THE PROBLEMS OF JÜRGEN HABERMAS's DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY THEORY

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ABSTRACT

J*ü*rgen Habermas a German philosopher who adopts of Karl Marx's thought in the social order. However, Habermas does not immediately accept of the raw Marx's thought. Habermas with rationalism as the epistemology. The Critical Theory criticize the sciences positive as the science of economics, sociology, technology, psychology; and also philosophy. The sciences is not questioned the direction of the process of the community itself. In a critique of the ideology of Habermas through the role of basic ethics and adopt the Immanuel Kant's thought. Habermas to a blurb about dialectical theory of hermeneutic action through *Aufhebung* (hermeneutics of philosophy and psychoanalysis). Habermas was critique to postmodernism that universal as hegemony and discriminative to getting a plural morality Habermas's critical theory is a kind of epistemology that seeks to mate between objectivity and subjectivity, between scientists and philosophers, between the ontentic and the articulate. Critical theory also tries to expose the traditional theory, because it positions the object as untouchable, as it is. So difficult to capture its meaning by humans. This makes the object seem very sacred and must be received unanimously. The democracy of Habermas is deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy aims to find a middle ground between Western liberalism and Asian and Islamic communitism. This assumption is established in a democratic form in the form of an intensive political system and public sphere.

Keywords*: Habermas, Critical Theory, Deliberative Democracy*

A. INTRODUCTION

Habermas a philosopher who adopts of Karl Marx's thought in the social order. However, Habermas does not immediately accept the raw of Marx thought. Habermas with rationalism as the epistemology. This rationalism framework formed the basis of findings. These findings are rooted in capitalism that flourished in the world after winning the second World War allies organised by NATO. Thus, Habermas collect German intellectuals in Germany along with The Frankfurt School. Adorno, M. Horkheimer, W. Benjamin, P. Lazarsfeld, and Herbert Marcuse from the Frankfurt Institute For Social Research. His research was named critical research that displays the communication theory of criticism.

The object of study is the role of the mass media in modern life with a philosophy of criticism in the form of criticism others of Karl Marx. Not only the economic determinism that he was attacking, but also the empirical positivism.

The Institute built together better known familiarly as the Frankfurt School (Barna, Andrew, 2000: http://www/baylor.edu/egi-bin/contact_info).

The Frankfurt School is a community of German thinkers who considers that had the idea distortion by Marx and Engels thoughts, Lenin-Marxis brought on by the failure of the revolutionary workers in Western Europe after World War I and the rise of Nazism in the country, economy, technology, and Germany cultures. For that reason, they are trying to figure out which part of the Marx thoughts to help to clarify the Marx conditions himself will never see. Marx at first thought a good benchmark social thinking of the currents. But there also some who argue that the flow of Frankfurt School is to examine left Hegelian thoughts around 1840.

Habermas attempted arouses of Karl Marx thoughts in a new understanding, or more familiar with Neo-Marxist. Neo-Marxist born due to destruction by liberal thinking which has been hegemony. Habermas then formulated of Marx's thought through social systems of public sphere in democracy era.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW
a. The Biography of Jürgen Habermas

Jürgen Habermas is a philosopher who was born on 18 June 1929 in Düsseldorf, the Rhine province, Germany. Since young, Habermas is being an activist or youth in the shadow of Nazi. Habermas young, starting to like domain social political. Habermas into scene intellectual began in the 1949 to critics to Martin Heidegger's thought philosophy . He learned philosophy at University of Göttingen, Zurich 1950 and University of Bonn in 1951. In 1956 he attend the study philosophy and sociology at Institute For Social Research, under two philosophers who named Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (The Eroupean Graduate School, 2001 ,http://www.egs.edu/library/juergenhabermas/biography/).

In the 1971, Habermas became a lecturer at the Max Plank Institute in Stanberg until 1981. He got the title of Professor Emeritus in Philosophy at the University of Frankfurt his thoughts began to developt as a student. When young he was daring to criticize the thinking of a philosopher named Martin Heidegger about metaphysics in the magazine *Der Spiegel* with the title *Die Zeit* (the demise of time). Since, young he has became as young academician (Habermas, 1998:1). Habermas's books there are:

1. *Legitimations Probleme im Spatkapitalismus* (The Problem Legitimation on the Late of Capitalism 1973)
2. *Kultur und Kritik* (Culture and Critique, 1973)
3. *Zur Rekonstruktion des Historischen Materialismus* (The Reconstruction of Histories Materialism, 1976)
4. *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns* (Theory of Communcative Action, 1981).

