Perhaps the most pressing question was and remains: what factors are most decisive in contributing to or diminishing antisemitic hatred of the most extreme kind? The ISR examined gender, age, education, religious identification, national origin, and occupational group as variables in contributing to or diminishing violent antisemitism. In addition to these six variables CIO membership was also considered. Apart from the general typology of workers and their levels of or opposition to antisemitism (A–H), the Institute generated a second system of classification centered specifically on responses to what workers thought about Nazi extermination of Jews. Here, workers fell into three broad categories.

**Three Types of Workers**

One of the questions asked (five) was “How do you feel about what the Nazis did to the Jews in Germany?” Massing said that this was “in a way…the most crucial question of our survey and the reactions it released are of the most serious nature, morally as well as politically. Detailed analysis will have to show whether the attitudes revealed justify the belief in the fundamental soundness of American democracy or whether there is cause to
alarm about the inroads of totalitarian disintegration” (AL: 706). Question five

was purposefully formulated in this vague and neutral way so as not to embarrass the interviewee nor to prevent him from expressing his real opinion. He was not to have the feeling that one answer was ‘right’ and the other ‘wrong.’

We aimed at eliciting what the average American worker really knows of the Nazi terror against the Jews and how far he is aware of the terror’s ulterior aims. Does he show any comprehension of the calculated assignment given the Jews in the bloody creation of the New Order?

Question (5) touches upon basic emotions. Not only does the inhumanity of Nazism reach its acme in the treatment of Europe’s Jews. It is natural to expect that horror and repulsion caused by these crimes be joined and strengthened by patriotic feelings against the criminals with whom America is at war. It is generally assumed that people reject Hitler’s treatment of German Jews and sympathize with the victims if for no other reason that that they hate the man and his lieutenants for having forced this country to take up arms. Is this assumption borne out by facts?….Feeling free from any responsibility for these actions, the American antisemite had the chance all the more to rejoice in them. There was his chance to rebel against the frustrations and repressions he experiences in the social climate of American democracy, verbally to release his sadistic drives by voicing his opinion on the terror that hit the Jews abroad (AL: 705–706).

Responses to question five formed the basis for the following three categories:

I. Approval of Nazi actions against German Jews. This group expressed “full sympathy with Hitler’s actions. In many cases sympathy with the extermination of Jews in Germany goes together with hope for similar events in the United States” (AL: 708).

II. Disapproval of Nazi actions toward Jews with qualifications. These workers disapproved of the Nazi extermination of Jews “but either find the cause of Nazi actions in the behavior of the Jews themselves or advocate discriminatory measures against them – short of killing.” The workers did not identify with the Nazis but did “apologize for them” by claiming that “‘the Jews brought it on themselves’” (ibid.). In a narrow sense, we can think of these workers as having represented the ambivalent type torn