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IMPRESSIONS OF BERLIN IN WAR TIME — FROM MAXIMILIAN HACMAN'S JOURNAL

One of the goals of historiography could be to focus on making memoirs compatible with documentary historical literature. In our analysis, we captured the image of Berlin in the midst of a world war, as revealed in the pages of Professor Maximilian Hacman's Journal. Remaining unpublished, the Journal offers sequential images about the characteristics of the National Socialist regime, about the opposition to it, about the moods captured by the memoirist among both ordinary Berliners and the intellectual elite in the capital of the Reich. In the pages of the Journal, we are given details about personalities of the Reich who oppose the war, attitudes, behaviors and everyday patterns, including group psychology, honestly rendered by a Germanophile who is also an opponent of the National Socialist ideology. Originally from Bukovina, Maximilian Hacman stayed in Berlin between October 1940 and September 1941, surprising the capital of the Third Reich at the height of its power. The pages of Hacman's Diary are unpublished, completing the general, well-known image of a brutal reality: the world's greatest conflagration.

Keywords: Max Hacman, Journal, Berlin, war, the National Socialist regime, moods.

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IMPRESII DESPRE BERLINUL ÎN TIMP DE RĂZBOI — DIN JURNALUL LUI MAXIMILIAN HACMAN

Unul dintre dezideratele importante ale istoriografiei contemporane îl reprezintă compatibilizarea surselor memorialistice cu literatura istorică de factură documentară. Deși memorialistica este adesea privită drept o sursă secundară, marcată inevitabil de subiectivitatea autorului, ea oferă istoricului posibilitatea de a surprinde dimensiuni ale vieții cotidiene, ale mentalităților și ale stărilor de spirit pe care documentele oficiale nu le pot reda întotdeauna. În analiza de față am urmărit imaginea Berlinului aflat în plin război mondial, așa cum reiese din paginile Jurnalului profesorului bucovinean Maximilian Hacman. Manuscrisul, rămas în mare parte nepublicat, oferă o perspectivă valoroasă asupra atmosferei existente în capitala Reich-ului între octombrie 1940 și septembrie 1941, perioadă în care Hacman a activat în cadrul Institutului Român din Berlin.

Jurnalul surprinde, într-o manieră fragmentară, dar extrem de sugestivă, caracteristicile regimului național-socialist, reacțiile și formele discrete de opoziție față de acesta, precum și stările de spirit ale populației berlineze în contextul războiului. Autorul notează impresii privind viața cotidiană, efectele propagandei, restricțiile impuse de conflict, comportamentele sociale și psihologia colectivă a unei societăți aflate sub presiunea războiului total. În același timp, paginile jurnalului oferă informații despre elitele intelectuale și academice ale Berlinului, despre criticile formulate împotriva regimului, despre teama provocată de aparatul represiv și despre degradarea treptată a condițiilor de viață pe măsura prelungirii conflagrației.

Memorialistul surprinde și reacțiile germanilor originari din România, atrași de proiectul «Heim ins Reich», mulți dintre aceștia manifestând dezamăgire și dorința de a reveni în Bucovina după contactul direct cu realitățile Reich-ului. Totodată, Hacman descrie atmosfera orașului în timpul alarmelor aeriene, comportamentul populației în spațiile publice, impactul propagandei lui Goebbels și diverse anecdote sau reflecții privind războiul și alianții Germaniei. Observațiile sale sunt redată cu sinceritate de un autor germanofil, dar în același timp adversar al ideologiei național-socialiste, ceea ce conferă jurnalului o valoare aparte.

Originar din Bucovina, Maximilian Hacman surprinde Berlinul celui de-al Treilea Reich la apogeul puterii sale politice și militare, dar și primele semne ale oboselii sociale și ale nemulțumirilor provocate de război. Paginile jurnalului completează imaginea generală, bine cunoscută, a unei realități brutale — cea a celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial — printr-o perspectivă personală, concentrată asupra experiențelor cotidiene, a relațiilor umane și a transformărilor psihologice produse de conflict asupra societății germane.

Cuvinte cheie: Max Hacman, Journal, Berlin, război, regimul național-socialist, stări de spirit.

