

Critique of the Political Economy of the Media

Foundations and Applications

MANFRED KNOCHE

CRITICAL, DIGITAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA STUDIES

Series Editor: Christian Fuchs

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CHAPTER 11

On the Critique of the Political Economy of Digital Capitalism: The Importance of Manfred Knoche's Contributions to the Critique of the Political Economy of the Media Today

Christian Fuchs

11.1 Introduction: On the Critique of the Political Economy of the Media and Communication

Without Manfred Knoche, there would be no Critique of the Political Economy of the Media (CPEM) in the German-speaking world. Manfred Knoche has pioneered the Critique of the Political Economy of the Media (CPEM) for the German-speaking world, comparable to Graham Murdock and Peter Golding in the Anglophone world. Knoche and Murdock/Golding share essential basic views regarding the subject area of CPEM. CPEM analyses how,

media production and consumption, going over and above other commodity production, also fulfils elementary, indispensable macroeconomic and macro-societal political-ideological functions for securing domination and safeguarding the capitalist economic and societal system as a whole¹ (Knoche 2002, 103).

In addition to producing and distributing commodities, however, the mass media also disseminate ideas about economic and political structures. It is this second and ideological dimension of mass media

production which gives it its importance and centrality and which requires an approach in terms of not only economics but also politics (Murdock and Golding 1973, 206–207).

The Critique of Political Economy is about the “current analysis and critique of capitalism on the basis of the method of the historical-materialist analysis of society”² (Knoche 2002, 103). The first “subject area of a Critique of Political Economy is, according to its context of origin [...] on the one hand, the critique of the respective dominant (bourgeois) economic sciences and also of the (new) political economics developed within their framework. [...] The second subject area is the critical theory-led empirical analysis of the political economy of capitalism”³ (Knoche 2002, 104–105).

According to Knoche, the Critique of Political Economy is thus both an analysis and critique of the connection between politics and the economy of the capitalist societal formation, which includes the critique of affirmative and instrumental forms of thinking and analysis, as well as the combination of theory and empirical social research in order to analyse the dynamics of capitalism.

Applied to media and communication, this means that the subject area of CPEM is the analysis and critique of the role of the media as well as communication in capitalism, which includes the critique of instrumental media and communication research as well as the theoretical and empirical analysis of media and communication in capitalism.

In section 11.2, selected aspects of Knoche’s work are drawn upon to understand digitalisation as capitalisation, further underlining the relevance of his contribution. Section 11.3 deals with the antagonism between digital productive forces and the digital relations of production – again showing Knoche’s continuing relevance. Section 11.4 draws some conclusions.

11.2 Digitisation as Capitalisation of the Media Industry

Knoche (2016, 21 [originally Knoche 1999]) argues that the advancing capitalisation of the media has made CPEM very topical:

The far-reaching privatisations, i.e. capitalisations, of sectors that were organised as public services or by the state, and the extension of the media

industry that has come along with this development, have without a doubt further increased the need for a realistic and fruitful engagement in media and communication studies with capital's laws of movement in general and media-capital's laws of movement in particular.

He uses the term "capitalisation of the media industry" in this context (Knoche 2021a, 2001), by which he means:

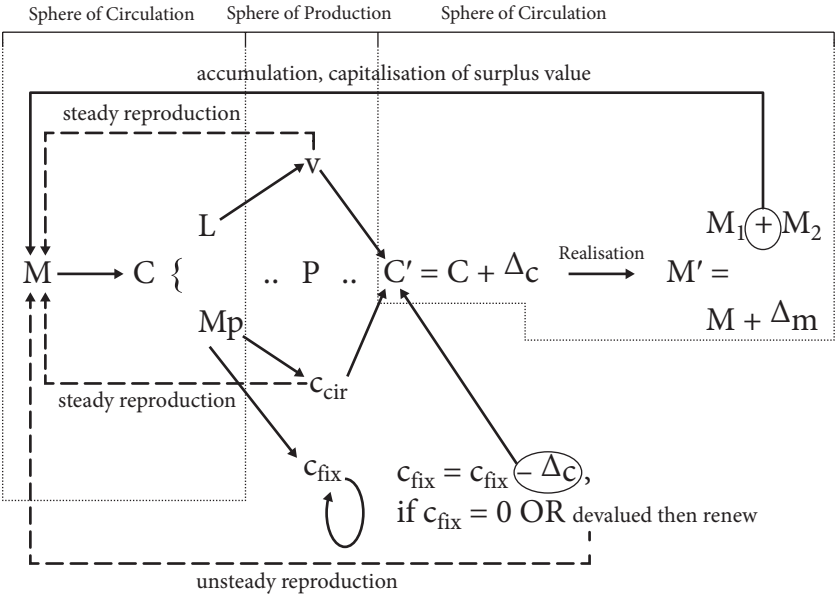
a radical subsumption of the *entire* media system under the general conditions of the valorisation of capital . [...] This means that the media system has even more strongly than before become integrated into the specific capitalist mode of production, the relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production and the economic-political formation of society⁴ (Knoche 2021a, 326).

