Contents

L	ist of Tables, Figures and Appendices	viii
P	reface	xi
	The Policy Approach 5 Specialist Terminology: 'Policy Community' and 'Policy N work' 9 'Closed' or 'Open' Policy Communities? 10	1 Net-
	The Historical Origins and Early Post-War Development of the West German Press System The Emergence of the Mass-Circulation Press 13 The Weimar Republic 15 The Third Reich 21 The Allied Occupation 24 The Organisations of the Press and the Birth of the BDZV 43 The Journalists' Associations in the Early Post-War Period 48 The Legal Basis of the Press 52 The Press Council – A 'Self-Control' Organ 59 The West German News Agencies 60 The Significance of 'Stunde Null' 65	13
	Controversies Over the West German Press System The Conflict Between the Broadcasters and the Press 69 The Controversy Over State Security and the Press 71 Press-Concentration 74 An Overview of the Main Newspaper and Magazine Publishing Groups 83 The Political Balance of the West German Press 89 The 'Springer Press' 92	68

	State Policy on Press-Concentration 99 The Debate About 'Internal Press Freedom' 104 The Conflict Over the Introduction of New Technologies The 'Alternative' Press 117	111
3	The Historical Origins and Early Development of the West German Broadcasting System The Weimar Republic 124 The Third Reich 126 The Allied Occupation 128 The Broadcasting 'Constitution' 132 The Legal Basis of Broadcasting as Laid Down by Legislation of the Länder 136 The ARD 148 The Significance of 'Stunde Null' 152	124
4	System The Attempts to Centralise Broadcasting 155 ZDF 164 The 'Third Channel' 168 The Financial Basis of West German Broadcasting 170 Party-Political Pressures on Broadcasting 176 The Statute Movement 187 Commercial Television 190	155
5	The Controversy Over the Introduction of the New Media The KtK: Kommission für den Ausbau des technischen Kommunikationssystems 194 The Group Politics of the Broadcasting Revolution 195 The Cable Pilot-Projects 212 The 'Expert Commissions' 229 Satellite Broadcasting 231 The FRAG Judgement 235	193
6	The 'Dual Broadcasting System' and Multimedia Diversification The 'Machtwende' (Change of Power) in Bonn 240 CDU/CSU Land Legislation 241 SPD Land Legislation 247	239

The Länder Struggle Over a 'New Staatsvertrag' 250 The Bundespost Rescues the Broadcasting Revolution: New Measures to Promote Commerical Broadcasting A Dual Broadcasting System 255 The 'Staatsvertrag for the Reform of the Broadcasting System of the Federal Republic' 259 The Constitutional Court Gives Further Clarification to the 'Dual' System 1987–91 265 The Progress of Commercial Broadcasting 1987–92 26 The New 'Multimedia' Investors: Cross-Ownership of the Press and Broadcasting 276	
7 German Unification and the Mass Media System The Status-Quo Ante in East Germany 286 The Broadcasting System During the Upheavals of 1989–90 291 The Unity Treaty and the Transition Arrangements 29 The Post-Unification Structure of Broadcasting in the Five New Länder and Berlin 298	286 95
The Post-Unification Structure of the Press in the Five New Länder and Berlin 304 Some Comments on the Impact of Unification 311	
Conclusion 'Learning from History': the Core Features of Post-War Media Policy 315 Broadcasting and the 'Parteienstaat' 320 Media Concentration 322 Federal Inroads into Broadcasting Policy; the Bundespost Drives Policy during the 1980s 325 The Media Policy Impact of a 'Consensual' System 326 The Challenge of Unification 328	315
Appendices	333
Glossary	344
Chronology	352
Bibliography	359
Index	369

List of Tables, Figures and Appendices

1.1	Press structure in 1947: circulation statistics
1.2	The explosion of newspaper foundings after the
	end of licensing

Tables

1.3

38

The explosion of newspaper foundings after the end of licensing: the situation in the US zone of occupation

41

41

1.4 The structure of the West German Press when the Germans received back their full sovereignty from the Allies in 1955: the 'multiple editions' phenomenon

67

2.1 Data on the development of the daily press in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1954–87

75 171

4.1 Development of licence-fees: cost per month6.1 Audience Shares of the Main T.V. Channels1989–1992

272

6.2 Ownership of Main Private Commercial T.V. Channels 1991–93

281

Figures

3.1	Radio and television in the Federal Republic of	
	Germany (West)	140
3.2	Structure of a broadcasting corporation	143
7.1	Public-Service Broadcasting Corporations in	
	the United Germany	299

All three figures by kind permission of Zahlenbilder, Eric Schmidt Verlag.

Appendices

1(a)	Concentration of the daily press (Tagespresse):	
	market shares of top ten newspapers publishing	
	groups in 1991, together with market shares and	
	Turnentgo de vario do positivo de servicio de la companya de la co	333
1(b)	Market shares of the five largest newspaper	
	publishing gropus (at given moments in time)	334
1(c)	Concentration in the market for popular illustrated	
	magazines ('Publikumszeitschriften'): market	
	shares of the four main publishers in 1992,	
	together with their market crimes as	335
1(d)	Concentration in the market for popular illustrated	
	magazines ('Publikumszeitschriften'): market	
	shares of the top eight publishers in 1972	
	(I Quartel), and the top ten in 1986 and 1991	
	(IV Quartel)	336
1(e)	Market shares of the leading papers sold on the	
	street ('Boulevardzeitungen') in 1979, 1989	
	and 1991	337
2	The Key Broadcasting Judgements of the Federal	
	Constitutional Court: A Résumé of the main	
	points with selected Extracts	338
(a)	THE THSE IV Judgement of 20 1 colons	338
(b)	The 'Second TV Judgement' or the 'Value Added	
	Tax Ruling' of 27 July 1971	339
(c)	The 'Third TV Judgement' or 'FRAG	
	Judgement' of 16 June 1981	339
(d)	The 'Fourth TV Judgement' of 4 November	
	1986: the ruling on the Lower Saxony	- 4
	Broadcasting Law	340
3	New regulations for broadcasting adopted by	24
	the Länder	343
(e)	The 'Fifth Broadcasting Judgement' of	24
	24 March 1987	34
(f)	The 'Sixth Broadcasting Judgement', the North-Rhine	2.4
	Westphalia Ruling of 5 February 1991	34