

## ABSTRACTS

András Bozóki

### HISTORY WITHOUT A PAST: THE INDEPENDENT HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

The way the Hungarian dissident groups of “democratic opposition” viewed history had been determined by their antagonistic position to the Kádár regime. They fundamentally differed in their judgment from the communists on the following major issues: the post-1945 era, Stalinism, the revolution of 1956, the “compromise” with the Kádár regime, economic development, the national question, reasons of the East-West divide, just as the chances of organizing an anti-regime opposition. They diametrically opposed the regime on issues in judging the present and evaluating the perspectives of the future. However, they were thinking similarly in that they rarely looked back to the pre-1945 past. Since both the power-holders and the anti-regime opposition refused the pre-1945 political regime, the opposition did not fully question the official interpretation of history. Rather, the dissidents rejected the self-definition of the Kádár regime and its historical and political foundations.

**Keywords:** Democratic opposition, Kádár regime, historical memory, samisdat, dissident intellectuals

Anna Ujlaki

### RAWLS, THE FORERUNNER OF REALISM? CHANGES OF THE THEORY OF THE MORALIST AUTHOR FROM A REALIST ANGLE FROM A *THEORY OF JUSTICE* TO *POLITICAL LIBERALISM*

The core of contemporary political realism is built around the critique of political philosophy of Rawls. Realists define their political theory as opposed to political moralism resurgent by *A Theory of Justice*. This paper emphasizes three main claims related to political moralism which is identified as Rawls's: first, the problem of priority of morality over the political which is referenced by almost all realists; second, concerns formulated due to the apolitical nature of rawlsian theory; and finally, the opposition of the importance of order against justice. In *Political Liberalism* Rawls made certain modifications to his theory as a reply to communitarian critiques, however, claims expressed by realists

have never appeared in his works in an explicit manner. The objective of the present paper is to reveal whether “the father of contemporary moralism” gave an answer to realist critiques in Political Liberalism (as already anticipated in Justice as Fairness) while refining his theory, as well as to what extent did he turn towards a realist direction. Indeed, late Rawls approached political realism in a certain way, however, this shift can barely be considered as such that realists would have expected, therefore, ultimately the realist critique with regard to the two main works is definitely valid.

**Keywords:** Rawls, realist critiques, political realism, order and justice

Attila Gyulai

POLITICS AS A POLITICAL PROBLEM: JÁNOS KIS AND ISTVÁN SCHLETT  
ON THE AUTONOMY OF POLITICS

Political realism claims that politics can be understood only on its own terms. Realist political theory attempts to have the autonomy of politics recognized and to emancipate politics from the authority of other domains such as ethics, economy or aesthetics. After the democratic transition, Hungarian political theory has claimed autonomy of politics as opposed to technocratic and other deterministic approaches. The study discusses two texts of Hungarian political theory which, differing from the mainstream, conceived the problem of the autonomy of politics in the context of the relationship between politics and morality. János Kis’ ‘Politics as a Moral Problem’ and István Schlett’s answer to that book, ‘Morality as a Political Problem’ represent the two main standpoints in the realist – moralist debate described by contemporary realist theory, however, neither of them fits into those positions perfectly. The differences analysed in this article emerge regarding the autonomy of politics. As a conclusion, it is supposed that the concept of the autonomy of politics cannot account for a realist approach to politics.

**Keywords:** Political realism, moralism, János Kis, István Schlett, the autonomy of politics

Zoltán Gábor Szűcs

THE PROBLEM OF STANDARDS IN THE REALIST THEORY OF POLITICS

The aim of the paper is to contribute to the debate about the role of distinction between moral and political standards. Many argue that political realism is based on an anti-moralist position (while others think that realism is about anti-utopianism or anti-idealism). However, as the paper asserts, there is no commonly accepted definition of anti-moralism in the realist literature. Actually there are at least two different types of realist anti-moralism: a Hobbesian

and a Machiavellian one, but some authors try to find a middle-way between these mainstream approaches. The paper shows that, for example, Andrew Sabl's Aristotelian-Ciceronian theory of "democratic constancy" is a viable alternative to the two mainstream versions of realist anti-moralism.

**Keywords:** Moral and political standards, political realism, political theory, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Aristotle

Bakk Miklós  
LYING IN POLITICS

On the borderline between political theory and moral philosophy it is usual to bring up the question of Truth in Politics (writings of Hannah Arendt are important in this respect). If we invert the question and try to discover the nature of lying in politics, we immediately face the discursive nature of politics. In this respect, the oral nature of politics introduces "lying" as part of a political action. This means a fundamental change of framework because the moral aspects are de-emphasized and in discursive restraints appear in the foreground and shape the political actions. The study examines some circumstances of the discursive nature of the politics, such as politicization, the question of the populism and of the objectivity.

**Keywords:** Lying, political facts, politicization, rhetoric, objectivity, populism, mediatized democracy