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Introduction. In general, memoirs have been considered a secondary historical source, with a high degree of subjectivity. It is rightly considered that too close a relationship between history and memory is detrimental to scientific research. Without denying this shortcoming, we believe that this type of historical source makes a significant contribution to a more nuanced knowledge of historical facts and events. Despite its self-justification, memorialism can happily complete the big picture. Personal opinions play an important role in confessing facts and actions, giving them a charm of the era, which archival documents cannot capture.

The present investigation highlights Maximilian Hacman's *Journal*, which remained largely unpublished, entitled *In Refuge*. Located in the custody of the Iasi Archives, in the Manuscript Collection, the *Journal* is composed of two daily notebooks, covering the period June 25, 1940 — September 9, 1941. The two notebooks contain information about Bukovina refugees inside Romania in 1940, about the internal political situation and about the daily realities and internal conflicts in Romania in the years 1940–1941, more and more involved in the political system dominated by Nazi Germany¹. The first part of the *Journal* saw the light of day, but the pages devoted to the period September 1940–September 1941, which remained unpublished, are only partially or very little known. They focus on the period when Max Hacman was the secretary of the Romanian Institute in Berlin, between October 1940 and the beginning of September 1941. His 11 months in this service gave him opportunities to reflect and create impressions of the multifaceted realities that unfolded before his eyes, in the capital of the Nazi Reich, that had reached the height of its political and military power. In general, Maximilian Hacman noted the main events he attended, with personal impressions on the role and activity of the Romanian Institute in Berlin. The pages are devoted to the activity of the Institute, to the conflicts within it, against the broader background of the war.

Although the memories of everyday life in Berlin do not occupy a special place in his *Journal*, they are sequentially noticed in many ways. We have selected reflections on the daily life of Berliners to illustrate some of the crumbs of the human condition in a city in the midst of a global conflagration. The war was an exceptional event, with special effects on society and the human personality. It favored both collective and individual memory, giving various moods, but for the most part, unfavorable to war. Hacman leaves his own intimate impressions to his *Journal*, having a disguised, reserved attitude towards the events he witnessed. Hacman was also tempted to recall the years of World War I². Maybe that's why the war gives him those more intimate impressions. Among the everyday structures that are the subject of Hacman's memoirs are realities of war, critical remarks on the nature of the National Socialist political regime, everyday realities, moods, behaviors and collective and individual attitudes. The atmosphere of a war-torn city, but trying to live its own life, is set, in several pages of the Bukovina's memorialist.

The regime and the opposition

Hacman's comments on the National Socialist political regime are sequential. They do not have the gift of capturing all the realities of a war-torn world. It is clear that most Germans did not agree with the war and were increasingly dissatisfied with its prolongation. The German resistance was not the result of a coordinated policy, since the repressive apparatus and the popularity of Adolf Hitler prevented any initiative. With the outbreak of war, any act of resistance was considered unpatriotic, prompting opponents to exercise extreme caution³. Attending mainly academic circles, where the opposition to the regime was greater, he had the opportunity to observe the criticisms of National Socialism. But in the pages of his *Journal*, they appear only in the spring of 1941. At a lecture by Professor D.E. Paulian⁴ at the Romanian Institute in Berlin on March 31, 1941, Hacman first noticed the adversity of the intellectuals towards the regime and the war. «At Paulian's dinner at the Ausländeramt im Presseklub, they sit between Professor Eicker and Dr. Irsing's assistant. Both criticize the dismissal of university professors by the nationalist regime for political reasons. I'm impressed with that»⁵. A few days later, the critical picture was completed by a confession made by Puiu Bodnărescu who «tells us that a German colleague of his, in a discussion, had told him that in Berlin, 75% of the civilian and military population would be against Hitler's regime»⁶. He did not mention in any note in the *Journal* that most of the German academic circles prepared the ground for the excesses of the regime. They amalgamated values so much that the ideology supported by Rosenberg's work no longer seemed so absurd⁷. He returns, in July 1941, reiterating and thickening the not at all laudatory appreciations, when he mentions another event in which he participated in the entourage of some scientific and cultural personalities.

