

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE PRESS AND THE
GOVERNMENT IN THE GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

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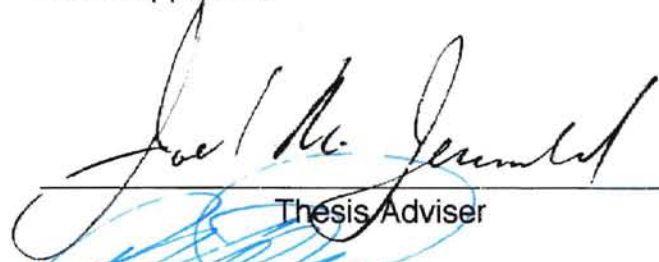
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PREFACE

This analysis of the press was written with the purpose of understanding the relationship of the East German press to the government during three phases: a Communist phase, an Interim phase, and a Post-Unification phase. The Communist phase discusses the time period of the 1980's until the downfall of the Communist government in 1989. The Interim Phase discusses the time period between 1989 until reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany on 3 October 1990. The Post-Unification phase discusses developments from that time until the present. This final phase is included, even though the press in that area is no longer officially East German, as a contrast and an example of change from the other two periods.

This study relies on theoretical concepts of the press/government relationship, background information on press and government action during three periods, and examples of press releases and newspapers from each period. Television and radio broadcasts were not included because they are difficult to obtain, especially from the Communist period. I found empirical data measuring the relationship of the government to the press hard to find.

From the theoretical concepts and examples from the press I found that the capacity of the press under different types of government varied. I did not, however, find empirical data to prove that the press does influence the government and to what exact degree. Nevertheless, I concluded that if one assumes the press has an influence over the government, one should also assume this influence varies in strength depending on government type in a nation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The press of a nation can be an integral part of support or criticism of the government. The press of the German Democratic Republic was an important part of the propaganda machine of the Communist government. Likewise, it served as a forum for the first open information in the GDR from the government and subsequent fall of the Communism and as a source of political education and information during the brief democratic period before reunification. The press in the GDR is an excellent example for discussing the way a government shapes the press, and in turn, the way the press might shape the government.

This work examines the relationship of the government and the press in the former GDR. The main hypothesis developed here is that the government of the GDR was intrinsic in shaping the role and function of the press, and the press in turn influenced the functioning of the government. This relationship is of interest because a government could use the press for support and maintenance of its ideas, and also the press could use public opinion, criticism, or persuasion to influence the government to alter itself or influence the public to demand change. The two are bound together in a relationship where a major change in either one should result in major change in the other.

The definition of influence in this work is a relationship between the press and the government where what is printed in the press has the capacity to sway government action. The government is not compelled to follow any recommendations or demands by the press, but it is still assumed possible. The

government may look at the publications of the press as representative of public opinion. Therefore, inasmuch as public opinion is important to shaping government policy, the press has a role in conveying public opinion to the government. Obviously, public opinion will carry more weight under certain types of government (democratic) than others, and this is also important when considering what influence a press system can have over any nation's government.

The GDR press (and press in the region of the former GDR) is discussed during three periods: the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and Post-Unification phase. There are several main questions discussed. First, how did the type of government during each phase influence the structure and functioning of the press? How might have the function and role of the press, which were defined by the government, maintained or weakened the government in the GDR during each of the three phases? Another question discussed here is: did the press aid in major changes in the GDR, and if so, how did the press system make this possible during each period?

The discussion of the hypothesis here consists of several sections. The second chapter provides a literature review of relevant theories on the relationship of the government to the structure of the press. The majority of press theory discussed here defines the press structure of nations by their type of government; for example, free press systems are often classified under a Libertarian theory of the press. However, another type of press theory based on motivation rather than government style is provided, as well as criticism of the standard approach, is provided for more insight into other reasons why a press may function as it does.

Chapter Three provides provides an overview of the history and background on the East German press during each of the three phases. Information in this section includes methods of control of the press, censorship

methods, ownership, and relevant examples of articles obtained from each of the three time periods. These facts are included in order to determine the characteristics of the press, such as function and purpose, necessary to classify each press system according to the theories discussed in Chapter Two.

The definition and classification of the press systems of the Communist Era, Interim Phase, and Post-Unification phase is included as Chapter Four in order to clarify the functions and philosophies behind each press system. Knowing the functions and philosophies behind a press system clarifies the goal of the system, whether for maintenance or for change. Also, using the press theories to define the press systems provides greater understanding of what philosophical or ideological, not just physical, constraints were placed on the press and affected its ability to influence.

Finally, Chapter Five evaluates the question: Did the press systems of each time period discussed influence the government significantly? Several issues are addressed in this chapter. The ability of the the press under Communism, the Interim Phase, or Post-Unification to influence the press is evaluated. In addition, the chapter discusses whether or not any direct responsibility can be given to the press for major changes in government in the GDR.

Chapter Six provides the conclusion and evaluation of the original hypothesis in light of press theory and historical information on the GDR. This conclusion discusses the validity of the hypothesis.

Methodology

The method used to define press systems and identify the influence of government and the press over one another takes three main steps. First, seven different works on press theory and press government relations are discussed: Four Theories of the Press by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and

Wilbur Schramm; The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy, by John C. Merrill; Media, Messages and Men New Perspectives in Communication by Merrill and Ralph Lowenstein; The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies by William A Hachten; Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories by John C. Nerone; Agents of Power by J. Herbert Altschull; and A Dynamic Theory of World Press Action and Motivation, a doctoral thesis by Elisabeth Hupp Schillinger.

Four Theories is the basis for Merrill's, Lowenstein's, and Hachten's work. Siebert, et al.'s, press concepts are prevalent in communication theory. Altschull also builds on Four Theories, with more variation than the other authors, and Nerone's work is a critique of Siebert and looks more toward the future of media. For contrast to these similar perspectives, Schillinger's dissertation is also discussed. It offers a different perspective on press function that is different from any other discussed here, because it relies on a system of motivations, and not government, as the primary force in press structure.

The second step to classifying the three stages of the press in East Germany is to look at the actual history and life of the press in the country. The main methods of control and structure of the press are discussed for the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and the Post-Unification phase. Examples of news releases and articles are also provided from each time period in order to better define features of the press, such as the presence of criticism, a variety of opinions, or lack thereof.

Press examples come from the Foreign Broadcast Information Service and from recent editions of the Berliner Zeitung and the Berliner Morgenpost. The FBIS is used as a primary source because newspapers from Communist East Germany are difficult to obtain. Media examples, such as television and radio, are not included in this work for the same reason. The FBIS includes releases from the East German news agency, Allgemeiner Deutscher

Nachrichtendienst, and also selected articles from the Berliner Zeitung, and Neues Deutschland, among others not mentioned in this paper.

Once the basic features of the press for each phase are determined from the historical background, they are analyzed and classified according to the various press concepts found in the literature review. This is achieved by comparing characteristics found in most of the press concepts discussed here: press function, goals, means of control and censorship, and access to outside information.

After classifications are derived, they are applied to the discussion of the influence of the government and the press on each other. Historical facts of the time are adequate to show how the change in government type altered the structure and functioning of the press. The debate on whether or not the press influenced change in the East German government is based on the historical information of press involvement, especially during the change from Communism to the Interim phase, on knowledge of the press system's ability to criticize or influence government, and on some of the examples given during the background discussion. It was not possible to obtain empirical data measuring the direct impact the press had on government. Such data could include surveys of journalists and government officials during times of change, surveys of citizens, and other types of data that could find empirical correlations between press action and government change. These items were unavailable or non-existent and would be helpful in future research. Nevertheless, some changes have been historically attributed to the media, or in spite of the media, and this is discussed, as well as the implications included with a lack of empirical data.

The use of press theory and background information leads to two main conclusions in work. First, the effect of government on press structure is easier to recognize because the government can take an active role in structuring the press. The effect of the press on government action is more difficult to prove,

especially without a way obtain and measure such data. Therefore, the final conclusions given do not provide a definitive proof of hypothesis. Instead, the conclusions give weight to the hypothesis because the relationship seems to be present, but the final outcome is the admission that a relationship cannot be specifically proven and further research of the case could provide answers in the future.

role and function of the media in authoritarian systems. The media is used for the specific purpose of advancing the policies and ideologies of the government in power (1973: 18). Entertainment, economic purposes, or education are of a small significance unless they help the state achieve its ultimate objective.

The media in authoritarian systems is not owned by the state. Therefore, some form of censorship or control must be exercised over private newspapers and broadcasting to make sure they concur with the state's views. Most often, censorship is not an active, ongoing process; the media is left alone until it prints or airs something critical of the state.

Control and censorship of the media can be administered in several ways. A state can require a license or a patent in order to print and then only grant such permission to cooperative news sources. One main way to censor the media without constant monitoring of content is to pass laws classifying criticism of the state as seditious libel or treason. Fear of such penalties will cause the media to exercise its own preventative censorship (Siebert, 19).

Siebert's discussion of authoritarian theory gives only basic characteristics of the media that we can expect in an authoritarian state. The main signs that a nation's media fits into this category are that it supports state goals and is censored by the government. Obviously, identifying what category the state's government falls into is also a major factor in determining media type. However, this categorization is still broad enough that other types of media could accidentally be classified as authoritarian, so further work on authoritarian press systems must be discussed here later.

Libertarian Press Theory

The second media theory developed by Four Theories is the theory of the libertarian media. Libertarian media systems are found mainly Western

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Four Theories of the Press

The most important work on press theory to date is Four Theories of the Press by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. Four Theories asks the basic question, "Why is the press as it is?" and seeks to answer it by classifying the press systems of the modern world into four types: authoritarian, libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet-Communist (Siebert, 9). Though these theories were last updated in 1973, they still serve as the prevalent basis for more recent press theories.

Four Theories operates on the assumption that press systems are defined by the political system, and that there are two main types of political systems - liberal (democratic) and authoritarian. Put simply, liberal countries are apt to have a free press, while those countries under authoritarian rule do not. The other two press theories defined, Social Responsibility and Soviet-Communist, are more or less derivatives from liberal and authoritarian theories, though they are treated separately and major differences can be illustrated.

Siebert et al focus on several characteristics to define their press theories. They discuss the ideology of the state and the role of man and society within different ideology types. They authors also focus on what degree of importance a particular type of state puts on availability of truth and information. Finally, they discuss the role of media within each type of state.

Four Theories gives a good overview of the historical backgrounds of

theories but the four theoretical frameworks it explains are basic and have sometimes been accused of being oversimplified. However, a great body of work has also been built around these four theories to elaborate them and build new ideas onto them. Therefore, Four Theories and related works should provide a good structure in which to categorize and understand the evolution of the East German press.

Authoritarian Press Theory

Siebert defines the authoritarian system of government as the oldest and most wide-spread in the modern world (1973: 9). Therefore, the authoritarian-type press is the oldest in the world; free press systems today most likely evolved from an authoritative press system in the past.

Siebert outlines four basic assumptions that must be considered when defining an authoritarian state and its press system:

- the nature of man
 - the nature of society and of the state
 - the relation of man to the state
 - the basic philosophical problem, the nature of knowledge and of the truth
- (1973: 10)

Within a classic authoritarian government, the nature of man is one of a small sum in a great part, a cog in a great machine. The role of man is to serve state. His happiness is only considered by the state inasmuch as it maintains that man can only be truly happy if he is serving the lofty interests of the nation. Often associated with the authoritarian type of government is a feeling of helplessness without the guidance of the all-powerful state. What is also associated with authoritarian government and media is the underlying assumption that there are things the public should know and also things that the public does not need to know.

This characteristic of man as the servant of the state carries over into the

Europe, North America, and Japan. This is the media based on the familiar concepts of 'freedom of the press' and the people's right to know. Siebert develops this theory in a similar way to authoritarian theory, but with more emphasis on Rousseau, Jefferson, and other philosophers on the rights of man.

Libertarian society is a paradox to authoritarian society. Man does not exist to serve the state; the state exists to serve man. He is rational, capable of fair judgment, . Problems are not over the head of an individual; the government does not need to take care of him. Above all, man has the right to know all information and especially the right to know the workings of the government.

The role of a libertarian government is to ensure that society runs smoothly without being too involved in citizens' affairs. Government should protect individual rights and prevent abuses of the law. Also, the government can be involved in economic matters to ensure the workings of the free market. However, overall the rule of thumb for libertarian governments is a strong emphasis on freedom, individual rights and *laissez-faire* economics.

The function of the libertarian press today is to inform and entertain, as well as to feature sales and advertising in order to support itself. Its major purpose is to present accurate information and a wide variety of views and opinion on important issues of the day, so that the rational man can use this truthful information to form his own informed opinions (1973: 45). The question remains on how the libertarian government ensures that the truth is represented in the media, since there is no mention of government regulations over the media.

An additional function of a libertarian media system, according to Siebert, is to act almost as a fourth branch of government. This 'fourth branch' is to perform an extra-legal check on government by reporting its activities. This function is sometimes referred to as a 'gatekeeper' or 'watchdog' role for the

media (1973: 53). Journalists in Western Europe, and especially in the United States often see themselves in this role, as is evident in the many articles and broadcast news series that expose 'cover-ups' by the government

The economy, and not the government, is expected to regulate what the media prints. Citizens are left to decide which information sources are accurate and informative. Sources that are deemed acceptable by the public will be bought and poor sources of information will be cast aside and eventually go out of business. This shows a great deal of faith in citizens to actually buy a quality news source, and not fabricated tabloid articles, which is in keeping with the libertarian view that man is a rational being, but may be out of touch with today's society. Therefore, most government that fall into the libertarian category do have a few controls over the press, though they are not mentioned in Hachten's concept.

There are very few laws (in comparison with other regulatory laws) that restrict press behavior. The main regulatory laws over the media are anti-defamation laws and restrictions on obscene and indecent materials (Siebert, 53). This does not mean that criticism or exposure of unfavorable facts about a public figure may be declared seditious libel, as in authoritarian regimes, or that articles against the government can be declared obscene or indecent. IN libertarian systems, these issues are generally interpreted by the courts. While this may pose a risk if the courts are influenced by the state to in a way that prevents the media from airing the true facts or criticism, in libertarian system there are enough safeguards to keep this from happening.

Using Siebert's characteristics as a guide, the libertarian press is fairly simple to recognize. Most of the world's largest published and broadcast media (from Western Europe and North America) come from libertarian systems. These systems enjoy a maximum of freedom and a minimum of government intervention. They often feel compelled to act as 'watchdogs' or as a public

service to citizens, but they are not required to do so.

Four Theories predicts that some libertarian systems may be moving to a new level in communications, the level of Social Responsibility. Man's best interest may no longer be served by 'absolute' freedom of the press in today's society. A more selective brand of journalism may be in the future, a brand that shapes society purposefully rather than consequently.

Social Responsibility Press Theory

Four Theories organizes its theory of socially responsible media differently from its theory of authoritarian and libertarian media. This is done for two main reasons. First, Fred S. Siebert authored the first two theories, while Theodore Peterson compiled the libertarian theory. Second, the first two theories were descriptions of systems that already exist. The theory of a Social Responsibility is more of a prediction, or a possible guideline, for future media. At present, there are no media systems that fit wholly within Peterson's Social Responsibility framework.

The Social Responsibility theory of the media is built around one basic idea; 'freedom carries concomitant obligations, and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under our government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society,' (1973: 74). Social Responsibility systems have all the functions of a libertarian press - to entertain, inform, and sell - but they also have another dimension to their function.

