

# Morality and Politics Relation: Dirty Hands Action and Possibility of Karl Popper Minimalist Democracy

Fahmi Idris and Aan Komariah

**Abstract---** *This research studied the problematic and political relationship of morality in political philosophy reviewed from the dirty hands and minimalist democracy possibility of Karl Popper. The method used in this research is a library research with interpretative analysis. The object of research materials on the morality and political relations, which are associated with the dirty hands action and minimalist democracy possibility of Karl Popper. The formal object of this research is political philosophy. The exploration of literature studies and the analysis of moral and political relations was examined through the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Machiavelli. It was discovered that the fragmentation of unsolved moral values became central to understanding the relationship between morality and politics. Morality and politics are two things related to each other. This analysis of moral and political relations is complemented by raising the morale of the dirty hands concept that defies politicians who are increasingly symptomatic.*

**Keywords---** *Dirty Hands, Morality, Politics, Pluralism, Moral Fragmentation.*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Politics as a system in human life have a very important role, and it can be said that there is not one human community anywhere that is detached from politics. This is because politics emerge naturally on the basis of human needs regarding the arrangement of his life and avoiding conflict between fellow men in the welfare of the common (Miriam Budiardjo, 2017).

Morality and political relations become the center of attention when classical questions about the meaning and purpose of human life are asked amid changing social life conditions, the need to ask a better understanding of this relationship not diminished even since Socrates (470-399 BCE) was continued by his disciple Plato (427-347SM), Aristotle (384-322S), and Machiavelli (1462-1527 M) to the present day (Bertrand Russel, 2007).

The symptoms that arise in the politics of Indonesia today, indicating a political ethic is not seen as something that is urgent (concerned Dwihantoro, 2013; Nur Rohim Yunus, 2014; Ritaudin, M. S., 2017; Saldi Isra et al, 2017). Not a few politicians are more concerned with power than political morality and community welfare. To acquire and maintain power by using all means, such as money politic, political intimidation, and others (Nathan W., Allen, 2015; Dewi Navisa (2018).

According to the opinions of many of thinkers world's morality are in the process of destruction (John Kekes, 1993). Although we continue to live according to morality, but the grip is getting weaker and weaker.

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Fahmi Idris, University of Indonesia, Indonesia. E-mail: fahmiidris.20@gmail.com  
Aan Komariah, Indonesia University of Education, Indonesia. E-mail: aan\_komariah@upi.edu

We are awed by a growing suspicion that adherence to values reflects moral conditioning for centuries, but has no rational demands. Morality was destroyed because we could not relieve this suspicion. Consequently we are powerless in the face of challenges. This assumption stems from observations of profound changes affecting morality and from the interpretation that the changes are so deeply that it presents a fundamental threat to morality.

This study focuses on moral and political relations that make it possible in dirty hands politicians act through immoral acts such as political corruption conducted by politicians, bureaucrats, law enforcer, entrepreneurs who are in circles power thereby leading to a decline in integrity, inhibiting the establishment of political order and stability of political institutions. The important issue expressed in this study pertains to three fundamental matters, first the moral and political relationship in the Indonesian political sphere. Secondly, the permissiveness of the dirty action hands in political power through the corruption act of politicians, and third, minimalist democracy possibility and piecemeal social engineering Karl Popper to reduce the permissiveness of dirty hands.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Politics are often described as the art of possibilities, as a means of resolving conflicts through compromise, conciliation, and negotiation (Bernard Crick, 2000), where politics is seen as a solution to the problem of rules that choose conciliation than violence and coercion. Politics is not a utopistic solution but it is only a recognition that if human beings can not solve problems with compromise and debate it will be mired in brutality.

For many, politics is simply the word "filthy", implying deception, dishonesty, and even corruption (Andrew Heywood, 2015). Such political imagery was rooted in the relationship between political and behavioral politicians, and was rooted in Machiavelli's work that developed a rigorous, realistic understanding of politics in the context of pursuit and power enforcement. (Niccolo Machiavell, 1998).