The Internet began in 1969 as ARPANET in a primarily military and scientific context. Later, it was gradually capitalised on via an expansion of the commodity form on the WWW to social media, apps, and many more, with digital advertising playing an important role.

Knoche (2013b, 141; 2021b) shows that the concentration of property, capital, economic power, political power, communication power, and ideological power is typical for the capitalist media industry. The concentration of ownership is not the exception in the development of (communicative and digital) capitalism, but its rule and immanent tendency:

Private ownership of the means of production as well as the application of the principles of profit maximisation and rivalry can be regarded as fundamental structural economic causes, immanent to the capitalist mode of production, of the concentration activities of media companies (Knoche 2021b, 377).

For Karl Marx (1867, 126), the commodity is the "elementary form" of the capitalist mode of production, which is why the Critique of Political Economy has to begin "with the analysis of the commodity". Marx analyses the process of capital accumulation as the metamorphosis of capital in the form $M - C \dots P \dots C' - M'$ (Figure 11.1): Money M is invested in the purchase of the commodities C labour power and means of production. In the production process P , labour power uses the means of production



c_{cir} : raw- and auxiliary-materials, operating supply items, semi-finished products,
 c_{fix} : machines, buildings, equipment; circulating capital: c_{cir} ; v ; fixed capital: c_{fix}

Figure 11.1: The process of capital accumulation

to produce a new commodity C' , the price of which is ideally higher than the purchase price. If commodity sales succeed in creating more capital M' than was originally raised, this is called accumulation. Part of the accumulated capital is reinvested and the process starts again.

For CPEM, the analysis of communication and media commodities is of central importance. Table 11.1 gives an overview of such commodity forms in digital capitalism and the digital culture industry (see Fuchs 2020a, chapter 4).

The capitalisation of the Internet and digital means of communication, i.e. the creation of digital capital, is a complex process. It is not characterised by a singular commodity form, but by different commodity forms that together form digital capital as a form of media and communication capital.

In 2021, 23 of the world's 100 largest corporations were situated in the media and communications industry. Their total turnover was 2.8 trillion US dollars, and their total profit was 435 billion US dollars (Table 11.2

Table 11.1: Commodity types in the digital culture industry

Model	Example companies	Commodity
Digital labour model	Online freelancers	Labour power that creates something digital
The digital content as a commodity model	Microsoft, Adobe, Electronic Arts	Digital content, digital code, software
Digital finance model	PayPal, Coinbase	Financial services sold online
Hardware model	Apple, HP, Dell	Computing hardware
Network model	AT&T, Verizon, BT	Access to digital networks
The online advertising model	Google, Facebook	Targeted ads
The online retail model	Amazon, Alibaba, eBay	Various commodities ordered online
The sharing economy-pay-per-service model	Uber, Upwork, Deliveroo	Services organised via an online platform
The sharing economy-rent-on-rent model	Airbnb, Hiyacar, Drivy	Renting of goods via an online platform
Digital subscription model	Netflix, Spotify, Amazon Prime, Disney+, Apple Music	Access to a collection of digital resources
Mixed models	Spotify, Online-Zeitungen, Apple	Combination of various digital commodities

[the data for 2021 refer to the financial year 2020]). Using the core data, the average profit rate of these 23 companies can be calculated: In 2020, it was 24 per cent, which is relatively high compared to the average in countries such as the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany since 1945 (cf.