Peterson outlines six tasks of socially responsible media (1973: 74):

- serve as a source of information and forum of debate on public affairs and political issues, thereby aiding the political system
- provide information essential to capable self-government

- serve as a watchdog over citizens' rights
- aid economy by providing advertisement and a marketplace for buyers and sellers
- stay free from influence by maintaining economic self-sufficiency
- entertain audience

On the surface, these characteristics do not seem different from libertarian characteristics. However, there is a major difference: libertarian media systems offer a forum for anyone with the economic power to buy or rent such a forum; the socially responsible system would not exclude any constituent group from being represented in some way. Social Responsibility included equal representation and the absence of purely economic motives.

Social Responsibility theory is a response to perceived problems of the modern press and a change in society. First, the press is often criticized for being influenced by its owners or for being influenced by its own greed. Advertising and what 'sell's has become what is most important, instead of providing relevant information for the functioning of society . Second, the media is sometimes accused of invading privacy, printing tasteless articles, or ignoring important social issues to focus on sensational stories. (1973: 77) Finally, society has evolved since libertarian government and press systems were new. It is no longer a wonder of modern technology for those in Western countries to be able to get the daily news. Western citizens have access to virtually unlimited information via television, newspapers, radio, and most recently, the internet (1974: 77). Now we must be concerned with the kind and quality of information we to which we have access.

Social Responsibility media theory is concerned with what readers have access to, but it must not be mistaken with an authoritarian policy. The idea of Social Responsibility is not to limit what readers are allowed to know. Rather, the idea is to provide complete access to information, from more than a single

accepted viewpoint. The quality of information would not necessarily be monitored by government, since this poses certain risks, but it should be a voluntary standard dictated by professional ethics (1973: 7). A government promoting Social Responsibility should not hinder freedom, or even merely permit it, but should "actively promote" it (1974: 95).

Despite the fact that a Social Responsibility media may require some type of government involvement to keep all constituent groups represented, Peterson stipulates that a socially responsible media not be owned by the government unless the public cannot get fair treatment from a private media. He suggests instead that the government can keep the media socially responsible by passing legislation that prevents severe abuses of the press that "poison the wells of public opinion," (1973: 95). This suggestion is ambiguous, but Peterson's intention is clear: "the government should intervene only when the need is great and the stakes are high, and then it should intervene cautiously," (1973: 95).

Social Responsibility is not currently in practice in full anywhere around the world. This could change in the future, especially in today's rapidly developing information societies. However, the chances that this concept will develop are dubious, especially in countries like the United States, where freedom of the press is such a fiercely held belief. Nevertheless, Social Responsibility theory is important to the discussion of the East German press because of experiments in media laws considered between the fall of Communism and reunification with Germany, which will be detailed in Chapter Three.

Soviet-Communist Press Theory

The Soviet-Communist Media theory is especially important to discussion of the East German press, since Communism has played such an

influential part in its brief history. In Four Theories , Wilbur Schramm outlines his basic theory of the Soviet-Communist press. His work is developed more fully than the other three theories, making it the most useful theory of the four.

Schramm discusses the Communist media mainly in the context of the USSR. There are marked differences in East German and Soviet society, but we can still use Four Theories' analysis, since the basic tenants of society were dictated by Moscow. He bases his first discussion of the Soviet-Communist press with historically background on Marx and Lenin, and their work on the media's role in Communist society.

Schramm stipulates that Soviet government and society is a distortion of Marx' original work (1973: 1). It has been recognized by many that Marx never intended for his theories to come to fruition in the agrarian economy of Russia. Marxism revolved around the working class. Lenin altered Marx's work in order to fit Russia's circumstances. This carried over into the role of the media as well.

Marx never produced an actual theory on how the press should be involved in communist society. Schramm speculates that Marx's basic theories on means of production also intended that the media be owned by the working class. He also says that Marx "must have felt that real freedom of the press could never exist except in classless society,"(1973: 111). However, this does not necessarily mean that press had to be censored and strictly controlled by the central government. This was a Leninist invention.

Lenin could justify controlling the press because the Soviet Union was continually in the he process of revolution . In fact, the country was never in a state of true Communism, so control was always legally justified, since the 'bourgeoisie' could still be in control and using power to influence the masses against the government.

The media in the Soviet-Communist system, according to Schramm, was

used as an instrument of organization and propaganda, and a promoter of state interests. However, Schramm's theory differs markedly from authoritarian systems. First, the conception of freedom and man's role is different in a Soviet-Communist system than under authoritarian government. Authoritarian governments, at least in Siebert's assessment, does not address the issue of freedom; man can be most productive, or more satisfied as a part of the state, but the issue of personal freedoms is not addressed. Basically, what personal freedoms one can enjoy without disrupting, endangering, or criticizing the existing government are probably the only acceptable ones. However, the discussion of freedom is an important part Communism.

Schramm maintains that absolute freedom is impossible from a Soviet viewpoint (1973: 126). No one can be free of the state, because the state protects freedom and protects the proletariat from the bourgeoisie (this is not a Marxist view, but rather something that developed as an excuse for state domination later). Freedom against the state cannot be permitted, because enemies of Communism and Socialism would use this opportunity against the government (1973: 127).

Soviet citizens actually were guaranteed freedom of speech, press, and assembly in Article 125 of the Constitution of the USSR (1973: 125). However, these guarantees operate differently than freedom in the press of the Western world. The press is free *within* the state; it is free to support and explain government policy. However, Soviet-Communist media theory maintains that the Communist press has very specific responsibilities. Schramm assigned the mass media in Soviet states the following functions (1973: 121):

- mass media serves the function of propaganda and agitation
- mass media works closely with other instruments of state power and Party influences
- mass media serves as an instrument of 'revelation' that probes the lies of

the ruling class and delivers the truth to the masses (from a Marxist-Leninist perspective) (1973: 128)

Schramm also describes the Soviet-Communist press as an instrument of unity. The government controls and censors publications and broadcasts to keep information and ideas unified and prevent foreign influences. When broadcasts and papers are consistent, it is a sign that the system is not being disrupted or challenged (1973: 116). The government in Soviet-Communist systems keeps this control by owning the media directly.

The government owns the means of production for media in Soviet-Communist systems. The control of the media is actually administered by a small group of top Party leaders; in the Soviet Union this small group was a part of the Committee for Propaganda and Agitation. Historically, in the U.S.S.R., this control mutated the media into "speaking trumpets for these leaders and the editors and the editors listen anxiously for the latest Olympian rumblings of the truth," (1974: 118). The small group in charge of the media is not legally charged with dictating or diverging from party line. However, a small group in control, unless placed under a good check system, is easily misdirected. Schramm says that the Soviet 'line' wavered frequently, and the media had to change along with it (1974: 118). Truth was distorted, not necessarily as a result of the actual system, but as a consequence of it.

Overall, Schramm's theory of the Soviet-Communist media stresses the idea of a proactive press that performs the positive functions of organization, information, and revelation from the misinformation of the ruling class. However, Schramm's discussion also discusses much of the specific history of the Soviet Union and the distortions of the government and media that took place in that history. This poses a dilemma: is Schramm's theory applicable to other media systems, or has it been tailored simply to one specific country? The basic concepts in Schramm's theory could be used as a guide to defining other

Communist media systems. However, it is also possible that the observations Schramm has made about the working's of the Communist media are too focused on what he found to be true in the Soviet Union. These observations may be idiosyncratic to a Soviet system, and other Communist press systems may develop differently. Nevertheless, Schramm's work is integral to discussing the East German press, because it developed from the same premises and similar circumstances, and Schramm's theory should be applicable to the media of the German Democratic Republic.

The next section is a discussion of other theorist thoughts or elaboration on Four Theories and also a few others attempting to classify the media. Some critiques of Siebert, et al, offer new press theories based on economic development or based on the new circumstances created by the information age. Others attempt to build on Four Theories original theories to clarify and make classification more simple.

Last Rights: Revisiting 'Four Theories of the Press'

Four Theories was an attempt to classify the world's press systems into four types. This attempt gave some important insight into media types; however, the theories outlined were fairly simplistic. Also, for the time the time the book was written, the four types of systems discusses were sufficient, but for today's times, new theories are needed to explain our evolution from a national to a global media. Last Rights: Revisiting 'Four Theories of the Press', edited by John C. Nerone is a critique of Four Theories, but it also recognizes that the entire concept of media is changing. Written in 1995, Last Rights discusses future possibilities in addition to traditional press concepts.

Last Rights suggests that Four Theories is important, but it should not be used as "a timeless structure of ideas" (1995: 16). A valid point that Nerone,et

al., makes is that the four theories are not actually abstracted or generalized theories, but are idiosyncratic to certain countries. For example, the Soviet-Communist theory takes all of its premise from observations on the USSR. Cuba or any African countries experimenting with Communism are not mentioned.

Last Rights also outlines several other problems of Four Theories. Perhaps the most important observation it makes is that Four Theories attempt to make four comparable press theories gives one the idea that any press system in the world can be fit into one of the theories, while in fact it is possible for a nation's press to be a combination of two or more theories (1995: 19). For example, if Four Theories is correct and the type of media system is a reflection of a nation's government, then press systems have to be a mix of types. Most governments are not strictly libertarian, they have social elements mixed in (example the U.S. and Germany), so it stands to reason their press could be a mixture of libertarian and Social Responsibility.

Four Theories is criticized for the differences in the four concepts: authoritarianism media theory is too vague and doesn't account for variations in types of authoritarian nations, libertarian is more concrete because of its philosophical discussions, but it is contained to specific Western examples, the Soviet-Communist theory is contained by high level of specificity, and Social Responsibility is an attempt to describe a theoretical concept not in existence (1995: 18). There are not enough parallel variables between the four theories for direct comparison. These problems are important to the later discussion of the East German media simply because it is valuable to realize that the 'theories' outlines here are merely basic frameworks to make classification easier, and not set blueprints for every press system.

Last Right's final general criticism of Four Theories is also an important consideration in when examining the East German press. Nerone, et al,

complains that Four Theories pays too much attention to power concentrations in the public sector and ignores power in private sector (1995: 20). The influence of large industry on publication and government is ignored throughout Four Theories. This may or may not be an indication of the time it was written, but it cannot be ignored in the present time, where big business dominates even the political landscape. The media may be free politically, but it might not be free from 'the economic machine'; unless it is free from both, the the media is not truly independent (1995: 22).

Each individual theory is also discussed in Last Rights. The book's discussion of Schramm's Soviet-Communist press theory is especially relevant to a study of East German media systems. Nerone, et al., maintain that Schramm's Soviet-Communist theory is based on a 'cold war mentality' that doesn't recognize the changes that occurred after the death of Stalin. Stalin was much harsher on the press than later leaders; press control was always a part of Soviet life, but Stalin was an individualized case (1995: 122). Last Rights may have a harsh opinion of Schramm's theory; nevertheless, the Soviet-Communist theory is too old to fully account for changes during the seventies and eighties in the face of economic problems and Gorbachev's reforms.

Nerone, et al. also point out that in the Soviet Union, the press was influenced by two things - a Russian attitude and a clouding of optimism as the USSR got older, bureaucracy grew bigger, and economic difficulties grew worse (1995: 128). These criticism again illustrate the problem of the Soviet-Communist theory has of being too specific to be applied to other countries. Even for the discussion of East Germany, the clouding of optimism was a factor in East German society, but the press and its controllers could not have had a Russian attitude (Last Rights maintains that a Russian inferiority complex is evident in its media, making it more paranoid of outsider than ideologically-

orientated) (1995: 130).

Last Rights concludes its assessment of the Communist media and critique of Soviet-Communist theory by pointing out that a Communist press system would not function well in today's society. The number of other ways to get outside information would hinder the media's ability to spread propaganda (1995: 131). It is obvious to the authors that the world media system is changing into something totally unseen before. Therefore, they attempt to outline some of the main factors that will affect the world press system in the future.

The authors label the present and near future as a time of 'The Changing Information Environment,' (1995: 155). They identify several basic consequences of technological advancements and media evolution.

1. The media has become globalized. National barriers are not longer barriers to media sources. Therefore, information is often on a global scale; governments cannot hide information on other countries or from other countries as well as before (1995: 160).
2. Information is available to more people now than ever before. More people can be informed on politics, social conditions, and important issues, or gain some type of information to aid their situation (1995: 165).
3. Regulation is increasingly more difficult. With the advent of radio, satellite and cable television, and especially the Internet, it is difficult to prevent anyone from receiving information. It is especially difficult to regulate what information is posted on the internet; there, the media cannot be used as well as a propaganda machine by providing only limited information (Nerone, 165). Changes in media mean changes in the legal system; legislation on everything from pornography to freedom of information to public vs. private ownership will be written.

4. The media is giving way to raw sources of information. New sources as forums for opinion and discussion are giving way to sources of actual information. Journalism in the future may be less prominent than information-gathering (1995: 158).

Last Right's observations on the media today and predictions for the future seem accurate. The Internet has already become a fascination and also a valuable tool for many in the modern world. What this means to the discussion of East Germany is determining where its media fits into the present time and where it is headed in the future. Issues of western German control over East Germany may be obsolete in the future if the media becomes further globalizing. At the farthest extreme, there might not even be an German media, or an American media, there may just be a media. This is improbable but not totally out of the question. At any rate, it is important to understand influences of today on how the East German press functions.

Media Messages and Men: New Perspectives in Communication

John C. Merrill and Ralph L. Lowenstein published a book in 1971 that deals with many aspects of communication; for example the issues of advertising, use of language, and the media and political systems and controls. When discussing political systems, the authors could not avoid discussing Four Theories. Mainly Merrill's discussion on the four theories is description, but here are some valid clarifications and additions to the theory. Lowenstein adds another dimension to the theory by discussing the various possibilities of ownership.

Merrill first describes all press systems in general as being authoritarian or libertarian oriented. The major difference between these two theories is that an authoritarian state dictates what the media can write about government and

determines what government is best for the people and the libertarian media determines what to write and what it does write on government helps leaders determine what citizens want, as well as monitors government actions (1971: 176).

Merrill's discussion of Social Responsibility and Soviet-Communist systems mirrors what Four Theories already wrote. His discussion of Siebert, et al.'s work was meant as an offering of what was available in theory on government and politics, and it is basically a brief summarization.

Lowenstein's contribution to Media, Messages and Men. He contributes something that is called the "Two-Tiered" Concept that combines the an adaptation four theories with the dimension of ownership. His purpose for creating this concept was that Four Theories is inflexible and should b modified to fit modern press systems. Therefore he created three categories of ownership and four categories of 'press philosophies' (1971: 186):

Press Ownership:

- Private - media owned by private business or citizens, supported through advertising or subscriptions.
- Multi-Party - media owned by different political parties, subsidized by the party.
- Government - owned by government or ruling party, supported with government funds or fees collected by the government.

Press Philosophies:

- Authoritarian - negative government control over press, stifling criticism and maintaining those in power.
- Social-Centralist - Positive government control, using the media for economic or social goals.
- Libertarian - Lack of government control; media controlled by market, with free-flowing ideas and view points.
- Social-Libertarian - A minimum of government controls to keep system functioning fairly and freely (1971: 186).

Lowenstein's three types of ownership address the influence economic factors have over the freedom of the press. He considers that government or ownership is often assumed to have influence over what the media prints or broadcasts, but private ownership could also be influenced by the need to please advertisers or subscribers (1971: 187).

