

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

Ethics and power.

The ethical analysis of political leadership.

BACHELOR THESIS

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## Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare, that this bachelor thesis is the work of my own and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature is attributed and cited in references.

In Bratislava, February 15, 2020

Lucia Trubenová

Signature:.....

## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyse the essay *Politics as a Vocation* written by Max Weber and place it into a dialogue with the ethics of care approach, described by Virginia Held, in order to contribute to the discussion about the presence of ethics in the political sphere. The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part deals mainly with Weber's analysis of politics and the aspect of power in political action. The second and third parts examine the ethics of responsibility proposed by Weber and the ethics of care described by Held and its potential cooperation in the political sphere. The examination brings the argument that the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care have an ability to cooperate in the political realm.

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## Abstrakt

Cieľom tejto bakalárskej práce je analýza eseje *Politika ako povolanie* od Maxa Webera a dať ju do dialógu s etikou starostlivosti popísanú Virginiou Held za účelom prispieť do diskusie o prítomnosti etiky v politickej sfére. Bakalárska práca je rozdelená do troch častí. Prvá časť sa zaoberá Weberovou analýzou politiky a aspektom moci v politickej činnosti. Druhá a tretia časť bakalárskej práce skúmajú etiku zodpovednosti predloženú Maxom Weberom a etikou starostlivosti popísanou Virgíniou Held a ich možnú kooperáciu v politickej sfére. Výskum priniesol argument, že etika zodpovednosti a etika starostlivosti majú potenciál spolupracovať v politickej sfére.

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## Introduction

Many philosophers examined the discussion about ethics in politics through human history. Aristotle, Plato, Machiavelli, Kant and many others offered their perspectives ,and theories of how society should function. In the 20th century, Max Weber proposed his arguments and the work become one of the most important attributes into the debate about ethics in politics.

Reading Weber, one can see, feel, and, understand the affection towards society and politics. The essay, *Politics as a Vocation* was presented as a lecture by which Weber wanted to contribute to the dialogue by his view, wisdom, and ambitions to define a politician that would be able to work for people and society and find the political role as an own vocation. The ongoing necessity for a hero and the searching for the ideal "man/woman" can be seen as the newer ending discussion. Who is right, and who is good and how to be as moral as possible?

Weber did not write only about the pure idealism, but he tried to find a solution that could be applicable. Although all great authors before Weber try to define the best possible version of man, Weber tries to recognise the best possible man as an answer to the ongoing situation in society. Weber does not start with the idea of man as such, but on the contrary, he begins by defining the problem, the misuse of power in a political realm. The ideal ethical approach was for Weber, a very existential question to improve the situation in Europe after the First World War and an ongoing dramatic and even conflicting situation after the war. Weber sees the ability of a human, and therefore the expectations were different from the expectations of previous ethical approaches. The end of the Weber's research was not an ideal ethical maxim as such, but rather the resolving of the situation and the ethical aspect become only a means and not the end. Weber does not advocate that his ethical approach is the universal maxima that needs to be sued in general but that this ethical approach needs to be used for politics as a specific place.

Another aspect of Weber's idealism can be seen in the very beginning of the essay. When one hears the word vocation one might automatically think about the professional career that one might have. However, there is something more. The very meaning of vocation is much deeper than a pure career decision. Vocation is the personal

attachment towards a lifelong process when the person dedicates life towards the chosen purpose. Weber, by naming the essay 'Politics as a Vocation' gives the message of how important politics is. *Politics as a Vocation* offers Weber's very ideal and personal attachment towards politics and the hope for the perfect form of it.

Weber's idealism in the essay comes as a need, and as an answer to the current political situation in Europe. The aspiration presented in the piece is not a blind or naïve misunderstanding of the critical situation in Europe after the First World War, on the contrary, Weber sees and examines the political situation in the 'western world' and see the corruption of power and the increasing conflicts. The idealism that Weber offers is in the ability to see the factual situation and still seek for moral fulfilment in political affairs.

#### Definitions and further context

To fully understand the aspects and ideas with which Weber cooperates, it is necessary to define the central concept of his work. The simple definition of politics according to the dictionary is "the art or science of government" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), or as "the activities of the government, members of law-making organisations, or people who try to influence the way a country is governed" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Another definition can be found in the essay *Politics as a Vocation*. In the essay, Weber analyses the relationship between power and politic. The politic that Weber considered in the essay is focused on "the leadership, or the exercise of influence on the leadership, of a political organisation, in other words, a state" (Weber, 1994, p. 32). This does not mean that the author ignored the hierarchical structure of political affairs, but instead offered a profound analysis of a specific aspect.

Further, politics in the essay means "strive for a share of power or to influence the distribution of power, whether between states or between the groups of people contained within a state" (Weber, 1994, p. 33). As Weber argued several times, the main attribute of politics is power, and therefore everyone who wants to participate in politics does so by using power for their own advantage. According to Weber, "the interests involved in the distribution or preservation of power, or a shift in power, play a decisive role in resolving that question, or in influencing that decision or defining the

sphere of activity of the official concerned. Whoever is active in politics strives for power, either power as a means in the service of other goals, whether idealistic or selfish, or power 'for its own sake,' in other words, so as to enjoy the feeling of prestige that it confers" (Weber, 1994, p. 33, 34).

The political power of a ruler or a leader is for Weber localized mainly on the state. "Like the political organizations that preceded it historically, the state represents a relationship in which people rule over other people. This relationship is based on the legitimate use of force (that is to say, a force that is perceived as legitimate)" (Weber, 1994, p. 34). The question of power legitimacy, Weber further defines, and can be seen in the relationship between the ruler and the state and further societal aspects. The concept of the state that the author operates with is "form of human community that (successfully) lays claim to the monopoly of legitimate physical violence within a particular territory-and this idea of 'territory' is an essential defining feature" (Weber, 1994, p. 33). In other words, society willingly empowers the representatives of the state to ensure societal security and stability.

As one can see, there are two motions characteristic for Weber's essay *Politics as a Vocation*, the factual and the ideal. The first motion is very analytical with historical explanations and analysis. Although Weber argues that feelings should be eliminated when it comes to politics, with close reading, one can feel a sort of realistic view with which the author describes the political situation in the USA, France, or even his home, Germany. The realistic view comes as a disappointment with the condition, when a politician is driven by a desire for power and often also financial benefits become active participants of politics, without a more profound sense of responsibility or judgment.

On the contrary, the second part of the essay reflects the author's very inner sense and long for a better world. Weber's natural question of how can ethics and politics cooperate becomes the main focus of the author's work. The very need for ethical politics comes as an answer to the factual, very realistic description of politics. The emotion that one can recognise is influenced by the author's determination to find a possible solution. It is some willingness to doing things right, in this case, to do politics with courage and responsibility.

