

A dupla perspectiva instrumental-normativa do conceito do político de Jürgen Habermas

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Após o lançamento de sua *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*, Jürgen Habermas passou a receber dois tipos de críticas que decorriam de duas perspectivas diferentes sobre teoria política. Considerando seu modelo complexo de sociedade em dois níveis – sistema e mundo da vida – há quem diga que sua teoria tende a ser por vezes mais funcionalista do que normativista, e vice-versa¹. Decorre disto que não apenas empiricamente tal distinção analítica seria problemática, mas também analiticamente os desdobramentos conceituais seriam uma espécie de “fantasmas” que Habermas estaria condenado a enfrentar no interior de sua teoria.

Porque as críticas percorrem vários passos, não vamos tratar delas propriamente, pois isso só poderia ser feito em diversos trabalhos que visassem reconstruí-las sistematicamente. Pretendemos aludi-las indiretamente tendo em vista esclarecer a concepção habermasiana do político, ou melhor, tentando entender como Habermas dá conta de um “sistema político” sem tomar partido por teorias unilaterais. Defendemos que não se trata apenas de resolver problemas internos de sua teoria, mas sim de expor uma concepção do político que coloque em jogo uma versão da distinção entre administração e política no sentido estrito.

Considerando o sistema político segundo a posição ocupada pelo Estado de bem-estar social (I) e a auto-determinação dos cidadãos segundo uma prática cooperativa centrada na formação política da vontade (II), Habermas pode apresentar sua dupla perspectiva instrumental-normativa do conceito do político (III).

I

Um dos traços weberianos fundamentais na obra de Habermas diz respeito à racionalização social vista como especificação da economia capitalista, tendo como núcleo organizador a empresa capitalista, e o Estado moderno, cujo núcleo organizador é o aparelho do Estado. Nosso foco está direcionado ao aparato administrativo que está sob a competência do Estado e a exigência de organização que lhe é atribuída, indicando seu lugar na gênese da sociedade capitalista. Como tarefa nuclear, o Estado passa a or-

When she reads the *Épître* in all its glory, she turns her back to the page, and she reads the inscription on the back of the book, a dedication to her father, the Duke of Orléans, which, she thinks, has to be her father's. She imagines that the Duke of Orléans has written this and she has been able to get it. She reads the inscription and she reads the inscription and she reads the inscription. She reads the inscription and she reads the inscription and she reads the inscription. She reads the inscription and she reads the inscription and she reads the inscription. She reads the inscription and she reads the inscription and she reads the inscription. She reads the inscription and she reads the inscription and she reads the inscription.

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THE END OF THE WORLD AS WE KNOW IT

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The end of the world as we know it is a very common phrase. It is used to describe the end of a civilization, a religion, or a way of life. It is a phrase that has been used for centuries and it is still used today. The end of the world as we know it is a phrase that has been used for centuries and it is still used today. The end of the world as we know it is a phrase that has been used for centuries and it is still used today. The end of the world as we know it is a phrase that has been used for centuries and it is still used today.

the 1970s, the health care system was reorganized, and the health insurance system was reformed. The reform was carried out as follows:

In 1971, the government established a health insurance system for all citizens. This was a major step toward universal health coverage. The system was based on a social insurance principle, where contributions were made by employers and employees. The government also established a health care system for all citizens, which was financed by the state. This system provided free health care for all citizens, including those who were not covered by the health insurance system. The government also established a health care system for the elderly, which was financed by the state. This system provided free health care for all elderly citizens, including those who were not covered by the health insurance system.

The health care system was reorganized in 1971, and the health insurance system was reformed in 1972. The reform was carried out as follows:

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minando-se pelo poder político e pelo direito. No entanto, as associações não são suficientemente complexas para orientarem todos os problemas que estão em jogo no interior do processo de auto-legislação, assim como para realizar amplamente as tarefas que possuem necessidades imediatas a serem sanadas em diversos níveis.

