

Contents

Author's Preface	5
Introduction, by Seymour Martin Lipset	15

Introduction

1 Democratic Aristocracy and Aristocratic Democracy	43
2 The Ethical Embellishment of Social Struggles	52

Part One/Leadership in Democratic Organizations

A. Technical and Administrative Causes of Leadership

1 Introductory—The Need for Organization	61
2 Mechanical and Technical Impossibility of Direct Government by the Masses	63
3 The Modern Democratic Party as a Fighting Party, Dominated by Militarist Ideas and Methods	78

B. Psychological Causes of Leadership

1 The Establishment of a Customary Right to the Office of Delegate	81
2 The Need for Leadership felt by the Mass	85
3 The Political Gratitude of the Masses	92
4 The Cult of Veneration Among the Masses	93
5 Accessory Qualities Requisite to Leadership	98
6 Accessory Peculiarities of the Masses	105

C. Intellectual Factors

1 Superiority of the Professional Leaders in Respect to Culture, and Their Indispensability; the Formal and Real Incompetence of the Mass	107
---	-----

Part Two/Autocratic Tendencies of Leaders

1	The Stability of Leadership	117
2	The Financial Power of the Leaders and of the Party	129
3	The Leaders and the Press	149
4	The Position of the Leaders in Relation to the Masses in Actual Practice	153
5	The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses	167
6	The Struggle Among the Leaders Themselves	172
7	Bureaucracy. Centralizing and Decentralizing Tendencies	188

Part Three/The Exercise of Power and Its Psychological Reaction upon the Leaders

1	Psychological Metamorphosis of the Leaders	205
2	Bonapartist Ideology	212
3	Identification of the Party with the Leader ("Le Parti c'est Moi")	220

Part Four/Social Analysis of Leadership

1	Introductory. The Class Struggle and Its Disintegrating Influence upon the Bourgeoisie	227
2	Analysis of the Bourgeois Elements in the Socialist Leadership	238
3	Social Changes Resulting from Organization	254
4	The Need for the Differentiation of the Working Class	271
5	Labor Leaders of Proletarian Origin	277
6	Intellectuals, and the Need for Them in the Working-Class Parties	293

Part Five/Attempts to Restrict the Influence of the Leaders

1	The Referendum	307
---	----------------	-----

2	The Postulate of Renunciation	312
3	Syndicalism as Prophylactic	317
4	Anarchism as Prophylactic	325

**Part Six/Synthesis: The Oligarchical Tendencies of
Organization**

1	The Conservative Basis of Organization	333
2	Democracy and the Iron Law of Oligarchy	342
3	Party-Life in War-Time	357
4	Final Considerations	364
	Index of Names	373