Both those parts of the essay are very interconnected. The ongoing political situation of the second decade of the 20th century influenced Weber and his view on how power dynamics in society function.

Those two parts are very connected because Weber is influenced by the ongoing situation and do not "waset" the optimism for a non-realistic solution, on the other hand, Weber genuinely recognised the need for ethical behaviour in politics that even the very reality does not take the hope for a possible ethical judgment.

The thesis analyses both parts of the essay and questions its ability in today's world - power legitimacy and offers an approach of the ethics of care as an addition to the already existing concept, to be able to answer and recognise the societal needs and operation with power. The concept of the ethics of care is introduced as a possible addition to Weber's perspective on the ethical maxima in politics.

The thesis offers an analysis of the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility defined by Weber. At the same time, the main focus is on the ethics of responsibility because of Weber's interest in this ethical approach. Secondly, the thesis provides an analysis of the ethics of care described by Held. The thesis aims are to find a possible connection between the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care and analyse whether these two maxims can cooperate and create a working mechanism for political action.

The first chapter offers an analysis of the relationship between politics and society based on Weber's essay Politics as a Vocation. The relationship between politics and society is analysed in three dimensions: the relationship between society and leader, society and the individual, and the leader and the individual. Secondly, the first chapter offers an analysis of the aspect of power and responsibility, which are, according to Weber, the main problems in politics. The second chapter provides the study of the ethical maxims defined by Weber, the ethics of conviction, and the ethics of responsibility. Also, the chapter analyses the ethics of care described by held and offers its main attributes. The third chapter analyses the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care and their ability to operate with power end responsibility. This chapter also tries to find a possible connection between those two ethical approaches and their potential cooperation in the political sphere.

## Chapter 1

*“If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,  
But make allowance for their doubting too;”  
(Rudyard Kipling - 1865-1936)*

### 1.1 Politics and society

The cooperation of politics and society that Weber describes in the essay *Politics as a Vocation* can be seen in three different dimensions of relationships. The relationship between the political leader and society, society and the individual, and the individual and a political leader.

#### Society and the Leader

The first dimension is between political leaders and society. Weber describes this connection between the two elements. The first element offers an analysis of the historical development of a leader or a ruler. The second element focus on society as such and its ability to form/influence a leader.

Weber offers an historical analysis of the development of rules, which can serve as a base for an understanding of the relationship between a ruler and society. Weber starts his essay *Politics as a Vocation* with an historical overview of the formation of a state and the formation of politics within the state. According to Weber, there are three main grounds to legitimate any rule (Weber, 1994). The first one is based on a traditional understanding, where the rule is respected for its lasting manners; as something always present and respected. The second ground of legitimacy relates to the charisma of the ruler. According to the author, such rulers were usually prophets or chosen heroes, the one who was meant to rule and chosen by gods. The third category is established on the legality to rule. The legality in this term means a competence or ability to rule. The

legitimacy of such a ruler is somewhat rational than emotional, which is in slight contrast with the first two mentioned grounds. Historically, it can be seen that the rule founded on legality form the modern view on 'state servant' as Weber called it. Furthermore, the transformation of a perspective of who could rule, which shifts from the traditional or even the charismatic rule into a legal rule, indicates the development of the power-dynamic understanding in society at that time.

The second element of the relationship of the leader and society is the ability of the particular society to influence or mould a future leader. This aspect is tightly connected with the first one that focused on the historical background. According to Weber, the development of a society and its democratisation influence the understanding of who should be a ruler. As was already mentioned, the question of legitimacy has a significant meaning for a ruler's authority. Nevertheless, it is necessary to add that it was a shift in society and development in societal beliefs, which influenced the perception of who should take the role and according to which criteria.

### Society and the individual

Society and individual relationships are about individual responsiveness towards what is happening in society. Such an action requires not only the recognition of oneself in a societal mechanism, but also the recognition of the abilities and limitations of those abilities that one has to influence the shape of society. In other words, it can be seen as an active presence of one in political action. Weber defined three categories of active participation of an individual that he calls professional politicians. Those three categories defined by the author are occasional politicians, part-time politicians, and full-time politicians.

The first category, occasional politicians, is, according to Weber, the most common one, because it includes all of the citizens if they want to be included. "We are all 'occasional' politicians when we post our ballot slips or express our will in some similar way" (Weber, 1994, p. 39). Further, the author offers another act of participation, such as attending a protest, a public hearing, or a meeting of some political party (Weber, 1994). As can be seen, the occasional political activity is based on a very primary

recognition of the individual influence in a context of a society, where the individual activity, even with its own limitation, becomes a base of a societal movement.

The second category, mentioned by Weber is a part-time politician. In this category are people interested in politics with a willingness to be involved in more active participation, but does not consider politics to be their vocation. According to Weber, those people have their own careers, goals, and achievements and creates a sort of bridge between fully active politicians and rather ordinary people who are active in politics only occasionally. Such part-time politicians are usually part of a political party or an other political unit. This form of participation allows them to have the first-hand experience with political affairs, but it is usually less demanding and does not require their full responsibility.

The final category that Weber defines is full-time politicians. Those politicians are entirely devoted to their political careers and see it as their vocation. The full-time politicians usually have power, opportunities, and willingness to put forward new law proposals or structure changes. The full-time politicians are actively present in the political party and have a favourite position in a list of candidates for elections. Such active participation in a political sphere requires the full presence of the individual; politics for them become a vocation and a career choice. This aspect is for Weber crucial and brings a new dimension into the political affairs in the form of financing.

### Leader and individual

The relationship between the leader and the individual in society has its specific aspects in terms of significance. The first dimension of this relationship can be called an indirect, which decreases the significance of the individual. In the political realm the position of the leader will be impacted by the will of society, that can be seen during an election or demonstration, and the single action of the individual is lost in the collective effort of a group. The significance of the one is given up for the creation of the significance of the group. If the one was not present, the significance of the group would be weaker. However, by the very presence of the one during the election or in a demonstration, the one gives up their own significance to the benefit of the collective action.

The second dimension of the relationship between the leader and the individual is a direct influence/significance. Such an influence emerges when the individual has value for the leader and becomes a significant element of the leader's success. For further explanation the example of a party member can be used, as who performs all the duties entrusted by the leader and has a tremendous positive significance for the leader. On the other hand, several individuals might be significant for the leader, but for the opposite reason, as a political opponent or a vociferous critique of the leader or programme.