Lowenstein altered the basic four-theories categories by removing Soviet-Communist and Social Responsibility with Social-Centralist and Social-Libertarian. He feels that social-centralist is broad enough to admit the countries of the Eastern bloc and also developing nations by removing the association with the Soviet Union (1971: 187). This philosophy is of a press that control the press in order to use its constructive power for education, the economy, or political development, but not necessarily as a way to support the ruling class. Social-libertarian concerns governments that have regulation to prevent a monopoly of the media by one party or business. It is concerned with keeping a free press and equal opportunity of expression (1971: 187).

In Lowenstein's 'two-tiered' concept, it is possible for a nation to have a mixture of all three ownerships and can also be more than one press philosophy at work in the system. However, press classification should be based on the general characteristics, not on exceptions that always occur within systems. He also suggests that, under private ownership, there can be a progression from a primitive authoritarian press, to a libertarian revolutionary press, and then a social-libertarian press (1971: 189). No other suggestions are given on how the media could progress under party or government ownership.

Media Messages and Men is important because it builds on an existing theory and alters it so that it is better suited to classifying a variety of systems. It gives the flexibility that will be needed when considering where the East German media should be classified. Also, it addresses the possibility that

media systems can evolve over time into a different press philosophy, which is more realistic than assuming that a press system will remain the same over long periods of time.

Imperative Of Freedom: Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy

Imperative of Freedom is another work by John C. Merrill, co-author of Media Messages and Men. Written, in 1973, it is an updated discussion of Four Theories and also presents a new idea that was not as developed in Merrill's earlier work, though it was addressed by Lowenstein. His new suggestion is that certain types of systems can evolve into other systems over time; he discusses this possibility and what direction these changes could take.

Merrill maintains that "a nation's press or media system is closely tied to the political system," (1974: 23). Therefore, there are two approaches to classifying the government-press relationship: the pigeon-hole approach and the progression approach. If one classifies a media system by the pigeon-hole approach, the result is a Four Theories -type approach; a media system will fit into one concept and remain so. If one classifies a system by the Progression approach, one looks at the evolution of the system, noting that it may not fit into a specific pigeon-holed category. Instead the media could be in transition from one type to another.

Merrill also gives specific categories for the roles of the press. There are three roles (1974: 24):

1. Media is an equal contender in competition with the government.
2. Media cooperates with and serves the government voluntarily
3. Media is forced by government to cooperate with its goals and agendas.

These roles partially coincide with the Four Theories types.

The first role is a part of the libertarian. The third role is a part of

authoritarian concept. However, it is difficult to determine where Communism or Social Responsibility fits into this scheme. Communist media could be considered as being forced to cooperate, but not in the same way that authoritarian governments force their media to cooperate. Social Responsibility does not quite fit into any of these roles. It mainly fits into a role as contender, but because it voluntarily controls its content to be socially relevant and representative of the community, it could be considered as cooperating with the government on certain goals.

Nevertheless, reducing media purpose to three roles makes it easier to begin thinking about progression in media systems. It is easy to imagine a system evolving from forced cooperation to eventual voluntary cooperation with the government. Merrill's progression involves the 'four theories' in a triangular model:

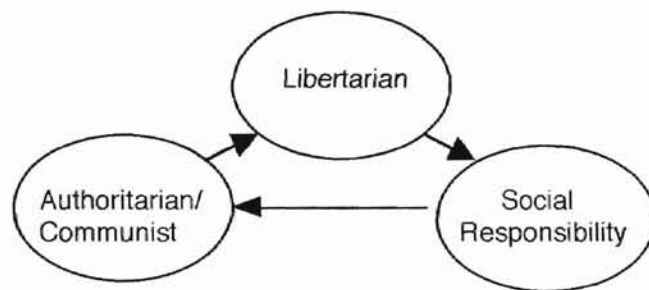


Figure 1. Merrill's Triangular Model of Press Progression

This model suggests that an authoritarian or Communist government/media relationship can evolve into a libertarian relationship over time. This could occur when a nation or a Communist state has been built to the point that the elite no longer need to cement its presence in society with the media. The model also suggests that a libertarian media can evolve into a media of Social Responsibility. This could occur when societies develop to a point where the concern for freedom of information gives way for a desire of responsible information.

The first two progressions in Merrill's model follow the typical 'four

theories' assumption that systems will only evolve from authoritarian toward libertarian and then to the highest step, Social Responsibility. This model also suggests that Social Responsibility systems could evolve into authoritarian or communist systems. This may not be the path that the average society would take. However, it does illustrate some concerns about Social Responsibility systems. In such a system, the concern for the content of the media may become so great that governments may enforce regulation on the media, thus changing to an authoritarian system. This seems largely improbable, since Social Responsibility is largely not a government onus. Nevertheless, it may be possible; speculation is difficult because Social Responsibility media systems are little more than theory.

Merrill also develops a second model called the "three and one model". This is a model of a press/government relationship that is a mixture of authoritarian, communist and Social Responsibility. All three are concepts based on types of control. Therefore a nation may combine the most useful parts of different controlled systems. Merrill uses interlocking spheres to illustrate his concept:

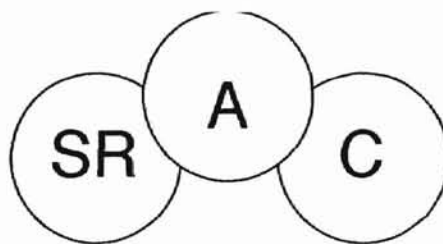


Figure 2. Merrill's Interlocking Sphere Model

A press system may be mainly authoritarian but use media control to further the public good as in a Social Responsibility system, or it could combine elements of a Communist system, such as a focus on organization and nation-building. All circles are equal, so it also means a Social Responsibility system or a Communist system could have some authoritarian characteristics.

Merrill's models are important to looking at the East German press because they illustrate possible progressions that the press might have followed throughout its changes in government. Also, the idea of mixed styles is very important for looking at the peculiar case of East Germany. Defining and classifying its government/press relationship requires more than a 'pigeon-holed' approach.

The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies

William A. Hachten's World News Prism is another work that builds on Four theories, but even more significantly than Media Messages and Men. Hachten's work, last revised in 1987, is a more modern approach than any discussed here so far. He uses a classification system with five concepts instead of the original four: Authoritarian, Western, Communist, Revolutionary, and Developmental (1987: 15). What differs between these concepts is different perceptions on journalism and the role of media in society, and also the influence of various political types in society.

Hachten describes the authoritarian concept of the media as being the oldest, most-wide spread, and also as the originator of his Communist and Developmental concepts. His characteristics of authoritarian press systems are as follows (1987: 15):

- the media does criticize or condemn at the government or leaders.
- the government viewpoint is that a variety of opinions and viewpoints is superfluous and need not be printed.
- the government's goals for the media are to promote consensus and standardization.
- the media may publish information only for the good of the state.
- the government does not harass media until it publishes something deemed harmful to the state, and then censorship is imposed.

These characteristics are similar to those of Siebert and Merrill. However, instead of providing a libertarian concept as a foil to authoritarianism, Hachten develops a western concept that is most similar to Lowenstein's social-libertarian concept, but with some differences because it discusses some socioeconomic factors. Hachten's Western characteristics include (1987: 19):

- media is *relatively* free from state interference.
- media is free to criticize or comment on government action.
- Western media systems are rare; most nations are not Western nations.
- Western media systems exist in countries where civil liberties and property rights are protected.
- states with Western media systems have high per capita incomes and high rates of literacy.
- the state allows the existence of a legal opposition to government.
- the media can support itself, without assistance from government.
- independent journalism is a tradition in society.

Hachten's concept here combines many aspects of libertarian press theories, such as private ownership, freedom to criticize government. It also possesses aspect of Lowenstein's social-libertarian concept, in that it recognizes the media will not be completely free from regulation. In Hachten's concept, as in actual Western countries, some laws are necessary to ensure a degree of fairness to the working of the media; for example, laws are made to prevent a monopoly of ownership or slander. This concept is based on Western systems; it may or may not be as useful for describing an Eastern European country because of different value systems and ideas about journalism.

The World News Prism's Communist concept is basically the same as Four Theories' and Media Messages and Men. Hachten asserts that that in Communist societies freedom of the press was determined by the control of economic resources. Only cooperative newspapers would receive newsprint,

ink, permission to use printing presses, and so on (1987, 23). The media' role is to help strengthen the nation and make official positions, policies, and goals known to the people. It also should perform and organizing function.

(1987: 24):

- the media is state-owned
- media serves a positive function for the government
- the press does not simply avoid breaking rules, it plays an active role in the government and society
- the Communist party maintains a monopoly on the press

The first three concepts discussed here are all repetitive of Siebert, Schramm, Merrill, and Lowenstein. However, Hachten creates two new concepts that are not discussed by Four Theories or Media Messages and Men. First the developmental concept. This concept is meant to apply to Third World nations and their special cases and situations. He stresses that this concept is not finished; he only gives a starting point to the consideration of a theory for Third World media (1987: 28).

Hachten's developmental concept is a deviation from authoritarianism. He describes the Third World media as a "mixture of ideas, influences, rhetoric and grievances (1987: 28). He outlines three basic ideas behind media in many developing nations (1987: 31):

- Media is used by the government to forward national goals, such as reducing poverty and illiteracy, and for political socialization.
- Freedom of the press and civil liberties are often considered secondary to nation's many problems
- Government not only guides the internal press, but it controls flow of news into the country and can bar entrance to foreign journalists in an effort to control the flow of news out of the country.

This developmental concept is different a new concept and it is most important in pointing out the difference between Third World areas and formerly

Communist areas, though it seems that they have a great deal in common. Though both concepts, as well as authoritarian, emphasize the media as a nation-building tool, Communist systems work from a specific ideology, and the government and media are not officially controlled by an elite group, they are supposed to be controlled by the nation's citizens. Also, Communist nations have an educated populace, and the issues the media must present are on more of an ideological level, while developing media presents issues that are more basic to nation-building.

Hachten's other contribution to media theory is the revolutionary concept. This concept is not outlined in great detail. Fundamentally, the revolutionary media is not a recognized institution, but an underground operation. Publishing for members of the media is a risk. The philosophy behind the revolutionary press is that the government is not serving the interests of the people, so they have a right to revolt (1987: 28). Papers that simply criticize or express grievances, but pose no risk to the publishers do not qualify in Hachten's concept of a revolutionary press. He lists the underground newspapers of occupied France during World War II as an example of such a press. No other characteristics of the Revolutionary press are discussed, but there are so few examples of such presses that Hachten's concept is sufficient for this study of East German press.

In sum, The World News Prism is a continuance of past media theories. It makes minor changes and adds new concepts that are valuable to the discussion of media systems. The most important point that 1987: makes is that a system could be a mixture of many concepts and this may well be the case in Eastern Germany.

Agents of Power

J. Herbert Altschull's Agents of Power is often cited as an important addition to communications theory. What is most notable about Altschull is that he seems much more cynical about the purpose of the press than any of the theorists discussed here. He distrusts the press and his views reflect this.

Altschull does not base his work on Four Theories. His main concentration is on the power-holders in society and different ideas of press freedom. Instead of four or five categories of media concepts, he divides systems of the world into only three: Market, Marxist, and Advancing. He describes the characteristics of these three systems based on the purpose of journalism, philosophy behind journalism, and view of press freedom. Altschull also creates seven laws of journalism that he maintains are applicable to any system.

Altschull's first media concept is the Market press. The purpose of a market media is to be socially responsible, to inform, stay non-partisan, support capitalism, search for the truth, and perform a watchdog function (1984: 284). This category is most similar to Lowenstein's Social-Libertarian, except for the fact that no other media concept has been directly tied to supporting capitalism. However, the Western, Social-Libertarian, and libertarian have also been given the tasks of helping the market by selling advertising and bringing together goods and consumers. This can be considered a support of capitalism, but it is not expressed as openly.

The philosophy of the Market media, or what Altschull calls "Articles of Faith" is the same as the basic Libertarian concept. The press is independent, objective, and supports the public's right to information (1984: 287). Societies with Market-type systems have views on press freedom that are also very Libertarian. A free press means that outside powers do not influence journalists

or the media as a whole. Altschull also included the stipulation that these societies operate on the he assumption that there is no need for a national press policy to maintain a free press (1984: 294). This indicates that control of the media in Market systems is absent or very limited.

Altschull's Marxist media concept is similar to the Communist concepts already discussed. The purpose of the Marxist press is to be socially responsible, seek the truth, demand support for the socialist doctrine, educate people and socialize them into the political system, and shape views and behavior (19874: 284). The philosophy behind Marxist systems is that the media must bring the masses out of false consciousness and into class consciousness. This is a service to the people. The press is an organ of change, and will report objectively on "realities of the experience," (1984: 287). Altschull's basis for Marxist media is similar to other Communist theories, except that Four Theories and Media Messages and Men emphasized that Communist governments published what they thought should be the truth, while Altschull maintains that Marxist media seeks the truth and reports on it objectively. 'The difference is that Four Theories' is closer to the applied form of Communism while Altschull's concept is closer to the theoretical form of Communism.

Marxist views on press freedom in this concept is that press freedom means that all classes are represented, that press freedom is necessary to prevent oppression, , and that a national press policy is required to "guarantee that a free press takes the correct form," (1984: 294). This 'guarantee' ensures that the government can take the steps necessary to make sure only favorable news reaches the people.

The third concept discussed in Agents of Power is the Advancing press system, or a system of developing societies. The purposes of this system is to print the truth, be socially responsible, and "to serve the people, by seeking, in

partnership with government, change for beneficial purposes, " and to educate the populace on political matters (1984: 284). These are similar purposes to Social Responsibility. The 'Articles of Faith' behind this concept are also similar: the media is an instrument of social change and social justice, readers and journalists should both have input in the media, and the media should unify not divide (1984: 287).

What differs from Social Responsibility concepts is the Advancing press concept's view of press freedom. Free press in this concept means that journalists have a "freedom of conscience," a national press policy is necessary to secure freedom, and "press freedom is less important than the viability of the nation (1984: 294). The press in Social Responsibility systems tries to work for the common good, but it does not subordinate its freedom to the needs of the government. This is a characteristic more common to an authoritarian or to Hachten's developmental concept and is what defines it as only a press concept of the developing world. Altschull, in fact, does not include an authoritarian concept, only the advancing, mainly because most authoritarian regimes are in developing countries. This eliminates the need for two separate but similar categories.

These three concepts are similar to the other concepts discussed here. However, Social Responsibility has been removed as a concept and placed into each of the three categories. This change is advantageous because many of the Western systems we see today are not just dependent on market forces for material; journalists do have somewhat of an ethical obligation to be socially responsible. However, with this change also come the risk of believing that all media systems are socially responsible.

In addition to media concepts, Altschull also provides seven laws of journalism that perfectly express his distrust of the media. Despite the fact that his concepts all include aspects of Social Responsibility, his seven laws insist

that media systems are tools of economic and political interests, and that their main interest is to make money or serve the interests of the owners . More specifically, the media are not independent actors, but at times they can utilize independent power (1984: 298).

Altschull's laws assert that all media is based on concepts of freedom of expression, but systems have a different definitions for such a freedom. Similarly, all press systems claim to be socially responsible, but the way this concept is defined differs. These differing values are enforced in society in by schools of journalism, making sure that journalists cooperate and believe in the system. Journalists, and society in general, learn that other media systems are aberrant (1984: 298).

The final stipulation of the seven laws of journalism is that actual practice of systems does not always follow theory (Altschull: 298) . Overall, Altschull makes the important point that on the surface, media systems seem to espouse similar values. They all claim to serve the public with truthful information and fair representation. By their own definitions, most systems do. Even in Western systems, which Americans and Europeans commonly regard as real examples of free media, the media is influenced by economic and political powers, according to Altschull. All media are influenced by some force; the important consideration is what force influences the media and to what extent.

