
Alan Ryan
PROPERTY AND POLITICAL THEORY.
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Auburn University

Years ago, Werner Sombart raised the question of why the United States has never embraced socialism. His answer—American roast beef and apple pie—proved too glib for most political philosophers, including Alan Ryan, who raises Sombart's query anew in his *Property and Political Theory*. To be sure, Ryan has extended Sombart's inquiry by attempting to explain why there is no voluntarily accepted socialism practically *anywhere* in the modern world. However, it is mainly in his approach to the problem and the breadth of his answer that Ryan distinguishes his treatment from Sombart's earlier performance.

Ryan approaches his subject obliquely by first tracing the Western philosophical tradition that deals with the relationship of property to work. This tradition is seen to begin with John Locke and end with Karl Marx. In between are such disparate thinkers as Rousseau, Kant, Godwin, Bentham, Hegel and J.S. Mill. Ryan's survey of Western ideas concerning property and work (which occupies ninety percent of the text) concludes that there are two mainline views of work: the *instrumental* and the *self-developmental* views. The former, of mainly English origin, regards work as a cost necessarily incurred by consumers in order to get the goods they want. In this view, it matters little to workers whether or not they own the means of production. Work is simply a means to an end. The self-developmental view, by contrast, regards work as an end in itself, something inherently satisfying,

a characteristic form of human expression. This second view derived on the Continent; in particular, it dominated the philosophies of Kant, Hegel and Marx.

It was Marx, of course, who made the strongest case against capitalism, arguing with vigor and vitriol that capitalism alienates the worker from the things he produces, thus systematically "dehumanizing" laborers who, as a group, are doomed by alienation and by the vicissitudes of the business cycle to increasing misery in the form of deteriorating work conditions: low wages, long hours and ultimately, unemployment and poverty. For his part, Mill was more circumspect, but he also cherished the idea that a society based on mutual cooperation would be a better moral and economic alternative to capitalism. Ryan argues that Marx and Mill championed a social alternative to capitalism because the new social order would increase human freedom, not because it would increase human welfare. They both thought that the post-capitalist society would be characterized by the meaningful and responsible self-government of the workers. Obviously, things have not worked out that way, and Ryan's self-appointed task is to explain why.

Having traced the philosophical underpinnings of property and work, Ryan gets down to cases in the last chapter. Ostensibly, the central issue of this chapter is why neither Marx nor Mill turned out to be right about the future of capitalism. Underneath, however, Ryan is more interested in the displacement of arguments about property rights from the center of political debate. While these two questions are undoubtedly related, they are not identical. Indeed, the former can be subsumed under the latter rather easily. A cogent explanation of the displacement of property from its central place in political theory should serve to increase our understanding of why Mill and Marx were wrong.

Ryan gives us an answer based on both material and intellectual grounds. He accepts Sombart's

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