

The Concept of Politics in the Realist Tradition of the Theory of International Relations.

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Abstract:

Aim of this thesis is a reconstruction of the notion of politics in the school of classical realism in Theory of International Relations, using the texts of Hans Morgenthau primarily. This aim is followed in four steps – four chapters. First chapter describes relation between antropological/moral background of Morgenthau’s political thinking and political sphere. Four images of the relations between anthropology and the evaluation of political sphere are identified and compared (“emacipation”, “gay politics”, “katechon” and “circles and antinomies”) – the final one will be shown as connected with the notion of Hans Morgenthau’s realism. Morgenthau’s work, built up on tradition of the Pauline epistles, treats evil (defined by lust for power) as inherently present, indispensable from any human acts. Political sphere, defined according “the second principle of realism” by interest defined in terms of power, is a place, where morally ambivalent logic of power stands as the reason of acting. Second chapter addresses Morgenthau’s notion of political science by comparing it with the project of Weberian social science, analyses its reason, ethos, complicated relations with its subject, dilemmas which it is to address. Third chapter contains attempt to grasp political sphere with the concept of crisis. Social world is a place where crises reveal time to time. They cause fear, mobilization, and callings for resolute and effective action. If the persuasion turns out to be successful, the issue is moved into political sphere. This process is conflictual – Is it really crisis what we are experiencing?; What should be the proper reaction towards it? Political sphere is treated as “empty” sphere defined by power, aimed for solving crises, requires proper procedures, tools, and legitimacy. In the final chapter, the relations between inner democratic pluralistic politics and foreign policy is addressed. According common knowledge, realism is treated as tradition promoting separation of inner and foreign policy in the name of stability and rationality. Vis a vis this stereotype, it will be shown, that important proponents of realism, e.a. Hans Morgenthau, do not consider public political conflict about the definition of national interest as an obstacle, but as a condition of rational foreign policy - in the context of renewed republican pluralism.

Four chapters are closed units. Nevertheless, they are tied together with the ambition to explain realism as kind of explanation/application of Weberian sociology: to promote a centre for human freedom inside modern society (resembling machine or organism), for choosing between objects of final interest, and for ability to create common world according this decision referencing to the plurality of values and conflict between them.

Key Words: theory of politics, meaning of science, classical realism, tragedy, political ethics