitung 1949-1989* (Cologne, 1989).
- Schmolke, M., 'Die kirchlich-konfessionelle Presse', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 350-76.
- Schneider, W., *Die Gruner und Jahr Story: Ein Stück deutsche Pressegeschichte* (Munich, 2000).
- Schregel, S., *Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür: Eine Politikgeschichte der neuen Friedensbewegung in der Bundesrepublik 1970-1985* (Frankfurt a.M., 2011).
- Schreiber, H., *Henri Nannen: Drei Leben* (Munich, 1999).
- , *Kanzlersturz: Warum Willy Brandt zurücktrat* (Berlin, 2003).
- Schröder, D., *Augstein* (Munich, 2004).
- Schulz, R., 'Nutzung von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 401-26.
- Schuster, D., *Meinungsvielfalt in der dualen Rundfunkordnung* (Berlin, 1990).
- Schütz, W.J., 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 109-34.
- , 'Kaum noch Objekte für die Pressekonzentration?', *Media Perspektiven*, 9/1979, pp. 600-12.
- (ed.), *Medienpolitik: Dokumentation der Kommunikationspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945 bis 1990* (Konstanz, 1999).
- , 'Publizistische Konzentration der deutschen Tagespresse: Zur

- Entwicklung der Publizistischen Einheiten seit 1945', *Media Perspektiven*, 5/1976, pp. 189-99.
- , 'Vielfalt oder Einfalt? - Zur Entwicklung der Presse in Deutschland 1945-1995',  
<http://www.lpb-bw.de/publikationen/presse/forum5.htm>, accessed 25 May 2015.
- , *Zeitungen in Deutschland: Verlage und ihr publizistisches Angebot 1949-2004* (Berlin, 2005).
- , 'Zeitungsdichte und Zeitungswettbewerb in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1976', *Publizistik: Vierteljahreshefte für Kommunikationsforschung*, 23 (1978), pp. 58-74.
- , 'Zeitungsstatistik', in Dovifat, E. (ed.), *Handbuch der Publizistik: Band 3 Praktische Publizistik 2. Teil* (Berlin 1969), pp. 348-69.
- , 'Veränderungen im deutschen Zeitungswesen zwischen 1954 und 1967: Ergebnisse pressestatistischer Untersuchungen (3)', *Publizistik: Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft von Presse, Rundfunk, Film, Rhetorik, Werbung und Meinungsbildung*, 12/1967, pp. 243-8.
- Schwan, H. and Jens, T., *Vermächtnis: Die Kohl-Protokolle* (Munich, 2014).
- Schwanhäusser, A., 'U-Zeitungen: Neue Medien für die Avantgarde der der Eventkultur', in Reichardt, S. and Siegfried, D. (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983* (Goettingen, 2010), pp. 206-21.
- Schwarz, H.-P., *Axel Springer: Die Biographie* (Berlin, 2008).
- Sebaldt, M. *Organisierter Pluralismus: Kräftefeld, Selbstverständnis und politische Arbeit deutscher Interessengruppen* (Opladen, 1997).
- Siegfried, D., *Time is on my Side: Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre* (Goettingen, 2006).
- Skriver, A., *Schreiben und schreiben lassen: Innere Pressefreiheit - Redaktionsstatute* (Karlsruhe, 1970).
- Sobotta, J., 'Rheinische Post', in Fischer, H.-D. (ed.), *Chefredakteure Publizisten oder Administratoren? Status, Kompetenz und*

- kommunikative Funktion von Redaktionsleitern bei Tages- und Wochenzeitungen* (Duesseldorf, 1980), pp. 111-34.
- Soell, H., *Helmut Schmidt 1918-1969: Vernunft und Leidenschaft* (Munich, 2003).
- , *Macht und Verantwortung: 1969 bis heute* (Munich, 2008).
- Sommer, T., *Unser Schmidt: Der Staatsmann und der Publizist* (Hamburg, 2010).
- Sonntag, C., *Medienkarrieren: Biographische Studien über Hamburger Nachkriegsjournalisten 1946-1949* (Munich, 2006).
- Stadt, J., Voigt, T., and Wolle, S., *Feind-Bild Springer: Ein Verlag und seine Gegner* (Goettingen, 2009).
- Stamm, K.-H., *Alternative Öffentlichkeit: Die Erfahrungsproduktion neuer sozialer Bewegungen* (Frankfurt a.M., 1988).
- Steffani, W., *Pluralistische Demokratie: Studien zur Theorie und Praxis* (Opladen, 1980).
- , 'Vom Pluralismus zum Neopluralismus', in Oberreuter, H. (ed.), *Pluralismus: Grundlegung und Diskussion* (Opladen, 1980), pp. 37-108.
- Steinberger, H., 'Grundrecht der Pressefreiheit und publizistische Kompetenz im gegenwärtigen Recht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika', in id., Doehring, K., Schiedermaier, H., et al., *Pressefreiheit und innere Struktur von Presseunternehmen in westlichen Demokratien* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 263-345.
- Steinmetz, R., 'Initiativen und Durchsetzung privat-kommerziellen Rundfunks', in Wilke, J. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 167–94.
- Stolleis, M., *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland vol. 4: Staats- und Verwaltungswissenschaft in Ost und West 1945-1990* (Munich, 2012).
- Süß, W., 'Der keynesianische Traum und sein langes Ende: Sozioökonomischer Wandel und Sozialpolitik in den siebziger Jahren', in Jarausch, K.H. (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht?: Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Goettingen, 2008), pp. 120-37.