The Moral comes from the word "mores" which means habit. Moral is always associated with a special obligation, the norm as a means of acting in the form of both relative and absolute demands. Thus, moral is the normative and imperatives discourse expressed in good and bad frameworks. The moral point would be to answer the issue as "should ". Moral contains two meanings: the entire rule and the prevailing norm, which is accepted by a society as a grip in acting and expressed in good and bad frameworks; Philosophical discipline that reflects these rules in order to seek its foundation and purpose (Haryatmoko, 2003).

The moral and political relationship is recognized by Plato as a fundamental contradiction. His attempts to resolve this conflict between his personal and political virtues in the Republic of Plato, (1998) are still a study of many scientists. Plato, by discovering the true meaning of dikaiosune translated as morality or justice offered political accountability that would enable their integration in the unified concept, wanted to eradicate conflict and thus Existential threats to the philosopher's way of life. However, although Plato has an insight into the nature of knowledge and its relationship to morality and politics is indispensable, epistemological assumptions about it and its extreme political conclusions are certainly limited results from the social context Ancient Athens. Aristotle developed an equally powerful argument in relation between moral and political virtues, adding an intellectual element as a separate factor. Thus, if Plato first set the matter and defined it, Aristotle systematically attempts to explain and resolve the cause of tension between political and moral virtues without the use of a leap

Metaphysical epistemological, such as Plato's Forms theory. Aristotle's most important work is that political philosophy is an attempt to understand both morality and political attributes based on statistical data on Political Constitution and biological observation of human nature. What Aristotle contributed was the notion that, although in his thinking there was an objective moral purpose for man, in reality the social structure and ethical ideals vary greatly so that it is difficult to rank in one goal Ontological together. However, instead of attempting to eliminate the varied view of two major works of Aristotle's political philosophy were not written individually as a political philosophy. However, The Nicomachean Ethics and Politic (Aristotle, 2000) who are the moral and political theories of Aristoteles ' work are intended to be studied as complementary to one another to support moral and political unity.

Machiavelli initiated moral and political recognition as a distinct matter. In line with the Machiavelli for the discourse of political philosophy was the interpretation of Isaiah Berlin (2001) against the work of Machiavelli but proposed a radical divide between two different things and very sharp conflicts of moral and political contradiction such as World of the Pagan Republic and the Christian world-Apolititis. Finally, it is even possible to reconstruct the Machiavelli, as did Erica Benner (2009) in her interpretation as a profound philosophical thinker who in fact aimed at discovering the universal moral principle as a stable guide to Good and effective politics.

A broader conception of politics brings to the wider realm of public life or public domain. In other words, the distinction between politics and non-politics coincides with the division between the sphere of community life and what is considered a personal sphere. View to politics as it is rooted in the work of Aristotle stating that man is naturally a political being, that only in a community of people's politics can undergo a "good Life" (Aristotle,1996). Therefore politics is the main science, the ethical activities that emphasize the effort of creating a fair society. According to this view, politics took place in public agencies such as governments, political parties, community groups, but did not occur in the private domain (Andrew Heywood, 2015).

Political theory is understood as a discussion and generalization of a political phenomenon. Political theory is the subject and contemplation of the objectives of political activity, ways of achieving that goal, the possibilities and needs posed by certain political situations and obligations resulting from Political objectives. The concepts covered in political theory include society, social class, country, power, sovereignty, rights and obligations, independence, State institutions.

Corruption has grown into a major problem, affecting all levels of governance, the private sector, damaging the moral order of society, and increasing poverty (Du Plessis and Breed, 2013), especially in democratic countries. The rulers and politicians sheltered behind the concept of Dirty hands, an act of deviation between moral demands and political demands won by the political interests that taught "learning how not to be good" by Nicollo Machiavelli. Walzer, deWijze and Goodwin (Michael Walzer, 1973; Stephen de Wijze, 2005). Mentioning "The dilemma of a dirty hands action as a central feature of political life comes not only as an occasional crisis but systematically and often".

