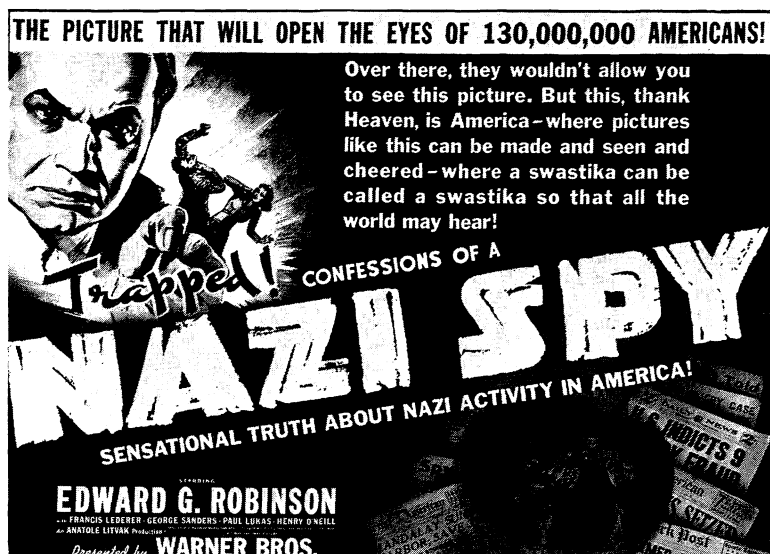


anti-nazi sentiment in film



confessions of a nazi spy and the german-american bund

eric j. sandeen

In February 1938 the FBI broke a large German spy ring which was operating in the New York City area. From the bizarre and melodramatic details of this operation Warner Brothers made *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, a film which holds our attention today not so much for the skill with which it was made as for the turning point it represented. It abandoned the stance of United States neutrality, an attitude which Hollywood had sedulously honored; the film established the aggressive foreign policy of Nazi Germany and portrayed the seditious activity of German operatives. *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* was written, directed and, for the most part, acted out by members of Hollywood's emigré community. Through the film, American world responsibilities and American preparedness

FIGURE ONE: The 1940 re-release of the film emphasized its controversial nature. Courtesy of United Artists Publicity Department.

were strongly advocated. To drive home their point, the makers of the film also first magnified the importance of, and then attacked, the German-American Bund, which they saw as an organ of the Nazi government. To increase the outrage of an audience not committed to foreign entanglements, the Bund was portrayed as an un-American, seditious branch of Nazi operations; in fact, the Bund, a fanatical organization, embarrassed the German government so much that by the end of 1937 they would have little to do with it.

The co-author of the script, John Wexley, drew his information not only from trial records, but also from the account written by the FBI Special Agent who broke the case, Leon Turrou.¹ All sources—the script, Turrou’s account, and newspaper coverage—agree on the bizarre, sometimes ludicrous details of the case. The concentric circles of complicity particularly fascinated the makers of the film, who, as John Wexley explained to me, saw the opportunity to encourage a sense of international peril in the audience. At the center of the film depiction of the case is Kurt Schneider (Francis Lederer), a petty Nazi spy who attempts to perform such impossible deeds as stealing blank passports while masquerading as an under-secretary of State. Over Schneider stands Schlager (George Sanders), Nazi operative on board the German liner *Bismarck*. Schlager acts as the intermediary between the many American spies and the Marine Nachrichten Stelle, the German Naval Intelligence Office in Berlin, which seemingly knows more about American defense systems than does the American military itself.

A revelation in the real spy case became one of the most interesting sub-plots of the film. This was the complicity of Dr. Ignatz Griebel, the former head of the Friends of New Germany. The Dr. Griebel of the film, Dr. Kassel, was transformed into the ring leader of the spies and was promoted to Führer of the German-American Bund. This combination of identities allowed the film to direct its attention abroad, to American secrets which were obviously falling into hostile hands, while at the same time pointing to domestic subversion. Leading the viewer through the complexities of the spy ring is Edward Renard (Edward G. Robinson), who ferrets out spies with the same facility as the G-man of the late thirties’ films rooted out mere criminals.