- Teichert, W., *Die Region als publizistische Aufgabe: Ursachen, Fallstudien, Befunde* (Hamburg, 1982).
- Thieme, W. and Prillwitz, G., *Durchführung und Ergebnisse der kommunalen Gebietsreform* (Baden-Baden, 1981).
- Thomas, D., *Ghetto, Sprungbrett, Basis* (Hamburg, 1975).
- Thomas, M.W., *Die Verteidigung der Rundfunkfreiheit* (Reinbek, 1979).
- , 'Dokumentation: Rundfunk in den achtziger Jahren - ein Kampf um Programm und Monopol', in id. (ed.), *Die Verteidigung der Rundfunkfreiheit* (Reinbek, 1979), pp. 51-80.
- , 'So wie es ist, so wird es nicht bleiben: Perspektiven für die 80er Jahre', in id. (ed.), *Die lokale Betäubung oder der Bürger und seine Medien* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 7-36.
- , 'Tendenzwende: Der "Stern"', in id. (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse: Politik und Profit* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 163-82.
- Tichy, M. and Werner, M., 'Die Nürtinger STATTzeitung', in Hooffacker, G. (ed.), *Bürgermedien, Neue Medien, Medienalternativen: 10 Jahre alternativer Medienpreis*  
<https://www.journalistenakademie.de/szkaf/dwl/buergermedien.pdf>, pp. 51-60, accessed 25 May 2015.
- Tolmein, O. and Winkel, D.z., *tazsachen: Krallen zeigen - Pfötchen geben* (Hamburg, 1989).
- Varon, J., *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and the Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley, 2004).
- Verheyen, N., 'Diskussionsfieber: Diskutieren als kommunikative Praxis der westdeutschen Studentenbewegung', in Klimke, M. and Scharloth, J. (eds.), *1968: Handbuch zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentenbewegung* (Bonn, 2008), pp. 209-22.
- Voelzkow, H., 'Die Institutionalisierung der Politikbeteiligung von Verbänden', in Winter, T. v. and Willems, U. (eds.), *Interessenverbände in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 139-69.
- Wallraff, G., *Der Aufmacher: Der Mann, der bei der Bild Hans Esser war* (Köln, 2004).
- Wegener, W. (ed.), *Die neuen deutschen Verfassungen* (Essen, 1947).

- Wehrs, N., 'Protest der Professoren: Der Bund Freiheit der Wissenschaft und die Tendenzwende der 1970er Jahre', in Livi, M., Schmidt, D., and Sturm, M. (eds.), *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter* (Frankfurt a.M., 2010), pp. 91-112.
- Weichler, K., *Die anderen Medien: Theorie und Praxis alternativer Kommunikation* (Berlin, 1987).
- , *Gegendruck: Lust und Frust der alternativen Presse* (Reinbek, 1983).
- Weiss, M., 'Öffentlichkeit als Therapie: Die Medien- und Informationspolitik der Regierung Adenauer zwischen Propaganda und kritischer Aufklärung', in Bösch, F. and Frei, N. (eds.), *Medialisierung und Demokratie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Goettingen, 2006), pp. 73-120.
- Weißmann, K. 'Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing und Criticón', <http://www.sezession.de/580/caspar-von-schrenck-notzing-und-criticon.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.
- Wimmer, C. K., *Die Anfänge der Hamburger Morgenpost (1949-1960)* (Hamburg, 2012).
- Wick, R., "'Eine Bewegung über die nicht berichtet wird, findet nicht statt.' Das Bild der Friedensbewegung in bundesdeutschen und britischen Zeitungen', in Baumann, C., Büchse, N., and Gehrig, S. (eds.), *Linksalternative Milieus und Neue Soziale Bewegungen in den 1970er Jahren* (Heidelberg, 2011), pp. 133-60.
- Wilke, J., 'Die Tagespresse der achtziger Jahre: Zwischen Stabilisierung, Reichweitenverlusten und (supramedialer) Konzentration', in Faulstich, W. (ed.), *Die Kultur der 80er Jahre* (Munich, 2005), pp. 69-90.
- , 'Leitmedien und Zielgruppenorgane', in id. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 302-29.
- (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999).
- , 'Überblick und Phasengliederung', in id. (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 15-30.