The book became a magnum opus or masterpis delivers Habermas became a philosopher is *Theories Des Kommunikativen Handelns* (Theory of Communicative Action,1981). This work became a phenomenal due in this paper the strength ratio of indulgence in the community to create a democratic state.

b. The Flow Of Philosophy And An Influential Figures

Before we walked in Habermas thoughts, first we look at for a moment existence the theory critical in the constellation of contemporary philosophy thought. As a theory who is critical theory developed from Horkheimer and Ardono wish to create awareness critical: the critical theory in substance want to be *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment). *Aufklärung* that means want to make roseate, want to reveal all from close the fact of our consciousness. Critical theory in this relationship talk about. "*Verblendungszusammenhang* (Delusion) a kind of a sheath thoroughgoing blinding us against actual fact, that need to be off-bounds .There appear term 'totality'. In an industrial society forward contradictions, frustations, repressions no longer look. All facets the lives of the community camouflage created the impression that it was good, all the needs can slaked, all efficient, productive, smoothly, beneficial. The impression specious it must be open (Suseno, 1992: 166)

The Critical Theory criticize the sciences positive as the science of economics, sociology, technology, psychology; and also philosophy. The sciences is not questioned the direction of the process of the community itself. They not see that the process is actually a dehumanizings and denaturalization. So the sciences that affirmative in nature: of the system supported because instead repaired. And even though the sciences apparently rational that is rationality target or *Zweckrationaliät* do not questioned target but only rationalized the way to target that, but in reality the sciences that irrational for supporting a system an irrational. The irrational system make human unhappy and do not able to have made a social correct, earnest humane (Suseno , 1992: 166).

But in an effort to *Aufklärung* (Enlightment), The Critical Theory loss of confidence. Ardono and Horkheimer realized that the system is an irrational as a result rationalize of human being. Critical theory is faced with a dilemma: *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) so rational explanation, with own a myth. The release of natural humanism in the work, for example, as a matter of course and made a slaving more thorough. In a negation or refusal for man and expressed disbelief at the inharmonious from which there is no, he always already bound to have been refused a understanding the key to Hegel), so in an attempt to break free from the old, people have always just reproducing the old (Suseno, 1992: 166-167). In line with the optimistic progressive notion of the Enlightenment, humanist philosophy adopts the concept of the universe provided by modern science. As a result, the ever-improving human reason inevitably becomes the exclusive reference for human preference (Küçükalp, 2017: 11).

Hence Adorno and Horkheimer with firmly to refuse all activism revolutionary. They certain that every revolution, any effort that uses violent effort, only will produce slavery worse. A revolution, according to them, only will turn repression the first more nefarious. Thus the theory critical has actually become a anti-praxist. A way which still open only resignation, denunciation of consciousness that rejected annexed by the system (the great refusal of Marcuse), the belief that ideals utopian able to maintain freedom ever give birth to a new society.

To know Habermas's thought need to observe the epistemology. Critical theory over the thought flow ratio. Probably a lot of questions about 'rasio in

abstract-reflection 'reflection on society? What is a teorized on the basis of a perspective that is impartial and neutral about society possible? Or existing teorized this is just a surface from a real thinking is biased and is intended only for the satisfaction of yourself? The theory critical been divided into three aspects. First, which differ in applying their goals. Both , the critical theory in their structure that logical or scientific theory is objective cognitive. Third, the critical theory and scientific theory different in kind that the evidence will be relevant to determine whether can or unacceptable they cognitive. If abstracted easier, the critical theory to scrutinize of positivism and rehabilitating or reflect as a validity category of knowledge, who based on of emancipation to enlighten community (Habermas 1999:1).