A Dynamic Theory of World Press Action and Motivation

Most media theories classify different systems by type of political systems, even those that allow for change from one type to another. However, Elisabeth H. Schillinger's 1992 thesis A Dynamic Theory of World Press Action and Motivation defines media systems by their actions and motivation. She proposes that "situations are significant determinants of action that have long

been overlooked (1992: 83). These situations (national problems , threats, or events) can result in three classes of motivation that decide press action. She also claims that any nation's media motivation is constantly in flux between her classes of motivation.

Schillinger contends that the mass media are major instruments in nations' "vocabularies of motive, " (1992: 79). Roughly, this means that the media conveys certain images, ideas, and values or performs a certain function, such as aiding the market, depending on the nations' stage of motive. There are three stages of motive: survival, ideational, and instrumental.

There are three major premises to Schillinger's thesis:

1. Negotiated vocabularies of motive link press activity with actions of other national structures and social institutions.
2. Nations and their press systems subscribe simultaneously to three primary vocabularies of motive - survival, ideational, and instrumental, one of which usually predominates at a given time.
3. Nations and their press systems vacillate continually from one prevailing primary motive in the direction of on or both of the other two.

(1992: 84)

The first premise connects the government with the media. The government influences the actions of the media, directly or indirectly. The second premise maintains that the media, as well as the government, moves through three motivations., typically one at a time. The first motive is survival; in the presence of a perceived threat to national security or survival, the media will adopt a vocabulary that seeks to strengthen national values and cohesion and reduce negative output (1992: 89). Ideational motive vocabulary concentrates on values. An ideational media system seeks to reinforce an belief system that is pervasive throughout the entire society. An ideational nation is often perceived as fanatical by other nations, while it perceives other nations as possible threats (1992: 93).

Schillinger's third motivational category, instrumental occurs in developed, economically sufficient nations. Instrumental media systems are not

concerned with strengthening a belief system. They concentrate on the accumulation of wealth; the media is a product in the economic system. News is selected on the he bases of marketability. However, counter-instrumental activity may be encouraged in the government and the media to right severe social inequity (1992: 98).

The third premise of the dynamic theory is that media systems exist in a state of constant flux between motivation types. A threat or problem can cause a nation to alter its vocabulary, for example, to ensure its survival. An example is when a nation restricts and censors press output during a time of war or national crisis. Schillinger maintains that the number of fluctuations from one motivation to the other has increased in recent years because new technology has increased international interaction (1992: 100).

Schillinger emphasizes that her three motivational categories are not meant to be set categories into which press systems can be pigeon-holed. She gives ideal types for each of her motivations, with the understanding that most systems will not be exactly like an ideal type. Systems can be mainly survival, or ideational, but may have other characteristics as well, especially since all institutions motivations' may not be constantly in sync.

The characteristics Schillinger uses to describe her ideal types are national motive and press relationship, type of news provided, educational content, ownership, entertainment, local media, treatment of foreign journalists and outgoing media, and domestic access to foreign media. A survival-motivated media supports the government and leaders efforts in protecting the nation from a threat. The news and information allowed to be printed is a positive account of events; objectivity is superfluous and news is too carefully censored to be up to date (1992: 106).

Survival types work to educate the public on a political level and national interests. The state does not hold a monopoly on media ownership. Individuals

or political parties may also own publications, simply because self-censorship and the national agenda keep their publications in line with survival motives (1992: 106). Censorship is not absolute. Entertainment and public-interest pieces not related to government can be printed freely. Also, local media is encouraged since the government want that element of communication to promote cohesion (1992: 108).

One area where the government does enforce strict control is over access of foreign journalists to the country in the interest of national security. Foreign media coming into the country is not as controlled. If a nation is facing economic hardships threatening its survival, outside news may be its only source of international news (1992: 109).

Schillinger's idea-motivated ideal type is a media system in a society where a certain belief system is all-pervasive. The ideational media is charged with furthering and maintaining the belief system and is an integral part of society. The news offered to readers is of an explanatory nature that illustrates the correct values and ideas. Only positive stories are reported, unless they illustrate the evils of another system. News is also meant to be educational and enlighten the masses.

In idea-motivated systems, the media is owned by the government. Media for entertainment, unless tied to the national cause, is prohibited, and local media is held under suspicion unless it is closely tied to and patterned after the central media organization. Foreign journalist and incoming media is restricted (1992: 109, 110).

An example of an idea-motivated media is that of the former Soviet Union. However, Schillinger stipulates that the USSR was not an ideal type. The media was charged with promoting a certain belief system, that was also emphasized by many government institutions. However, despite the high degree of control by the government in the he USSR, it was not absolutist,

consuming all aspects of life (1992: 94). An ideal type of idea-motivated government and media would be even more controlling than that of the communist nations.

An ideal type of an instrumental-motivated press system is most similar to a typical Western systems. The media is considered a product, sold in a competitive economic market. The goal of the media is to maximize profits, yet the media also operates on the principle of the people's 'right to know'. News is informative, represents a variety of views, and is up to date. The press prints news that sells, so there is an unusual number of strange or shocking stories or news that helps the market function (1992: 117).

The instrumental press is privately-owned, with minimal government control. Local media is not prohibited in any way. Entertainment media is not restricted. Since the media wants to maximize profits, entertaining news and publications are numerous. The flow of foreign journalists and information in and out of the country is not controlled (1992: 118). Basically, the instrumental media is not a system that is compelled to aid the government in any way while the government is in that motivation phase.

The most important part of Schillinger's thesis is her assertion that a press systems fluctuate over time. No one nation stays at the same motivational level forever. External threats or disruptions can cause a change in motivation. The eventual resolution of problems can also change motivation. Her theories on the dynamic nature of the press are especially relevant to the discussion of the media of East Germany because it has experienced major periods of change that have greatly altered the press system.

The most pervasive theoretical works on press theory have been reviewed here, as well as Schillinger's thesis, since it offers a new direction on media theory. The 'four theories approach is the most common, but a combination of several approaches are necessary to discuss the evolution of

the press of East Germany.

The next section will discuss the background of the East German press and attempt to use the theories and concepts discussed here to analyze the changes in the printed media before and after reunification of the two Germanies.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: EAST GERMANY FROM 1945 TO THE PRESENT

East Germany was a separate entity from the rest of Germany from the end of World War II until the fall of the Communist government and eventual reunification in October 1990. This paper discusses the East German media from the period of 1945 to present, even though the East German press ceased to exist at reunification. Any reference to the East German press after October 1990 refers to media the region of Eastern Germany. Though this area was officially part of Germany, like other institutions of former East Germany, it did not automatically function in sync with its West German counterpart. Therefore, East German press should be studied after reunification as well to get a sense of why it functions as it does.

The history of the East German media began during Soviet occupation during World War II. The USSR was the first of the four occupying powers to issue publishing licenses, in June 1945. The USSR's goal for the area was to democratize it and stamp out fascism. It was also determined to keep capitalism at bay, blaming it for the rise of fascism in Germany (1994: 25).

Soviet licenses were granted to all anti-fascist parties in the beginning. However, the Soviets soon began to favor the Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands) and denied supplies and access to facilities to 'bourgeois' papers. The Communist Party and the German Socialist Party (Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands) soon joined to form the Social Unity Party (Sozial Einheits Partei) or SED, which became the ruling party under

Communism. All access to publication facilities was finally restricted to the SED. This continued after the founding of the German Democratic Republic in 1952.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic is the beginning of three main periods in the history of East German government, and consequently, the media. I loosely define these three periods as the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and Post-Unification Phase. The basic structures and important developments are discussed here for each period. Also, each section identifies important characteristics that will be central to classifying press systems:

- media purpose
- media ownership
- media control and censorship

The Communist Era

The press in Communist nations is generally used as a tool of the government. The German Democratic Republic is no exception. The treatment of its media was very similar to that of the USSR, since the Soviet Union exerted a large influence over the government. Management of the media was overseen by the state and the party (the SED). Since government officials were primarily members of the SED, this resulted in a double control of the press.

The party needed control of the media as a means of propaganda, organization, and support for Communism. Criticism and information unfavorable to the regime was kept out of the news, but the media was not meant to be an oppressive force. The media was supposed to educate and encourage the masses to work toward the goals of the Communist

government. In East German news in particular, workers were exhorted each year when production levels climbed. Also, praise of leaders was an especially important element in the GDR press. Praise frequently centered on the head of East German politics, who was both General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State.

The media of the GDR was owned by the state, and controlled through a hierarchy of structures. The Politburo controlled the Press Office of the Council of Ministers. The Press Office was responsible for the State Radio Committee and the State Television Committee. The heads of the Radio and Television Committee was appointed by the Council of Ministers (the government), and the remaining members of the committees were appointed by these committee heads (1994: 286). In addition to these committees, ideological guidance was provided by the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the SED Central Committee (1994: 289).

Since the government was controlled by party and owned the means of production, all the media was in some way the voice of the party and government. However, not all media was an official 'party' source; limited articles or broadcasts for entertainment value were permitted. All four of the state-owned radio stations (Radio DDR 1, Radio DDR 2, Jugendradio 64, and Berliner Rundfunk) offered a combination of entertaining and informative material intended for a domestic audience (1994: 287). The nation's two television channels, Fernsehen der DDR 1 and 2 similarly mixed.

The printed media was officially owned by the state, and controlled by the Press Office of the Council of Ministers. However, the actual editing and publishing was given to a select number of political or cultural groups that could be trusted to follow the directives of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee. The party published one official newspaper Neues Deutschland, which was the most read national daily. In 1988, its circulation was 1,100,000. The second

most popular national daily was the Berliner Zeitung, with a 1988 circulation of 425, 000 (1994: 288). The SED also had a network of fourteen regional papers, called 'Bezirkszeitung' that put out 219 local editions daily. Also, other parties (allowed to exist because they supported the SED) had a few publications. The most popular of around fifteen these was Neue Zeit, a product of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which had a 1988 circulation of 113, 000. Cultural organizations such as youth organizations and trade unions were also permitted publications. The Free German Youth's paper Junge Welt sold 1,381, 000 copies in 1988, and the trade unions sold 414,200 copies of Tribüne in the same year (1994: 288). The government was able to control the various groups because it controlled supplies and printing presses.

The government also influenced the media in two other ways. First, all editors, journalists, and managers of the various forms of media were educated in doctrine. This occurred in various journalism schools throughout the nation and ensured that journalists at least understood what was acceptable news before they started their careers, even if they were not adamant followers of the policy line they were supporting. Second, much of the news offered to press came courtesy of the state news agency, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (ADN). The agency offered acceptable news, especially from outside the country, to broadcast and print media. Because it was the official view, the media did not have to reformulate it to acceptable standards (1994: 288).

East Germany is a special case, in that it was too close to Western Europe for the government to prevent the entrance of information from unsanctioned sources. Western Radio and television were able to infiltrate East Germany, even if print could not. In the 1960's, Chairman Hans Ulbricht and his regime actively discouraged citizens from watching Western TV or listening to radio. However, by the 70's the government had become more relaxed,

probably because preventing people from getting Western TV and radio was impossible. During Erich Honecker's leadership, about ninety percent of all East Germans watched Western television. The government decided that it might even be good, because the programs would illustrate the faults of Western society (1994: 290).

The Communist Era in the German Democratic Republic did not remain exactly the same throughout its entire duration. Like every government it went through stages. In the beginning, the government was more positive, as were the people, about the new experiment it was undertaking. By the 1970's economic stagnation was taking its toll, and the public was becoming more disillusioned and therefore more susceptible to the lure of the Western life. The government ceased to be a miracle of social reform was more a giant bureaucracy with decreased public support. The East German media continued to report high production numbers and praise for continuing economic success, but throughout the 70's and 80's economic difficulties mounted. The public saw the disparity first between what their own media reported and the reality of their situation, and then it saw the disparity between their situation and the life of citizens they saw on Western television (1995: 25). The media remained inflexible and did not change with the times. When mass migrations began out of the GDR in 1989, the press did not report on them until the actual revolution began with calls to reform the media (1995: 35).

Several examples of actual news releases from East Germany prior to the fall of Communism are provided here in order to get a clearer idea of the type of information made available on a daily basis to East German citizens. In order to more narrowly define the function of the East German press, it is necessary to look at such examples. These examples come largely from the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, which released articles from various East German Newspapers, the ADN (the East German news service) and Foreign

Affairs Bulletin published by the German Democratic Republic. These were published weekly or biweekly. The examples used here are from January, March, June, October, and November between 1980 and 1989. These months were used to get information from about the same time every year and from different seasonal periods throughout each year.

After examining numerous articles, it is fairly obvious that East German press existed largely to support the East German government, especially the leader in power at the time, Erich Honecker. A majority of the papers devote considerable space to praising Honecker and his efforts at promoting world peace and nuclear disarmament. They often paint the United States and Western Europe as obstinately refusing to Cold War despite Soviet and East German efforts to end the conflict, as in a Neues Deutschland article, "US Attempts to bypass Salt II criticized," (1985: 2). The papers also praise workers and continually report rising levels of production, despite the fact that the economy was actually growing worse over time. In the 2 October 1989 issue of the Foreign Affairs Bulletin reports a doubling of production levels and real income between 1970 and 1988, and "material security for all," (1989: 4). These numbers may be accurate, though wages were still low; however, reports the next year under a different press will present a different view of the nation's economy.

The most interesting examples of the Communist press in East Germany are from the time just prior to the revolution in 1989. These examples paint a completely different picture in the press than what we know to be true during this time. For example, the ADN released a report on 8 October 1989 titled "Attempts to Disrupt Anniversary Festival Prevented," (1989: 10). This reported on demonstrations demanding peaceful change and more openness in the government. The article claimed that demonstrators gathered on the fortieth anniversary of the GDR :

...shouting slogans hostile to the republic. Thanks to the presence of mind of the defense and security bodies as well as the participants in the festival, the intended provocations did not develop (1989:10).

Another article two weeks later, "Police Officers Discuss Demonstration Problem," in the Berliner Zeitung reports on a press conference titled, "Order and Security in Our City are in the Interest of All, " (1989: 26). The press conference advocates police involvement in the demonstrations of late 1989 because they can lead to "unauthorized, unpredictable courses," that disrupt the peace (1989: 26). When Erich Honecker resigned, due to pressure from the SED and public unrest, his resignation was attributed to illness (1989: 24).

The East German government used the press to give the impression that it had control of the demonstrations and the government. However, the fact that the press admitted to the demonstrations at all points to the coming changes. Over all, from the examples discussed here, it is obvious that the East German press painted pictures of the ideal East Germany. It's purpose was not to inform, but to inspire and organize people into the socialist way of life. The press did not criticize the government, or serve as a watchdog, and it was not a forum for varying views on political issues.

The Interim Phase

The unraveling of the GDR began in the fall of 1989. The situation up to that time was one of continuing economic decline and dissatisfaction with the government. One of the major stimuli of the fall of Communism was a grass roots movement intent on reforming the media. What ensued was an interim between Communism and reunification that was chaotic, but innovative and short-lived.

In an article titled, "Building a Communicative Democracy: The Birth and Death of Citizen Politics in East Germany," author Maryellen Boyle presents

view that the interim period was a creative experiment with grassroots involvement and participative democracy that was trampled too quickly by unification. Despite obvious bias in her work, she offers interesting details on the efforts of East German citizens to restructure communication in their country that do not seem to merit much discussion in other pieces.