The form of the film heightened its believability. No credits are given at the outset and the viewer is instead confronted with the silhouette of a narrator, who sets the historical framework of the spy trials. Throughout the film the narrator is used both as a convenient device of the plot and as an opportunity to instruct. This latter function is especially apparent during the several montages which are spaced throughout the film. Here the narration turns from the factual intonation of the reporter to the forceful delivery of the commentator. Simultaneously, the use of newsreel footage, some pirated from Leni Riefenstahl’s *Triumph of the Will*,² gives the pronouncements of the unseen



FIGURE TWO: Edward Renard (E. G. Robinson) examines Dr. Kassel's file of "prominent Americans." No mention is made that, in the real spy case, these files contained slanderous information about prominent **Jewish** Americans. Kassel is played by Paul Lukas. Courtesy of United Artists Publicity Department.



FIGURE THREE: The desperate spy (Francis Lederer) must fall into the grasp of the resourceful FBI man. Courtesy of United Artists Publicity Department.

narrator the aura of truth. This semi-documentary approach was made more effective through the use of a relatively unfamiliar cast. The one exception was, of course, Robinson, who was included in the film because of his strong commitment to the anti-Nazi cause, his identification with the G-man role, and his drawing power at the box office. A measure of Robinson's belief in the project was his willingness to break away from the non-controversial roles he had accepted during 1937 and 1938. Perhaps, as Robinson later commented, the film would have carried more credibility as a semi-documentary if the entire cast had been unfamiliar;³ what the film lost in stature as a documentary, however, was balanced by the establishment of a familiar formula—the struggle between the G-man and the criminal—through Robinson's role.

The making of this film represented a bold step, both in terms of financial risk on the part of the studio and in terms of the future employability of the participants. At the time the film was proposed, late 1938, the United States maintained an attitude of neutrality toward an increasingly complex and threatening situation in Europe, a point of view reinforced by three different Neutrality Acts. In that same year the Ludlow Referendum had been narrowly defeated by the Congress. This largely symbolic gesture⁴ would have initiated the ratification of a constitutional amendment mandating a national referendum before a war could be declared. The mood of the country was isolationist, even pacifist. In 1937, for example, over 60 percent of the respondents to a Gallup poll said that the United States had been wrong to interfere in World War I, while one-half of the people surveyed by Gallup in 1939 believed that the United States should not become involved in European affairs.⁵

The Hollywood film community, like so many American cultural

and intellectual institutions,⁶ was loathe to buck either public opinion or the stated foreign policy of the United States. This was partly due to a conservative sense of civic responsibility, but the influence of the Motion Picture Producers Association, the “voluntary” association which became the custodian of standards during the 30s, was mainly responsible. Under the leadership of Will Hays, this body remained sensitive to many vocal interest groups which could affect movie-going habits. The vigilance of this group was a response to the formation in 1934 of the Catholic Church’s Legion of Decency,⁷ which had threatened to boycott offensive movies. From that time on, scripts were scoured for possible political or moral offenses.⁸

In 1938, for example, *Blockade* was laundered of all references to the Spanish Civil War. Even so, the Knights of Columbus denounced it as Marxist propaganda.⁹ Controversial ethnic issues were also avoided. In 1937 *The Life of Emile Zola*, a widely praised film, skirted the fact that Dreyfus, whose case represented the inevitable climax of the film, was a Jew. Nevertheless, the film was lauded for its historical accuracy.¹⁰ Although reviews attacked Hollywood’s cowardice, no films addressed the subject of the persecution of Jews, in any century, until after the War.

