

finds its expression on the level of operative ideology stressing immediate action. The extremism, which I have in mind here that is tied to the ideological notion of identity, relies more and more on “democratic” means, although it inspires clandestine violent incidents as well. Such figures of the contemporary politics such as Gianfranco Fini of the Italian National Alliance, or Marine Le Pen of the French National Front, or the American Tea Party’s Sarah Palin, without mentioning nationalist post-communist “democrats” all over the former Eastern Bloc, bear witness to the new strategy of the extreme right in new global circumstances.

With regard to the tradition of the extremism, bolshevism and fascism, universalism and particularism, it is obvious that time has come for the right wing extremism. If we are to believe the media, the general audiences perceive as extremism the acts of either minority ethnic groups (like IRA and ETA) or alien terrorists such as “Islamic fundamentalists”. Although clearly this kind of extremism may not be justified, the media suggestion of externalising the meaning of the notion of extremism points towards legitimating the extremism that occupies its place among the democratic parties or sometimes within them in a form of ideological compromises. In other words, there are always ideological contents on the level of the fundamental ideology that may stay dormant until the extremist articulation – usually calling for action – represents the unpleasant truth.

In general, terms such ideological contents – notions, concepts and attitudes – are to be found within the legitimate framework, paradoxically maybe, in the development of the notion of human rights. There is no doubt that the ideas of human rights played an indisputably crucial role in the upheavals around the time of the “fall of the wall” that helped to end the bi-polar division of the world. However, not long after a period of enthusiasm, the supposed universalism proved to be illusory, and simultaneously with a return to the dubious *Realpolitik*, the notion of human rights relinquished its singular meaning to the signifiers of “civilisation”. Many cases in the so-called post-communist time might be read in this sense: relieving pressure on China on the account of its abuses of human rights in the name of “higher” interests, the rather reluctant relief effort in Rwanda (after a million deaths), the attitude of the West concerning the unspeakable tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most obvious in this sense is the recent arrogance of European politics against the final consequences of the Arab Spring in a form of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Alain Badiou