Table 11.2: The world's largest media and communications corporations in 2020
(data sources: Forbes 2000, 2021)

Rank	Corporation	Subindustry	Company Headquarters	Turnover (in billion US\$)
6	Apple	Hardware	USA	294.0
10	Amazon	Internet services	USA	386.1
11	Samsung Electronics	Hardware	South Korea	200.7
13	Alphabet	Internet services	USA	182.4
15	Microsoft	Software	USA	153.3
20	Verizon	Telecommunications	USA	128.3
23	Alibaba	Internet services	China	93.8
25	Comcast	Media content and media networks	USA	103.6
27	Softbank	Telecommunications	Japan	70.3
29	Tencent	Internet services	China	70.0
32	China Mobile	Telecommunications	Hong Kong (China)	111.3
33	Facebook	Internet services	USA	86.0
35	Sony	Hardware	Japan	79.9
36	Intel	Semiconductor	USA	77.9
43	Nippon	Telecommunications	Japan	110.3
44	Deutsche Telekom	Telecommunications	Germany	115.1
59	IBM	Software, hardware	USA	73.6
66	TSMC	Semiconductor	Taiwan	48.1
71	Oracle	Software	USA	39.7
75	Cisco	Hardware	USA	48.0
90	Charter Communications	Telecommunications	USA	48.1
92	Dell Technologies	Hardware	USA	94.3
94	Hon Hai Precision (Foxconn)	Hardware	Taiwan	182.0
			Total	<u>US\$ 2,796.80 billion</u>

Deumelandt 2008; Roberts 2022). This circumstance is in turn related to the concentration of capital in the media sector.

The combined gross domestic product (GDP) of the world's 40 poorest countries was US\$1.4 trillion in 2021 (UNDP 2021). In comparison, the total economic activity of the world's 23 largest information corporations, measured by their combined revenues, was US\$2.8 trillion in the same year. The annual turnover of the world's 23 largest information companies, measured by their combined revenues, is thus twice as large as the economic output of the world's poorest countries. This illustrates the enormous economic size and power of the transnational (media) corporations.

Media corporations' influence is not only economic. This is because information is produced and published in the media industry. The economic and state control of this process is susceptible to ideology, which includes one-sided, simplified content that distorts the world. The deliberate production of misinformation and associated worldviews may be as old as domination and class society themselves. With the rise of the commercial press and press monopolies, the tabloid media have taken on an important role in the media industry. They often scandalise, personalise, simplify, distort, and report in a politically one-sided manner. In the age of social media, online fake news spread by users and bots has become very important, even to the point of being used as weapons of psychological warfare (Fuchs 2020a, 2020b, chapters 6 & 7). Media companies are not only economic and political but also cultural powers.

The main capital accumulation model of the Internet industry is targeted, personalised advertising, from the sale of which Google and Facebook, for example, make their primary profits. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) have pointed out that the culture organised by advertising has a paradoxical character:

Culture is a paradoxical commodity. It is so completely subject to the law of exchange that it is no longer exchanged. The more meaningless the latter appears under monopoly, the more omnipotent culture becomes. Its motives are economic enough. That life could continue without the whole culture industry is too certain; the satiation and apathy it generates among consumers are too great. It can do little to combat this from its own resources. Advertising is its elixir of life (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 131).

Following Horkheimer and Adorno, Knoche (2005, 253 [English translation: chapter 7 in this book]) speaks of advertising being “a fundamentally necessary ‘elixir of life’ for the realisation of the accumulation of capital by individual owners of capital, including media companies, and the safeguarding of capitalism as an economic and societal system”.⁵ Knoche (2005) analyses the functions and consequences of advertising in capitalism. He argues that advertising helps prevent crises, drives capital and market concentration, advances the gap between the rich and the poor and between power and dependency, and ultimately stabilises class relations, accumulation regimes, society, and the advertising function of the media (Knoche 2005, figure 7.6). Knoche thus emphasises the reproductive role of advertising in capitalism.

Advertising itself has changed significantly in recent decades. While in the early 1980s about two-thirds of the global advertising revenue was generated in the print sector (newspapers and magazines), today the print sector’s share has fallen to about five per cent and digital advertising accounts for almost two-thirds of the global advertising turnover (figure 11.2).