For the significance of the relation between the leader and the individual Weber offers in the categorisation of professional politicians. The occasional politicians, according to this distinction, fall into the first dimension, which means that their own significance is invested into the creation of the collective significance of the group. On the other hand, the mentioned full-time politicians have a significant substance for the leader's position. According to Weber, historically, the monarch needed loyal servants, who were entirely devoted to politics and therefore performed permanent assistance in the political action. "He had to try to assemble a staff of assistants consisting of people who were entirely and exclusively devoted to serving him as their principal profession" (Weber, 2004, p. 40). As Weber further clarify, such assistance was often crucial for the monarch's position, and therefore choosing those assistants needed to be based on trust and loyalty.

## **1.2 Problems of political power**

The political power is most visible under the relationship between society and the leader from which emerges different aspects of political power. Both actors have the ability to use their own power to influence affairs in the state to their own aim. The paradox of the relationship among the leader and society reside in the various understandings of power as such; this means who holds the power and under what circumstances.

Weber defines power as an inherent attribute of politics. In politics to be able to make any decision, the politician needs to be able to cooperate with power. Therefore, one who is involved in the political automatically cooperate with power. Whoever is active

in politics strives for power, either power as a means in the service of other goals, whether idealistic or selfish or power "for its own sake," in other words, so as to enjoy the feeling of prestige that it confers (Weber, 1994).

Weber opens the discussion concerning political power by defining the three grounds for the legitimacy of the ruler. The aspect of legitimacy is crucial for the concept of power because it is legitimacy, which gives power to the leader. Without legitimacy, political power would not be acknowledged and, therefore, applicable. Legitimacy can be therefore understood as the entrance into the political.

The legitimacy of the ruler, based on the traditional understanding, is firmly connected with political power. The power is, in this case, added to the ruler's personality by the title and blood connection, which authorities the rights of the ruler. Historically, such power needed to be obeyed and was usually unquestionable. The legitimacy of such a power did not inevitably come as a societal decision, but rather as respect for traditions and norms. In other words, society did not make the decision to respect the ruler's legitimacy and power to rule upon them. Weber explains that such a decision was made as a custom. Therefore, the legitimacy, in this case, is somewhat understood as a third aspect that influences the relationship between the ruler and society but is not fully owned either by the society nor by the ruler. On the contrary, one can say that the customs, as Weber defines it, owns the decision of legitimacy.

The different ground of legitimacy is based on the leader's charisma and therefore has different features than the legitimacy based on a custom. Weber explains that the charisma of the leader is seen as "the authority of the extraordinary" (Weber, 1994, p. 34). This means that the effect of popularity has a significant role and often influence the legitimacy. Although this charismatic aspect of legitimacy is inherent for the leader, it does not emerge by blood or family relations of the particular person. The relationship between society and the leader is more visible, and both actors can, to a certain extent, influence the legitimacy. Therefore, it does not entirely rely on the "higher power" such as a custom, but the question of legitimacy is more visibly present in society.

The third ground for legitimacy that Weber offers is based on the virtue of legality. By legality, Weber understands the legal status and competence to rule (Weber, 1994). This means that besides the legality or right for a leader or ruler's position, there is an added value in the form of competence. Whether it is knowledge or experience, the author

does not make clear because it is not crucial for the understanding of the concept as such. The primary importance is in the development of the relationship between the ruler or leader and society. One can see that the hierarchical gap between those two actors is being eliminated, because the leader suddenly needs to offer some additional value to be recognised, and society needs to evaluate it. Therefore, such a relationship empowers society to be able to decide and choose the leader.

As can be seen, all those three grounds for legitimacy are very theoretical and, therefore, might be modified in a real situation. None the less, by categorising all of them, Weber described the cultural and political development in society and the dimension of power in the development.

### **1.3 Problem of political responsibility**

Responsibility is for Weber a crucial element in political affairs and inevitable in political decisions. Responsibility in a political sphere has its own principles and functions and therefore needs to be considered individually. Political responsibility, according to Weber, ensures compliance of ethical principles and norms and create sustainable policies. On the other hand, the lack of responsibility supports conflict in society and might leads to a societal crisis. Although Weber understands conflicts as inevitable in societal and political affairs (Weber, 1917), he advocates for responsibility as a tool for conflict management.

Political responsibility emerges from the existing power and position that the politician has. In this sense, the responsibility of a politician is tightly connected with the role that the person has. Weber explains that politicians in bureaucratic structures have a different responsibility from political leaders due to the decisions that a leader needs to make (Weber, 1994). This means that leaders have a greater responsibility because that comes from having the power to influence political affairs. In other words, as much power one has to influence action, that much responsibility can be expected. Therefore, the act of political responsibility is not only tied to political power, but also emerges from it.

Weber offers various aspects that need to be considered when it comes to political responsibility. The first aspect is financial, which influences the decision and also the power that one has. According to Weber, a politician that is interested in a leadership position needs to be as financially independent as possible, to maintain responsible actions towards the political party that is represented and also towards society. Weber explains that if politics is the leader's primary financial source, it increases the possibility of corruption and pressure to make particular decisions. This means that finance will become a powerful tool to influence political affairs, which changes the direction of responsibility from society and people towards the source of finance.

Another aspect of responsibility that Weber defines is the responsibility of the cabinet. Weber explains that it is a leader's responsibility to have a competent team of politicians to maintain political agendas and goals. According to Weber, the highly professional bureaucrats ensure the protection of the law and decrease the risk of corruption - "This workforce has a highly developed sense of professional honour with an emphasis on probity. Without that sense of honour, the risk of terrible corruption and vulgar philistinism would loom over us like fate" (Weber, 1994, p. 37). As can be seen, the professionalism that Weber advocates for is beyond the knowledge and experiences and also requires high moral standards and political integrity. This means that responsibility is, according to Weber, not only about the fulfilment of academic criteria and knowledge for a particular position but also about moral standards.

Politics is inherently present in the society and cannot be removed. Politics connects us and is often beyond human's decisions. Although the very way of how individuals are active in political affairs might differ, the very ability of one's involvement is present. The decision of how much one wants to be involved in politics is different, whether it is through participation in elections or membership to a political party. The most important for Weber is that everyone in society will recognise own political position in society and responsibly act upon it.

## Chapter 2

*“If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;*

*If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;”*

*(Rudyard Kipling - 1865-1936)*

“What is the true relation between ethics and politics?” (Weber, 1994, p. 80) this is the question that Weber asks in the second part of the essay *Politics as a Vocation*. With this question Weber invite readers to understand a particular relation of ethics and politics and offers his own perception of the cooperation between these two dimensions. As an answer, the essay offers two ethical maxims the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility. The ethics of conviction is for Weber a possible ethical approach, but the author is rather critical towards its functioning in the political sphere. On the contrary, the ethics of responsibility is offered by Weber as an approach suitable for politics and even highly recommended.