Hollywood producers and studio owners, then, were anxious not to stir up certain political feelings. In 1934, for example, several studios had attempted to coerce those under contract to them to contribute to the gubernatorial campaign of the Republican opponent to Upton Sinclair: Sinclair’s platform contained elements of socialism.¹¹ In order to insure non-political entertainment, several Congressional Committees, including the House Committee on Subversive Activities, had their eyes on Hollywood. Displaying liberal political opinion, as did the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, which included Edward G. Robinson and several other *Confessions* cast members, was considered propaganda. A neutral country, isolationist members of Congress such as Martin Dies and George Norris warned, could not indulge in propaganda.

The success of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* rewarded the makers, who had had to endure many difficult moments to complete the film. Warner Brothers and the Motion Picture Producers Association offered initial resistance. However, the increased German threat in Europe—the take-over of Austria occurred while the spy trial was in progress and the *Kristallnacht*, the first massive pogrom against German Jews, preceded the filming by only a few months—and the drama of the trial itself helped break down this resistance. John Wexley told me that he convinced Joe Breen, the head of the Production Code Administration branch of the MPPA, of the suitability of the script by pointing to the Austrian situation and to the ominous details of the spy trial; a negative impression of German intentions, he argued, would only reflect the facts. A go-ahead from Breen, the instinct that such a topical story would sell at the box office, plus the desire to show Germany for what it really was,

convinced Jack Warner, whose studio had produced so many social commentary films during the thirties, to allow the shooting to begin.

Most of the men intimately involved in the film were highly political. Francis Lederer, Paul Lucas, Anatole Litvak, and many of the supporting characters were recent refugees from German speaking areas; many were of Jewish ancestry. John Wexley had an Austrian wife and had studied in Europe. Edward G. Robinson, himself a Jew, was an ardent anti-Nazi. They envisioned the film as an educational enterprise; if the American people could not be convinced that German expansion in Europe affected them directly, a depiction of the German-American Bund would arouse their ire.¹² At the same time, these men were well aware of the effect a strong statement could have on their careers; already the Anti-Nazi League had been denounced as a Communist organization by investigators of the House Committee on Subversive Activities.¹³ All during 1938 Hollywood liberals and members of the refugee community had met to talk about the dangers of Nazism. They were well aware of Nazi strong-arm techniques and were extremely sensitive to the growth of pro-Nazi organizations in the United States.¹⁴

Confessions of a Nazi Spy opened in April 1939 and proved to be a considerable success. During the first week of its run at New York's Strand Theater, for example, *Confessions* grossed \$45,000, the largest sum of the year to date.¹⁵ Even in cities such as Milwaukee, which had large German-American communities, the film played well.¹⁶ Critical appraisal was generally favorable, the main objection justly centering on the film's heavy-handedness.¹⁷ The film was well received by the Na-



FIGURE FOUR: A Bund meeting in the United States is depicted with meticulous detail. A loyal American of German descent is about to be beaten, while, behind him, an American legionnaire (Ward Bond) rises to defend his country's honor. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art.

tional Board of Review of Motion Pictures, which named it one of the four best films of the year.¹⁸ The fact that the others cited were *Wuthering Heights*, *Stagecoach*, and *Young Mister Lincoln* helps make this a significant endorsement.

Abroad, the film suffered in those countries controlled—or threatened—by the Third Reich. The Nazi government had been aware of the proposed film from the start, and had filed protests and warnings during the filming.¹⁹ Upon the film's release, it was banned within the Third Reich, and through the course of the year many other countries—including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Hungary, Ireland, Iraq, South Africa, and most of Central and South America—also prohibited the showing of *Confessions*.²⁰ It is popularly supposed that the Third Reich banned all Warner Brothers films from its territory because of *Confessions*; Jack Warner certainly fostered this point of view when he testified to his patriotism before a subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Commission investigating propaganda in films.²¹ Whether or not this is true, it is certainly apparent that the Third Reich was not pleased with the unfavorable portrayal. It not only banned the film but also took more direct action. For example, after the takeover of Poland the distributor of Warner Brothers films, who had allowed *Confessions* to be shown to Polish audiences, was sentenced to twenty years.²²