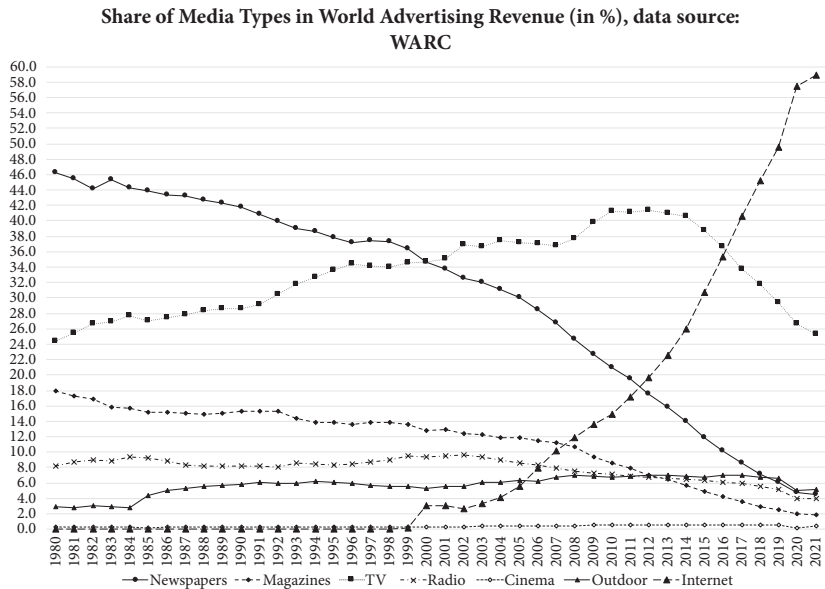


Figure 11.2: The development of the global advertising revenues (data source: World Advertising Research Center 2022)

In 2021, Google's turnover was 257.6 billion US dollars (Alphabet 2021), and Facebook's 117.9 billion US dollars (Meta Platforms 2021). Of this, 209.5 billion dollars, or 81.3 per cent, came from sold advertising in the case of Google/Alphabet. In the case of Facebook/Meta, 114.9 billion, or 97.5 per cent of revenue, came from advertising sales. Together, the advertising sales of these two companies amounted to \$324.4 billion in 2021.

For comparison, global advertising revenue regardless of advertising type in 2021 was US\$772.41 billion (Statista 2022a), and the global digital advertising revenue was US\$521.0 billion (Statista 2022b). Google's and Facebook's combined revenue thus accounted for 42.0 per cent of global advertising revenue and 62.3 per cent of global digital advertising revenue. Under this oligopoly, they are not communications companies, but the largest advertising agencies and advertising groups in the world.

In the financial year 2022, 97.5 per cent of Meta/Facebook's revenue came from advertising (Meta Platforms 2022). For Alphabet/Google, it was 79.4 per cent (Alphabet 2022). The two companies continued to derive the vast majority of their sales and profits from advertising, that is, from selling their users' attention and online activities (digital platform labour, see Fuchs 2021a, 2021b) as a commodity to advertisers. Google's 2022 ad revenue was US\$ 224.5 billion (Alphabet 2022), and Facebook's 113.6 billion (Meta Platforms 2022). The combined ad revenue of the two companies was, therefore, US\$338.1 billion. The world's ad sales in 2022 amounted to US\$825.86 billion (Statista 2022a). Meta and Alphabet accounted for 40.9 per cent of global ad sales. The global digital ad revenue in 2022 was US\$567.49 billion (Statista 2022b), which is 68.7 per cent of all ad sales worldwide. In 2022, Meta and Alphabet controlled 59.6% of the world's digital ad revenue. They continued to together form a digital advertising oligopoly.