Both of those ethical maxims can be understood as anti-poles in their view on power and responsibility in the ethical sphere. While the ethics of conviction is considered by Weber as irresponsible and, therefore, inappropriate for politics, the ethics of responsibility is with its rational features considered as an ideal approach. Although Weber admits that politics cannot be entirely performed without conviction and emotions, and those aspects cannot be ignored, he advocates for a rather rational political approach.

This chapter offers an analysis of both of those political maxims and their operation and understanding of power and responsibility. Secondly offers a third ethical approach - the ethics of care as a connection between the two ethics introduced by Weber. The ethics of care offers a unique understanding of power and responsibility and is put in dialogue with Weber’s ethical principles.

## 2.1 The ethics of Conviction

The ethics of conviction is proposed by Weber as a possibility for action, as an ethical principle that certain people might hold, but Weber himself has only a little understanding of it. As one can see from the name, this ethical path act on the precondition of beliefs and the understanding of a right and wrong, and conviction, therefore, becomes a natural outcome of such a belief. In a certain way, one can say that the ethics of conviction is significantly dedicated in terms of belief. As Weber explains, "with an ethics of conviction, one feels 'responsible' only for ensuring that the flame of pure conviction" (Weber, 1994, p. 84). This means that one's action needs to respect the conviction background of a decision fully; otherwise, the one would be inactive. In other words, one needs to believe in the necessity of action to actually act.

The main two critiques that Weber has against the ethics of conviction are the ambiguity in defining the conviction as such and in the lack of responsibility. The first aspect lies in the difficulty to define the sphere of conviction because people's beliefs differ in a crucial aspect, which becomes very problematic in terms of politics. On the one hand, Weber mainly criticises Christians, who do not have beliefs in using means that are ethically problematic in order to maintain a beneficial goal. On the other hand, there are groups who will justify nearly every action under a particular belief in order to empower themselves. As Weber clarifies, even the understanding of power differs for most religions and ideologies, and therefore, any action can be justified in the name of a belief. Such a vague definition of conviction, therefore, might lead to the misuse of power and radicalisation, but also to inaction.

The criticism of Christian ethics in the term of politics is in its ability to be used. Weber uses the argument of his colleague F. W. Foerster that only good actions have good results, and a bad action has only bad results, and therefore, no bad means can ensure a good result (Weber, 1994). Such an argument is according to Weber false and even naïve because if God is good, everything would be only good, and there would be no place for evil, which, as one can see, is no true. Therefore in a world wher bad things happen, it would be deeply irresponsible to ignore them and not act upon them with the same means. Weber offers an example of war, where it would be very irresponsible for a leader to be a pacifist and refuse to use arms to protect people if the state is under

treat. Therefore, it is only responsible for using the means, in this case, weapons to protect people, which is the inherent end of the action.

The critique is also towards using the ethics of conviction as a covering mechanism for every action. The central aspect of this critique lies in the diversity of religious beliefs. The diversity of religions influence the understanding of religious aspects such as salvation or others, and also moral principles that emerge from religious beliefs. This might influence the judgment of one's actions and be understood as moral because it is gaining toward a "higher" moral principle, although the action on its own would be seen problematic. This prioritising of a higher good, results in the justification of any form of means as necessary if it will lead to the results (Weber, 1994).

Both previously mentioned understandings of conviction are problematic for their lack of responsibility. According to Weber, politics need to be responsible because it operates with power, and therefore every political action needs to be considered thoughtfully. Weber argues, that in this sense, the ethics of conviction does not meet those criteria, because of the lack of responsibility. The ethics of conviction acts based on what God or another higher principle considers right, and if the outcome is not desired, it is the responsibility of the higher principle or God. Therefore, responsibility is an only secondary product of the ethics of conviction, but not a primary goal for society.

The relationship towards power is for the ethics of conviction seen through the beliefs. From what was written, the lack of responsibility is one of the main critiques of the ethics of conviction. Moreover, it is the lack of responsibility that shapes the understanding of power for this ethical path. If the responsibility for an action is inherent to the higher principle, then also power to do a certain action is coming from the beliefs in the higher principle. This leads to the question of justification of the power. Weber's analysis of the justification of power described in the first chapter offers three grounds for justification, in which one is based on the traditional understanding of the power. Under such justification, the leader's power does not come from people, or society, but rather from the higher principle or God. Therefore, the leader has the primary responsibility towards the higher principle as a "power giver," and the responsibility towards society is only secondary. In other words, the responsibility emerges from power and is subordinate to the power.

The aspect of power under the path of ethics of conviction is understood as very focused and even accumulated to one specific point, while within the point is the power without limitations. Such a case can be seen when certain ideologies act upon the beliefs to fulfil their criteria about the ideal state.

This makes the power very focused or accumulated to one specific point, while within the point, the power is without barriers.

## **2.2 The ethics of responsibility**

The ethics of responsibility is Weber's ideal path toward ethical action in politics. To define the ethics of responsibility, Weber first defines the qualities of an ideal politician and only, therefore, unities them under the specific ethical approach. From this process it can be seen that ethics in the realm of politics have specific characteristics or criteria, and one might even assume that Weber considered the "political ethics" on its own, different from the previously known approaches. The necessity for defining an original ethical approach for political affairs comes from the realistic vision and clear understanding of politics as such. It is an understanding of politics that operates with particular resources such as the power to protect and maintains national and, to a certain extent, also international interests (Weber, 1994).

The questions that Weber asks whether politics can be ethical and what is the relationship between ethics and politics (Weber, 1994), implies that he understands both of them as completed on their own. For Weber, politics has its specific settled core that cannot be changed, and the second, external sphere, that can be modified. The inner core sphere makes politic what it is, with its feature of power. Although the second external sphere emerges from the inner principles of what politics is, it is also open towards a modification. This means that every political leader has their own way of doing politics and modifies the action of how politics can be done, but all of them operate with the specific resources to maintain their political goals. Therefore, when one speaks about political ethics, it is necessary to recognise both of those aspects of politics. Otherwise, there is a danger of idealistic and possible perception. Furthermore, it is precisely the external aspect of politics that gives a space for modification

according to ethical principles. This means that the possible co-operation of politics and ethics can be done on the mobilisational level of politics. In other words, every considered ethical principle applied for politics must respect the features that politics have to allow their full function. This does not mean that politics restricts the power of ethics, but rather that one needs to find a specific ethical approach that would allow high ethical standards and respects the political sphere.