Another gauge of the effectiveness of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* is the reaction of the German-American Bund. Whereas the Nazi government filed protests and banned the film from the Reich, the Bund was less diplomatic in its assault. The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official newspaper of the Bund, began a supposedly “impartial” analysis of the film with their version of the credits:

“Confessions of a Nazi Spy,” produced by Jew Jack Warner, story by Jew Milton Krims, acted by Jew Emmanuel Goldenburg (Edward Robinson), Communist supporter of Leon Trotsky, acted by Francis Lederer, Communist “peace” advocate; directed by Jew Anatole Litvak, sponsor of Communist Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, technical advisor Jew Rabbi Herman Lissauer, founder of Communist “Liberal Forum,” historical director Jew Leon Turrou, former employee of Jacob Stern [Editor of the *New York Post*, for whom Turrou had serialized his account of the spy case].²³

The paper could never be called subtle in its prejudices. Another such “impartial” review claimed that the film showed “a Jewish lack of originality. . . . It overshoots the mark, as always with Jews.” In short, the critic concluded, *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* resembled a gangster film shot by Hollywood Hebrews.²⁴ While the newspaper delivered such broadsides, Fritz Kuhn, the Führer of the Bund, filed a \$5,000,000 libel suit, an action which was later dropped when Kuhn was thrown into prison for embezzling funds.²⁵

The reaction of the Bund is interesting in light of three characteristics

of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*: 1) Even though most of the actors, writers, and, indeed, studio bosses were Jewish, there was no mention of Nazi racial hatred in the film. In the real spy case, Dr. Griebel was found to have collected slanderous material on prominent American Jews. In the film the files contained information only about "prominent Americans." Wexley conjectured that Warner Brothers felt self-conscious about their heritage and did not want to call attention to an anti-Semitic sentiment which would spread, in milder form, to the United States. Even such a strongly anti-Nazi film as the mid-War *Hangmen Also Die*, he pointed out, was purged of any reference to persecution—let alone extermination—of European Jews. In light of these facts, the *Weckruf* review's accusations about the film's Jewish focus appear ironic.

2) As a document of the 30s, the film employs the forms of social commentary films pioneered by Warner Brothers. *Confessions* is based on the gangster film; unscrupulous men are allowed to flaunt the authorities, but are eventually brought to justice by methodical, yet imaginative law enforcement officials. As is common in many gangster films, the eager amateur, Kurt Schneider, strives for success without the necessary ingredient: a moral sense. Like so many gangsters, his climb up the inverted scale of criminal success must lead to a fall. In *Confessions* we also see elements of previous exposés, such as *Black Legion*, which presented—and perhaps amplified—the threat of a subversive organization to the American Way. As a twist, however, the ringleaders of the conspiracy are allowed to escape back to Germany, thus showing the frailty of any judicial system in irrational international relations and inviting a comparison between American and Nazi systems of Justice.

Both of the Nazi police forces which appear in the film—the Ordnungsdienst (security force) of the German-American Bund and the Gestapo—behave like gangsters, or, worse, thugs. The Ordnungsdienst ruthlessly beats a German-American and two American Legionnaires at a Bund meeting because these three dare to express their loyalty to the United States. As the second Legionnaire disappears into a pile of Brown Shirts, he exclaims, "You guys are just a bunch of gangsters," thereby cementing the identification. The Gestapo agents, however, are the real heavyweights. If an individual becomes a liability to them, he or she is returned to Germany. One trial witness, who the Gestapo suspect will crack under cross-examination, is actually taken from the court house in an operation which has all the trappings of a bank heist. Finally, when Dr. Kassel breaks down and reveals the extent of the spy ring, the Gestapo take care of him, too. As he is being hauled out to a ship which will return him to Germany, Kassel's pleas fall on deaf ears. "Please, they will put me in a concentration camp. They will hurt me," Kassel exclaims. The Gestapo man sneers back, "Yes, they will." One can expect neither justice nor compassion from these representatives of a society which respects power more than virtue.

