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**CLANDESTINE RADIOS AND THE NEW MEDIA WITHIN THE DIMENSIONS OF
SOCIAL INFLUENCE**

PhD Thesis

Author's Summary

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During the past decades radio stations were the media means applied most effectively and with the greatest social influence. Propaganda radios were deployed legally and in disingenuous ways, operating and broadcasting from within the borders or from abroad. Clandestine programmes were aimed to inform, persuade by false news, lull, pacify, entertain for exhorting to kill or trying to persuade for surrender. My thesis deals with radio broadcasts, anti-broadcasts, guerrilla stations and the latest means that is linked to preceding ones, namely the media ground provided by web2. The common denominator, the common narrative is the effectiveness of influencing and persuasion.

Since the change of social structures in the Habermas sense of the phrase, i.e. since 18th-19th centuries there hasn't opened a possibility similar to present ones for characters of the public to express themselves in such large numbers and in such wide-ranging ways. Conscious media-citizens of today participate in debates collectively and in a symbolic way, they may become opinion formers, and in the meantime they might control official formal media.

People as content-consumers and content-uploaders or just surveying the media in a passive way increasingly take a hand in forming the normative order of a society. Creative youth is demanding their place in opening media potentials. They do not content themselves with the conservative storehouse of mass media, with ready-made programmes. It can be stated that radios accumulated the creative few. And this creative minority with their charisma, non-ignorability and novelty affects an influence over the majority and proved to be generating social changes.

Media gained a collective social integrating function that agrees with the neo-Durkheim theory. Thus media informs, directs, regulate with and by us; they display our everyday fears, feelings and desires. Consequently no sharp line can be drawn between communication aspects of military forces, depression and crisis situations. In my thesis the media field is surveyed parallel from civilian aspect and from information actions within psychological operations.

My thesis puts special emphasis on illegal radio stations and ones that operate against official rule and existing social order. Pirate radios may be: commercial, community, alternative broadcasters or ones without authorization by the political order.

The majority of the creative minority – media, as non-ignorable psychology

As experience from the past decades show beside legal and formal electronic media an important role is gained by radios without authorisation. This is especially true in Europe, but it exists in non-European territories of crisis areas with high military significance. Guerrilla radios have become media supplementing or in cases substitutes for social dialogue. Further ascertainable is the fact that media, the media dimensions and the existing society that takes possession of these dimensions influence one another.

In my thesis I succeeded to demonstrate correlation between the transformation of social order and the development of media means. It seems evident that characters of the media are part of the communications elite in the Tehranian meaning of the phrase; society honoured or „rewarded” by shelving the members of this elite for gaining excessive influence. That means the communications elite as a role is constant, while members are fluctuating. Pirate and propaganda radios were always heeling social transformations during the century examined. My studies explored that wireless communication is inseparable from social demands and at the same time results the shaping of a new media platform. Media transformation, the social structure, establishment and values are in dynamic interaction. Clandestine radios were formed as an answer for restricted information flow in a particular area, while these media became significant factors in forming and reforming laws and regulations regarding the control of electronic media that is in social transformation.

Music as peripheral carrier wave

Ever since oral communication has been established, there is a mutual dynamic activity between medial dimensions and society that contains these. In the beginning the text recited was the medium of narratives providing cultural continuity. Recallability of such texts in many cases was aided by musicality connected to speech or music outright. Music as a carrier wave or bearing surface is a basic motive in the history of radio broadcasting. Propaganda radios of the Second World War proved that different cultures can be best approached by music interrupted by short, repeated, easy-to-understand texts. Propaganda messages were first transmitted by radio during the Second World War. Although Zeppelin-hijack during the Great War would not be possible without a radio station that could steer the airship from a distance as far as 100 kilometres. A great advantage of propaganda radios excelling in psychological warfare was that broadcasts could be edited and transmitted even from behind the front line. Radio stations that chose to transfer their broadcasts to medium frequency could even improve the quality of music. That means that wireless radio broadcasts have gained strategic significance as early as in the beginning of 20th century, first in the area of command and surveillance, later in propaganda and counter-propaganda as well. Precisely due these factors transmitters and receivers got improved: there is a fight for ruling (and re-distribution of the) world by means of communication.

Wherever there was an autarchy formed or local conflict emerging during the past two decades, propaganda radios appeared in these crisis areas. Clandestine broadcasters of present times might be even those organised by users of social media formed for a transitional period of time, based on a common narrative. The significance of these is that the number of participants may increase by magnitudes due to coincidences or media-conscious behaviour; moreover it is easier to find and reach the target group than surface broadcast media might do. That means this „tool” cannot be left out of consideration in psychological warfare nor in CIMIC relations.