The condition that Habermas emphasizes, when hegemony of capitalism that flourished in the 21th century make cooptation to Marxism. The marxian trying to look at the root of the problem is. Marxism has been fail mapped by Louis Althusser with a skeleton as follows (Crossley, Nick, 2005: 1);

Ideology   Political   Superstructure

Economic Base
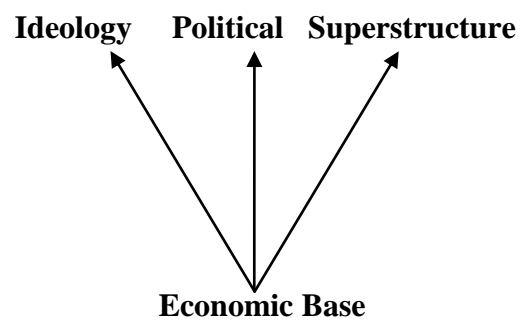
Marxism was failed because the economic order of capitalism is driven by economics. Economic factors that are held by the bourgeoisie turned out to control the entire system-the system of the Union. State ideology, politics, and community systems that can be correlated with either form of bourgeois market interests to rake in the most profits. Ideology will be lost along with the pragmatism offered by capitalism.

Habermas was build the basic for critical theory and psychoanalysis as the center of idea. In 1968 he was wrote *Wissenchaft und Technik alas Ideologie* (Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science, and Politics, 1971) which contains criticism upon the movements of students wings of fascist. Habermas has judge students failed engaged in a struggle for reflection and hide in theory. The merger there are many who feel between and praksis just in theory course (Habermas, 1982: 251). Habermas trying to establish a certain species partisapatoris government. Through a discussion rational and agreements have also a rational basis.

In 1970 Habermas has wrote *Zur Logik der Sozialiwissenschaften* (On the Logic of the Social Sciences, 1988) Which is a survey over philosophy of social science, by taking Gadamer's hermeneutic approach, by giving authority too large on tradition and Luhmann's system theory which treats of the social action as

mechanical work various systems follow demands the imperative system to maintain yourself (read, autopoises) as a critical debate. Through a book Legitimation Crisis (1975). Habermas was critiqued to Marxian critical theory crisis on social reality is called a 'new capitalism' (Habermas, 1973: 3). By this book Habermas change the marxian's thoughts about the perrenial interests as general interest. A concept for free debate from communication who was distorted. Therefore, he was developt the concept to discourse of ethics.

C. METHOD

In the study of Jurgen Habermas, the research technique used is library research. This is to facilitate finding data about the life of Jurgen Habermas and taking various views of people on the thoughts of Jurgen Habermas. The use of this technique can simultaneously obtain the thesis and anti-thesis that surrounds the thought of Jurgen Habermas, as well as on criticism in the flow of his philosophical thought.

D. EXPLANATION
a. The Critical Theory

The work of Habermas most important as the cutting edge of modernity is Philosophical Discours of Modernity: Twelve Lecture (1987). The book describes studies of Hegel, Nietzsche, Horkheimer, Adorno, Heidegger, Derrida, and Foucault in the context of maintaining a Enlightment Project s exercised by showing that modernity can be accepted with one side. The ratio of admitted that remain are inevitable in the situation in history, civilization, body and language. On the other hand accept the idea that the universal validity of the search. However has been providing basic criticism that transcends our present view of truth, goodness, and aesthetics.

In a critique of the ideology of Habermas through the role of basic ethics and adopt the thinking of Immanuel Kant. The blade of this analysis were developed in his work entitled Justification and Application (1993) and Past As Future (1994). Through Justification and Application, Habermas mean about to continues his studies he has done through Moral Conciousness and Communcative Action (1983) by placing as a background discussion of details of the objections to the top the concepts of morality that universality which can be traced back to Aristotle, Hegel, and contemporary ethical context, who he has been formulated is first. Habermas meant to defence a virtue of justice (in term of deontology), goodness and for do not make a ethics alienation. In this term, Habermas took Ethics Discourse as a 'Ethics Discourse of Morality' (Habermas,1993: 7).

Habermas's thesis Ethics Discourse of Morality to be 'Theory of Communcative Action' in 1992. There are two element to strengthen his thesis; law and public policy who has been approve legitimation in constitutional democracy. The explanations are;
1. Stability and eficiency needs in civil
2. Ideal justices, equality in economy

Through this work many think that Habermas left its commitment to ideology capitalism and also left commitment originally to democratization of institutions and distribute power away from administrative bureaucracy. Regardless of the critical theory, Habermas still make room on sumber-sumber democratic legitimacy outside the context of official legislation and bureaucracy , the of so called 'public sphere'.