This dirty hands de Wijze and Goodwin thesis bases on the Machiavelli teaching. Book Machiavelli in The Prince (Demetric Tillyris, 2015) that politicians need to "Learn not to be good " has become the spell of dirty hands

theory. While Hanna Pitkin (Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, 1993). View moral discourse as a "distinctive dialogue, a personal conversation about incorrect action or damage".

### III. METHOD

The method used in this study was a method of study of libraries and critical analysis methods. The research was categorized as a library research that sometimes has descriptive traits as well as historical traits. The library search was not only for the initial step of setting up a research design but also utilizes library resources to obtain research data (Zed, 2014). The procedure was to gather all literary sources, read semantic, do recording, coding. The recording stages were conducted in quotation, paraphrase, synoptic, parestis, and encoding. Descriptive analysis was an analysis related to the method of grouping and data warehousing so that the presentation of data will be more informative.

### IV. RESEARCH RESULTS

#### Dirty Hands

The literature on the Dirty Hands concept is aired in the following table 1:

	Understanding/Expert's Opinion	Example	Thinking Way about <i>dirty hands</i> action
1.	Politicians play/role for many parties, themselves, and the ones it represents. Being politicians is heavy, fierce competition, great risk, great temptation (MichaelWalzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).	A man named Hoerderer in Jean Paul Sartre (Le Mains sales) that said: "I have a dirty hand to the elbow. I have plunged them in dirt and blood. Do you think that you can reign in plain? My own answer is no, I don't think I can rule it with plain ". ..... We will not remove the lies by refusing to lie but by using all means to eliminate the social class ".	How Machiavelli thinks: to reform a country/Republic, do the bad thing to reach the goal to produce good things. Machiavelli teaches how to be unkind. Political actors had to dirty his hands. (MichaelWalzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).
	Becoming a politician needs to learn lessons from Machiavelli, "learning how not to be good". Some of them were unable to learn, many admitted to not able. They won't succeed unless they learn, because they have joined in a terrible competition. They could not do well alone unless they won the struggle (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).	Shakespeare's Hamlet: "I have to be cruel just to be good"...	Shakespeare's Hamlet: "I have to be cruel just to be good"... How Max Weber think: Politics as a call. A dirty hands politician is a hero, but a tragic hero. Although politics is the call, it is not yet called by God, so it cannot be justified by Him., (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).
	We are required to believe that doing X actions is morally wrong but it is really appropriate to do so. (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).		
	Safest for politicians is to follow the rules. If there is no choice, act by avoiding the fewest consequences (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).		How Albert Camus thinks: "The heroes are innocent criminals, only murderers, because after killing, they are ready to die, and will die". (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).
	Although one cannot expect to reign with plain, it does not mean that he cannot do the right thing when ruling. (Michael Walzer, <i>Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands</i> , 1973).		
2.	Dirty hands are complex theories, not only a matter of contention between political morality and personal morality. (Stephen A De Wijze and Tom L. Goodwin, 2009).	Pontius Pilate washed his hands from the Crucifixion of Christ (Stephen A De Wijze and Tom L. Goodwin, 2009).	