The three main qualities that the political leader should have to be able to act ethically in political affairs are “passion, a sense of responsibility, and a sense of proportion” (Weber, 1994, p. 76). The first quality - the passion of a political leader, is based on the willingness of the leader to maintain the position and actively contributed to its development. Weber defines it as a certain dedication to the political profession. Nevertheless, it is not a dedication in a romantic way that anyone who “feels for it” can become a political leader; on the contrary, it is dedication very tight to responsibility. This means that the person understands the fullness of political affairs and has the ability to contribute to it. It is the passion that motivates one to make a rational commitment. It is not a blind passion for itself, “for mere passion, however sincerely felt, is not enough in itself” (Weber, 1994, p. 77), but it goes hand in hand with responsibility and rational thinking.

The second quality - the sense of responsibility naturally emerges from the first one and gives shape to the political action. It is the sense of responsibility that makes one act, and it is also the sense of responsibility that makes the one thing about the best possible way of the action. Without responsibility, there would not be any barriers for preventing the precipitate decision. The sense of responsibility makes one think about the wholeness of potential consequences and results. Therefore, the sense of responsibility is crucial for the political sphere, which operates with power and influences many.

The third quality - the sense of proportion is a rationally based thinking that allows the political leader to maintain integrity in a political sphere. Since the political affair might often be demanding, one might consider the obligation to be fully, emotionally, and rationally involved in the political action, which affects the inner calm and stability of a politician (Weber, 1994). According to Weber, politics is a rather rational activity, and therefore decisions need to be kept in mind, not in the heart or soul (Weber, 1994). This does not mean that politics should only be rational, without any involvement of

human and personal aspects of a politician. The sense of proportion needs to be rather understood as a way for the balance of personal and professional life and realise the distinctive situation of both.

To complete the qualitative perception of a leader, Weber also described vanity as a characteristic that is, on the contrary improper for the role of a politician and needs to be eliminated. Vanity is, in general, not welcomed, but present in most personalities, and therefore needs to be mentioned, especially for politicians that operate with power. The very danger of vanity in a political sphere is when power becomes a means for self-motivated action instead of the common good. Vanity might appear as a lack of clear vision when the politician overestimates self qualities, or on the other hand, the politician might be aware of the power that the position brings and creates a space for corruption — both of those aspects of vanity influences political affairs and the situation in the society.

The ethics of responsibility is for Weber, a sort of working mechanism that can be applied in the political sphere. The ethics of responsibility is a maxim that fully sees and understands a real situation of politics, without any illusions, and searches for the most responsible action that would be applicable to a specific situation. Already mentioned example of a pacifist conviction during a time of war, offers space for elaboration on the ethics of responsibility. According to Weber, a politician always needs to know the situation and opponents to be able to make a decision, and the very fact that one actor decides to not act upon the situation does not make the treatment any less realistic and dangerous for society. Therefore, Weber advocates for the usage of means that might in itself be considered as problematic to maintain a responsible end.

The difference between the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility in the usage of problematic means lies in the responsibility towards society. While the ethics of conviction might be open to justify an ethically problematic means, based on beliefs in a higher principle, the ethics of responsibility allows such a justification for the reasons of responsibility. One might argue that the responsibility is also a form of a higher principle. According to Weber, the maxim of the ethics of responsibility lack the vanity and searches for seeing the situation in its most realistic and rational way. On the other hand, the ethics of conviction justifies the higher principle as a source of power but without a primary sense of responsibility for the action. Although the ethics of

responsibility is based on the responsible action, it does not mean it is without beliefs that it is right and also that the ethics of conviction is completely irresponsible (Weber, 1994). Both of those ethical paths have those two aspects, but the difference lies in the diverse justification of power.

The ethics of responsibility and the ethics of conviction create a frontline of the ethical sphere that might be used for political affairs. Although both have a common goal, the ethically functioning politics, each of these ethical maxims have a different approach for human behaviour in a political sphere, and in general. The connection between those two ethical approaches might be the ethics of care, that highly values responsibility, humans' feelings and sees humans as interdependent of each other.

The cooperation between the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care were analysed by Sophie Bourgault, who focused on the ethical aspect of bureaucracy. According to Bourgault, the bureaucratic structures introduced by Weber, and the ethics of care can create unique cooperation, the 'caring bureaucracy' (Bourgault, 2017).

### **2.3 The ethics of care**

The ethics of care was introduced in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as an answer for the traditional moral theories such as Kantian ethics, utilitarianism, or Aristotelian virtue ethics (Held, 2007). The ethics of care wants to be a voice of opposition, for the dominant traditional moral theories, that according to ethics of care, are abstract and rather dysfunctional with their universal rules (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007). The ethics of care, on the contrary, sees humans as interdependence and related to society. Although the ethics of care emerges as feminist theory, it does not focus only on the ethical aspects of women's behaviour, rather the feminist aspect can be seen in valuing features, traditionally understood as feminine, such as caring. Similarly, as the ethics of responsibility, the ethics of care is characterised by Virginia Held through its features.

The first feature of the ethics of care is "its central focus is on the compelling moral salience of attending to and meeting the needs of the particular others for whom we take responsibility" (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007, p. 538). This means in the very traditional way of understanding care, in relationship to someone that is in need of the

care. Held offers an example of children or elderly persons. Despite the fact that the care in this sense is often an attribute of the family sphere, it is also incorporated in a state administration in the form of a social structure. Therefore the dependence is not only an aspect of the private life of an individual but often becomes a societal interest established under law. In this way, the ethics of care "starts with the moral claims of particular others" (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007, p. 538) and first recognises the human dependence in society to be able to act upon it and hence be efficient in a very concrete sense.

Secondly, the ethics of care values emotions as a tool to recognise and understand what would be morally best for individuals and for society (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007). The emotions are part of human nature and with the rational aspects, creates a complete being. This means that emotional and rational features are inherent for humans and cannot be ignored or repressed. The ethics of care does not advocate for a blind appreciation of all emotions but instead introduces a contrast to the traditional moral theories (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007), and highlight emotions that are beneficial for the individual, and also collective well-being. Such emotions are, for instance, empathy, responsiveness, and sensitivity. According to Held, this does not mean "that the raw emotion can be a guide to morality; feelings need to be reflected on and educated" (Held, 2007, p. 539). The ethics of care understand those emotions as advantageous and, therefore, advocates for their appreciation and cultivation.