Boyle's account of the East German revolution links the spark of the deterioration to a citizen initiative group called 'Neues Forum' (New Forum). This group managed to print and distribute a "Call to Action" on 10 September 1989 that urged for reexamination of communication and open public discourse in East Germany (1994: 184). The push for open discourse eventually caused newspapers and printed press to become more daring and start printing more open, truthful articles on the needs of reform in East German society. One major example of the daring of the media at this time was concerning a demonstration in early November at the Alexanderplatz in Berlin. This was demonstration of the the Berlin Writers Association. Not only did the meeting call for a reallocation of media power away from the SED, but newspapers and television reported on the demonstration. The media had remained silent to that point on demonstrations taking place and on mass migrations because government feared that this knowledge would cause even more problems of the same nature (1994: 189).

Four days after the Alexanderplatz demonstration, the Berlin Wall opened. One could speculate that either the demonstrations or the fact that the media informed the public about tote demonstrations prompted the SED to make changes. Erich Honecker resigned and was replaced with a 'Reform-Communist' prime minister Hans Modrow. Modrow vowed to make a new media law a top priority and called for involvement from writer's unions, the citizen movements, editors, and experts on media law (1994: 190). This commission was informally called 'the Round Table' (1994: 291).

Boyle credits the Round Table with the idea of creating anew model of not only media policy, but of democracy and society, that they did not want patterned after a West German model. She calls the new movement 'anti-politics'. The movement wanted to completely rebuild the relation between the states and and the public to move more power into the hands of citizens (1994: 184). This movement, carried out by the Round Table, dominated East German politics in the interim period, not just in media, but in every aspect.

The 'anit-politics' set was non-partisan. It's goal was to limit parties to only formal functions in the parliament. A single party was no longer to dominate so many aspects of political and social life. The overall agenda of anti-politics is to involve citizen groups in political life to such an extent that politics is a fair representation of the population and also to such an extent that power cannot be swept away from the people by a handful of politicians because too many citizens are involved in the decision-making process of government. Censorship was not the only concern; the entire role of press in society, representing all groups, and printing socially relevant material.

The first step in establishing a new media order was completed in January 1990, when a draft of a Media resolution was presented to the Round Table. This was in turn sent to the People's Chamber of the German legislature (the Volkskammer) and passed in February 1990. This resolution was called a resolution 'Guaranteeing the Freedom of Opinion, Information and the Media' (Beschuß der Volkskammer der DDR über die Gewährleistung der Meinungs-, Informations- und Medienfreiheit) (1994: 292). The main goal of the resolution was to gain protection from the control of publishers that were controlled by the party and the editors who were also party members (1994: 190) It abolished censorship, established universal freedom of information, and established independent journalism. Journalists were compelled to report the truth and were protected from being forced to support others' ideas. They were not

required to reveal sources to the government unless by court order. All organizations were guaranteed access to the media. The media was to be well balanced and represent a variety of opinions. Citizens had the right to reply and have those replies published (1994: 192).

The Media Resolution established a Media Control Council in February 1990. This consisted of representatives from all parties and associations in the Round Table, parties in Parliament, three churches and the Jewish community. Until reunification, this council met every two weeks (1994: 195). Before this group had been founded, citizen groups already had control of television and radio in Berlin. Once the council began restructuring the media, this meant that the majority of communications in East Germany were under the control of a new force different than most systems present in the world at that time.

This period of time is hard to describe because the media plans of the Round Table were never completed, so many questions about its intentions are unknown. The media was invented to be independent of the government, so this means that it eventually was to be operated by private interests, or perhaps by various citizens groups. However, during the fledgling attempts of the Round Table, the media was still owned by the state. It is unclear how publications and broadcasting would have been involved in the market. All groups were to be represented fairly in the new system. No indication is made of how this would have been accomplished. It could have come from individual ownership of media by different groups, or through enforceable government regulations that all groups have access to the media. The Round Table may have considered the current representation on the Media Control and the Media Resolution of 1990 as adequate. However, with the strong emphasis on 'anti-politics' on restructuring the entire social fabric, the Round Table probably had more involved plans for making the media representative and socially responsible.

Control of the media was to be independent from government influence,

though parties still maintained a voice in the Media Control Council. From the Media Resolution it is obvious that the media was intended to be free in regards to censorship and access of information. One can assume that foreign journalists and information was intended to pass through national boundaries freely.

There are many questions on what would have happened to the East German media had been allowed to progress down the road it was taking in early 1990. However, events transpired that put a halt to independent media development and led to reunification. First, the Round Table organized East Germany's first free elections on 18 March 1990. The East German branch Christian Democratic Union (CDU) , with the help of West German allies, won enough votes to select a new Prime Minister, Lothar de Maizière. His government established a Ministry of Media Policy that came into direct conflict with the Media Control Council, even though the Media Control Council was legally in control until a new constitution was written and ratified (1994: 1907).

To gain an idea of the type of information available in the media during the time of the Round Table in the GDR, it is helpful to investigate the type of information available through the press during the interim phase. In order to clarify what types of news was deemed worthy by the Round Table project it is necessary to look at news excerpts from this time and consider a few factors. First, unlike the news under the Communist press, the press of the Interim phase offered varying viewpoints on topics. Second, the government was criticized and certain failures were admitted. Third, government scandals and excesses were exposed. True information was given for the first time. All changes intended by the Round Table were not fully carried out, but the change is still evident, as in these few examples.

One of the first instances of a more objective reporting style was from a Neues Deutschland article, "News Conference on Police Actions in Berlin on 7

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and 8 October," written 24 October 1989. During demonstrations held during the fortieth anniversary celebration of the GDR, participants were arrested and some treated brutally. The article reports that a group of citizens at a press conference accused the police of using excessive force. The group also called for an investigation and publication of the true events and possible legal consequences for police officers involved (1989: 1).

In November of 1989, the news began to report on investigations into corruption and abuses of power in the SED. An ADN release from 22 November reported that a temporary parliamentary committee was investigating corruption and misuse of funds. A week later, on 30 November 1989, the committee (which was composed of ten different parties and citizen's movements) discovered a special hunting area reserved for privileged government officials. The article even went so far as to name Erich Honecker and other members of the SED Central Committee. The hunting ground, which included houses and other facilities were reported to be closed upon discovery (1989: 56).

Besides reporting on corruption and criticism of the SED, the media also took a major risk by not reporting another year of economic success. "For the First Time a Decline in Industrial Goods Production: On Economic and Social Development From 1 January to 30 November 1989," a Neues Deutschland article from 20 December 1989 reports lowered production statistics. From the title, it is obvious that the press had difficulty in admitting a decrease. The article itself blames the low production on the disruptions of November 1989 (1990: 34). However, the admission that production levels decreased was the a one-of-a-kind revelation for the media.

Finally, a sign that the restructuring of the press was beginning to take effect is the presence of conflicting views in the media, something not allowed under consensus-minded Communist editors. In February of 1990 the ADN

released information on two opposing views on reunification. "Groups Oppose Hasty German Unification," from 9 February 1990 reports on a group of parties including, the Green Party, Neues Forum, the United Left, The Left Youth Party and the Alternative Youth Representation that spoke out against speedy reunification. The groups warned that the reunification would not solve the problems of the GDR and that the change would end the productivity of the 'revolutionary' era (1990: 34). The next week the same news service printed all of the prime minister's reasons for favoring reunification in "Modrow Welcomes Declaration," of 14 February 1990. The Berliner Zeitung also reported on citizen groups opposed to reunification altogether in a 22 January 1990 article titled, "Reunification Not Through Anschluss with the FRG," (1990: 34).

These articles are small examples of the changes the citizens groups wrought over the press system during the Interim period. Even though the changes were not complete, it is evident that some of the goals of the Round Table were in place: freedom to criticize, a variety of opinions, truthful information.

After the election of de Maizére as prime minister, the future of the press shifted. According to Boyle, the CDU was not interested in the anti-politics media project. The four major West German publishers (Springer, Burda, Bauer, and Grüner + Jahr) were interested in purchasing and updating East German newspaper distribution and the CDU was interested in helping them with this goal. The Minister of Post and Telecommunications (charged with regulating distribution), a member of the CDU, authorized joint ventures between the Big Four and East German newspapers (1994: 197). These joint ventures were halted by an East German publisher who filed a monopoly complaint to the Media Control Council. The Media Control Council was concerned that East German publishing would be dominated by Western concerns and East German citizens would not have a voice in news or in its

production.

Despite this success, the Media Ministry, not the Media Control Council, maintained the most control over media policy in GDR. The ministry refused to let the Media Control Council play its part in media policy development. It claimed it was an "artifice of the past," (1994: 197). Once the CDU leadership convinced the East German people to reunify with Germany, Bonn also got involved in media policy, in order to bring it up to speed with West German customs and standards. During July and August of 1990, only the Media Ministry and the Volkskammer Media Committee were involved in creating a legal structure for post-unification media (1994: 197). The citizens movements, public organizations, and religious groups lost control of the shaping of the media to the elected officials of the CDU.

Reunification occurred on 3 of October 1990. The unification treaty stipulated that the five new Länder (states) that were made of East Germany had a deadline of 31 December 91 to pass laws on the media (1994: 199). The media of East Germany began to be assimilated into the Western system of private ownership and big business. Boyle feels that this was against the will of the East German people. This is not necessarily so, because East Germans favored supported reunification. However, the change brought unexpected consequences and some definite friction between East and West that carried over into the media.

Post-Unification Phase

After reunification, the media of the former GDR faced and still faces great challenges. The press, as a state-owned 'business' was slated for privatization. Facilities were outdated and the staffs were inefficient by Western standards and had almost no training on modern printing practices and the use of

computers. Most East Germans could not afford to purchase their own publishing houses, so most were sold to West German or foreign companies. Companies sent in employees from West Germany to work in the Eastern newspaper offices and train Eastern employees. This meant that the West German methods of running newspapers was transferred to the East.

After unification, the German government assembled a trust called the Treuhandanstalt (THA). All state-owned business were eventually placed into this trust. The THA had the authority to sell East German business to whoever it deemed acceptable (1994: 307). Most large newspapers were sold to Western publishers. For example, the Berliner Zeitung and the Berliner Morgenpost were sold to large Western Publishing houses, such as Grüner + Jahr and Ullstein GmbH respectively (1996: 1364). Neues Deutschland was bought by the new Socialist Party of Germany and is no longer a principal daily (1991: 12). Publishing houses also set up facilities in Berlin to print Berlin editions of Die Welt (published by Axel Springer) and Der Tagespiegel, which were already popular German papers.

Some limits and standards were placed on the number of papers each publisher could purchase. District papers were preferred to national papers because of the price, and also because there were not as many national papers available. The district papers were sold intact, without breaking up SED structures, meaning that these papers and local editions that accompanied them were sold together. However, each publisher was allowed to purchase only one former SED district paper operation, but they also got the local editions that accompanied them (1994: 308).

Even, before unification, some Western publishers started new titles, because they thought the old party papers would not be supported by readers distrustful of SED publications. Later, other publishers formed partnerships with East Germany companies so they could use the old titles. These partnerships

were mainly only partnerships in names. East Germans did not have the resources to contribute equally, so the Western publishing companies took care of the overhaul of facilities, training, and staffing. (1994: 305). Many Western publishers avoided the limitations on the amount of newspapers by creating their own localized editions and bringing them into the region by truck (1994: 305). The East German market became saturated with Western-run publications.

By 1991, many of the newer papers failed as a result of over-saturation. Added to this was the fact that increasing unemployment and low wages prevented many east Germans from buying newspapers. The most successful newspapers are the ex-party district papers. Thirty-four district dailies are published. The seventeen 'bloc' have the highest circulations of these (1995: 187). This is mainly because the district papers focus on issues particular to East Germans, despite the fact that one third are owned by West German publishers (1995: 187). They contained articles on adjusting to reunification and local news that the larger national dailies did not contain (1995:187).

So far, In regards to the three criteria we wished to find in this section (purpose of the media, media ownership, and media control and censorship) it is clear that media ownership is completely private. Western interests have bought most papers that were controlled by the parties, so it is safe to say that the media in East Germany is no longer controlled by the party or the government through ownership. Censorship and control in Eastern Germany is now the same as in the rest of Germany. Though each Land (state) must write its own press laws, there are some basic standards they must follow. First, Section One, Article 5 of the German constitution guarantees freedom of expression:

(1)Everybody has the right freely to express and disseminate their opinions orally, in writing or visually to obtain information from generally accessible sources

without hindrance. Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting through audiovisual media shall be guaranteed. There shall be no censorship.

(1993: 14).

The purpose of the German media is harder to define. The freedom of expression and information for every German citizen implies a philosophy that every citizen has the right to know. Germany is committed to a democratic press that serves a watchdog function (1994: 56). The government does regulate the press to a small extent to ensure it functions democratically. A government commission on the press in 1968 placed limits on how much one publishing group can own. One group can control: forty percent of total circulation of newspapers or magazines, twenty percent of the circulations of magazines and newspapers combined, or fifteen percent in either circulation of magazines if forty-percent is already owned in newspapers or vice versa (1996: 1363).

Laws on publishing monopolies are so important in Germany because newspaper publishing is a large business. Average circulation of dailies in 1992 was around 26 million (1996: 1334). Because it is a business, the media serves another purpose besides serving as a watchdog or informing citizens. It is a product to be sold and marketed, and is financed largely by advertisements. To be marketable, newspapers must not only contain information, but that information must appeal to its audience. Therefore, the press also performs the function of entertainment. The advertisements contained in the pages link the public to goods; the media serves the market.

Examples of information available to residents of former East Germany during the Post-Unification phase are important to illustrate the purpose of that press and also to understand the increased variety of information and freedom that came with democracy and a capitalist market. The press in the Länder that formerly comprised the GDR has rapidly become almost the same as the press in the rest of the nation. This is largely because it is controlled by mainly West

German publishers. Though some facilities in East Germany are not as state of the art and journalists have not all been trained as well as journalists from the West, the dominance of Western investment and oversight in the publishing of the newspapers ensures that the values and the structure behind the press are comparable to those in the rest of the nation.

There are similarities between the Interim Press and the Post-Unification phase; both phases have a variety of opinions available and the ability to criticize government. However, there is also a difference between the two phases. This is because there is a much greater variety of news in the region than there was under the Communists, or even under the interim phase. This variety comes partly from new publications, but it also comes from the expansion of newspapers such as the Berliner Zeitung to include a variety of topics besides news on the leading political party and government officials. This analysis looks at the type and variety of information available in East Germany, more than at factors examined in the other analyses, such as presence of a variety of opinions and criticism of government, because these features can be assumed to be present since newspapers are now printed in the same style as in Western Germany. This analysis was made based on ADN releases through the Foreign Broadcast Information Services, as well as looking at selected issues from the archives of the Berliner Zeitung, the Berliner Morgenpost, Freie Presse, the Berlin Kurier, and Junge Welt.

First, the variety of news is greater since the SED no longer controls the content of a majority of the newspapers. There were seventy-three daily newspapers in the FRG. About twenty of these were published in East Germany. Most papers pursue a balanced variety of news without a political slant. However, newspapers with a political agenda are not forbidden, such as Junge Welt, which still has a pro-GDR, pro-Communist slant.

Second, newspapers offer a variety of news for information, economic

interests, entertainment, and political issues. The media is not reserved for one purpose any longer. For example, the principle daily out of Chemnitz (located in the state of Saxony, or Sachsen) Freie Presse contains sections on national news, regional news, politics, the economy, culture, and sports, as well as news out of the surrounding cities of Leipzig, Dresden, and also from Bonn (1997: 1). The Berliner Zeitung contains similar categories, with regional news from the Länder of Berlin and Brandenburg.