Habermas was critique to postmodernism that universal as hegemony and discriminative to getting a plural morality. According to Habermas thats postmodernism did not look moral in universality (Habermas, 1998: 1). The point of view Habermas is Inclusion of the Other. Is a bond communities open to all, good for foreigners and also to the community and also open to people who want to considered foreign (Habermas, 1998: 79).

b. Toward A Theory Communicative Competence

Habermas to a blurb about dialectical theory of hermeneutic action through *Aufhebung* (hermeneutics philosophy and psychoanalysis). Before such movement can be made, the latter should be exempted in advance from the misconception of science in order to be used as a general interpretation of the processes of formation which of self-occupies the status of meta-theory, just as empirical theory and the theory of hermeneutik generally; but the associated philosophy hermeneutik, Gadamer's challenges still remain to be answered, which can then be formulated with the following rhetorical question Have criticism ideological in in itself ideological.

First we should discuss the question of Gadamer is, and then shows how to respond to it. Habermas with unload hermeneutik claims over universality in which objections to social criticism. In answering the objections against the fallacy of Gadamer's criticism kamum respond to claims of universalist, and when it realized that the conditions may now be more suitable than the criticism claim universalist as hermeneutic (Habermas,1971: 159). So Habermas enter into claims universality to conduct a meta-theory debate, although the outcome would be dependent on critical hermeneutic legitimacy. At the same time, hermeneutic awareness own must remain imperfect as long as he has not reflect on the limits of hermeneutic understanding (Habermas, 1971: 133).

Hermeneutic claims over universality has proven to be not could be maintained if the possibility to break through the context of colloquially open. About the three what he told Habermas as a candidate largest namely epistemology genetic, linguistic generative and communication that distorted systematically. Habermas select more focus is the third. Far from the fact that he was very famous in this area, psychoanalysis as apocalypse most clear about structure communication that actually also provides a step to a theory about ordinary language.

Hermeneutics approach should discuss with the conversation a perceivable principle of to exclude pathological disturbances. However, Habermas basing his thoughts to the existence of the pattern communication which seems normal but indeed systematically distorted, a pathological ignorance. This is a case of communication pseudo, where the communicator has unconsciousness thats a

disturbance in their communication. just an outsider who realize that they have become misunderstood each other (Habermas, 1971: 134).

After converted into social landscape, this view excite thought as the first: ideology in the context of capitalist system, providing a concept of existence social illusive characterized, in actual fact, by predominance one part upon the other. Both, by acting under the influence of consciousness erroneously, social classes conquered made their interests by the continuation of a social system not just hide contradictions behind the explanations of pseudo-science culture ideal (Freud) . Third, the passive acepptance of the false reality which felt; coexistence harmony or needs and the requirements of the social particular development or a withdrawal from public affairs, can be translated easily as indications for an agreement fundamentals or status quo.

Psychoanalysis provide to Habermas theoretical model which allows we transcendentation of communicative in meta-hermeneutics, as inter-hermeneutics. He forms of the encroaching communication privated through, scenic understanding. Here, desymbolitation sources need to reserved. Through reconstruction over situations the original confllict. Habermas said emansipatorist practise model more applies to the relationship between the communist party with the mass than in relationship social classes antagonistic. Theory psychoanalysis and critical ideology of Marx reflection process can be used to spend in order to break hindrances communication. They can also be used to deduce explanation hypotesis, without having or take an opportunity to open communication with what is wanted people and interpretation of how their reflection process supported by (Habermas, 1967, 1971: 36).

In any case, critical emancipatory use does not necessarily eliminate a direct dialogue with the other person: "This is a situation in which it attempts to achieve radical reformism which attempts not only to preach to the one who has changed his position but also to change the standpoint of those who more a mere promise than a revolutionary struggle (Habermas 1967, 1971: 37). Habermas's interpretation of psychoanalysis as one component to the theory of communicative prowess was used to bring together Gadamer and Freud: it enabled him to cultivate the hermeneutical claim to universality by identifying psychological conditions, and ultimately the theoretical practices of communicative skills-these can only be corrected can not be explained by hermeneutic reflection. At the same time, this condition urges Habermas to separate Freud's scientific understanding of his metapsychology before introducing the latter as part of a meta-hermeneutic.