	Dirty Hands are dilemmatical options not randomly. The stakes are the interests of many people not specific groups. (Stephen A De Wijze and Tom L. Goodwin, 2009).
	There is no cost-free moral act, carrying significant moral costs which should be recognized, understood, and accepted by agents/politicians. (Stephen A De Wijze and Tom L. Goodwin, 2009).
	The Dirty Hands scenario involves the necessary and adequate conditions: a. Betrayal of people, values, or principles of justifiable b. Politicians are driven by moral considerations to commit moral violations c. Politicians participate or are part of the causal chain which is further away from the malicious project of the other party. (Stocker in Stephen A De Wijze and Tom L. Goodwin, 2009).
3.	In the political reality, determining the choice of the two lesser evils does not give time to reflect/thinking long moral considerations so that many cause a regret at the end.. (Stephen De Wijze, <i>Tragic Remorse, The Anguish of Dirty Hands</i> , 2004).
	The tragic regret and remorse were substantially different, both conceptually and phenomenological. Tragic remorse is a feeling we feel when we are moved towards moral concern toward moral transgression. (Stephen De Wijze, <i>Tragic Remorse, The Anguish of Dirty Hands</i> , 2004).
4.	Dirty Hands concept is not as static as Michael Walzer said that Dirty Hands is a political anomaly, a paradox of personal moral and political moral. Dirty Hands contain paradoxical characters, not just paradoxical actions.. (Demetris Tillyris: <i>Learning How Not to be Good, Machiavelli and the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis</i> , 2014)
	Dirty Hands contains conflicts between ordinary morality and political morality as the paradox of real, instantaneous, and rare acts, a troubling anomaly of harmony (Demetris Tillyris: <i>Learning How Not to be Good, Machiavelli and the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis</i> , 2014).
	Dirty Hands is a moral conflict and pluralism, an act that can harm the political itself. (Demetris Tillyris: <i>Learning How Not to be Good, Machiavelli and the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis</i> , 2014)
	Dirty Hands is an act that is indirectly expected by voters who give the authority to the one that he chooses, because it considers the leader who is virtuous and perfect, able to face problems in the community.

While some research on morality, politics and dirty hands create findings such as in the following table 2:

No	Research Tittle	Variable	Research Results
1	The Ethical Implication of Separating Morality from Politics: Taking A Cue From Machiavellian Political Ideas And The Nigerian Political Experience dilakukan oleh Okorie Ogbonnaya Okomba (2006)	Power, results of dirty hands action, abandonment of moral ethic, ruler.	Moral implications and political actions are considered not material, the main being the achievement of power and its perpetuation.
2	Etika dan Moralitas Politik Anggota Dewan Nur Rohim Yunus (2014)	Dilemma of ethical and moral	The negative behaviour of politicians, does not heed ethics and moral.
3	The Indian Machiavelli: Pragmatisme versus Morality, and The reception of The Arthashastra in India 1905-2014 Maria Misra (2016)	Morality , politician behaviour, pragmatism Arthashastra	Shifting behaviour of politicians from the political morality of Gandhi and Nehru to the Machiavelli pragmatism.
4	On Political Morality and the Conditions for Warranted Self-Respect. Matthew H. Kramer (2017)	Morality and Human Rights	Recommending the process of death sentence should still heed morality, do not use torture.
5	Political Morality and the Problem of Dirty Hands: A Philosophical Critique and Re-interpretation , Demetris Tillyris (2013)	Dirty hands action, paradox of moral	Dirty hands involve conflicting two ways of life which is not appropriate. There are paradoxical character politicians.
6	Moral Conflict, Tragedy and Political Action in Isaiah Berlin's Political Thought, Oskar Daniel Drugge (2013)	Moral conflict, politic implication.	How we understand the moral conflict affects how we respond to challenges, dilemmas, and constantly changing political paradoxes.
7	The Inner Connection Between Politics and Morality: Historical and Analytical Explorations, Marios Filis (2012).	Dichotomy of morality and politic	Morality and politics should always be in tandem because they are closely intertwined.
8	'Learning How Not to Be Good': Machiavelli and the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis, Demetris Tillyris (2015)	General morality, politics morality	The dirty hands standard thesis failed to capture the complexity and fragmentation of moral's jagad so nothing more than a veiled version.
9.	Moral Distress as a Symptom of Dirty Hands. Daniel W. Tigard (2018).	Public policy, scenario dirty hands	It is important to take precautions of individual/personal facing pressure and dirty hands scenario.
10	Obstruction of Justice in The Effort to eradicate corruption Indonesia, Saldi Isra et al(2017)	Corruption case	Difficulty in preventing and resolving corruption cases due to ruler barriers.