Regional news is a very important component to any papers published in East Germany. Most papers, as shown above, contain a regional section that focuses on issues closer to home for East Germans. Regional issues are of more interest to the Eastern population that sometimes feels dislocated from the rest of the nation. (1991:13). Articles are often accusatory or critical of the way the West treats east German citizens. The Berliner Morgenpost, on 17 February 1997 published an article, "Do the Eastern Seniors Sit in the Second Row? (translated from German)" meaning 'are Eastern German senior citizens being treated like second-class citizens?'. The article discusses the Federal governments lack of action to aid members of the former GDR Intelligence Service in the face of dwindling pensions (1997: 1). Not only does this article prove that the press can freely criticize the government, but it also shows an attempt of the press to serve as a watch-dog on the government and make sure that poor treatment of East Germans is noticed.

There is one unusual characteristic of the post-unification pores sin East Germany that should be mentioned. The press seems to have been taken over largely by Western concerns and East German journalists and workers in the media have been taught West German methods. Some East Germans feel that they have lost control of their own media and that their views are not fully represented. Most editors, at least during early post-unification, were from the FRG. One transplant, Wolfgang Tiedke, editor of the Leipziger Volkszeitung,

said that 'no one outside the editorial office makes the rules, " at his paper (1991: 12). The paper is owned by West German publishers. Eastern employees at that time had almost no input into content or running the paper out of their own district.

Situations such as these resulted in a tendency of East Germans to ignore larger papers and focus on regional newspapers or the regional news offered in larger papers. Since several years have passed since unification, this is not as true as before. More East Germans have received the proper training to run newspapers or write for them. However, this training came from Western German teachers. It seems that the practices of the FRG were imposed upon East Germans and publishing may have lost some of the values, interests, and input of members of the East German media.

CHAPTER FOUR

CLASSIFYING THE EAST GERMAN MEDIA

This chapter attempts to classify the three eras of the East German press, using the media concepts discussed in the literature review. As expected, no one concept is a perfect match to the three eras, but a close match can be found for each of the three. They are classified on at least two levels: by a 'Four Theories' type approach and also by Schillinger's motivational classification.

In order to make discussion clearer, Tables I through V list the main concepts of all the main media concepts discussed here. Classification is accomplished first by comparing the characteristics in each concept to the characteristics of each era in East Germany. These characteristics include media philosophy, function of the press, ownership, types of censorship and other related issues.

Main Characteristics and Analysis of Press in Three Time Periods

The Communist Era

Classifying the Communist Era by using the concepts discussed here is not difficult. It is obvious that the media of East Germany before 1989 will fit into some type of Communist media classification. However, because most Communist media concepts are based on the press of the Soviet Union, it is still important to discuss this issue further. The East German press was similar in

TABLE I
 BASIC CONCEPTS OF FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS

Authoritarian

Philosophy	Man is a cog in a greater machine; the government is absolute. Truth is secondary to needs of nation.
Function of Media	Support policies of government in power; serve the state.
Access to Media (Right to Publish)	Those who obtain government permission.
Control of Media	Use of government licenses and patents.
Censorship	Occurs after something deemed inappropriate is printed for a period of time. Press exercises self-censorship.
Forbidden Information	Criticism of government or officials.
Ownership	Public or private.

Libertarian

Philosophy	Man is an individual. Everyone has a right to information.
Function of Media	Inform, entertain, service the market, and serve as a check on the government.
Access to Media (Right to Publish)	Anyone with economic means.
Control of Media	Primarily by market forces. Few media laws.
Censorship	Almost non-existent.
Forbidden Information	Obscenity, defamation of character.
Ownership	Private.

TABLE I CONTINUED

BASIC CONCEPTS OF FOUR THEORIES OF THE PRESS

Social Responsibility

Philosophy	Everyone has a right to information; media should be socially responsible.
Function of Media	Inform, entertain, serve the market, and serve as a forum of discussion of important issues to all parties.
Access to Media (Right to Publish)	Everyone with a view to share.
Control of Media	Profession ethics, public opinion. Only laws that make sure the media system functions fairly.
Censorship	Almost non-existent.
Forbidden Information	Defamation of character, obscenity, serious violation of private rights and social interests.
Ownership	Private, as long as it operates responsibly.

Soviet-Communist

Philosophy ruling	Government must save masses from domination of class.
Function of Media	Closely-tied with state, support public policies, act as a tool of revelation.
Access to Media (Right to Publish)	Those loyal to the party and the government.
Control of Media	Government controls means of production and directs content of publications.
Censorship	Constant.
Forbidden Information	Criticism of government and party.
Ownership	State-owned

TABLE II

LOWENSTEIN'S TWO-TIERED PRESS CONCEPT

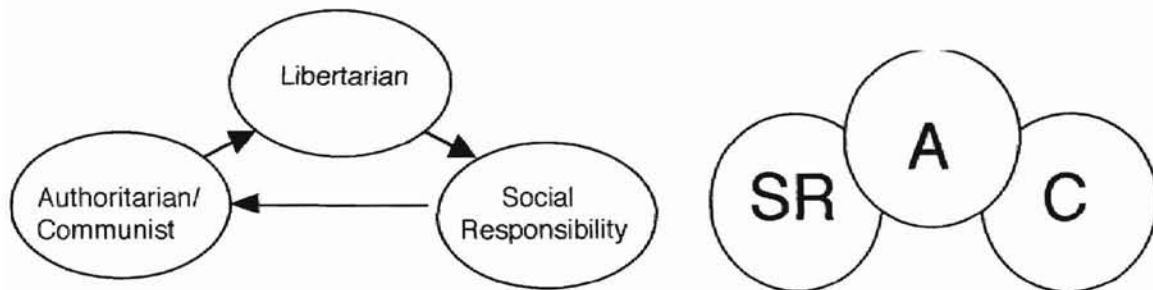
First-Tier: Ownership:

- Private: Owned by private industry or individuals, no involvement of party or state.
- Multi-Party: Political parties own or subsidize competitive papers.
- Government: Owned by government or dominant party.

Second Tier: Press Philosophies:

- Social-Centralist: Positive government control; use press for economic or ideological purposes.
- Authoritarian: Negative government control; use press to support governing power.
- Libertarian: Lack of government control; ideas flow freely, market assures a self-righting process.
- Social-Libertarian: Minimal government control to keep system running smoothly and fairly.

Figure 3. Merrill's Models of Media Change



(1) Authoritarian systems can evolve into Libertarian systems over time. which can in turn develop into a socially responsible system, and perhaps back into an authoritarian system.

(2) Social Responsibility, Authoritarian, or Communist systems can possess press characteristics from one or both of the other systems.

TABLE III

HACHTEN'S MEDIA CONCEPTS

Authoritarian Concept

Press Philosophy:	Press is subject to control of the state; diversity of views is discouraged; consensus encouraged.
State Involvement:	Grants permission to publish; censors when necessary.
Function of Media:	Support state policy.
Ownership:	Private.
Censorship:	Censorship imposed when press begins to go against the government.

Western Concept:

Press Philosophy:	Press has right to inform citizens and criticize government.
State Involvement:	Passes laws to ensure the functioning of free press.
Function of Media:	Inform, entertain, present a variety of views, aid the market.
Ownership:	Private.
Censorship:	Minor; limits obscenity, defamation, libel.

Communist Concept:

Press Philosophy:	Press is free to publish the truths according to Communism.
State Involvement:	Controls means of production and monitors content.
Function of Media:	Support state goals, organize and politically socialize citizens.
Ownership:	State.
Censorship:	Constant; prevents criticism of state and its policies.

TABLE III CONTINUED

HACHTEN'S MEDIA CONCEPTS

Revolutionary Concept:

Press Philosophy:	The government is not meeting the needs of the people; the press has the right to demand change.
State Involvement:	State is uninvolved, but tries to prevent publication; news is printed under great risk.
Function of Media:	Organize citizens against the ruling class or government.
Ownership:	Private (underground).
Censorship:	State cannot censor the revolutionary press.

Developmental Concept:

Press Philosophy:	The press exists to help the development of the nation. Truth is secondary to the problems of the nation.
State Involvement:	Government guides the press in content.
Function of Media:	Support state goals, fight national problems, organize and educate citizens on politics.
Ownership:	Private or state-owned, if private publishers do not or cannot support the state goals.
Censorship:	Press is actively censored to keep out criticism of the state.

TABLE IV
ALTSCHULL'S PRESS CONCEPTS

Marxist Concept:

Press Philosophy:	Press should print the truth (according to Communism) and be socially responsible.
Function of the Media:	Inform, solicit support for socialism, educate, politically socialize .
State Involvement:	Owns media; a national press policy is necessary to ensure that the media supports the right goals.

Market Concept:

Press Philosophy:	The press should search for the truth, be socially responsible, remain objective and non-partisan.
Function of the Media:	Inform and serve as a watchdog on the government.
State Involvement:	No press policy is necessary to ensure a free press.

Advancing Concept:

Press Philosophy:	The press should seek truth, be socially responsible, work with government to achieve important social goals.
Function of the Media:	Inform and support national goals.
State Involvement:	A national press policy is necessary to maintain a free press.

TABLE V

SCHILLINGER'S MEDIA MOTIVATION CONCEPTS

Survival Motivated Media:

Philosophy:	Media must help struggling government survive.
Function of Media: allowed.	Educate the public on political issues, organize and support government in power. Entertainment
Censorship: in	Media exercises self-censorship; government steps in when media prints criticism.
Ownership:	Private or public.
Access to Foreign Information: information	Information leaving country strictly controlled; entering country not as controlled.

Idea Motivated Media:

Philosophy:	Media must serve the government and promote its ideology.
Function of Media:	Educate the public on political issues, organize and support government in power. Only information relevant to promoting national ideology allowed.
Censorship:	Government actively censors content.
Ownership:	Government only.
Access to Foreign Information:	Information leaving country strictly controlled; information entering country strictly controlled

TABLE V CONTINUED

SCHILLINGER'S MEDIA MOTIVATION CONCEPTS

Instrumental Motivated Media:

Philosophy:	Media is a product, to be bought and sold.
Function of Media:	Serve as a source of information, entertainment, and sometimes education.
Censorship:	Government does not censor; has minimal control over press.
Ownership:	Private.
Access to Foreign Information:	Information flows in and out of country freely.

many ways to the Soviet press, because the two countries were so closely linked, but because they are also two different countries, it is still necessary to discuss the East German Communist press in the interest of thoroughness. To categorize the press of the Communist era in East Germany, first the major characteristics of should be considered: press purpose, function, who controls the media, ownership, censorship. The characteristics are shown in Table VI.

Analysis

The characteristics of the East German press point firmly to a Communist type government. Any of the Communist press theories discussed here would be an adequate concept of the East German press. Schramm is used here mainly because Hachten and Merrill's definition of the Communist press are not used because they are little more more than summarizations of Schramm's theory.

Altschull's Marxist concept or Lowenstein's 'two-tiered' concept could be used here as well. However, Altschull's theory assigns a more positive role to the press than it actually seemed to have. Altschull's concept assigned truth and Social Responsibility as functions to the Marxist media. Despite the fact that the truth was supposed to be in the Communist viewpoint, a different interpretation of the facts, the East German press often blatantly avoided the truth, so this function cannot be assigned to it. Lowenstein's 'two-tiered' concept would be useful to a system where ownership and media control are not related. However, since ownership and press control were joined together in the East German press, it is not necessary to use a two-tiered system to define it.

TABLE VI

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNIST ERA PRESS IN EAST GERMANY

Press Philosophy:	The press is an instrument of the East German government to inform citizens of the truth, as perceived by top officials.
Press Function:	Inform citizens on government policies, successes, and goals under Communism.
Ownership:	Means of production owned by the state.
Control of the Press:	Controlled by party and state: the Press Office of the Council of Ministers and the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the SED Central Committee.
Censorship:	Government-controlled content means active censorship of criticism of government.

TABLE VII

INTENDED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERIM PHASE PRESS IN EAST GERMANY

Press Philosophy:	The press should represent everyone who has a view. The community should be actively involved in ensuring the fairness and representative character of the media and society as a whole.
Press Function:	To inform, educate, entertain and provide a forum for debate on relevant social issues.
Ownership:	Public or private ownership.
Control of the Press:	No government involvement; possibly limited laws to ensure fairness; a committee of community organizations determining regulations.
Censorship:	Non-existent.

TABLE VIII

ACTUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERIM PHASE PRESS IN EAST GERMANY

Press Philosophy:	The press should represent everyone who has a view. The community should be actively involved in ensuring the fairness and representative character of the media and society as a whole.
Press Function:	To inform, educate, entertain and provide a forum for debate on relevant social issues. Still hindered somewhat by government, by SED members still employed in media.
Ownership:	Mainly state-owned.
Control of the Press:	Committee of citizen and community groups.
Censorship:	Non-existent.

TABLE IX

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POST-UNIFICATION PRESS IN EAST GERMANY

Press Philosophy:	The press has the freedom and responsibility to print the truth. The press is an economic entity controlled by market forces.
Press Function:	To inform, entertain, educate and provide a forum for a variety of views and opinions.
Ownership:	Private.
Control of the Press:	Self-righting force of the market. Minimal laws to prevent obscenity, slander, and defamation and prevent unfair practices, such as monopolies.
Censorship:	Non-existent.

The East German press possesses all the characteristics discussed by Schramm: the state owned means of production and directed content. The press was used as a tool of the state to promote its ideology, and criticism of the government or policies was forbidden. Most factors fit neatly into Schramm's pattern. One factor that did not fit into any of the Communist press concepts discussed here is the propensity of the East German government and the press to focus heavily on the national leader. Most news articles during the Communist period of the 1980's were either written about or by Erich Honecker. The nation was led as much by a single personality as it was by Communist ideology. The same is true of the Soviet Union. However, Schramm's theory does not mention the media's tendency to focus around one dominant individual.

The dominance of one individual throughout the press and the government points to certain elements of authoritarianism within the Communist system of East Germany. This is in keeping with Merrill's interlocking sphere model (Figure 3) that allows Communist systems to possess certain Authoritarian characteristics. The East German society could be said to be a combination Communist/Authoritarian system, and the press was a reflection of this.

The last media concept in Chapter Three was Schillinger's 'Dynamic Theory of World Press Action and Motivation'. This concept differs from 'four theories'-based concepts, so it is also used as a separate means of classifying the East German press. Schillinger's motivational classifications, survival, ideational, and instrumental are important because they define similar and changing purposes behind every press system. Also, Schillinger's motivational categories can show evolution of the press more clearly than 'four theories'. No argument can be made that a progression out of a survival system to an ideational or instrumental press system is an improvement. In contrast, some

may argue that evolution from a Libertarian to a Social-Responsibility System is not a change for the better.

The East German press most closely fits Schillinger's description of the idea-motivated media system. The government controls the media and uses as a means of promoting its ideology. One important feature that Schillinger gives to the ideational media that the 'Four Theories' based concepts did not specifically include was the absence of articles in the media that did not pertain to the national ideology. This was not necessarily true in East German society. Information was predominately related to the government's message, but some articles were printed on topics such as sports or festivals. However, since Schillinger stipulates that no press system will be completely defined by her ideal types, it is still safe to classify the East German press as an idea-motivated system.

Some argument can be made that the East German press began to move toward a survival-motivated press toward the end of the Communist Era. Denial or criticism of demonstrations like those on the Alexanderplatz in Berlin show that the government was making an effort not just to promote an ideology, but to retain the upper-hand in a deteriorating situation. However, in Schillinger's survival-motivated press, the press plays an active part in retaining the government in power. In the GDR, when things began to fail, the press took the opportunity to go against the government, and supported changes. Therefore, the devolution of the press to a survival-motivated system was never completed.

