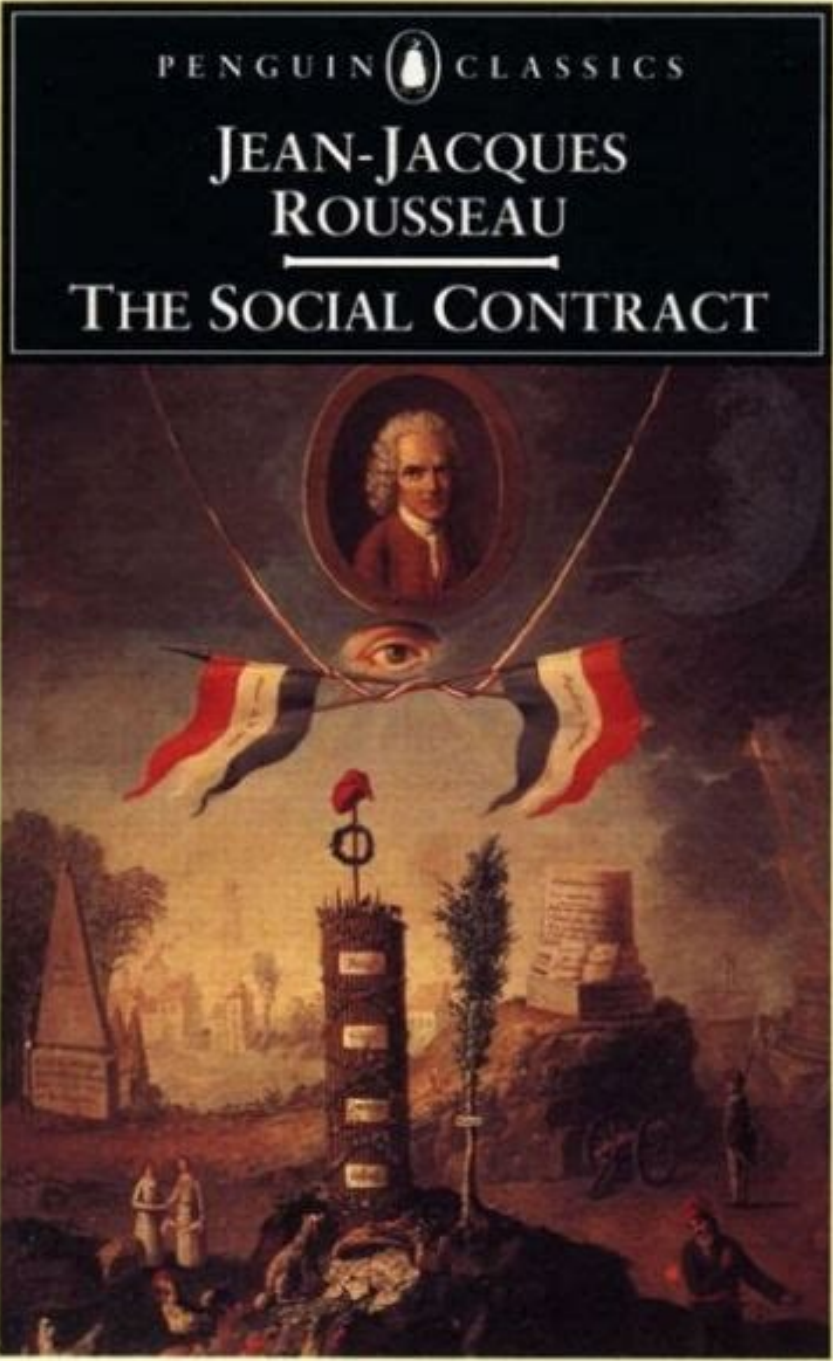


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**A Challenged Vision and Its Alternatives: The Concept of General Will in
Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s Social Contract**