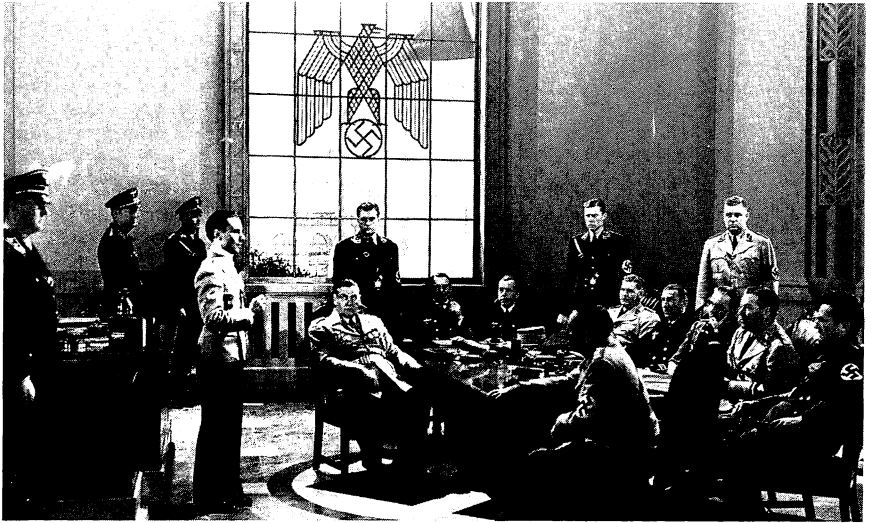


FIGURE FIVE: In Germany, Nazis conspire to wage propaganda war on the United States. Note the look-alikes of specific Nazi leaders. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art.

3) Most interesting of the three characteristics is the film's specific attack on Germany. In this area *Confessions* was a pioneer effort which presaged such mid-War classics as *Hangmen Also Die*. More than merely portray Nazis as gangsters, the makers of the film directed the attention of the audience to the unscrupulousness of the Nazi government itself. The film includes several scenes in Germany—one including a credible Goebbels look-alike—to drive home the connection among the spies, the Nazi government and that model of Nazi government in microcosm, the German-American Bund.

The Bund was every bit as vile as the makers of *Confessions* believed it to be; they only underestimated its strength. Pro-Nazi organizations in the United States had existed even before Hitler came to power in Germany. The Friends of New Germany, of which Ignatz Griebel, one-half of Dr. Kassel's character, was head, had established good relations with Germany because of the Nazi racial doctrine which posited that racial ties were stronger than national allegiances. The philosophy, at least until the middle of the decade, was that German-Americans would always remain more German than American.²⁶ Increasingly, however, the German Foreign Office pointed out that propoganda activity directed at German-American associations only alienated Americans. Finally, in 1937, the Foreign Office issued a decree that passports of German citizens who belonged to the Friends of New Germany would be revoked if those members did not resign from that organization by the end of the year.

This edict marks the emergence of Fritz Kuhn, who displayed his naturalized American ingenuity by merely changing the name of the

organization to the German-American Bund, thereby circumventing the order and retaining about 90 percent of the Friends' membership.²⁷ The documents of the German Foreign Office during the 1935-40 period reveal that ambassadors, consular officials and observers sent from Berlin agreed virtually to a man that pro-Nazi organizations were awakening Americans from their isolationist slumber and doing irreparable damage. "In my opinion," Ambassador Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff stated in 1938, "any political connection between any authorities in Germany and the German-American element, if any such exists, must be broken off."²⁸ The uncertainties of this statement indicate that the problem was still to rein in the zealous Foreign Branch (Auslandsorganisation) of the Nazi Party, which never felt compelled to obey a Foreign Office not sufficiently Nazified, and which was reluctant to relinquish a propaganda distribution system in the United States.²⁹ Although the makers of the film could not have been privy to German documents of state, they successfully demonstrated the presence of German propaganda in the United States and, as the German Foreign Office had feared, encouraged the audience to consider this a part of German foreign policy.