Another factor that must be considered in the definition of the press system of the Communist era is the systems actual capacity for change, meaning its ability to influence society and government. Did factors of the structure make it possible? The answer to this question is obvious. Communist media systems best impact the government by enforcing the status quo. The structure of the press system, with strong governmental control, does not legally

allow the press to encourage change through its material. If the press is responsible for influencing change, the government must first allow this or journalists must put themselves at risk. Even if a journalist takes a risk, it is not probable that any really subversive text will make it into the press because content is dictated and party and government oversight is spread throughout the press system in the form of editors, publishers, other journalists, etc.

In sum, the East German press was a Communist system, as derived from Schramm's Soviet-Communist Concept. The state dictated the function and goals of the press, controlled the means of production, and dictated the content. Thus said, the capacity of the government to influence the press was great, and will be discussed further later. The possibility that the press influenced change in the government is a murkier topic. The press had the ability to have an influence over the government as a form of maintenance or propaganda, but it did not have real ability to influence any change away from accepted norms. Results of the ability, or inability, of the press and the government to influence each other will be discussed in the next chapter.

This classification was certainly easy to derive - a Communist press system belongs in a Communist country. However, in the next section, the Interim Phase is discussed. This phase is full of chaos and contradictions, and will be more difficult and also more interesting to define.

The Interim Phase

Defining the interim phase of the east German press is difficult for two main reasons. First, the 'anti-politics' press system was never fully completed because unification came along too quickly for the new ideas to be put into place. Some characteristics attributed to the interim phase are based on what was planned to be put into place, not what was actually in place, though this is

addressed as well. Second, the interim phase contains a mixture of elements from different systems so a straight definition is hard to find. Nevertheless, the interim phase mainly has the features of a socially responsible press. In order to explain this further, two tables of the main characteristics are provided in Table VII and VIII.

The intended and actual structures of the press systems at this time period are not that different from one another. The Round Table group had control of the media system and great strides were made in making the news more informative, accurate, and truthful. However, the real facts are that the state still officially owned the media and reform Communists in power still had the ability to influence the media in some ways. Nevertheless, the discussion of the Interim phase press from here forward will assume that this influence was minimal and attempt to classify the idea of the Interim press, as well as the actual press.

Analysis

The most fitting description for the Interim phase of the East German press would be as a socially responsible media system. This is mainly because of the emphasis on fair representation for anyone with a view. The most detailed description of a Social Responsibility concept comes from Peterson in Four Theories.

Peterson's concept is really the only concept that is applicable in this case for several reasons. First, Hachten and Altschull do not offer a separate Social Responsibility theory. Hachten's Western concept press is supposed to present a variety of views and have limited government involvement, but the concept does not include that all views should be expressed. In his concept, the expression of views is still too linked with having the economic means to publish. Altschull's Market concept loosely fits because it maintains that the

press in a Market system is socially responsible. Also, the press during the Interim phase was intended to be privately or publicly owned, and controlled by the market, as in Altschull's Market concept. However, the Market concept, like Hachten's Western concept, leaves economics too much power in determining what views are printed (the ones that sell) so that it does not quite fit with the ideals of the Interim phase. Finally, Merrill's Social Responsibility is not used because his concept is based on Peterson's and Lowenstein does not offer an actual Social Responsibility concept. He offers Social-Centralist or Social-Libertarian. Social-Centralist does not fit with the Interim phase's commitment to ridding the press of government control. The Social-Libertarian concept does not fully express the need of a variety of views and citizen involvement.

Peterson's Social Responsibility concept is the closest match for comparison to the intended press function during the Interim phase. Both emphasize that anyone with a view to share should be represented by the media. Also, media will be free from government control and censorship, and privately owned as long as it lives up to its responsibilities. The media would inform, entertain and serve as a forum of discussion between the press and the readers on important issues. All of the main functions of Peterson's concept are the main functions envisioned by the Round Table during the Interim Phase.

There is one particular aspect of the media during the interim phase that differs from Peterson's concept, and that is the control, or regulation, of the media. In Peterson's concept, the press will keep itself socially responsible by using professional ethics. Regulations or government oversight to maintain a responsible press are not mentioned. Nor are they specifically mentioned by the Round Table. However, the Round Table took an active part in shaping the structure and functioning of the press. This was a group of public organizations and citizens movements taking and active part in deciding how the press should be run and it may be safe to assume that the Round Table would continue to

exist, had reunification not occurred. As a body representative of the many different segments of society, it would have worked to ensure continual representation of the different segments in the press. Peterson's concept does not make a reference to this type of control. The Interim phase could be said to be a slight step beyond the Social Responsibility concept into something new.

In addition to defining the Interim Phase by a 'four theories' type method, it is also important to understand where it would fit into Schillinger's motivation theories.

Out of the three categories, survival, ideational, and instrumental, the Interim phase is clearly an instrumentally-motivated press style, if it fits anywhere. It cannot be a survival-motivated system. Criticism of the government was permitted and encouraged; the press was not required to support the policies of the government. Nor was the interim press ideational. It was the opposite; the Round Table did not want the media to reinforce a dominant ideology. Therefore, the press seems to have been instrumentally motivated. Schillinger defines an instrumentally motivated press as a system that is not censored, is not hindered by government involvement, and where information passes freely over borders. The press informs, entertains, and sometimes educates. These all define the interim phase, except for the fact that there is again no mention of the Social Responsibility factor. However, Schillinger's instrumental concept can still be used, even when Hachten's or Altschull's market concepts cannot. This is because her characteristics serve only to define how a press is motivated. Is it motivated for survival reasons? Does it want to promote a single ideology? Or does it exist separately, motivated by its own interests? Even though the interim phase tried to be more socially responsible than Schillinger's characteristics, it still fits because it had also reached the point where it was motivated by its own interests.

The capacity for influence between the government and the press under

this Social Responsibility type system is much wider than the capacity under the Communist system. The government's ability to influence the press is smaller and greater at once. It is smaller because the government cannot directly control the workings and content of the press. However, it is greater because the actions the government takes can influence the press to respond to the actions, support the actions, or criticize. Under Communism, no matter the action government took, the press was forced to maintain an ideological oriented support of the policies. Under Social Responsibility, the press can respond to government actions, which not only shows the government's ability to possibly influence press content and purpose, but also shows the possibility of the press influencing the government through criticism or support of policies.

In short, the Interim phase most closely related to Peterson's Social Responsibility Concept. It emphasized freedom and a variety of viewpoints, and the absence of the overbearing government control prevalent during the Communist Era. The capacity of the government and press to influence each other is fairly great, especially since a socially responsible press is one that seeks to improve society, which may mean it makes an effort to affect change of the government.

The Interim press was not motivated by ideational goals as it had been just a few months before. The press did not exist to serve the government but to serve the people. In fact, if reunification had been slower or had not occurred, the press system that may have emerged from the Round Table's initiatives might have been an entirely new system. A socially responsible system today is little more than theory. The Round Table's intentions were even a bit more unique than Peterson's concept. An entirely new press type may have emerged.

The Post-Unification Phase

The press in East Germany after unification is not difficult to classify for one main reason. After unification, the East German press took on the characteristics of the press in Federal Republic of Germany. The press of the FRG, as well as that of Great Britain, France, and the United States, are often cited as examples of the Libertarian and Western concepts. They are prime examples of a free press controlled by a market system. The main characteristics of the Post-Unification press in East Germany are shown in Table IX.

The press in the Länder that formerly comprised the GDR has rapidly become almost the same as the press in the rest of the nation. This is largely because it is controlled by mainly West German publishers. Though some facilities in East Germany are not as state-of-the-art and journalists have not all been trained as well as journalists from the West, the dominance of Western investment and oversight in the publishing of the newspapers ensures that the values and the structure behind the press are comparable to those in the rest of the nation.

Analysis

There are several concepts discussed here that could be acceptable for defining the Post-Unification press. Four Theories' Libertarian concept would be adequate in describing the press. The Libertarian concept possesses the main characteristics particular to the post-Unification press: freedom of information, criticism, the use of the market as a self-righting mechanism, and private ownership.

Altschull's market concept would also be an adequate description of the Post-Unification press. As in the Market concept, the press is a product to be bought or sold, and it has the freedom to criticize. Though Altschull also

stipulates that the Market press will seek the truth and be socially responsible, he attaches this stipulation to all of his categories. There is no differentiation between the truth and what the government believes to be true, which is not helpful in differentiating one press system from another on that criteria. The most accurate concept when discussing the Post-Unification phase is Hachten's Western concept. This is true for one major reason. The Western concept allows for some government control to ensure fair market practices and prevent slander, obscenity, and defamation that is not included in either Altschull or Hachten's theories. Western societies, such as Germany, do not depend on the market and the customer's judgment to decide which articles are untrue or slanderous. While the German press system is not a socially responsible system, by Peterson's definition, it is more responsible than a straight Libertarian press system. It is actually a combination of a market-oriented press system and a socially responsible system.

Like the Interim phase, the Post-Unification phase can be classified as an Instrumentally system by Schillinger's definition. The press is not motivated by any one ideology, or drive to bring cohesiveness to a floundering nation. The press exists for information and entertainment on many levels. Articles are written from many different views and agendas. The German press has reached the highest point of development on Schillinger's scale.

The East German press has evolved over time through Communist, Social Responsibility, and Western phases. This does not follow Merrill's circular model wherein a Communist system changes to a Libertarian, and then evolves into a Social Responsibility press. However, the changes in the East German press have been the result of disjointed changes in government: First, a fast fall of Communism to an attempt at democratic government, and then rapid reunification, joining the DDR to a more politically advanced, economically secure society without much of a warning. Evolution of the press

system therefore cannot be expected to follow a smooth progression.

All the press systems discussed here have differences from the concepts used to define them. As Altschull's seventh law of journalism stipulates, "Press practices always differ from theory," (1984: 298). However, the basic functions and characteristics have been used to separate each of the three press phases into accompanying press concepts that allow us to see better the way the press supports the government in different societies and the way society and government influences the press.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the original hypothesis and the application of the historical information and press theories in an effort to prove the hypothesis. The findings of this this work are inconclusive. The original hypothesis that predicted an interlocking relationship of influence between the press and the East German government could not be proven using the information found here.

Changes in government action could not be directly correlated to the press; more data is necessary to prove this relationship. However, the relationship between the press and the media in the GDR is one that appeals to common sense. Press could be assumed to be at least one variable in the search to explain government action. In the next three sections, the results and reasons for findings are discussed for each phase of government

Findings on the Communist Era

It has already been stated that a relationship of influence between the government and the press (going both ways) cannot be proven valid in empirical terms here. It has also already been suggested here that the press under the Communist Era did not have the capability, because of structure of the system, to influence government action for change, but only as a means of maintenance of support. Schramm's Soviet-Communist media concept and also Schillinger's ideological-motivated concept suggest that a press system

such as that in the GDR maintains support for the government, but it is more difficult to determine if this is true in real life. In order to determine if the East German press did influence people to support the government, it would be beneficial (though perhaps not feasible or possible to find a way to survey former East German citizens on whether or not the press influenced them to support the government or educated them on policies in a way that aided the functioning of the state.

What can be determined by looking at examples of news releases and newspapers from the Communist Era is that the press did attempt to create support government policies (creating greater support for the regime in power is seen here as an influence on the government, because it gives it more power and confidence in its actions). As examples in Chapter Three show, the press issued praises and favorable articles on Erich Honecker and the Communist government often and encouraged workers to produce more in order to serve their nation. However, these examples do not prove that the attempts to organize support were successful.

It is easier to show that the government of the German Democratic Republic influenced the press, because in essence the government was the press. Therefore, the government did not just influence the structure and the content of the press, it controlled almost every aspect. In the sense that this paper seeks to show that the government can influence the press, the Communist Era press is not the best example that can be found, since the press and government are not two separate entities. Nevertheless, it is the clearest example of government influence.

One exception to the suggestion that the press was not able to influence the government has already been mentioned in the background discussion. Press inaction, rather than inaction, seems to have caused citizens to pressure the government for change under Communism from in the GDR. When the

reports on economic success or advantages of living under socialism vs. capitalism became too disparate from what East Germans experienced in every day life or saw on Western television, East Germans may have realized that the way of life in the GDR needed improvement and led them to demand change. Despite the fact that this is not empirically proven here, it does seem that the gap between real life and the East German 'fantasy' presented in the papers could be a contributor to the citizen's aggravation that led to Communist reforms and eventual upheaval of the Communist government.

Findings on the Interim Phase

Like the findings of the Communist era, it is not proven here that the government and the press during the Interim period had a direct relationship of influence. However, indicators point that a relationship does exist between the press and the government, and are discussed in this section. In order to prove the hypothesis for the time period of the Interim Phase, it would be helpful to perhaps survey government officials in order to determine how much their policy making was affected by what they read in the press, and how much they relied on the press as an indicator of public opinion. Journalists could also be asked to what degree they tried to influence the government through their work and if actions of the government prompted their story choices. This information would be helpful, but difficult to obtain, if it is possible to obtain at all.

A problem with determining influence during the Interim phase that was not present in the Communist Era findings is the variety of ways the press could affect change or influence the government during this time period. Also, even though journalists had the freedom to present editorial opinions on government policies and call for change in policy, this was not the only way the press could influence the working of the government. Simply by publishing

information on how to vote, background information on candidates, and explanations of the workings of democratic government could have influenced the government by organizing voters and helping them determine for whom to vote.

The influence of the press on the government during the Interim period of a socially responsible period should have been considerable, though not the only factor to influence the government. From examples given in Chapter Three, it is apparent that the press tried to give a more balanced representation of the news, and also the press was able to inform the public of unfavorable economic conditions and corrupted officials. Though it is not shown here, it is possible that the new freedom and responsibility of the press could have further turned citizens away from government and informed government officials on public opinion on its own policies, both causing responsive action in the government. Influence was possible, perhaps probable, but not proven.

Likewise, there is no actual proof here that the government influence the press, either in structure or in content. From the information Boyle gives on the Round Table, discussed in Chapter Three, it does not seem that the government of the period, meaning the parliament and top officials, exercised a great deal of influence on the structure of the new press. Press structure and purpose was determined by the Round Table, largely composed of citizen action groups, and later incorporated into the reform government. (The Round Table here is not considered a part of the government because it was not composed of elected officials of the state and did not make the official decisions of state, despite the fact that it did organize and direct much of the government's functioning during this period.) The government only formally directed the restructuring of the press based on the work and ideas of the citizen's action groups.

The government of any nation can be assumed to influence the content of the press, simply because the press focuses a great deal of attention on the

actions of government. The actual question of did the government influence the subject matter chosen by the press and the opinions voiced by editorials is not correlated here empirically, but the assumption seems reasonable. Actions of the Interim government most certainly prompted the press to respond in certain ways, either critically or supportively. Since the Interim period press was a socially responsible press, government policies and actions prompted the press to act as a forum for discussion and source of information on the merits of the policies and also the drawbacks. The government's influence in such a case is not only suggested into the consequent reactions to its actions; the government's influence is also suggested by the ability of East German journalists to shed light on corrupted officials or contrasting opinions. The government's influence is to keep open the channels of communication and democratic forum, a reflection of the government's overall commitment at that time to more democratic government and openness.