ABSTRACT

Emerging from the perspective of contemporary debates in democratic theory, the study *A challenged vision and its alternatives: the concept of general will in J.J. Rousseau Social Contract* is an enquiry into the critical discussion on classical theory of participatory democracy advanced by Joseph Schumpeter in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* and its pertaining to the meaning and function of the concept in the elitist democratic theory. The comparative approach of the analysis is illuminating the common philosophical framework on which Rousseau and Schumpeter are nevertheless drawing diverting designs and theories on democracy, the elitist versus the participatory one. The argument of the study develops on the validity of the concept of the general will in Rousseau’s version with respect to human nature, freedom, association, citizenship and participation as opposed to serfdom and slavery, to governance generated by force as the source of right in politics. The normative content of the concept is as well addressed with reference to the context of the classical natural right theory with Rousseau, and the critics of it in the contemporary elitist setting with Schumpeter.

Key words: general will, common will, public opinion, majority, democracy, participation, elites, association, citizenry, slavery, political right, force, human nature, natural law, political behavior.

RÉZUMÉ

En émergeant de la perspective des débats contemporaines concernant la théorie de la démocratie, l’étude *Une vision contestée et ses alternatives : le concept de volonté générale dans le Contrat Social de J.J. Rousseau* est une investigation de la discussion critique sur la théorie classique de la démocratie participative avancée par Joseph Schumpeter dans *Capitalisme, Socialisme et Démocratie* et la relevance de la signification et fonction du

La libertad individual y el contrato social según J. J. Rousseau

Abstract. *The author holds the thesis that Philosophy of Education presupposes a previous theory of the person and of society. The paper tests if a philosophical theory of education is a coherent notion. The theories of primitive man and primitive social contract are introduced. Later, Rousseau's social contract is analyzed regarding the power of the people and individual liberty, and whether it is consistent with his ideas of equality, right and education.*

Key words: Power of the people, individual liberty, social contract, right, education.

Resumen. *El autor sostiene la tesis de que la filosofía de la educación supone una previa teoría de la persona y de la sociedad. Este artículo sondea la coherencia de una teoría filosófica de la educación. Se presenta la teoría del hombre primitivo y del contrato social primitivo. Se analiza luego la propuesta de contrato social hecha por Rousseau sobre el poder del pueblo y la libertad individual, y la coherencia de ésta con su concepción de la igualdad, el derecho y la educación.*

Palabras clave: Poder del pueblo, libertad individual, contrato social, derecho, educación.

Introducción

1. Una de las cuestiones que preocuparon a la Modernidad y que nos siguen preocupando en la Posmodernidad es la de conciliar una necesaria

socialización y respeto a las leyes, con una también indelegable defensa de la libertad de las personas individuales y sus derechos a ser educados según sus propios principios.¹

La idea de igualdad social fue uno de los grandes relatos y utopías de la Modernidad y el pensamiento de Rousseau le debe no poco a la generación de esta idea, hoy fuertemente presente en nuestras sociedades y discusiones. En este contexto, el presente artículo se propone hacer constatar que una filosofía de la educación no es una filosofía primera, sino una coherente consecuencia posterior a las ideas previamente admitidas sobre la naturaleza del ser humano, su forma de interacción social y sobre la forma de preparar a los que ingresan en esa interacción.

2. A Juan Jacobo Rousseau (1712-1778)², le importaba partir de *verdades intuitivamente sentidas* en el fondo de su ser y luego desarrollarlas, de modo de no quedar ni en hechos aislados ni en vanas abstracciones metafísicas. Según Rousseau, la Naturaleza no se engaña nunca³; somos nosotros quienes nos engañamos. La razón humana se equivoca con frecuencia, no así lo que sentimos en lo profundo de la conciencia.

Se propuso, pues, Rousseau detener su observación interna y exponer verbalmente esas verdades intuitivamente sentidas sobre todo con relación al origen de la desigualdad entre los hombres, el contrato social y derivar de esa relación una teoría de la educación.