### ***Minimalist democracy and Piecemeal Social Engineering Karl Popper***

The view of Popper about democracy is simple, though not simple, and minimalist, by rejecting the question of "who should reign" as a fundamental question of political theory, Popper asked a new question: "How can we Regulate political institutions so that bad or incompetent rulers can be prevented from doing too much damage? ". Democracy is the best type of political system because it goes a long way towards solving problems by providing nonviolent, instituted and orderly ways to get rid of bad rulers. For Popper, the value of democracy does not lie in the fact that the people are sovereign. Conversely, Popper defends democracy especially with pragmatic or empirical reasons, not on the view of the "esencyalis" that democracy by definition is a rule by the people or on the view that there is something intrinsically valuable about Democratic participation. With this step, Popper was able to avoid a number of traditional questions of democratic theory. Popper poured out a little thought against the design of democratic institutions that allowed people to get rid of their leader or prevent them from doing too much damage. But he emphasized the importance of instituting checks and balances into the political system. According to him, democracy must seek the "institutional control of the rulers by balancing their strengths against other forces" (Ibid.) that is, the government must be designed in such a way that "ambitions must be made to counteract ambitions. "Popper also argues that the two-party systems, such as those found in the United States and the UK, are superior to proportional representation systems; He reasoned that in the system of two parties, voters more easily set a failure and in turn fosters self-criticism in the defeated party: "Under such a system... Party from time to time forced to learn from their mistakes ". Governments in the two-party system are more reflective of the trials found in science, leading to better public policy. Instead, Popper argues that a proportional representation system usually generates many parties and coalition governments where no single party has control over the government. This complicate voters to set responsibility for public policy and thus the elections became less meaningful and the government was less responsive. Popper's Democratic theory does not depend on a knowledgeable and thoughtful public. It doesn't even require the public, despite the lack of information, keep using some sort of collective wisdom. In fact, Popper explicitly rejects Vox-populi Vox dei as "Myth of the Classics ".

However, Popper expressed hope that the public opinion and institutions that affect it such as universities, press, political parties, cinemas, television, and so on can be more rational partners by embracing the scientific traditions Critical, willingness to convey one's ideas to public criticism and the habit of listening to other people's perspectives.

### ***Piecemeal Social Engineering***

The primary role of citizens in the democracy of Popper is small but important to get rid of bad leaders. Then how are public policies forged and implemented? Who's forging it? What is the purpose? Here Popper introduces the concept of piecemeal social engineering "Social engineering little by little," which he offers as a superior approach to utopian engineering. Piecemeal social engineering should be "small-scale," says Popper, which means that social reform should focus on changing one institution at a time and seek to overcome concrete social issues (e.g. poverty, violence, unemployment, Environmental degradation, with the creation of new social institutions or redesigning existing ones. These new or reconfigured institutions are then tested through implementation and modified according to and continually remembering the effects. Thus, institutions may experience gradual increase

and social illness gradually decreases. Popper compares the techniques of piecemeal social engineering with physical techniques. Thus, like its defence in elections in a democracy, the argument of Popper for social engineering piecemeal social engineering rests on its compatibility with the method of try and error of natural sciences: a theory proposed and tested, mistakes in theory were detected and eliminated, and a better new theory emerged, to start the cycle. Through piecemeal social engineering, the process of social progress is thus aligned with scientific advances. Indeed, Popper says that piecemeal social engineering is the only public policy approach that can be truly scientific: "This will mean the introduction of scientific methods into politics, because the entire secret of the scientific method is readiness To learn from the error "(Open Society).

## V. DISCUSSION

Morality is what someone cares about, how strong he cared about it, how he thought about his relationship with others, and what he thought was right and wrong. Morality causes one to feel guilty about doing something that he considers to be wrong and feels empathy if he cannot do something that he considers to be true. Morality and evil deeds are closely related to each other. A person's tendency to do evil is composed of the cognitive and emotional characteristics of a person who deviated their morality. Essentially morality is the result of internal norms and social bonds that form one's evaluative function of the events of his life. The complex moral properties make it vulnerable to conflicting analyses, undisputed positions and problems that remain unresolved. As a social system, a person's morality cannot be built individually. It was built in a society. Others who judge whether something is moral or not. When a person looks morally superior to himself, it will be possible that the person is doing evil. Furthermore, ethics as a tradition in philosophy, is essentially an implicit social contract in human life that determines the moral decision. Ethics is formulated by certain individuals in a society that is deemed wise and knowledgeable in maintaining the harmony of human social life.