Political propaganda radios might be: clandestine radios (transmitting from within the borders or abroad), hate radios, guerrilla radios, counter-radios, mediator-radios. On the basis of all this it is worth summarizing what are the means applicable by political propaganda radios: quick and exclusive source of information, repeated easy-to-understand messages, portrayal of the enemy by simple lingual- and symbol-systems, exactly determinable target group and target area, safe programme-making and broadcasting. Disadvantages of propaganda radios are: only audio source, no image appearance, thus it is more difficult to gain interiorization in the target group; incidental access to the listeners; atmospherics that cause incomprehension of messages.

I have demonstrated that clandestine radios have social integrating, influencing and controlling role and as such they are non-ignorable in psychological warfare. In crisis territories propaganda radios suitable for persuading, incitement and mollifying appear as a rule. The direction of social and political influencing by medial surfaces is peripheral, i.e. indirect (affecting emotions).

Content-producing pressure at Ministry of Defence news factory and in the virtual space

It is safe to declare that active work of the workshop I call 'Ministry of Defence News Factory' is indispensable in times of peace and crisis alike. The content produced, the experience gained while producing the content and press monitoring as well form a communication reserve that may make quick, effective and calculable answers in case of a media attack. According to my proposal the news factory is suitable for providing news for the servicemen in the mission and producing the information necessary for psychological warfare and CIMIC operations. The analysis point out that conflict-free attempt of influencing does not exist in crisis situation but for purposes of reducing cognitive dissonance striving submission is avoidable. An attitude change is necessary in which related information can be transmitted directly to the target group by means of electronic communication among others. Music obtains a significant role here as well as I stated: the easiest way for the message to find its way to otherwise deaf ears and it is a means to avoid ultimate rejection and gain some minimal identification which is crucial for the success of psychological warfare operations.

On the basis of all these I did prove my assumption that by consistently planned means of psychological communication messages confidence can be gained and strengthened and local population of crisis areas can be induced to interaction. The stem of all these is deliberate and effective decision-making process. The Afghan example as well as Southern Slav experience of the recent past reinforced that broadcast radio programmes are suitable for messages to be forwarded, which programmes can even be broadcast by licensed radios. Operation and power consumption of these media is quite cheap, whereas the programmes can be heard in a huge area and the number of listeners is unlimited.

I have analysed communication attitude of those returning from the mission and by reason of the results I recommended revision of entry competencies. Many staff-members found thorough training in language and informatics wanting. A few months of training is simply not enough for obtaining these competencies reliably. All these shortcomings had a role in the result that two thirds of the interviewees did not find connection to family and friends satisfactory.

I stated that for counteracting projectable and unforeseeable media attacks a preventive tematization is worth applying for which a communication reserve must be established. In times of peace and crisis situation a news value centred news factory is the best solution for producing, analysing, documenting suitable messages. Although changed and divides media dimensions must be taken into consideration because it is about to lose its hierarchical structure and more and more co-ordinated players appear within the media.

'Street public' to verify the media

It was reasonable to draw a comparison between the chance of speaking publicly and the virtual media-piazza I call 'street public' because in crisis situations in social seeking the way out the means of aforementioned communicative acts always gain an important role. Not only the convergence of means is detectable, but also the fact that the limits of civilian and military communication are getting blurred. Moreover terrorism characterised by asymmetric warfare tries to use this new media as diligently as any other executive power or group organised in virtual space does.

The group organised by common narrative along this new media is that I call 'street public', the members of which communicate among each other, share content or forward the content produced and found of news value by them to international news agencies. One of the main characteristics of 'street public' is incalculableness. When applying psychological warfare or

CIMIC it is worth considering to deploy guerrilla media, that may have a significant role in cases when there are but a few opinion leaders and narratives by 'street public' provide no sufficient ground for participating in ritual communication. Consequently virtual guerrilla media can be used for thematizing virtual piazza by delivering planned, repeated and quite theatrical messages.

Usage of the virtual piazza is also a good means of controlling information. In my thesis I concluded that 'street public' is suitable for surveying official media that I considered to be related to the fifth column of power. According to this notion surveillance-role of 'street public' must be used when applying deliberate PR and PI. Since the digital medium provided by the Internet is the ritual space for its users, by which and where they not only express their interests, emotions, demands and desires, but recognise themselves and morally identify with them.

I also demonstrated wireless communication being inseparable from social pretensions, resulting at the same time the formation of a new media platform. There is a comparison to be drawn between 'street public' and publicity as defined by Habermas. The limits between civilian and military communication get blurred. The new media is also suitable to reduce the intensity of conflicts and intervention and may control official media. In crisis situation when serviceableness of existing infrastructure is unforeseeable, long-range medium wave surface radio broadcasts may remain useful.