- Wirsching, A., *Abschied vom Provisorium: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1982-1990* (Munich, 2006).
- Wolfrum, E., *Die geglückte Demokratie: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2007).
- Wolz, D., *Die Presse und die lokalen Mächte: Eine empirische sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchung über Pressekonkurrenz und Herrschaft in der Gemeinde* (Duesseldorf, 1979).
- Zellmer, E., *Töchter der Revolte? Frauenbewegung und Feminismus der 1970er Jahre in München* (Munich, 2011).
- Ziemann, A., 'Vom Schreiben, Sprechen und Zeigen - intellektuelle Medienpraxis', in Kroll, T. and Reitz, T. (eds.), *Intellektuelle in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Verschiebungen im politischen Feld der 1960er und 1970er Jahre* (Goettingen, 2013), pp. 151-66.
- Ziemann, B. 'The Code of Protest: Images of Peace in the West German Peace Movements, 1945-1990', *Contemporary European History*, 17/2 (2008), pp. 237-61.
- Zipfel, A., *Der Macher und die Medien: Helmut Schmidts politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* (Stuttgart, 2005).
- Zons, A., *Das Denkmal: Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt und die linksliberale Presse* (Munich, 1984).

## IX. Appendices

### Circulation Figures of Selected Daily Newspapers, 1968-1989<sup>963</sup>

	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)</i>	<i>Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)</i>	<i>Die Welt</i>	<i>Bild</i>	<i>tageszeitung (taz)</i>
1968	235.284	120.765	251.298	224.480	3.977.115	
1969	245.014 4.14. %	131.699 9.05 %	256.200 1.95%	224.100 -0.17%	3.929.965 -1.19%	
1970	256.272 4.95%	146.551 11.28 %	254.020 -0.84%	228.926 2.15%	3.609.853 -8.15%	
1971	265.183 3.48%	149.608 2.09 %	255.521 0.59%	227.498 -0.62%	3.387.173 -6.17%	
1972	274.997 3.70%	153.899 2.87 %	261.284 2.26%	229.124 0.71%	3.519.552 3.91%	
1973	282.811 2.84%	161.496 4.94 %	266.705 2.07%	225.077 1.77%	3.608.160 2.52%	
1974	290.530 2.73%	163.949 1.52 %	276.487 3.67%	224.353 0.32%	3.989.538 10.57%	
1975	295.495 1.71%	164.650 0.43%	284.449 2.88%	223.388 -0.43%	4.216.554 5.96%	
1976	303.739 2.79%	167.093 1.48%	293.795 3.29%	225.425 0.91%	4.458.129 5.73%	

<sup>963</sup> In thousands; annual growth rates in percentage.

1977	312.850 3.00%	170.527 2.06%	296.807 1.03%	222.628 -1.24%	4.781.332 7.25%	
1978	316.515 1.17%	180.409 5.79%	295.781 -0.35%	223.016 0.17%	4.841.672 1.26%	
1979	321.396 1.54%	183.336 1.62%	301.020 1.77%	224.675 0.74%	4.931.719 1.86%	Average: 20.000 <sup>964</sup> (First Issue 63.000)
1980	326.837 1.69%	183.447 0.06%	311.455 3.47%	216.807 -3.50%	4.853.694 -1.58%	Interpolated 22.039 (10.2%)
1981	331.723 1.49%	186.195 (1.50%)	322.219 3.46%	212.378 -2.04%	4.737.476 -2.39%	Interpolated 24.078 (9.25%)
1982	337.910 1.87%	191.612 2.91%	323.722 0.47 %	207.932 -2.09%	5.303.905 11.96%	Interpolated 26.117 (8.47%)
1983	343.146 1.55%	195.188 1.87%	328.299 1.41%	201.615 -3.04%	5.467.424 3.08%	Interpolated 28.156 (7.81%)
1985	353.232 2.94%	190.713 -2.29%	328.881 0.18%	202.285 0.33%	5.165.644 -5.52%	32.234 (7.24%)
1987	368.465 4.31%	194.238 1.85%	356.089 8.27%	216.821 7.19%	4.894.675 -5.25%	60.238 <sup>965</sup> 86.88%
1989	378.267 2.66%	197.593 1.73%	361.275 1.46%	221.872 2.33%	4.349.413 -11.14%	63.022 4.62

<sup>964</sup> There are no reliable figures on the early circulation of *taz*. According to *taz*'s homepage however, the first issue in 1979 reached a circulation of 20,000. See <http://www.taz.de/zeitung/tazinfo/geschichte/1977-1986/>, accessed 25 May 2015. There are circulation figures available for 1985. The figures between 1979 and 1985 have thus been rounded and interpolated.

