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class struggle, and is viewed within a problematic which sees all social relations as part of the reproduction of the relations of production. A more thoroughgoing analysis would have to ask whether advanced capitalism has in fact changed the relation of the economic sphere to social life and has thus called into question the project of class analysis. Faced with these questions, Wright begs a hasty retreat into the safe world of magic spells. The chapter on the state, for example, is infuriating and ludicrous; Weber and Lenin are considered as complementary theorists of the state (Weber is concerned with formal rationality and Lenin with substantive rationality!). Ultimately, this book is the work of a sorcerer's apprentice, mainly for those already spellbound by the masters.

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Alan Wolfe, *The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism*, New York: The Free Press, 1977.

Alan Wolfe explores the dimensions of the problematic which haunts late capitalist society: how can the tension, if not the absolute contradiction, between the needs of democracy and the demands of liberalism be resolved? According to Wolfe, the conflict between democracy and liberalism has not only come to be internalised in the principal state functions of legitimation and accumulation, but has also been the driving force behind the creation of six different epochs in the history of the capitalist state.

During each of these epochs, the state has assumed a specific form in an attempt to resolve the central tension or contradiction, thereby preserving capitalist hegemony. Yet, in turn, each of these historic forms has failed: the pressure from below for democracy and majoritarian rights has thus far proved (like the state itself) to be too resilient to wither away or be neatly contained.

Wolfe argues that the history of the state in capitalism has moved successively through the Accumulative, Harmonious, Expansionist, Franchise, Dual and Transnational phases. The appropriateness of each of these categories to the historical period to which Wolfe refers is sometimes less than convincing. As well, the argument is overly detailed in places, even if insightful. While anecdotes are often effectively used to drive home a point, Wolfe occasionally (*e.g.*, when he compares the failure of the Franchise state to successfully appease the poor to the predicament of an American hamburger outlet without customers) overdoes it.

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His concern with the historical background is but a prelude to a discussion of the current "crisis of legitimacy" which confronts late capitalist society. This is the heart of Wolfe's thesis:

[T]he arrival of late capitalism has corresponded with what I will call ... the exhaustion of political alternatives. By this phrase I mean that each of the six major forms of the capitalist state created to resolve the tensions between accumulation and legitimation within the framework of liberal democracy has been found wanting. To suggest that alternatives have been exhausted is therefore to suggest that the inherent tensions within liberal democracy will increasingly come to the surface ... resolutions may be sought in an authoritarian direction (toward the primacy of accumulation over legitimation) or in a democratic direction (the assertion of legitimation over accumulation). It is impossible to predict what will happen but it is not impossible to predict that one or the other will happen.

This exhaustion of political alternatives has been accompanied by a growing depoliticization of the citizenry and a parallel politicization of the bureaucratic apparatus. Depoliticization has been an essential tool of the accumulation process since the entry of the working class majority into political life in the last half of the nineteenth century. The energizing force of this entry confronted the Expansionist state of that period with a clear challenge to its hegemony. As such, the instrumentalization of politics, in effect, the depoliticization of public life, became a necessity. This politicization process was instituted precisely at that historical juncture when the autonomy of the craft worker was in decline. Thus, the reduction of work to abstract labour was paralleled by the reduction of the citizen to the abstract member of the mass.

This "alienated politics" of the contemporary epoch has been central to the drive toward the totally administered society upon which late capitalism has placed all of its bets. Drawing upon the work of Habermas and Offe, Wolfe argues that a kind of political schizophrenia characterizes both private and bureaucratic relations within late capitalism. On the one hand, depoliticization is both required and strongly reinforced. Yet, on the other hand, the system is paralysed without some level of minimal politicization. Clearly rejecting the "artificial negativity" position recently proposed by Paul Piccone, Wolfe argues that there is a continuing deep-felt need on the part of citizens to express themselves in a politically authentic way. At the same time, the depoliticizing agencies of the state bureaucracy are increasingly forced to assume the role of the principal legitimating body. These contradictory ten-

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dencies cannot help but narrow the options of the ruling class and force a major crisis of legitimation.

While Wolfe does not commit himself to deciding the eventual outcome of this crisis tendency, from his extensive discussion of the delegitimizing impact of the Watergate era in the U.S., it would seem that he leans in a more or less optimistic direction. Recent political events in Canada give little cause for similar optimism. As Wolfe correctly points out, notwithstanding all the perverse aspects of the welfare state, the present assault on it by the business sector is ultimately a full scale attack upon democracy itself. The apparent popularity of this offensive in Canada, as well as the wide-spread indifference to the revelations of the degree of R.C.M.P. police-state activities, are surely not signs of a deeply rooted need for democratic political expression. Far from indicating a positive hoarding of political power from the ruling class, voter apathy, in Canada at least, may indicate something less positive. Simply, if the need for democratic expression and an authentic politics is not widely felt, then the central problematic discussed in this book may be far removed, for the time being at least, from a situation of real crisis.

In servitude, our citizenry has felt the discipline of work for too long. Even our fear of death is still unknown, banished by the massive instrumentalization of the death instinct itself. As such, our rebellion, our self-conscious urge for life, remains silenced.

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Robert Heilbroner, *Business Civilization in Decline*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976.

This is an essay in futurology. Concerned with the "stresses and strains" which will almost certainly assault contemporary capitalism, Heilbroner predicts the future of capitalism: the inevitable rise of the political "super-structure" of this society to a position of prominence over its economic mechanisms, thereby ironically subverting their capitalist logic. The designated scenario consists of three phases: the "immediate future", the "middle range" (25 to 50 years hence), and the longer run of a full century.

Within the immediate future, Heilbroner points to an inescapable drift into