

# Contents

*List of Tables* xi

*Preface* xiii

## PART ONE The Sense of Injustice: Some Constants and Variables

### *Chapter 1. Recurring Elements in Moral Codes*

1. Starting Points 3
2. Authority and the Challenge to Authority 15
3. The Division of Labor 31
4. The Distribution of Goods and Services: The Permutations of Equality 37
5. Concluding Observations 45

### *Chapter 2. The Moral Authority of Suffering and Injustice*

1. Preliminary Remarks 49
2. Asceticism 50
3. The Untouchables 55
4. Concentration Camps 64
5. Stifling the Sense of Injustice 77

<i>Chapter 3.</i>	<i>The Rejection of Suffering and Oppression</i>
1.	The Issues 81
2.	Cultural and Social Aspects 83
3.	Moral Autonomy and Human Personality 89
4.	Freudian Interpretations 109
 <b>PART TWO</b> <b>An Historical Perspective: German Workers 1848–1920</b>	
<i>Chapter 4.</i>	<i>Prologue</i> 119
<i>Chapter 5.</i>	<i>German Workers in the Revolution of 1848</i>
1.	The Conflict of Principles in Modernization 126
2.	Strains on the Guilds 129
3.	The Proletariat 133
4.	Articulate Diagnoses 144
5.	Workers' Behavior in the Revolutionary Period 156
6.	Nationalism and the Workers 167
<i>Chapter 6.</i>	<i>Social and Cultural Trends Before 1914</i>
1.	Introduction 173
2.	Size and Composition of the Industrial Work Force 175
3.	Wages and Workers' Conceptions of the Wage Relationship 185
4.	Elite and Masses among Workers 191
5.	The Common Liability to Misfortune 196
6.	Relationships with Superiors and Other Workers 202
7.	Some Sources of Working-Class Culture 205
8.	Images of the Future 208

9. Political and Economic Action 217
10. Identification with the Empire 221

*Chapter 7. *Militance and Apathy in the Ruhr Before 1914**

1. Significance and Character of the Ruhr 227
2. The Coal Miners 233
3. The Iron and Steelworkers 257
4. The Consequences of Different Historical Experiences 269

*Chapter 8. *The Reformist Revolution 1918–1920**

1. General Background 275
2. The Duel between the SPD and the Radicals 285
3. A Note on Councils and councils 1918–1920 313

*Chapter 9. *The Radical Thrust**

1. General Aspects 316
2. The Ruhr from War to Revolt 328

## PART THREE General Perspectives

*Chapter 10. *The German and Russian Revolutions: Some Comparisons* 357*

*Chapter 11. *The Suppression of Historical Alternatives: Germany 1918–1920**

1. Some General Considerations 376
2. A Crucial Non-Decision: The SPD and the Army 381
3. Was a Different Policy Possible? 385
4. Why Was Such a Policy Not Attempted? 391

<i>Chapter 12.</i>	<i>Repressive Aspects of Moral Outrage: The Nazi Example</i>	
1.	The Issue	398
2.	Who Were the Nazis?	400
3.	Forms and Sources of Nazi Moral Outrage	411
4.	“Right” and “Left” Radicalism: Similarities and Differences	420
<i>Chapter 13.</i>	<i>Moral Relativism</i>	
1.	Evaluative and Descriptive Aspects	434
2.	Rational and Predatory Authority	440
3.	Principles of Distribution	449
4.	Exploitation	455
<i>Chapter 14.</i>	<i>Inevitability and the Sense of Injustice</i>	
1.	Introductory Observations	458
2.	Individual Personality	462
3.	Social Aspects	468
4.	The Problem of National Identity	484
5.	Cultural Definitions of the Inevitable	489
6.	Time and the Sense of Injustice	496
7.	The Expropriation of Moral Outrage	500
<i>Chapter 15.</i>	<i>Epilogue: Reciprocity as Fact, Ideology, and Ideal</i>	506
	<i>References Cited</i>	511
	<i>Index</i>	529