Meta-hermeneutics Habermas aims to take a theory of communicative ability. Since The Hermeneutic Claim to Universality has been published, a number of other writings have been published as well, informing us of the progress of Habermas's research. A substantially oriented correlation to Habermas's meta-theoretical thought that follows the psychoanalytic model as a distorted criticism of individual self-understanding illustrates a theoretical framework that combines general knowledge of personal development with individual life-specific histories. Under ideological shocks, social groups are prevented from realizing and pursuing their interests. The effectiveness of these interpretive systems depends on the removal of communication barriers that

obstruct communicative processes directed toward the formulation of socially relevant socio-political goals and directives. These obstacles can be described as follows;

> Needs to be explained by a theoretical framework of systemically distorted communication. If it can be maximally developed in relation to a universal pargamatika and, combined with the basic assumptions of historically formulated materialism, a systematic understanding of cultural traditions becomes possible. It can happen that a theory of social evolution leads us to proven assumptions related to the logic of the emergence of moral and cosmological systems, also related to cultural practices (Habermas 1967, 1971: 19).

In ordinary language areas, the theoretical work undertaken here is expected to make it impossible to "embrace the principle of plausible conversation, such as the regulation required by every actual conversation, however distorted, from the logic of everyday language" (Habermas 1971: 155).

The debate with Gadamer gives Habermas the task of establishing a principle that can help distinguish true consensus from wrong. This principle can be made after explaining the meaning of "discourse". A discourse differs from interaction because in it norms and opinions are disputed, while in communicative action it is "taken for granted". Only discursively the validity of naively accepted norms can be ascertained by consensus. Successful interactions stem from the presumption that the actors follow the norms voluntarily, and that these norms in their eyes seem to be true. It is therefore assumed here that actors are assured that the norms underlying their actions can justify at any time, and in any discourse.

As in an interaction, in the discourse there is the presumption of some "counter-factual" elements. In the theory of the consensus of truth, Habermas comes to the view that the concept of truth does not provide any criterion for distinguishing the right consensus from the false because truth itself can only be achieved by consensus in a discusus. In that discourse, we also presuppose that any consensus that arrives at the framework of a discourse can be regarded as true consensus.

The concept of truth as this consensus ultimately turns into a prejudice-or rather anticipates- "ideal speech situations" characterized by over-suppression of stress, by being free discussion and domination. This situation stimulates the emergence of a climate of debate demanding formulations of the true interests of principals, and the emergence and acceptance of the best arguments.

The preconditions of a successful interaction-such as clarity and truth to what the careful spokesman said at the right time-are transformed into discourse: the perpetrator may not be deceiving themselves or others about their intensities, thus eliminating the possibility the occurrence of distortion over the communicative process. Just as intensioanalitas allegedly already existed in the interaction, the ideal conversational situation limits the counter-factual conditions that can lead to the right.

Here, in the common existence of truth and conditions favorable to its emergence, ie free-from-coercion, Habermas moves empathetically from the

ontologization of language and philosophical hermeneutic traditions. Here's what he said;

> "The idea of truth, contrasted with the correct consensus idea, implies a true idea of existence-or, to put it, including the idea of *Mündigkeit* (responsibility). Only formal anticipation of idealized dialogue, as an idealized form of life, ensures an ultimate and counter-factual argument that has united us and allows us to criticize any factual deal if it is wrong "(Habermas 1971: 155).

Subjective understanding of meaning can be integrated into a critical interpretation of distorted communication with a price: the contemplative self-sufficiency must first be met can demand a free society in which the roots of distortion are gradually phased out; an "insight derived from a radical understanding is always political" (Habermas 1971: 158).

c. Hermeneutics As a Critical Theory

Hermeneutics, for Habermas, is the ability to master the "natural language", that is, the art of understanding the meaning that can be communicated in a linguistic way, and making it understandable when communication distortions occur. Hermeneutic reflection contains two meanings, first to understand something and to understand yourself. Second, convince and influence others.

The hermeneutic experience requires a two-moment relationship, inter-subjectivity of day-to-day communication that is both infinite and limited. Unlimited because communication can always be expanded, limited because the meaning is not fully accepted. Because of that, it makes common language and also differences in class, civilization and age. Second, the hermeneutic experience leads to an awareness of the subject's position of the speaker in the face of his language. For Habermas, the "natural language" system is not closed, as the structuralists understand it, but it is open. Consequently, every language rule allows to be commented upon and changed, and meta-communication makes language an object. Therefore, every natural language has a metalanguage. Thus, Meta-language becomes the basis for the moment of reflection. As the use of metaphor in language.