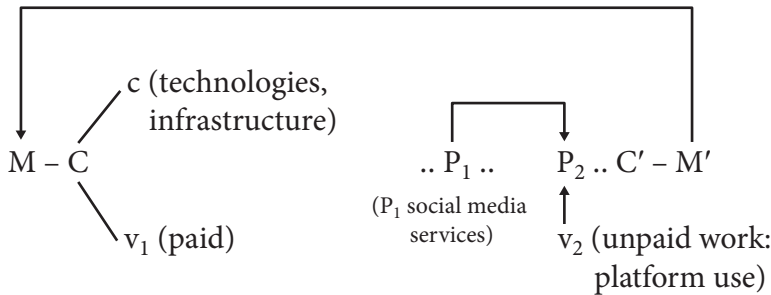
Google and Facebook sell and market a paradoxical commodity: their services are, at first sight, not commodities, since platforms such as Google, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp can already be used for free. The sale of personalised advertising takes place behind the backs of users, who do not perceive any monetary transactions. In this way, the commodity fetish takes on a new form, in which the commodity form disappears and is obscured behind and by the social and informational use-value of the advertising-financed Internet platforms (Fuchs 2021a, 2021b).

The Canadian political economist of the media Dallas Smythe (1977) spoke of advertising often being analysed purely as an ideological power.

This is not wrong, but incomplete, because its political economy consists of turning the audience into workers (ibid., 3), who through their audience labour produce an audience commodity that ad corporations sell to advertisers. Advertisers are mainly interested in advertising in media that have a high reach.

These insights are still highly relevant today, but need to be updated (Fuchs 2021a, 2021b, 2012). Digital advertising on Internet platforms is based on the unpaid work of users, who generate not only attention but also data, meta-data, big data, content, profiles, and social relationships, which are stored, processed, and evaluated as part of the platforms in order to personalise advertising. Users are prosumers, productive consumers who produce information and economic value. There is constant monitoring of Internet use in real-time to collect big data. Audience studies are no longer needed, as the totality of usage activities on the ad-supported platforms and beyond is recorded. The advertising trade is algorithmic and now also relies on the use of predictive models.

Figure 11.3 visualises the capital accumulation process of advertising-financed Internet platforms such as Google and Facebook. The decisive



C' = Internet prosumer **commodity** (virtual advertising space, attention time; requires user-generated content, a large number of constant platform activities, big data about users, meta-data for creating, targeting, and selling ads);
Most social media services are free to use, they are not commodities. User attention and digital ad space form the social media commodity.

Figure 11.3: The capital accumulation process on Internet platforms that use personalised, targeted advertising (see Fuchs 2021a, 2021b, chapter 4).

factor here is that in the first production process P1, no commodity C is produced, but rather a platform that is given to the users as a gift without payment is produced by software engineers. The actual commodity, namely advertising personalised by big data, is only created in a second production process P2 through the unpaid digital work of the users.

11.3 The Digital Productive Forces and the Digital Relations of Production

Knoche (2013a, 2019a) explains that digitalisation promotes the emergence of a universal medium that includes the convergence of forms of communication, media technologies, production companies, distribution, transmission networks as well as consumption devices:

The fundamental novelty/otherness of modified media products lies, and this also applies to the electronic media radio and television, in their universalisation via digitalisation and their consequent de-physicalisation, de-temporalisation, and de-spatialisation (Knoche 2019a, 300).

The Internet promotes the universalisation of communication in the sense that it is simultaneously a means of production, distribution, and consumption of information.

On the one hand the Internet opens up possibilities that are in principle “detrimental to the system” and enable non-commercial media production. On the other hand it enables the direct and interactive communication between recipients and authors, artists, news agencies, the economy, public administration, civil society organisations and institutions. Existing media as economic institutions (corporations) thereby become in principle unnecessary. [...] So media capital takes initiatives to economise, commodify, and commercialise the Internet and turn it into an instrument for its interests so that it becomes subsumed under the control of the dominant capitalist economic and media system (Knoche 2016, 32–33).

Knoche (2013a, 2019a) thus emphasises that the Internet promotes both the capitalisation and the de-capitalisation of the media and communication.

Within the context of this continual expansive capitalisation of the media industry, the formal and real subsumption under capital also presses ahead in areas of art and culture (painting, sculpture, photography, theatre, opera, concerts, dance, museums etc.) as well as of the Internet and of individual communication (including “social media”) that had so far been only marginally affected or not subsumed at all (Knoche 2019a, 297).

This antagonistic character of the Internet, which Knoche analyses here, is a digital manifestation of what Marx called the antagonism of the productive forces and the relations of production.