The third element lies in the understanding of society through the relationships among people. This means that one is always in a relationship with the particular others that influence and create the individual. Therefore, the ethics of care eliminates the distance between the individual and society and rejects the interpretation of moral problems as "conflicts between egoistic individual interests on the one hand and universal moral principles on the other" (Held, 2007, p. 540). The relationship sphere between the individual and society is often ignored or neglected and, therefore, cannot be fully understood.

The fourth element of the ethics of care as described by Held emerges from its feminist background of the theory and offers a unique perspective on the private and public spheres in society. According to Held, the private sphere was traditionally connected with the household, which often weakens the position of women and children in society,

through their economic dependence on men (Held, *The Ethics of Care*, 2007). Such action creates a hierarchical arrangement in society that favours the public sphere over the private sphere, which influences the power-dynamics in society.

Another aspect of this element lies in the connection between public life and the moral well-being of society. "Dominant moral theories have seen "public" life as relevant to morality while missing the moral significance of the "private" domains of family and friendship" (Held, , 2007, p. 541). The power-dynamics between the private and public life, therefore, did not influence only the political and economic dimensions of cooperation in society, but also underestimate the importance of the private moral dimension. This means that the existing power-dynamics tended to exclude economically or different dependent sub-groups of society.

To be able to understand the ethics of care it is necessary to describe its main element the care. As Virginia Held writes, "there are many forms of care, and there have been different emphases" (Held, , 2007, p. 544). Held offers several understandings of care from various authors. Care as an attribute is necessary for action with a tight cooperation with feelings, desires, and needs (Noddings, 1986). Care as a virtue that motivates human activities and attitudes towards them (Slote, 2001) or care from rather an economic point of view focusing on human needs introduced by Diemut Bubeck. Held also offers her own perspective on what is care as a combination of practice and value (Held, 2004, p. 545). "Care is a practice of responding to needs - material, psychological, cultural - but it is not a series of unrelated actions, it is a practice that develops, that has attributes and standards, and that should be continually improved" (Held, 2007). Therefore care can be understood as an active attitude towards something that one considered as significant. It is in recognition of a needs that are in a society and active response towards them. In a political sphere, care can be seen as a recognition through responsibility and act through power.

The aspect of responsibility emerges from care as a form of attitude. The responsibility that is motivated by care comes from the person's willingness to be responsible. It is not a responsibility force put upon the person. The difference between those two approaches on responsibility is that the first one comes before the action and therefore influences the action. In contrary responsibility, that is put upon someone following the action. This means that the act on its own is not influenced by responsibility, but the

outcome of the act is considered, and the person needs to take responsibility for the action. In both cases, the person the responsibility emerges from the action that one was done, but the main difference is in action itself, as to how it is done and whether it is done at all.

The element of power has its specific recognition under the principles of the ethics of care. The power emerges from the relationship between care and responsibility as a tool to influence the political affair. This means that power does not create a hierarchical society but rather serves as a link for cooperation among society and its elements.

Weber introduced two possible ethical maxims that may function in such a specific context as in politics. The very specificity of this context is in its operation with power to ensure political interests of a particular subjects. The main message that Weber offered comes from the deep necessity of responsibility. The responsibility become a key element to be able to handle the power-dynamics of the political realm. The concept of the ethics of responsibility can be an answer for this very need and together the ethics of care has the ability to be a working mechanism and an ethical principle for such a special context.

## Chapter 3

*“If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch;”*

*(Rudyard Kipling - 1865-1936)*

### 3.1 Politics and society

Weber and Held offer perspectives on how society and politics cooperate, which both can be understood in the dimensions of various relationships in society. The similar view is offered by Judith Butler, who described societal relationships in the book *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. Butler offers an analysis of cooperation among different members of society, and her work might serve as a connection and create a dialogue between Weber’s ethics of responsibility and Held ethics of care.

Butler offers an explanation for our political belonging into society, which is, according to her, based on human interdependence and the ability to relate to others. Butler explains that the aspect of belonging and the ability to relate is related to vulnerability. It is a vulnerability that makes us human, and it is the vulnerability of the other that we can recognise the humanity of others.

Vulnerability is for Butler a precondition of humanity, something that we all can relate to. The aspect of vulnerability is something that makes us human. The very meaning of vulnerability is, according to Butler, a part of political life, and it is an experience of loss (Butler, 2004). The universality of a vulnerability is, in fact, connected to the aspect that everyone has lost someone and, therefore, can relate to it or have the ability to relate. Another aspect of vulnerability, apart from the ability to relate or understand it is, that to lose someone is necessary to have someone, or in other words, it is necessary first to have a connection with another one for the actual possibility of losing the person.

The vulnerability has two paths the mental and the physical, which both are interconnected. The first form, the mental, primarily affects the mind of one but also

has a secondary effect on the body. It is the aspect of the realisation of the loss of someone that first hits the mind, and one starts questioning their own identity without the other. Butler explains that it might seem as one does not have an understanding of self without the other. The physical effects that follows, the author described as exhaustion or a physical lack of energy that comes in waves (Butler, 2004). This form of vulnerability does not primarily influence one's body, but the effect on the body is only secondary.

The second form of vulnerability influences primary the physical - the body of one, while the mental aspect is secondary and follows from the physical. It is a vulnerability of loosing right over one's body. Butler writes: "It is important to claim that our bodies are in a sense our-own and that we are entitled to claim rights of autonomy over our bodies" (Butler, 2004, p. 25). The author further explains that the vulnerability is in exposing the body in society. Every individual is visible in a sense that exists and is present in society, even if one does not want to be seen. On the other hand, the mental cannot be fully seen without one's willingness to participate. The full understanding of the inner identity and its experience is known only to oneself.

To understand the presence of one in society it is necessary to see how both aspects of human, the mental and the physical are political. As was mention previously, both the mental and the physical are interconnected. There cannot be mental without the physical and also vice versa, for one to be considered political. One can be political only if both aspects of the personality are present because the body without the mind or mind without the body cannot be political. According to Butler, every human is political because of their presence in society. One cannot be born out of society and therefore is part of society. To incorporate Butler's, another aspect of human vulnerability means that every human is political and vulnerable in the same way. Therefore, one can be vulnerable only if the mental and the physical of one are present. This means that when one person is dead, which means that they have lost the physical, even though some according to religious or another belief, might claim that the mind still exists, one is not vulnerable and even political anymore.

A further connection between the vulnerability and the political aspect of humans can be seen on the individual and national levels. The individual level can be defined in the relationship between me and the other. Therefore, the development of the personal me

is in a relationship with the other, where the other influences whom I will become. According to Butler, it is the interconnection among me and the other that creates the possibility for vulnerability on the individual level, where one does not know self, without the other. "It is not as if 'I' exists independently over here and then simply lose a 'you' over there, especially if the attachment to 'you' is part of what composes who 'I' am" (Butler, 2004, p. 22). In other words, Butler explains that the single existence of oneself is not possible because there is always a relationship - interdependence with someone else.

