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## EUGENICS IN PARTY ORGANISATION.

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The fundamental thesis of my sociological theory is that an iron law leads to the formation of an oligarchy in all political parties, regardless of the nature of the doctrines they profess, whether monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic. To the illustration and scientific establishment of this law I devoted a very large part of my last volume about the *Essence of Party Life in Modern Democracy*<sup>(1)</sup>. I found in party life a threefold root of oligarchy; the first in individual psychology, the second in the psychology of the crowd, the third in the social necessity of party organisation.

Under the first of these I group the individual's consciousness of his own importance, which with opportunity develops into the natural human lust for power, and, further, such individual qualities as native tact, editorial ability, and so on. Crowd psychology is characterized chiefly by the incompetence of the masses, their dependence upon traditional methods of party government and their feeling of gratitude to leaders who have suffered for the cause. Finally, the necessity for party organization grows with every increase of numbers and extension of functions. It is physically impossible for large party groups to govern themselves directly. All parties live in a state of perpetual warfare with opposing parties and, if they are revolutionary in character, with the existing social order itself. Tactical considerations, therefore, and above all the necessity of maintaining a condition of military preparedness, strengthen the hands of the controlling clique within the party.

Party leadership, basing itself upon these three tendencies, may at first be spontaneous and easily susceptible of changes in personnel. With enlarged numbers, however, the early loose leadership is superseded by professional direction. Soon the professional leaders become bureaucratic, masters of routine, and, in that way, superior in political education to their predecessors. Anyhow, from professional leadership the step to irremovable leadership is a short one, and with the stability thus attained the oligarchy is fairly developed. And with power once concentrated, party leadership, even that of socialistic groups, becomes cautious, conservative, intent above all to preserve its strength undiminished, and, if possible, to increase it. Besides, corresponding to Marx's principle of the concentration of capital, one can present the principle that with the increase of

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(1) In German: *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens*, Leipzig, 1911, Klinkhardt; in Italian, corrected and amplified *La Sociologia del Partito Politico*, Torino, 1912, Unione Tip Ed. Tor.; in French, *Le Parti Politique*, Paris, 1912, Flammarion.