La realidad que le interesaba a Rousseau no ha sido la vida física, sino la humana y social contrapuestas. Este filósofo trató de comprender la realidad

dna reiaB sa hcus srehpoliñh tsinimef ,sichte erac fñit mñit mñit gñizroehT eraC morñi gnirA ïii ,nerdlihc esohñ rof gnirac rof elbisnopñ era yllausu tñom ohw nemow eht rof nerdlihc rehtie fo noitñisop eht ylsuoreñ ekat ton seod ti taht ni deredññ si stñeretñi deredññoc yllaudevñi nwo sñiñ ezimam of hcñw yb snæm a sa tcartnoc laicos eht otñi sretn eohw laudiividni larebñ eht fo noitpecnoc sAAAcreihuaC taht seugra Reiab ettenma yñraimñs ,snosrep ñla fo noitñesnerp ñareneg of EB ot of ot of yñrañ ,erofereht ,tonnac sêcâcâñatñngocêcâñla edeb ñruqer yeht erac eht hñiw meht edivorp ohw esohñ dna nerdlihc tñeserper yñetaugeda of sliañ ti ,ralucitrap ñl ,sealcñ dna semit ñla ni snosrep ñla tñeserper of sliañ ,revewoh ,AAAçnam cimonocEAAAç ,dne siht eveñica of Hcñw yb snæm that in stcartnoc otñoc otñi sretn eñ dna ,Stereñi DeDesnoc yllaudiividni ,nwo shimixam of tsrif denrecknoc tsrif denreck Aç sa debircsed tseb eñ nac taht nosrep eht fo noitpecnoc a no seler yñlicilpñi yroecht tcartnoc laicos taht seugra ,ytlaroM tsinimeF ,koob 3991 reh ñi ,dleH ainigrV ,yñnilucsam nredom fo retcarahc eht of gñiwo yllacificeps si taht yaw a ñi ,laudiividni yllacidar , Erofereht is ,NUMH sâcâcâcâcâcâcâcâcâcTROTm ,Rehtom stñi ralucitrap ,nosrep rehto yna of ,ecnetsixe yrev stñi Neve Ro Eht FO NOitpecnoc nredom tñaimod eht rof kowduorogan eht dial hcñw dependence relations ,baier argues that gauthier ,who conceives affective bonds between people as non-essential and voluntary ,therefore cannot represent the fullness of human psychology and motivations .she argues that this leads to a crucial failure in the theory of social contracts. Liberal moral theory is in fact parasitic in the very relationships between the people who seek to free us. While gauthier argues that we are more free the more we can see affective relationships as volunteers ,we must ,however ,first of all ,be in such relations (e.g. mother-child relationship) in order to develop the own abilities and qualities praised by liberal theory .certain types of dependency relationships ,u.e., are necessary first if we become the very types of people who are able to enter into contracts and agreements. in a similar vein ,held that the “economic man” model cannot capture much of what constitutes significant moral relations between people . understanding human relationships in purely contractual terms constitutes ,according to its argument “a impoverished view of human aspiration” (194.) it therefore suggests that we consider other models of human relationships by seeking insights into morality. in particular ,it offers the paradigm of the mother-child relationship to at least complement the model of individual self-interested agents negotiating with each other through contracts. Such a model is most likely to match many of the moral experiences of most people ,especially women .feminist criticism of contracting approaches to our moral lives and collective policies continue to reverberate through social and political philosophy .one of these criticisms ,that of carole pateman ,influenced philosophers writing out of feminist traditions . b ,Raça-Conscious argument charles ,orvil ,orvil 7991 Racial Racial Contract ,is a critique not only of the history of Western political thought ,institutions ,and practices ,but ,more specifically ,of the history of social contract theory .It is inspired by Carole PatemaneAAAs The Sexual Contract ,and seeks to show that non-whites have a similar relationship to the social contract as do women. As such ,it also calls into question the supposed universality of the liberal individual who is the agent of contract theory . MillscAAA central argument is that there exists a çAAAracial contractçAAA that is even more fundamental to Western society than the social contract. This racial contract determines in the first place who counts as full moral and political persons ,and therefore sets the parameters of who can çAAAcontract inçAAA to the freedom and equality that the social contract promises. Some persons ,in particular white men ,are full persons according to the racial contract. As such they are accorded the right to enter into the social contract ,and into particular legal contracts. They are seen as fully human and therefore as deserving of equality and freedom. Their status as full persons accords them greater social power. In particular ,it accords them the power to make contracts ,to be the subjects of the contract ,whereas other persons are denied such privilege and are relegated to the status of objects of