O importante é que essa idéia requer o entrelaçamento da constituição do direito e do poder político, que passam a ser incorporados como dois códigos – o direito, normativo; o poder, instrumental – no desenvolvimento do Estado de bem-estar social. Este atua com um *medium* jurídico-administrativo que possui um alcance observável. Contudo, como medida de eficácia, exacerbou-se a juridificação e a burocratização, fazendo com que a implementação dos programas do Estado social não se realizasse através de um *medium* passivo. Contra uma atribuição excessivamente funcionalista de auto-organização¹³, é preciso resgatar a prática cooperativa centrada na formação política consciente da vontade¹⁴. Tal prática é fundamental, dada as condições da existência da democracia nas sociedades complexas, pois a democratização se confronta com imperativos sistêmicos de um sistema administrativo e econômico.

“De fato, o Estado intervencionista transformou-se de tal modo num subsistema centrado em si mesmo, regulado pelo poder, e atraiu de tal modo os processos de legitimação para o seu ambiente, que se recomenda modificar a própria idéia normativa de uma auto-organização da sociedade. Eu sugiro introduzir uma distinção no próprio conceito do político, seguindo uma dupla perspectiva instrumental-normativa [...] Podemos fazer uma distinção entre o poder *produzido comunicativamente* e o poder *empregado administrativamente*. Assim, na esfera pública política encontram-se e entrecruzam-se dois processos contrários (*gegenläufige*): a produção comunicativa do poder legítimo, para a qual H. Arendt esboçou um modelo normativo, e a obtenção da legitimação através do sistema político, no qual o poder administrativo se torna reflexivo”¹⁵

Para saber como o poder comunicativo e o poder administrativo se interpenetram, coloca-se primeiro a questão acerca do tipo de influência que os processos de formação pública da opinião e da vontade exercem sobre o sistema administrativo. As leis oriundas dos processos comunicati-

the region, and the only country to have a large Jewish population. The Jews of the Diaspora, who had been scattered throughout the world since the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., were beginning to return to their ancestral land. The British Mandate for Palestine, established in 1920, provided for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, and the Jewish community in the region began to grow rapidly.

The Jewish community in Palestine was not without its internal divisions. The Zionists, who were the dominant force in the Jewish community, were divided into two main groups: the Revisionists, who were led by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, and the Labor Zionists, who were led by David Ben-Gurion. The Revisionists were more radical in their views, and they advocated a more aggressive approach to the establishment of a Jewish state. The Labor Zionists were more moderate, and they advocated a more gradual approach.

The Arab community in Palestine was also divided. The Arab leadership was dominated by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, who was a vocal opponent of Jewish immigration and the establishment of a Jewish state. The Arab community was also divided into various factions, some of which were more moderate and some of which were more radical. The Arab community was generally opposed to the British Mandate, and they were active in the struggle for independence.

The Jewish community in Palestine was also active in the struggle for independence. The Jewish underground, which was led by the Irgun and the Lehi, was engaged in a campaign of terrorism against the British. The Jewish community was also active in the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish state.

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ou seja, se dilui no poder dos discursos públicos sem deixar de assumir contornos nas deliberações de instituições constituídas democraticamente.

“O poder comunicativo é exercido no modo do assédio. Ele interfere nas premissas dos processos de juízo e de decisão do sistema político sem intenções de conquista, por meio da única linguagem capaz de ser entendida pela fortaleza sitiada, a fim de fazer valer seus imperativos: ele administra o *pool* de razões que o poder administrativo pode manipular instrumentalmente, mas não ignorar, uma vez que é constituído conforme o direito”²²

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NOTAS

¹ Thomas McCarthy pensa que Habermas foi seduzido pela teoria dos sistemas, o que causaria uma incompatibilidade entre suas análises da evolução social e seu projeto de uma Teoria Crítica. Cf. McCarthy, T. “Complejidad y democracia: las seducciones de la teoria de sistemas” in *Ideales e Ilusiones*. Madrid, Tecnos, 1992. No que poderemos apontar como uma perspectiva diferente, o próprio McCarthy critica a maneira como Habermas conduziu sua teoria procedimental se referindo a esta como um ideal normativo incompatível com a realidade das sociedades modernas. Cf. “El discurso práctico: sobre la relación de la moralidad com la política” in *Idem*.

² Habermas, J. “Legitimationsprobleme im modernen Staat” in *Zur Rekonstruktion des Historischen Materialismus*. Frankfurt/M, Suhrkamp, 1976, p 282.