Although such a point of view had been anticipated by Dieckhoff, at every turn his efforts to quash Party efforts were parried by Ernst Bohle, head of the Auslandsorganisation. Dieckhoff reported to the Foreign Office in November 1937 that "nothing has resulted in so much hostility toward us in the last few months as the stupid and noisy activities of a handful of German-Americans. I am referring to the efforts of the German-American Bund."³⁰ His recommendation was to disassociate German foreign policy from the activities of the Bund as quickly and as irrevocably as possible. His many letters to the Foreign Ministry were reinforced by appeals from various Consuls to stifle the Bund by any means. "In the eyes of the people here," the Consul in Chicago reported in 1938:

The Bund is not only a political organization but a fighting organization serving to disseminate the National Socialist ideology, and, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding, acting in this country either at the instigation of or with the approval of German Party authorities. For public opinion here firmly maintains that the Bund would not be able to continue functioning without at least the moral support of German Party authorities, and certainly not against their will.³¹

Meanwhile, despite appeals from German officials stationed in the United States, Ernst Bohle worked to keep open lines of communication between the Party and the German-American community. While German propaganda in the United States was not designed as an attack on the American way, the inability of the German Foreign Office to control either Party officials or members of the Bund prepared the way for such attacks as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*.

Hitler neither exerted control over Fritz Kuhn's organization nor repaired the structural weakness caused by the fighting between the Foreign Office and the Auslandsorganisation. He was then little interested in the United States; although America was riddled with Jews, to him it did not seem to pose a threat.³² In 1936 Hitler had allowed himself to be photographed with Kuhn, but in 1938 Kuhn, on a return visit, could get no closer to the Führer than to meet with a low-ranking aide. This neglect did not dampen Kuhn's spirits, however, for he kept up the appearances of an intimate connection between his office in the Yorkville district of New York City and Berlin.³³ Dr. Kassel of *Confessions* moves freely between the propaganda offices of Goebbels and the Marine Nachrichten Stelle, thus constructing a unity of intent within the German government where there was none.

The actual number of German-American Bund members always remained small. In the New York City area chapters, the largest in the nation, only 900 members were on the rolls during the 1936-39 period. Of this number 700 were aliens, a statistic which gave the Bund the ominous aura of a foreign cell rather than of just another culturally oriented ethnic club, such as the Steuben Society.³⁴ The Bund came under close scrutiny because its irascibility and irrationality furnished ready-made stories for the media based in New York City and Los Angeles, where the Bund was most active. The Bund newspaper received attention disproportionate to its circulation of about 5,000 because its scurrilous articles were easily obtainable by New York City journalists. The ingenuity of Fritz Kuhn also figured in the influence of the Bund. When his support was waning, he organized an Honor America Rally in Madison Square Garden on Washington's Birthday, 1938. While many in the crowd were either just curious or overtly hostile, the fact that the Bund successfully packed the Garden with 20,000 people made the organization seem very powerful when the American people saw the event in newsreel form.³⁵

Edward G. Robinson does not appear on the screen until almost half of *Confessions* has gone by. His opening words point out that the Bund was not just another extremist group or an organization of zealots who were trying to maintain their connection with a Fatherland which mirrored their racial and ethnic prejudices; it was a paramilitary, guerilla group, the advance force of the German army:

It looks . . . as if Germany were at war with us. Nazi Bunds meeting all over the nation, openly training men for street fights, teaching them how to use guns and bayonets. The whole country is swamped by Nazi propaganda fresh from Germany. Tie the two together. It looks as if the storm troopers are training to finish off what the propagandists start. It's a new kind of war—but it's still war.

