

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### THE MEDIA IN THE FRG I): THE PRESS

Holger Briel, 'The media of mass communication: the press, radio and television', in Eva Kolinsky & Wilfried van der Will, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture* (CUP 1998), p.322 - 337

Rob Burns, ed., *German Cultural Studies* (OUP 1995), pp.219-225, 273-276

Hermann Glaser, *Deutsche Kultur 1945 - 2000* (Hanser 1997), pp.149-155, 261-264, 391-394, 467-471

Peter Humphreys, *The Media and Media Policy in Germany. The Press and Broadcasting since 1945* (2<sup>nd</sup>. Edn. Berg 1994)

You are also advised to read the following in *Vaterland, Muttersprache*:

'Zum Tod des Studenten Benno Ohnesorg', p.247-8

Günter Grass, 'Faschistische Methoden', p.249 - 250

'Gegen das Monopol von Axel Springer', p.251

Wolf Biermann, 'Drei Kugeln auf Rudi Dutschke', p.265-6

Heinrich Böll, 'Freies Geleit für Ulrike Meinhof?', p.283-287

## THE PRESS AS FOURTH ESTATE

Four pillars creating and upholding social and political order:

- legislature (*Bundestag/ Bundesrat*)
- judiciary
- police
- mass media/the press (especially newspapers and news magazines e.g. *Der Spiegel, Focus, Stern*)

### Development of the press 1945-9

'Germans were to be reeducated gradually into the habits of a decentralised pluralist democracy, which was to be characterised by the widest possible dispersion of political and socio-economic power.' (Humphreys, p.27: on western Allied policy towards press licensing)

- 'Armeegruppenzeitungen': military publications published weekly or bi-weekly by press officers of military authorities.
- Publications of occupation authorities
  - *Die Neue Zeitung* (US Zone) (contributions from many exiled opponents of regime, including Johannes R. Becher, Stephan Hermlin, Anna Seghers: Feuilleton editor Erich Kästner)
  - *Die Welt* (British zone)
  - *Nouvelles de France* (French zone)
  - *Tägliche Rundschau* (Soviet zone)
- INDICATIVE LICENSING DATES

<i>Die Zeit</i>	21. Feb. 1946.
<i>Der Spiegel</i>	4. Jan 1947
<i>Die Welt</i>	2. April 1946
<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>	31. July 1945

<i>Hör zu</i>	
<i>Frauenwelt</i>	December 1945
<i>Sie</i>	December 1945 <i>Die Welt</i>
<i>der Frau</i>	July 1946
<i>Der Regenbogen</i>	February 1946
<i>Constanze</i>	March 1948

## Pluralism in the Press of the Federal Republic 1945-1990

### Three aspects

- 1) Constitutional guarantees of press freedom. Article 5, Grundgesetz "Everyone shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his opinion by speech, writing and pictures and freely to inform himself from generally accessible sources. Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by means of broadcasts and films are guaranteed. There shall be no censorship."
- 2) regionalism : *Kulturhoheit der Länder*.
- 3) Commitment to private ownership: note the dominance here of Axel Springer: "(ein) Verleger, der sich bis zu seinem Tod (1985) als politischer Missionar für die Werte der Adenauer-Ära fühlte"  
(Hermann Glaser, p.264)

### Critiques of the FRG press

*Springer* concern as model of declining press pluralism.

Axel Springer: "(ein) Verleger, der sich bis zu seinem Tod (1985) als politischer Missionar für die Werte der Adenauer-Ära fühlte" (Hermann Glaser, p.264)) Began newspaper career when licensed by Allies to produce *Hamburger Abendblatt*: launched *Bild* in 1952, a tabloid that quickly established itself as 'Germany's largest and only true national daily' (RB, p.221)

### Critical responses

1) Frankfurt School: 'Culture now impresses the same stamp upon everything. Films, radio and magazines make up a system which is uniform as a whole and in every part.' (Max Horkheimer & Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Culture Industry. Enlightenment as Mass Deception', in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1947, cit. Burns, p.273)

2) APO: alternative press

3) critical intellectuals, e.g. Böll, re. *Bild*: VM p.283: 'Ich kann nicht begreifen, dass irgendein Politiker einem solchen Blatt noch ein Interview gibt. Das ist nicht mehr kryptofaschistisch, nicht mehr faschistoid, das ist nackter Faschismus. Verhetzung, Lüge, Dreck.'