Morality is indispensable to humans because it is a mechanism that allows people to survive more than just using their instinctive like animals or just a machine that is based on reason. But because the social life of each human group differs, the morality of each human group can also vary. Of course, there are some aspects that are always the same on the moral Life of society. These universal aspects relate to issues such as life and death which is the most essential survival situation. Killing people for no reason is rejected in any moral doctrine, as well as the various forms of atrocities that lead to death.

The relationship between politics and morality will always pose a existential issue to philosophy, and that those problems will only have temporal and contextual solutions. This happens for two reasons: first, the complexity and plurality of human society; and secondly, its combination with a limited capacity of human species to achieve moral and intellectual perfection. It is an epistemological and ontological argument that encourages a person not only for specific conception of the essence of morality, but also for specific understanding of the purpose and character of the political and importance of moral agents, in politics. The modern idea that moral theory has evolved far enough so that it can call it complete means that there should be no tension between politics and morality, because there is no real moral conflict in general.

Power is central to politics, because the country can be understood as a power organization, hence power is inherent in the nature and essence of the country. Among the concepts of political science are widely discussed and in question is a matter of power. No more the concept and shape of that power, but what that power is and how to accomplish it. Racing to gain power is a person's right or not a bad thing (Miriam Budiardjo, 2017). But in the concept of power is not important, because the most important thing is what and how to achieve that power. Therefore, what is needed is political ethics and moral. A power obtained in cunning ways and for the purpose of self-interest and group, is precisely abusive to political ethics and moral.

Most theories about power belong to two major categories of organic and mechanistic. Plato's works, Aristotle and Burke are a typical representation of the first type, while the works of theorists of social contracts represent the second type. Of the two types of categories The organic theory applies to most history of Western thought. According to this view, Power is an ethical institution with a moral purpose. He was a society, a group of people who were put together in cooperative efforts to achieve a common goal. Its members interact with one another with a general perception of their direction and purpose despite disagreement about the means to achieve it often raises group conflicts. The organic theory is the view that the political unity of the body is taken from predisposition in the human being that encourages it to associate with others. As rational beings, people realize that it is the power that makes life possible and productive. The moral or social unity succeeds from their collective will to relate together and to enable itself as a member of the community (Henry J., Schmand, 2015). Power is the ability of a person or group to influence the behavior of another person or group according to the wishes of the perpetrator (Miriam Budiardjo, 2017). The study of power and its influence is very important to understand how the organization conducts its activities. It is possible to involve power in every interaction and social connection to the Organization. People tend to influence other individuals and organizations in any action or behavior by doing social influence and actions (Baron, H., 1961). Power is a capacity that one has to influence the way people think and behave according to what he wants. The power can be obtained from various sources that are distinguished into formal power and personal power. Power is synonymous with politics. Politics itself is interpreted as an effort to participate in managing and controlling community affairs. Misuse of power to the political world often undertaken by political actors raises the view that the primary purpose of participating in politics is merely to gain power. In fact, in fact, the use of power in politics aims to regulate the interests of all those who are in the organization, not for personal or group interest.

## **VI. CONCLUSION**

Moral and political relations met with a clash of values, especially in democratic societies. Deadlock on the choice of moral values encourages politicians to perform dirty hands, including corruption. The permissiveness of the dirty hands action caused the establishment of political order and stability of political institutions and in the end began to ruin the condition of its own existence, because corruption contributed to growth and strengthening Institutions that transcend individual interests, and such corruption seems to be one of the important distribution means of political life toward the singular and authoritarian forces hostile to public criticism. An understanding of morality and politics enriches perspective in approaching political reality. The step of reducing the dirty hands is

expected to provide theoretical contributions for the realization of social and political changes in the country for the improvement of national and state-clean government and good governance.

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