How could we allow a foreign army to train on our shores? How

could spies move so freely in the United States, stealing plans which would be strategically important to those foreign forces? Questions such as these had been asked during the spy trial, but formulated in the context of the unlikely plot of the film, were not taken with utmost seriousness. The *New York Times*, for example, did not believe we had anything worth stealing:

Foreign espionage most often consists in hiring desperate men at great expense to ferret out the secrets hidden in the pages of the *World Almanac*. Beautiful red-haired sirens are employed to lure strong men away from their trusts and so betray the exact hour and minute when the Twentieth Century leaves Grand Central station for Chicago.³⁶

To them, the trial was good soap opera, but of little importance to an honest nation with nothing to hide. Turrou anticipated the sentiments of the film, however, when he replied that these melodramatic elements “are used only by nations faced with menacing, potential enemies, or nations planning aggression against a friendly nation.”³⁷ There was little doubt in his mind which of these nations Germany was.

When Renard faces Schneider, therefore, the G-man confronts the gangster, American values battle Nazi brutishness and ego. Renard triumphs with the common sense and meticulousness Americans were coming to expect from the FBI. To get the better of the sniveling Schneider does not tax Renard. “Don’t worry, there’s no third degree in the FBI,” he reassures the German spy, even as he sets Schneider up for the KO punch. Renard, the master psychologist, knows that the massive egos of the Nazi spies will betray them. While disdaining “roughing up” the subject, he employs those psychological aspects of the third degree which the Germans, ironically enough, appear in fact to have appreciated most.³⁸

The battle of values is a much more suspenseful contest. Renard’s system is both a help and a hindrance. What it gives him in ingenuity it takes from him in legal laxness. Gestapo men escape to waiting ships because of the leniency of the American bail system. The fact that the United States has no counter-espionage organization to help gather information rings as a refrain throughout the film.³⁹ The Germans exploit the weaknesses of a system which they obviously have abandoned on the home front; they even have the audacity to employ their methods on American soil. The one representative of the German system who attempts to work within the technicalities of the American legal system is a punctillious, obnoxious lawyer whom Renard enjoys foiling. Nazis, it seems, can no more play our game than we can play theirs. In the end the Germans are exposed, even though the masterminds are not brought to justice. The message was, then, that American values could triumph, but that vigilance was needed. This plot was brought to light accidentally; the next time, without preparation, we might not be so lucky.

The 1940 re-release of the film, which carried the endorsement of many civic leaders, was identical to the original version, except for a short sequence during the prosecutor's summation before the spy trial jury. He begins by pointing out that the Nazi spy network represents a most serious threat to the national defense. The 1940 insertion then follows, headed by an ominous observation which carried the focus away from the German-American Bund directly to the policies of the German government itself:

But there are some who will say that there is nothing to fear, that we are immune, that we are separated by vast oceans from the bacteria of aggressive dictatorships and totalitarian states. But we *know*, and have seen the mirror of history in Europe's last year.

Americans did indeed know, perhaps too well. The montage of invasion scenes and headlines of Nazi take-overs and plots must have seemed more factual than the average movie-goer would appreciate in a medium associated with entertainment. That the film was advertised as "the picture with the punch of a blitzkrieg"⁴⁰ was not necessarily a strong selling point. The 1940 version did not succeed,⁴¹ despite the fact that people recognized the Nazi regime as more of a threat than they did in 1939. More accurately, the film failed *because* of this recognition; *Confessions* had transcended entertainment and had become too closely associated with headlines—and not headlines announcing an improbable plot of a coterie of New York spies, or exposing the German-American Bund as a subversive organization, but headlines signalling the take-over of Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium. The original release of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* was perfectly timed; the anti-Nazi sentiment it was so bold in advocating in 1939 to a nation still predominantly isolationist in temperament had become a prevailing point of view by the middle of 1940. Made by men of conviction, backed, however hesitantly, by a studio which would handle such a topic, the film invited controversy by expressing a sentiment which, one or two years later, would be recognized as the predominant national spirit.