The aspect of connection is also present in the ethics of responsibility. The first of the three main qualities that, according to Weber, a politician should have - passion is established by the connection between the leader and the society. For one to be passionate about something it is necessary to be connected to it. This means that if the leader would not be part of the society, or would not have a connection with the society, it is difficult to expect to have a passion for a political vocation in such a society. Passion in this sense is not an emotional but rather rational sense of belonging with an emotional aspect. Although for Weber, passion itself is not the most important element of a political leader, it has its value and importance in a political vocation.

A similar view is held by the ethics of care, which understand an individual in connection with the particular other. The connection with the particular other is based on the rational and also emotional aspects. Both of those aspects are transformed into the care of those who need it. This means that the ethics of care advocates for rationalised emotions such as passion and argues that those rationalised emotions play a significant role in ethical decisions.

The attribute of passion that both the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care advocates for can serve as an example of cooperation between the rational and emotional aspects of humans to increase the leaders' willingness and dedication to the political profession.

### **3.2 Power**

“Whoever is active in politics strives for power, either power as a means in the service of other goals, whether idealistic or selfish or power ‘for its own sake,’ in other words, so as to enjoy the feeling of prestige that it confers” (Weber, 1994). Weber considered power as an inherent aspect of politics, and everyone who wants to become an actor in political affairs needs to operate with power.

The legitimacy of power, analysed by Weber, can also serve as a description of the development of legitimacy. Weber proposed three stages of power legitimacy; absolute power of the leader seen from a traditional perspective to shared power dynamics between the leader and society based on the virtue of legality. This means that although power is still considered as one of the primary means in politics, the understanding of power and its legitimacy has developed with the development of society. The essay *Politics as a Vocation* reflects on the situation in Europe and the United States and is naturally based on Weber’s observations and analysis. The political culture described in the essay is, therefore, deeply influenced by the understanding of power, and its legitimacy. The possible question that might come is: If Weber was be alive today, would he have a different understanding of power? Such a question is very problematic to answer, especially if it regards someone's thoughts and perceptions.

One might argue that the understanding of power dynamics has developed in the past century since Weber published the essay. The development can be seen in the empowerment of different groups in society, which followed after various political movements, for instance, voting rights for women (USA 1920), the beginning of the LGBT movement (USA 1940), the universal declaration of human rights (signed on December 10, 1948). Those movements tended to bring recognition and equality and also influence the understanding of power dynamics in society. The development of understanding the power dynamic is in the empowerment of various voices and therefore increases the diversity. The diversity allows division of power into various subgroups and decreases the hierarchical structure of politics.

By the defining the three grounds for power legitimacy, Weber provides the bases for understanding political power as such and its sharing aspects. The pattern that can be seen in Weber’s analysis is the increasing level of societal power through voting rights and the actual obeying of a leader, but also on the other hand, decreasing of the absolute power of a leader and the need for support. This means that power as such was over

time slowly divided among the leader and society. The very aspect of empowerment is in realising power and ability to use it.

Although empowerment can be seen through societal action when the various movements are gaining recognition and equality, it is important to recognise the power of the individual. Individuals are an important element who shapes and creates the ideas and beliefs of the political movement. Although the individual voice can blend into the crowd it also can shift its agenda and perspective.

### **3.3 Responsibility**

As was mentioned previously the aspect of responsibility emerges from power. Weber highly advocated for responsible politics as a way to gain ethical politics. The ethics of responsibility therefore becomes not only an ethical maxim, but a certain practical approach for a political sphere. Responsibility is a main principle which according to Weber can ensure ethical operation with power. Weber's ethics of responsibility introduces three main elements: the passion, the sense of responsibility and a sense of proportion as the main qualities that cooperate with the ethical aspect and respect the very inner elements of politics. All those three qualities are according to Weber inherent for ethics in politics.

Held introduced the ethics of care from a perspective of a person and offers various elements characteristic for this ethical approach. The ethics of care is based on cooperation and dependence of humans in society. Both attributes are viewed as a connection between humans in society. According to the ethics of care humans are very often dependent on the society where they live. Such dependence can be seen especially in the very early stages of life on the other hand, the dependency of elderly people who need care and recognition in society.

The care that this ethical approach introduced, values human emotions as an important attribute for cooperative mechanisms. This does not mean that the ethics of care values every emotional display of an individual, rather advocates for rationalised feelings such as empathy that helps to understand the other in society and have compassion with others' needs.

The principle of responsibility that emerges from the ethics of care is a demonstration of belonging to the society. Responsibility can be understood as a natural outcome of this ethical maxim in a form that one wants to participate. The participation is therefore based on self recognition as a part of a society and is tightly connected to responsibility as an attitude towards public affairs.

This thesis argues that the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of care has an ability to cooperate and became a significant approach for political affairs. The importance of responsibility for both ethical maxims therefore can become a key element for cooperation. The responsibility introduced by Weber respects the political principles and emerges as an answer to political means which is power. On the other hand the responsibility under the criteria of ethics of care emerges from a need to cooperate and the interdependence aspect of society. Although both mentioned ethical maxims are emerging from different perspectives, or one might say from a different side, together they construct an aspect of caring responsibility.

The caring responsibility has aspect of Weber's ethics of responsibility and Held's ethical perspective. The caring responsibility has the aspect of passion and sense of proportion introduced by Weber, but also has an attribute of human recognition. The element of care strengthens the responsibility as such, by adding the aspect of dependence. The political leader under the caring responsibility understands the power dynamics and the power legitimacy that comes from society and also see themselves as a part of the society. This means that the responsibility is not only political but carries an element of humanity and sense of belonging into the society that is represented.

## Conclusion

The necessity of ethics in political affairs is significant, and although many sceptics think otherwise, it is possible. Weber was a great advocate for ethical actions in the political sphere and believed in its importance. For Weber, the question was not whether politics and ethics could cooperate but rather how they can cooperate. The essay *Politics as a Vocation* wants to be an answer to this question, and not only for Weber but for all those who have a desire to practice good politics that work for society, for those who see politics as a vocation.

The ethics of responsibility that Weber introduced are based on three main human characteristics “the passion, a sense of responsibility, and a sense of proportion” (Weber, 1994). All those characteristics are crucial when it comes to politics. Politics as a subject operate with a particular mean, the political power, and therefore the circumstances for action are also specific. The ethics of responsibility understands this attribute of politics and proposes a way how to cope with power and ensure a responsible response.