<sup>965</sup> In 1986, a regional issue for Bremen was founded, a Saturday issue was introduced, as well as a TV-schedule.

Circulation Figures of Selected Weekly Newspapers, 1968-1989<sup>966</sup>

	<i>Die Zeit</i>	<i>Der Spiegel</i>	<i>Bild am Sonntag</i> (BamS)	<i>Welt am Sonntag</i> (WamS)
1968	243.7	875.360	2.351.070	381.855
1969	255.8 4.97%	895.343 2.28%	2.379.133 1.19%	361.904 -5.22%
1970	263.8 3.31%	911.405 1.79%	2.240.440 -5.83%	353.280 -2.38%
1971	266.9 1.18%	903.867 -0.83%	2.214.245 -1.17%	354.897 0.46%
1972	302.3 13.26%	905.252 0.15%	2.226.612 0.56%	349.638 -1.48%
1973	330.2 9.32%	880.932 -2.69%	2.215.416 -0.5%	344.068 -1.59%
1974	337.2 2.21%	908.039 3.08%	2.278.456 2.85%	337.021 -2.05%
1975	347.7 3.11%	902.384 -0.62%	2.252.397 -1.14%	303.939 -9.82%
1976	357.7 2.88%	903.868 0.16%	2.365.966 5.04%	314.911 3.61%
1977	360.4 0.75%	929.036 2.78%	2.527.052 6.81%	324.451 3.03%
1978	357.9 -0.69%	941.467 1.34%	2.574.423 1.87%	327.920 1.07%

<sup>966</sup> In thousands; annual growth rates in percentage. While *Der Spiegel* was the only West German news magazine in the period of examination, *Die Zeit* as well as the Sunday papers *Bild am Sonntag* and *Welt am Sonntag* became the leading supra-regional weeklies in the 1970s. There were other supra-regional weeklies, among them *Rheinischer Merkur*, *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, and *Christ und Welt*. The three latter mentioned papers, were confessional papers and did not resemble the same variety of topics and themes as the non-confessional press. See J. Wilke, 'Leitmedien und Zielgruppenorgane', p. 317; M. Schmolke, 'Die kirchlich-konfessionelle Presse', in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 350-76.

1979	368.9 3.07%	966.392 2.65%	2.588.456 0.55%	334.990 2.16%
1980	382.5 3.69%	984.783 1.9%	2.540.424 -1.86%	326.523 -2.53%
1981	391.0 2.22%	956.389 -2.88%	2.507.516 -1.3%	322.697 -1.17%
1982	388.5 -0.64%	962.211 0.61%	2.575.356 2.71%	327.678 1.54%
1983	404.1 4.02%	933.191 -3.02%	2.504.300 -2.76%	327.180 -0.15%
1985	421.4 4.28%	921.175 -1.29%	2.366.449 -5.5%	330.255 0.79%
1987	461.0 9.4%	972.446 5.57%	2.363.136 -0.14%	342.014 3.56%
1989	480.5 4.23%	1.008.816 3.74%	2.364.450 0.06%	365.907 6.99%

Selected Data on the Development of the Daily Newspaper Market, 1949-1989<sup>967</sup>

Year	Independent Newspapers <sup>968</sup>	Index 1954=100%	Newspaper Editions	Sold Circulation Absolute Numbers In Million	Index 1954=100%	Number of Publishing Houses	One-Paper Districts
1949	137	61	-	-	n/a	137	-
1954	225	100	1500	13.4	100	624	15.2%
1964	183	81	1495	17.3	129	573	21.4%
1967	158	70	1416	18.0	134	535	25.7%
1968	153	68	-	-	-		-
1969	149	66	-	-	-		-
1970	142	63	-	-	-		-
1971	135	60	-	-	-		-
1973	131	58	-	-	-		-
1974	124	55	-	-	-		-
1975	122	54	-	-	-		-
1976	121	54	1229	19.5	146	403	45.3%
1979	122	54	1240	20.4	153	400	-
1981	124	55	1258	20.4	152	392	46.2%
1983	125	56	1255	21.2	158	385	46.8%

<sup>967</sup> Quoted from Wilke (ed.), Mediengeschichte, p. 777; Deutscher Bundestag, Medienbericht 1978, 8/2264, p. 6, Id., Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1994 - Medienbericht 1994 - Drucksache 12/8587 (Bonn, 1994).

<sup>968</sup> Newspapers which have an independent main editorial department.

1985	126	56	1273	21.0	156	382	47.9%
1987	121	54	1260	20.7	155	375	-
1989	119	53	1344	20.3	152	358	48.8%