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notes

1. Interview with John Wexley, 4/20/75.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Edward G. Robinson, *All My Yesterdays* (New York, 1973), 204.
4. Charles Alexander, *Nationalism in American Thought, 1930-1945* (Chicago, 1969), 170.
5. Arthur Link, *American Epoch* (New York, 1955), 488.
6. William Tuttle, Jr. has excellently described Harvard University's dilemma in the 30s in a recent article, "American Higher Education and the Nazis: The Case of James B. Conant and Harvard University's 'Diplomatic Relations' with Germany," in this journal, 20 (Spring 1979), 49-70.
7. Will Hays, *The Memoirs of Will H. Hays* (New York, 1955), 450-54.
8. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America* (New York, 1975), 173.

9. *New York Times*, 6/17/38, 25:2.
10. *Ibid.*, 8/12/37, 14:2; 9/12/37, XI, 4:2.
11. Sklar, 244.
12. Wexley interview.
13. *New York Times*, 8/15/38, 6:2; 8/16/38, 4:2; 8/18/38, 3:3.
14. Wexley interview.
15. *Variety*, 5/3/39, 3. See also *Time*, 5/15/39, 58.
16. *Variety*, 5/24/39, 2.
17. *New York Times*, 4/29/39, 13:2.
18. *Ibid.*, 12/25/39, 28:4.
19. *Ibid.*, IX, 5:2.
20. *Ibid.*, 6/21/39, 27:3; 7/14/39, 10:8; 8/17/39, 4:4.
21. *Propaganda in Motion Pictures*, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Interstate Commerce Commission, U.S. Senate, 77th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C., 1942), p. 338. See also Warner's autobiography, *My First Hundred Years in Hollywood* (New York, 1964), 262.
22. *New York Times*, 11/28/39, 10:3.
23. *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, 6/8/39, 2.
24. *Ibid.*, 5/18/39, 1.
25. See *Ibid.*, 5/18/39, 1. Also *Variety*, 5/17/39, 2.
26. Sander Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-41* (Ithaca, New York, 1974), 80.
27. Donald McKale, *The Swastika Outside Germany* (Kent, Ohio, 1977), 92.
28. *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, series D., vol. I, Dieckhoff to German Foreign Ministry, 1/7/38, 672.
29. McKale, 88.
30. *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, series D., vol. I, Dieckhoff to Mackensen [State Secretary of Foreign Ministry], 11/24/37, 650-51.
31. *Ibid.*, enclosure in Dieckhoff to Foreign Ministry, 5/30/38, 711.
32. James Compton, *The Swastika and the Eagle* (Boston, 1967), 7.
33. Diamond, 220. Kuhn always claimed that he had a "special arrangement" with Hitler. See, for example, his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Appendix IV (Washington, D.C., 1939-41), 1459.
34. Diamond, 221.
35. *Ibid.*, 324-28. During the rally several fights broke out between Bundists and American Legionnaires. *Confessions* made use of this well publicized violence to accentuate the realism of the film.
36. *New York Times*, 6/26/39, IV, 8:4.
37. Leon Turrou, *Nazi Spies in America* (New York, 1938), 134.
38. See, for example, Robert Minner, "'Der Dritte Grad': wie die New-Yorker Polizei Kapitalverbrecher zum Gestaendnis bringt," *Koralle*, 10/24/37, 1486.
39. By 1945 the view of American pre-War vigilance had changed. *The House on 92nd Street* addressed the subject of espionage during the 1938-41 period, but glorified the efforts of the experts in the FBI.
40. Warner Brothers press book for exhibitors.
41. *New York Times*, 6/16/40, IX, 3:7.