According to Marx, the development of the productive forces leads, on the one hand, to the socialisation of production, which undermines private property and capital, and, on the other hand, within class relations to capitalisation, crises, unemployment, and new forms of exploitation. This is why he speaks of the “germ of newer historical forms” (Marx 1857/1858, 853) developing in capitalism.

Following Marx (1867, 1885, 1894), Knoche illustrates that the rational behaviour of capital in the form of capital strategies turns antagonistically into its opposite, namely into irrationalities such as crises, class inequalities, precarity, as well as media monopolies and oligopolies that endanger democracy. In capitalism, rationality tilts towards irrationality in a negative dialectic, because capitalism is an irrational system that is organised in a highly rational way.

The striving for universal commodification requires the development of the technical and thus also the communicative productive forces. Knoche shows that the tendency to create a universal media system associated with digital media and the Internet is a consequence of capital’s striving for accumulation, but at the same time contradicts it and creates potentials for non-commercial digital media use that potentially make capitalist media superfluous.

A universal media system in which the production, distribution, and consumption of information converge and take place through a single medium has partially become a reality with the advent of digital media and the Internet. Digital capitalism simultaneously deepens exploitation and creates new foundations for autonomous spheres that overcome the very logic of capitalism (Fuchs 2023, 2022a). One can speak of an antagonism between digital commodities and digital commons (Fuchs 2023, 2022a). There is an antinomy between networked productive forces on the one

hand and digital production and class relations on the other. Open-access publishing and scholarly communication are also embedded in it (Fuchs and Sandoval 2013; Knoche 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b).

Digitisation has led to a reduction in publication costs and an apparent “democratisation” of publication technologies, making the means of publication simpler, cheaper, and generally accessible. At the same time, this has created new potential for non-capitalist publishing and the subsumption of Open Access and scholarly communication under capital (for-profit Open Access). With Green and Gold Open Access, there are often high, socially unjust publication fees – APCs (Article Processing Charges) and BPCs (Book Processing Charges) – through which old capitalist science publishers and new capitalist Open Access publishers accumulate capital.

Diamond Open Access, in contrast, is a model in which there is no profit orientation, content is not sold as a commodity, and academic knowledge is treated as digital commons: “In the *Diamond Open Access Model*, not-for-profit, non-commercial organizations, associations or networks publish material that is made available online in digital format, is free of charge for readers and authors and does not allow commercial and for-profit re-use” (Fuchs and Sandoval 2013, 438).

The Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) is a directory of many scientific OA journals. It also contains some statistical data on scientific OA publishing. As of 7 October 2022, 20,628 OA journals were registered in DOAJ. Table 11.3 shows which Creative Commons (CC) licences they use. An important distinction is made between those that do not allow commercial use (NC, non-commercial) and those that both allow and encourage commercial use.

The analysis presented in table 11.3 makes it clear that 44.9 per cent of the journals in the DOAJ do not allow the commercial reuse of published OA articles. The majority, 53.6 per cent, on the other hand, allow such reuse because “open” Creative Commons licences or public domain licences are used. These journals make themselves the idiots of capital (cf. Fuchs 2001), as they allow capitalist companies to reuse published content and thus accumulate capital. An example of this is Saint Philip Street Press, a publishing company that in October 2022 offered for sale print editions of 2800 OA books with licences that allow commercial reuse by others. A price of around 40 to 55 euros is charged per copy. Knoche (2020a, 2020b) criticises the capitalisation of OA:

Table 11.3: The use of Creative Commons licences in academic journals registered in the Directory of Open Access Journal (DOAJ) (data source: DOAJ 2022)

Licence	Political Economy of the Licence	Number of Journals	Share of All Registered Journals
CC-BY	Commercial use permitted	9108	44.2%
CC-BY-ND	Commercial use permitted	313	1.5%
CC-BY-SA	Commercial use permitted	1366	6.6%
C0	Commercial use permitted	276	1.3%
Public Domain		3	< 0.1%
	<i>Commercial use permitted</i>	<u>11066</u>	<u>53.6%</u>
CC-BY-NC	Commercial use not permitted	3508	17.0%
CC-BY-NC-ND	Commercial use not permitted	4005	19.4%
CC-BY-NC-SA	Commercial use not permitted	1747	8.5%
	<i>Commercial use not permitted</i>	<u>9260</u>	<u>44.9%</u>
<i>Other licences</i>	<i>Various</i>	<u>302</u>	<u>1.5%</u>
Total		<u>20628</u>	<u>100.0 %</u>

Contrary to the constantly declared idealistic promises of “opening” SC to the whole of society, the programmatic introduction of an “OA paradigm” has so far in real terms primarily served the goal of legitimising the restructuring or reconfiguration [...] of the academic production and distribution system towards the interests of the private economic sector of book and journal publishers (Knoche 2020a, 523).