Natural language, in addition to having an open nature, also besifat informal. Therefore, the subject of the speaker can not be confronted with the language, in the sense of a closed system. Since humans live in a language system, hermeneutic understanding can not be separated from prejudice or pre-interpretation. This prejudice can be categorized and proved itself, in discourse subject relationships with every effort of analysis, with a hermeneutic awareness. However, the pre-emption does not undermine the objectivity of the language against the subject of the speaker, instead increasing knowledge and guiding it into the next hermeneutic stage. This is what Gadamer calls "awareness of effective-history is unavoidably more being than consciousness" (Bleicher 1987: 181-183).

As the art of convincing and influencing, reflection provides philosophical hermeneutics that has the characteristic of not only the exchange of information through the medium of everyday language, but also allows instrumental action to be formed and changed. Rational decisions can only be achieved on the basis of

consensus that yields convincing decisions. Everything is cognitively and expressively derived from everyday language. Habermas developed the concept of language, as understood by Wittgenstein language games at the same time as life forms, as a collection of symbols. But interpreting the linguistic symbols with action and expression.

For communication competence, reflexivity and objectivity are the fundamental character of language, where creativity and language integration in the life of praxis. Therefore, the concept of langue has been transformed into parole. Habermas also distinguishes between self-reflection and rational reconstruction. Through self-reflection, subjects become aware of prejudice that was not previously realized. Thus hermeneutical awareness is the result of self-reflection. Here habermas begins to use psychoanalysis as a prejudice analysis blade in the human ratio. In contrast, the rational reconstruction of the rules of the language system is done with the aim of explaining linguistic competence.

With regard to philosophical hermeneutics, the German philosopher, in the end, attempted to translate the scientific language into the language of the world of social life. Thus, philosophical hermeneutics attempts to fulfill its claim as universal. With regard to hermeneutical consciousness, it can open the way to the reintegration of science in the world of human life. But the claim of the universality of hermeneutics meets its limits in linguistic systems of science and rational choice theories.

Habermas's critical question relating to the claim of universality is whether there is an understanding of the meaning of the symbolic structure of everyday language that is not bound by the hermeneutical precursor in the context of the process of understanding, an understanding in natural language as metalanguage? For Habermas, the answer is with psychoanalysis or ideological criticism in which the collective phenomenon is central to its criticism. Since the objectivation of everyday language can not be accepted as a subject expression, it can be said to be a systemically distorted communication (Bleicher 1987: 181-183). Distorted communication usually seems normal in interaction, when it is a kind of social pathology, false consciousness, or psedo-communication driven by a system of misunderstandings leading to false consensus.

E. CONCLUSION

Habermas's critical theory is a kind of epistemology that seeks to mate between objectivity and subjectivity, between scientists and philosophers, between the ontentic and the articulate. Critical theory also tries to expose the traditional theory, because it positions the object as untouchable, as it is. So difficult to capture its meaning by humans. This makes the object seem very sacred and must be received unanimously.

The principle of critical theory, against objectivism is that objectivism itself can not be separated from the role of human interpretation as a subject. Then objectivism is nihilism and absurd. However the subject and interpretation can not be separated from the law of history. So for Habermas between the concept of explanation and understanding must always communicated to reach an object meaning.

What Habermas has extracted in his thinking is understood through the axioma in communicative action. This communicative action refers to the form of a state system based on democracy. The democracy of Habermas is deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy aims to find a middle ground between Western liberalism and Asian and Islamic communitism. This assumption is established in a democratic form in the form of an intensive political system and public sphare. Only if the political system undergoes a critical communication blockade of criticism is the criticism of the rationality of the use of reason, then reason still can not be abandoned. Postmodernism is perceived as defensive stance, surrendering defeat to complexity and not trying to reconstruct.

In this era of globalization as society becomes more complex, the classical model of the state can no longer be maintained. The contemporary state is a subsystem from among other subsystems that stand aligned, even often subsidized to international institutions. Politics must be interpreted differently, ie as a public deliberation.

In this great flow of democracy opens the width of capitalism. So it is appropriate that Habermas issues a thesis that the country's constitutional system is based on deliberatives. Habermas's goal is not to be free fight liberalism (free fight over liberalism). Governance has the highest authority in controlling all public policies. On the other hand, the people have the right to give their aspirations in the public space. Thus Habermas pointed out, giving an egalitarian.

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