CONTENTS

CHAPTEE		PAGE	
I.	DEMOCRATIC ARISTOCRACY AND ARISTOCRATIC DEMOCRACY	1	
II.	THE ETHICAL EMBELLISHMENT OF SOCIAL STRUGGLES	12	
PART ONE			
LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS			
	A. TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CAUSES OF LEADERSHIP		
I.	Introductory—The Need for Organization	21	
II.	MECHANICAL AND TECHNICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF DIRECT GOVERNMENT BY THE MASSES	23	
III.	THE MODERN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AS A FIGHTING PARTY, DOMINATED BY MILITARIST IDEAS AND METHODS	41	
	B. PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES OF LEADERSHIP		
IV.	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CUSTOMARY RIGHT TO THE OFFICE OF		
	Delegate	45	
v.	THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP FELT BY THE MASS	49	
VI.	THE POLITICAL GRATITUDE OF THE MASSES	60	
VII.	THE CULT OF VENERATION AMONG THE MASSES	63	
VIII.	Accessory Qualities Requisite to Leadership	69	
IX.	Accessory Peculiarities of the Masses	78	
	C. Intellectual Factors		
X.	SUPERIORITY OF THE PROFESSIONAL LEADERS IN RESPECT OF		
	CULTURE, AND THEIR INDISPENSABILITY; THE FORMAL AND REAL INCOMPETENCE OF THE MASS	80	
		00	
PART TWO			
	AUTOCRATIC TENDENCIES OF LEADERS		
I.	THE STABILITY OF LEADERSHIP	93	
II.	THE FINANCIAL POWER OF THE LEADERS AND OF THE PARTY .	107	
III.	THE LEADERS AND THE PRESS	130	
IV.	THE POSITION OF THE LEADERS IN RELATION TO THE MASSES IN ACTUAL PRACTICE	136	
V.	THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LEADERS AND THE MASSES	156	
VI.	THE STRUGGLE AMONG THE LEADERS THEMSELVES	164	
VII.	BUREAUCRACY. CENTRALIZING AND DECENTRALIZING TEN-		
	DENCIES	185	

CONTENTS

PART THREE

	UPON THE LEADERS	
CHAPTE		PAGE
I.	Psychological Metamorphosis of the Leaders	205
II.	BONAPARTIST IDEOLOGY	215
III.	IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARTY WITH THE LEADER ("LE PARTI	
	C'EST MOI")	226
	PART FOUR	
	SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP	
I.	INTRODUCTORY—THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND ITS DISINTEGRATING	
	Influence upon the Bourgeoisie	235
II.	Analysis of the Bourgeois Elements in the Socialist	
	Leadership	249
III.	Social Changes Resulting from Organization	268
IV.	The Need for the Differentiation of the Working Class .	289
v.	Labour Leaders of Proletarian Origin	297
VI.	INTELLECTUALS, AND THE NEED FOR THEM IN THE WORKING- CLASS PARTIES	316
	PART FIVE	
	ATTEMPTS TO RESTRICT THE INFLUENCE OF THE LEADERS	
I.	THE REFERENDUM	333
II.	THE POSTULATE OF RENUNCIATION	339
III.	Syndicalism as Prophylactic	345
IV.	Anarchism as Prophylactic	357
	PART SIX	
_	Synthesis: The Oligarchical Tendencies of Organization	
I.	THE CONSERVATIVE BASIS OF ORGANIZATION	365
II.	DEMOCRACY AND THE IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY	377
III.	Party-Life in War-Time	393
IV.	Final Considerations	400