

reflects a collective historical experience of which the media as agents and mediators of “truth” themselves play a part.

Speaking of extremism of today and its ideology, we can certainly assume that any kind of discourse of extreme ideology will respond to the state of affairs in the global society and to its effects in a local environment. Therefore, it will be addressed to the subjectivity, which is becoming moulded in the process: not only – sociologically speaking – to all kinds of threatened layers of a society (such as the unemployed, uneducated, youth, etc.), but to a larger society envisioned in a scope of separate identity. To understand this better, we can use terminology introduced by Martin Seliger, who may help us to avoid the sophisticated theoretical controversy concerning the definition of the notion of ideology in general. “/.../to whatever degree policies conform to fundamental principles, ‘operative ideology’ denotes the argumentation in favour of the policies actually adopted by a party. It is ‘ideology’ because it devises, explains and justifies action. It is ‘operative’ inasmuch as it is predicated on what is actually done or recommended for immediate action” (Seliger, 1976: p. 175).

In the realm of mass culture, socialism favoured traditional folk art, although as it was producers and authors who created some productions of entertainment in music and in cinema that tried to compete with Hollywood and Western pop music. In 1960s, the system in most socialist countries, especially in the central European ones, could not prevent urban youth from listening to rock music nor from forming some very provocative rock bands<sup>1</sup> as well as matching worldviews. Still, such phenomena – no matter how visible and aggravating they were – tended to be more or less sub-cultural exceptions. Hence, Giddens noted: “Paradoxically, state socialism, which saw itself as the prime revolutionary force in history, proved much more accommodating towards tradition than capitalism has been” (Giddens. 1996: p. 51). Many efforts of political groups, and characteristically the Catholic Church, to cancel or limit women’s rights have become a boring fact of daily life in most former socialist countries. On the phenomenal level something very similar to what has taken place in the USA in 1980s occurred. Questions of abortion, along with the neoliberal concepts of economy, became a constitutive element of a new variance of conservative ideology. Although the underlying social circumstances are plausibly

1 One of the rare and very instructive books about the role of some radical movements in rock music is a collection of texts, newspaper articles and other documents, published in 1985 in Ljubljana under the title *Punk pod Slovenci* (Punk under Slovenians – Mastnak, Malečkar, 1985).