Though the hypothesis of this work cannot be absolutely proven by the functions and examples from the Interim press, it should not be assumed that any relationship between government and the press is spurious for two reasons. First, the press philosophy of this period, one of Social Responsibility, implies that the government and the press will work together, and that the press will have a role in shaping the workings of society, which would of course include the government. Second, the press may be only one of any number of variables that influence government action, but it only common sense that tells us that the press influences the government in some way through its criticisms, support, and presentation of views from the public. The press of the Interim period did not merely provide articles on entertainment; it provided political information with the purpose of influencing readers and helping these readers shape their own government and its policies. This is an effect that is not improbable, even if it is not measurable here.

Findings for the Post-Unification Phase

The discussion of the relation between government and the press is the most murky when regarding the Post-Unification phase. This is due to the fact that no real changes have occurred over its brief history to endanger its stability or show how changes in government can alter the function, structure, or purpose of the press. No revolutionary articles can be cited that may have helped alter the course of a nation or bring down a government. nevertheless, just because the press may is not involved in sweeping changes or media experiments in Post-Unification Germany, this does not mean that we should assume that the press has no real influence over government.

As in the findings for the other two phases, it is not determined here that the government and the press are in a mutually influential relationship. Similar methods as those suggested in the previous section could be used to find a correlation between government and press action, such as surveys of officials and journalists to determine what influence the press or the government has on each respectively.

The Post-Unification press system under Hachten's Western concept should theoretically influence the workings of the government by serving as a watchdog function on the government and by allowing officials and others to keep track of public opinion on various government actions. in actuality, even though the German press does perform these functions, it cannot definitely be said that the efforts of the press are successful, even though we could assume that it would cease its efforts if they did not meet with at least partial success.

If such success could be measured, in my opinion one would find that the Post-Unification press is not as successful at influencing government as the press was during the Interim phase. Even allowing for the fact that more East Germans paid attention to the news during the Interim phase because they

needed information on the political and economic turmoil of their nation, the Post-Unification press is less politically- or educationally-oriented than the Interim Phase. As Schillinger instrumental concept stipulates, the press in Germany is a product to be bought and sold, and much information is geared toward entertainment. There is also a great diversity of publications, preventing one prevailing theme from reaching as many East Germans as the Interim press could.

Government influence on the press in the post-unification period is also unmeasurable in many respects, but the assumptions made about government influence during the Interim Phase are similar to the once that can be made here. The government has little influence over structure of the press, aside from protecting rights to information and preventing obscenity. The large amount of freedom of the press influences the degree to which the press feels comfortable criticizing the government. Government policies would prompt discussion and a forum for opinions, and evoke either support or criticism. These are all possible effects (even probable when using one's common sense) of government influence over press in Post-Unification East Germany, even though they are not tested here.

The hypothesis that the government and press influence change (or stability) in each other in East Germany not proven by study of the Post-Unification phase of the press. However, examples, such as that of the article in the Berliner Morgenpost on the pension problems of Eastern senior citizens, do show that the press does make an effort to serve as a check on the government. It is reasonable to believe that the efforts of the press do have some impact on the government, because it is an accepted venue of government criticism, just as it is reasonable to assume that the actions of the government influence the content and functioning of the press, not to mention the accepted structure.

This thesis looked to confirm the hypothesis that the government of the

GDR has been intrinsic in shaping the role and function of the press, and the press in turn influenced the functioning of the government. Because of the unavailability of empirical data to measure influence in some tangible way, the hypothesis has not been proven. However, using the example of the East German press does lend support to the general assumption that the government and the press have a mutually influential relationship. The press concepts and theories discuss show how the ability for change is or is not present in each press structure, while examples and and historical information on the press structure of the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and the Post-Unification phase show the possibility that the press may have been an influential variable in the most major events of the GDR's brief history - the fall of Communism and reunification with the FRG. Further research is needed to prove the hypothesis, but this work shows that it should be possible to prove it if the right type of data could be found or collected.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This work sought to find pattern influence between the press and the government in the German Democratic Republic by looking at three stages of its history. The hypothesis evaluated was that the form of government in a nation influences the structure and content of the press, while the content and functions of the press also had an effect on the government.

In order to understand how government structure might influence the press, primary sources of press theory were discussed. Siebert, Schramm and Peterson's Four Theories of the Press served as the major basis of the discussion and classification of the East German press types, while Altschull, Hachten, and Schillinger were also important to the discussion. With the exception of Schillinger, the works discussed here classified press systems by the types of government that preside over them. This type of classification prove to be the most suitable when discussing the East German press types.

The three phases of the East German press system, the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and the Post-Unification Phase, found here were classified respectively as a Soviet-Communist system, Social Responsibility system, and a Western system. These classifications were used in order to clarify the functions and philosophies of the press, so that the possibility of influence and manner in which the press systems of East Germany would influence the government could be assessed.

The three press types discussed here all bring certain assumptions on the relationship of the press and government. From the evidence found here, one can judge whether the assumptions made about these press types were true, or whether they are contradicted by the actual functioning of the press of the German Democratic and the press during the Interim and Post-Unification phase

The Communist Era

The press during the Communist era of the German Democratic Republic has been defined here as a Communist, or Soviet Communist press system, by Schramm's definition from Four Theories of the Press. There are several assumptions about the relationship between the press and the government that can be derived from Schramm's definition of a Communist press system. The first and most important assumption that can be made about this press theory is that the press is incapable of influencing the government because it is held under tight control by that government. The government is a constant influence over the press, because of its direct control over content and means of production. What this means is that the press is assumed not to be an instrument of change or an instrument to shape public opinion against the government; it is an instrument that can shape the public opinion to conform to the government's ideals.

How accurate is this in assessing the press from the Communist Era of the GDR? The assumptions are somewhat correct. For the most part, the press was not allowed to be an instrument of change, only an instrument to promote the status quo. Throughout most of the history of the Communist press in the GDR, the press served as a mouthpiece for the heads of state and as a tool for praising workers and urging greater production levels. However, in the last few

years of the GDR, the press did begin to change, which was not assumed possible under Schramm's definition of a Soviet Communist press.

The East German press contradicted the assumption that the press could not affect change in two ways. First, the refusal of the government to allow the press to present an accurate picture of the standard of living in the GDR helped cause citizens to demand change in the press. Second, as the Communist government evolved during the 'glasnost' period many Communist countries experienced during the 1980's, the press was able to evolve slightly. This was not as much due to a decision give journalists more freedom, but because facts could not be hidden as well as before from the public. Such events as Honecker's replacement and demonstrations were too hard to completely cover, so they had to be addressed, even though they were still addressed in a positive light for the government.

In general, the theories of the press discussed here assume that the press of a Soviet or Communist country could not affect because the government controls it tightly. This would also imply that any change affected by the press or any change of the function of the press would be from a conscious decision of the government and would only occur if the government wished it. However, it is my contention that change in the Communist press of the GDR occurred, not from a conscious decision by the government, but because it was forced. The government, and consequently the press, was gradually being forced to change by the increasing demands of the people and the changing environment in the country.

Though a government has great power over its people, especially former Communist governments, it is a mistake to assume that it can control or prevent change at all times. Therefore, it is a mistake to assume that the Communist press would stay constant, especially when the government itself did not. Especially in a society where the government and the press are so closely

related, the press had to change as a result of a change in government.

Though the press did begin to have more freedom, and therefore a greater capacity to influence and change, it has already been stated in Chapter Five that the capacity for change under this system was not great, in comparison to other systems. This is the best assumption that could be made about a Communist press system - that the capacity of the press to influence the government and cultivate public opinion that is not in line with party rhetoric is not great under a Communist government, but it is possible under certain circumstances. These circumstances would be the demands of the masses or a change in the government itself, which would probably be interrelated.

The Interim Phase

The press system of the Interim phase has been defined here as a Social Responsibility system, by Peterson's model in Four Theories. The capacity for influence and change in this system is considered fairly great. The major assumption that a socially responsibility system rests on is that the press will influence the government and also public opinion. All of these forces will work together for the betterment of society. Another assumption is that the blend of many different views and opinions in the press and the government will ensure fairness and policy and solutions that have been well thought out and acceptable to almost all groups because they have all had input.

Do these assumptions hold true for the Interim phase of the German Democratic Republic? The answer is more difficult to define than it was for the Communist phase, because the Interim phase press did not have as much time to fully develop into what the Round Table envisioned. However, it is possible to reach some conclusions. First, as examples show, the press did become more representative of a variety of views. This surely served the purpose of

presenting and debating issues fairly so that the public could learn from them and so that the government could better judge public opinion on certain issues.

Can it be assumed that the press, as a Social Responsibility system, did have an effect on the government? That is more difficult to determine from the examples used here. One major issue that was debated in the Interim press was the issue of German reunification. Articles appeared both for and against East-West unification. Most of the articles appearing for reunification were based on speeches and reports from government officials; most articles against reunification were from citizen's groups urging either a slower reunification or no unification at all.

The final result of the debate was reunification, but does this mean that public opinion presented in the press went unheeded? No, because a majority of East German citizens at the time of reunification were in favor of unification, despite the fact that they had access to both positive and negative opinions on the subject. In addition, it cannot be said that the press did not help to provide a forum to produce solutions that were acceptable to a wide group, because it did allow for free debate, and reunification was acceptable to most at that time. In later years it became apparent that reunification was done largely without much Eastern input, but this was a result of West German action and cannot be used as evidence that the press was unable to influence the East German government on the issue.

Overall, one can assume that the socially responsible press in Interim phase made an effort to provide a forum for all opinions and debate in an effort to create better policy, educate the public, and influence the government. Because its time was cut short by reunification, it cannot be said that the Interim press made great strides in social improvements, though it most likely would have been given the ability if it had continued to evolve. As far as determining whether the assumptions about Social Responsibility press systems are correct,

it cannot be said that they definitely are true or that they are not true. This is because there is not a true socially responsible press system in existence. The only example of such an effort would have been the east German press system during the Interim phase and it has a very short history. The main conclusion one could make on the relationship between the government and a socially responsible press is that the ability to influence is present in either direction.

The Post-Unification Phase

The press under the post-Unification phase was defined as most similar to Hachten's Western model from World News Prisms. The press in the eastern part of Germany after reunification became the mirror of its West German counterpart, largely because West Germans owned and ran the papers in the East after reunification. The main assumption of Hachten's press model about the government/press relationship is that the press will be able to influence the government through criticism and a free forum of debate. Change is possible through the press, and it does at times serve the watchdog function that Libertarian systems are credited with. However, it will also serve a broader function of entertainment and simple information that is more distant from the government.

Are the assumptions of the Western model in keeping with the actual press system in Germany? The press system of Eastern Germany in the Post-Unification phase, as already stated in Chapter Five, does have the ability to influence change, in that nothing prohibits it from making an appeal to change public policy or influence public opinion.

From examples given in Chapter Three, it is obvious that the German press does serve as a watchdog on the government. The press questions government actions and criticizes freely, as the Western model assumes

possible. In addition, German press is quite specialized and is also dedicated largely to entertainment and informative purposes, which is also in keeping with the assumptions of the Western model. Freedom of the press is available to anyone who can afford the means of production.

In general, Hachten's Western model seems to make fair assumptions about the relationship of the press and the government. The press is seen as an agent of influence over the government by the model, and it acts as such an agent in Germany. The example of the Post-Unification phase supports the Western model, and also the common assumption that a freer press will have more ability to influence the government than the press under an authoritarian or Communist system.

Conclusion

The three time periods discussed here, the Communist Era, the Interim Phase, and the Post-Unification Phase, have served as examples to determine what grounds can be found that the government and the press have a mutual relationship of influence. The most important finding of this work is that the ability or the capacity of the press to influence government does not merely exist or not exist. This differs from the press theories used here, especially Four Theories. The individual press concepts discussed in Four Theories are not arranged in a way that shows varying degrees of press influence. They are either defined as having the ability or not having the ability and are not placed in any type of order. It is my contention that the capacity of press to influence government is largely defined by the nation's government, as Four Theories assumes, but that this capacity comes in varying degrees. Authoritarian and Communist nations have very small capacity; Libertarian or Western systems have a larger capacity for change, and Social Responsibility, because of its

goals and philosophy, has even more capability to act as an influence on government.

It can be said that all press systems are influenced by the government in different ways, but that the degree of influence that press systems exercise over governments varies depending on the type of government. The press of a Communist nation has less influence over government action than it would in a Western nation or a nation dedicated to a socially responsible press system. However, the press is not without influence in under any of the government types discussed here; only the degree varies. Common assumptions are wrong that only the 'free press' can affect change.

This work did not determine the exact degree of influence between the government and the press. However, it did determine that a relationship between the two does exist and that it is largely defined by the type and structure of the government. This is important when considering the future of the region that once comprised the German Democratic Republic.

Because the Post-Unification of the press has been largely dominated by Westerners, it is possible that influence of the press could further alienate the citizens in Eastern Germany from the rest of the country. It is common knowledge that a certain degree of alienation and social strife exists between the Eastern Länder and the rest of Germany. The 'Wessies' resent the economic burden of reunification and the less efficient productivity of the East Germans. The 'Ossies' resent the greater prosperity of Western Germans and feel that they treat them as second class citizens. Many feel that reunification was not a mixing of two groups but rather an attempt to change and mold East Germans into West Germans. This sentiment has relevance in the fact that most of the East German press was purchased and completely revamped by West German publishing houses.

The 'remodeling' of the East German press included hiring West German

supervisors, many West German journalists, and retraining of East German journalists to Western standards. East Germans may feel that they have no voice in their own press system. With no voice in the press, the East Germans lose the possibility to get a message across to the government through editorial control or publication of articles of specific interest or concern to that region. This could help maintain a feeling of alienation for residents of Eastern Germany.

Another possible effect of the press-government relationship in Eastern Germany that could present itself in the future is a difference in content of the newspapers. Instead of remaining alienated from their own press in the region, the former East German that have been retrained to work in a Western paper will probably move into managing and editorial positions as they become more experienced. More East German journalists will be hired. Their presence, despite being trained in Western journalism, will bring the East German voice more strongly into the press, and therefore to the attention of the government, which could have favorable effects from an Eastern viewpoint.

Readers in Eastern Germany will not need to concentrate as strongly on regional papers, and the press system could become more unified and a better representation of the entire population. This is a more likely scenario of the two. Over time, east Germans will surely accumulate more wealth and be less resentful toward West Germans and also newspapers will want to pander to East German needs and include issues and information relevant to them. One final thought to consider about the press in Eastern Germany, as well as the entire nation, is how important it will be in the future at all. In Last Rights, Nerone discusses the change taking place over the entire planet into a true information society. newspapers and television are no longer the only tool of mass communication. Technology, such as the Internet, is making the resources of mass communication available to anyone with a computer. The

Internet transcends international boundaries. If this technology should take the place of the press, or broadcasting, as our primary source of information, the question of how press systems influence the government may become obsolete. Governments could eventually be influenced not just by journalists channeling the voice of the people, but by each individual voice, provided that governments have the resources and time to observe so many sources on the Internet.

A change in the way the world's mass communication operates would certainly affect the region of Eastern Germany. Because it is a part of Germany, Eastern Germany already has access to leading technology. Citizens, provided that they can access a computer, could have a venue that transcends the press or the need for east German views to be represented in the Western-owned papers.

For now, the Internet has not supplanted the press as a primary source of information, and therefore its influence over the government is still important to consider. It has been claimed here that the press can affect change in any one of the three governments of Eastern Germany. Because East Germans still face so many issues peculiar to their region, such as massive unemployment and economic rebuilding, it will be interesting in the future to see how their journalists use the press to try and affect change in the government.

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