contracts. This racial contract is to some extent a meta-contract ,which determines the bounds of personhood and parameters of inclusion and exclusion in all the other contracts that come after it. It manifests itself both formally and informally. It is an agreement ,originally among European men in the beginning of the modern period ,to identify themselves as çAAAwhiteçAAA and therefore as fully human ,and to identify all others ,in particular the natives with whom they were beginning to come into contact ,as çAAAotherçAAA: non-white and therefore not fully human. So ,race is not A social construction ,like others argued ,is more especially a political construction , created to serve a specific political purpose and the political purposes of a specific group. The contract allows some people to treat other people ,as well as the land they live in ,as resources to be exploited. The enslavement of millions of Africans and the appropriation of the Americas of those who inhabited them are examples of this racial contract at work in history (such as Locke's statement ,claim that Native Americans did not possess the land they lived in because they did not worship it and therefore did not possess it). This contract is not hypothetical ,as Hobbes describes what he argued in his Leviathan. This is a real contract ,or series of contracts ,made by real men of history. It is found in documents such as papal bulls and Locke's writings about the Native Americans ,and has acted in historical events such as the voyages of discovery made by Europeans and the colonization of Africa ,Asia and the Americas. The racial contract makes it possible and justifies some people ,by virtue of their supposed superiority ,exploring the peoples ,lands and resources of other races. From the Mills point of view ,racism is not just an unfortunate accident of Western political ideals and democrats. It is not the case that we have a political system that has been perfectly designed and unfortunately applied imperfectly. One of the reasons we continue to think that the problem of race in the West is relatively superficial ,which does not go down the way ,is the contract that the idealized social contract has in our imagination. We continue to believe ,according to Mills ,in the myths that the theory of social contract tells us - that all are equal ,that all will be treated in the same way before the law ,that the founding fathers were committed to the equality and freedom of all people ,etc. One of the very purposes of the theory of çÅ çÅ ofÅtne ,laicos Hide from seeing the true pool reality â € “Some people will be granted the rights and freedoms of the full people ,and the rest will be treated as subpersonas. The racial contract informs the own structure of our political systems ,and establishes the basis for the containing racial oppression of non-white. We can not respond ,so simply by adding more numbers in the mixture of our policy institutions ,representation and so on. For the contrary ,we must reexamine our pool in general ,from the point of view of the racial contract ,and start where we are ,with full knowledge of how our society was informed by the system's exclusion of some people from the domain of POLICH AND CONTRACT. This characteristic â € onaturalized racial contract ,which means it tells a story about who we really are and what is included in our history ,is better ,according to Mills ,because he has the promise to make it is possible for us to really live to live at the norms and values that are in the heart of western political traditions. 5. Conclusion Virginia Held argued that the contemporary western society is in control of contractual thinking (193). Contractual models came to report a wide variety of relationships and interaction between people ,students and their teachers ,authors and their readers. Given this ,it would be difficult to oversee the effect that social contract theory had ,both within philosophy and in the broader culture. The theory of social contracts is ,without dam ,with us for the predictable future. But also the crust of such a theory that they will continue to force us to think and rethink the nature of themselves and our relationships with each other. 6. Reflections and Additional Reading Baier ,Annette. 1988. 18. No. 2. (June 1988): 315-330. Annette. 1994. Moral Prejudices: Essays on Excity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. BRAYBROOKE ,David. 1976. â € œThe insolvent problem of the social contract. XV , n. 1: 3-37. Dystefano ,Christine. 1991. Configuration of Masculinity: A Feminist Perspective on Modern Poil Theory. ITHACA ,NY: Cornell University Press. 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