For Weber, everyone who sees politics as a vocation lives for political affairs and is somehow in and out at the same time. The involvement in political issues is driven by passion towards the office. Such a politician understands the importance of the position and the responsibility that the situation requires. On the other hand, a politician needs to be able to separate themselves from political affairs to maintain personal integrity. This means that the politician does not lose themselves in political issues but instead can use personal and professional qualities in the office.

The second ethical approach that the thesis offers is the ethics of care. The ethics of care emerges as recognition of dependence in society. The principles of the ethics of care introduced by Held arises from very personal recognition of self in the community when one sees the aspect of care as inherent for self-development and also for the development of society as such. The ethics of care sees individuals as dependent on the community and in a tight relationship with the culture that influences the individual and also is influenced by individuals. This relationship between individuals and society motivates one to be involved in societal affairs. The involvement has a form of

responsibility when the individual recognises the connection towards the community and the place in it. In a political sphere, the ethics of care motivates the individual to be actively involved in public affairs and responsively act in society.

The cooperation of the ethics of responsibility introduced by Weber and the ethics of care described by Held offers a unique concept, the caring responsibility. The caring responsibility has all the features of responsible action defined by Weber and therefore answers the necessities in politics, which is to be able to operate with power. On the other hand, the caring aspect recognises the needs of individual and act upon it.

The essay *Politics as a Vocation* offers an ethical principle from the perspective of politics. The main aim of Weber was to define an ethical approach that understands the power-dynamics in politics and can promote a respectful and responsible action in politics. The ethics of responsibility comes from politics towards the people to ensure stability in the society. The ethics of care comes from the opposite direction, from the community to politics. The understanding of power-dynamics in society is different, unique. The unique perspective comes from the recognition of the individual as dependent and as a part of a community that influences and shapes a person. Although each of the ethical maxims emerges from a different perspective, together in the form of caring responsibility they can serve as a working mechanism in political affairs.

## Resumé

Mnoho filozofov a učencov z rôznych akademických sfér skúmali a diskutovali o téme etiky v politickom konaní. Platón, Machiavelli, Kant a mnohí ďalší ponúkli svoju perspektívu, ako by mala spoločnosť fungovať. V dvadsiatom storočí Max Weber významne ovplyvnil túto diskusiu aj jej ďalšie smerovanie. Cieľom tejto bakalárskej práce je analýza eseje *Politika ako povolanie* od Maxa Webera a dať ju do dialógu s etikou starostlivosti popísanou Virginiou Held za účelom prispieť do diskusie o prítomnosti etiky v politickej sfére. Bakalárska práca je rozdelená do troch častí. Prvá časť sa zaoberá Weberovou analýzou politiky a aspektom moci v politickej činnosti. Druhá a tretia časť bakalárskej práce skúmajú etiku zodpovednosti predloženú Maxom Weberom a etikou starostlivosti popísanou Virginiou Held a ich možnú kooperáciu v politickej sfére.

Weberová teória vychádza z princípov kooperácie medzi politikou a spoločnosťou a z možných problémov vyplývajúcich z tejto kooperácie. Kooperácia medzi politikou a spoločnosťou, ktorú Weber opísal v eseji *Politika ako povolanie*, môže byť charakterizovaná v troch rôznych vzťahových dimenziách. Sú to vzťahy medzi politickým lídrom a spoločnosťou, spoločnosťou a jednotlivcom a nakoniec medzi jednotlivcom a politickým lídrom. Vzťah spoločnosti a politického lídra je opísaný v dvoch rovinách, historickej a spoločenskej. Prvá rovina sa zameriava na historický vývoj udalostí a opisuje proces legitimizácie moci v spoločnosti. Tento proces legitimácie bol založený na tradíciách, postavení alebo určitej legalite vládnuť. V druhej rovine sa Weber zameriava na fungovanie spoločnosti samotnej a jej schopnosť formovať a vychovávať svojich vlastných lídrov. Vzťah medzi spoločnosťou a jednotlivcom opisuje individuálny záujem jednotlivca o verejné a politické záležitosti a taktiež vôľu participovať na týchto záležitostiach. Úrven takejto participácie Weber rozdelil do troch kategórií podľa stupňa angažovanosti. Nakoniec, vo vzťahu medzi politickým lídrom a jednotlivcom je definovaná nevyhnutnosť a úloha jednotlivca v procese formovania politického lídra. Hlavné problémy, ktoré Weber v týchto vzťahoch charakterizuje sú nedostatok zodpovednosti a zneužívanie moci.

Druhá kapitola ponúka riešenia z pohľadu etiky definované Weberom a doplnené štúdiou od Virginie Held. Kapitla analyzuje etiku presvedčenia a etiku zodpovednosti ako potenciálne riešenia. Sám Weber uprednostňuje etiku zodpovednosti, ako

vhodnejší variant pre politické konanie a etiku presvedčenia vníma v kontexte absencie zodpovednosti. Treťou etickou maximou je pohľad etiky starostlivosti ako doplnenie k etike zodpovednosti a vytvorenie možného etického princípu pre politické konanie.

Tretia kapitola skúma ponúkané etické riešenia a v kontexte Weberovej analýzy a hľadá možnú spoluprácu etiky zodpovednosti a etiky starostlivosti. Na základe tohto skúmania je predložený argument, že spomínané dve etické maximy sa zhodujú v uvedomovaní si dôležitosti aspektu zodpovednosti v politickom konaní a majú potenciál kooperovať vo forme starostlivej zodpovednosti. Koncept starostlivej zodpovednosti je touto bakalárskou prácou predkladaný ako možný etický rozmer politického konania.

## Appendix

IF<sup>1</sup>

(Rudyard Kipling - 1865-1936)

If you can keep your head when all about you

Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;

If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,

But make allowance for their doubting too:

If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,

Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,

Or being hated don't give way to hating,

And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream — and not make dreams your master

If you can think — and not make thoughts your aim,

If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster

And treat those two impostors just the same:

If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken

Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,

Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,

And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings

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<sup>1</sup> The poem by Rudyard Kipling reflects the human necessity to recognise what is right and what is wrong and how to become the best possible self. One can see the never-ending persistence to grow as a human, to find the ideal, to be able to say that we were truly self.

And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,  
And lose, and start again at your beginnings  
And never breathe a word about your loss:  
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
And so hold on when there is nothing in you  
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
Or walk with Kings — nor lose the common touch,  
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
If all men count with you, but none too much:  
If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
And — which is more — you'll be a Man, my son!

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