As an alternative, Knoche argues for the de-capitalisation and de-commodification of scholarly publishing through non-capitalist Open Access.

... the decisive, fundamental difference between capitalist OA-SC [Open Access Science Communication] on the one side and OA-SC that is independent of capitalist publishers on the other side [...] is “systembusting” in that, in the course of a complete changeover of the entire academic publication process to OA-SC without capitalist publishers, the publishers that are already theoretically dispensable for OA-SC in theory today, would also be made superfluous in practice. However, this complete changeover would also make the traditional decentralised local university libraries largely superfluous in future (Knoche 2020a, 521).

11.4 Conclusion

This discussion has shown that Manfred Knoche has done important groundwork for Critical Media and Communication Studies in the German-speaking world. Without him, there would be no approach to the Critique of the Political Economy of the Media and Communication in the German-speaking world today (see Fuchs 2022b). Manfred Knoche stands for the development of an empirically grounded analysis of media and communication in capitalism based on Critical Social Theory, especially on the Critique of Political Economy. On this basis, he has covered a wide range of important topics: the capitalisation and restructuring of the media industry; media concentration research; non-commercial open access; the de-capitalisation of academic publishing as a Critique of the Political Economy of scholarly communication; ideology; advertising; the relationship between state, capital, and media; media technologies and digitalisation; media content analysis; non-commercial alternative media; the long-term analysis of the portrayal of the Greens in the daily press; electronic mass media in Europe; youth press; local press; the postal newspaper service; the coverage of strikes in the media industry, etc. Manfred Knoche's work shows how significant critical theory and social criticism are for Media and Communication Studies. Characteristic of Manfred Knoche's work are, on the one hand, empirically based studies and, on the other, fundamental theoretical analyses of communication and the media in capitalist society. His work on the Critique of the Political Economy of Communication and the Media is of great importance today for a critical analysis of the dynamics and antagonisms of digital capitalism.

Manfred Knoche's work shows how important it is to take Marx seriously today in order to understand how capitalism shapes, distorts, and damages our everyday life and everyday communication. He reminds us that we need alternatives to capitalist communication.

Notes

¹ Translation, original German quote: "*Medienproduktion und -konsumtion über die übrige Warenproduktion hinausgehend auch elementare unverzichtbare gesamtökonomische und gesamtgesellschaftliche politisch-ideologische Funktionen für die Herrschaftssicherung und Absicherung des kapitalistischen Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftssystems insgesamt erfüllt*".

² Translation, original German quote: "*aktuelle Kapitalismusanalyse und -kritik auf der Basis der Methode der historisch-materialistischen Gesellschaftsanalyse*".

³ Translation, original German quote: "*Gegenstandsbereich einer Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie ist entsprechend ihrem Entstehungszusammenhang [...] einerseits die Kritik der jeweils herrschenden (bürgerlichen) Wirtschaftswissenschaften und auch der in ihrem Rahmen entwickelten (Neuen) Politischen Ökonomien. [...] Der zweite Gegenstandsbereich ist die kritische theoriegeleitete empirische Analyse der Politischen Ökonomie des Kapitalismus*".

⁴ Translation, original German quote: "*eine radikale Subsumtion des gesamten Mediensystems unter die allgemeinen Kapitalverwertungsbedingungen. [...] Diese Kapitalisierung bedeutet vor allem: Medienproduktion wird noch umfassender als bisher in das gesamtwirtschaftliche System kapitalistischer Waren- und Mehrwertproduktion einbezogen*".

⁵ Translation, original German quote: "*grundsätzlich notwendiges, Lebenselixier zur Realisierung der Kapitalakkumulation individueller Kapitaleigner, auch von Medienunternehmen, und der dafür notwendigen Sicherung des Kapitalismus als Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftssystem*".

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