«It simply came to our notice then. Today Filuța⁸ is invited to a tea party given by Mrs. von Sendenhorst⁹. The wife of a German diplomat and the wife of a great German industrialist take part. There is criticism of the National Socialist regime, and the ladies are distrustful of Germany's victory. And finding out that Filuța is from Romania, one of them said: The small states did not make a smart choice to enter the war on the side of

Germany, because this way the war will last longer. So there is a different atmosphere in German society than the one spread by Mr. Goebbels»¹⁰.

Most manifestations of hostility to reality were, of course, anecdotal references in the form of jokes. A joke that went around the capital was about the greeting of residents in air raid shelters. «Three categories of people go to the cellar: those who say Good morning — these have slept; those who say Good evening — these haven't slept yet; and those who say Heil Hitler and who continue to sleep, have not yet woken up»¹¹. A witness at the time, Nicolaus Sombart, the son of the illustrious sociologist Werner Sombart, recalled that political topics were avoided in his family's intellectual environment. It is preferable to avoid talking about Hitler or trivializing them. «It is preferable to caricature, not demonize», Sombart would note years later¹². Some other time he overhears a joke on Hitler's close associates that he cannot even translate: «Hitler beabsichtigt den Göring zum Welt Marschall zu ernennen. Dann würde Goebels Halbwelt Marschall und Himmler Unterwelt Marschall werden»¹³.

The young men endured military-style discipline and rigid leadership structures imposed in an effort to prepare the next generation of German soldiers somewhat better than the elderly or the intellectuals. Despite being hired for money, a middle-class teenager took on the mission of the Hitler Youth, criticizing his parents — «you old people must be eradicated so that the new era can rise!» — noted a Swiss journalist¹⁴. But these anecdotes could not hide the worsening of living standards in Germany with the prolongation of the war and the emergence of dissatisfaction with living conditions. At the same time, respect for the regime has been replaced by fear of the repressive apparatus¹⁵.

Hacman's testimony is supported by further evidence of the anti-Nazi mood that was spreading in German society as the war dragged on. It was even from the Senderhorsts that he learned of the opposition born of the clergy. Mr. Sendenhorst mentioned the Catholic bishop of Münster, Clemens August von Galen. In a pastoral letter, he denounced the forced expropriation of Catholic monks and nuns by the National Socialist regime, as well as the murder of people suffering from incurable mental illness¹⁶. Just the day before, he had the opportunity to reflect on another case in German factories: «In this enterprise, two workers would have criticized their situation, expressing their dissatisfaction in more energetic words. They were brought before a council of war for rebellion, sentenced to death, and executed. This case has been repeated for a short time in the same enterprise, this time with 26 workers, but they are no longer sent to the council of war, but to workers' professional tribunal. Thus, examining the case, they find the complaints of the rebels motivated and acquit them. This case gives a lot to think about»¹⁷.

This rumor was maintained in the opposition to the regime. It is difficult to prove how simple the rumors were and how far they were from the hopes of those who were hostile to Nazism. The examples given by Kempeler with arrests for even less important reasons are eloquent¹⁸. There was a special penal code of war which provided for punishments for acts of defeatism and undermining, for which the death penalty was introduced, even among civilians.

In an attempt to gather information about the war, Hacman and his entourage sought information from British or clandestine radio stations¹⁹. This is how, in May 1941, he discovered a radio station, which broadcasted in German: «From time to time we hear a clandestine radio station, in German, which calls itself the Post of the European Revolution. It seems to be communist, because he addresses primarily the revolutionary socialists. Today, he tells us that in Germany, in two days, three people were executed, and others were sentenced to several months in prison for talking to French prisoners»²⁰.

He returns a few days later with the following finding: «The European Revolution Radio brings the following sensational news: The Vichy government has accepted Germany's request to make French factories available for German warfare as well as to pass German troops through Syria to Iran and Palestine. Then there would be a military collaboration between Germany, Italy and Russia against America, so that the concentrations of German troops in Finland, Poland and Romania would have been made only in order to force Russia to help Germany against America»²¹.

But he makes no further mention of this post. Most of the information, apart from the official Nazi sources, he has from the Romanian language show from Radio London²².

A certain nervousness is also caught by the Germans from Romania, who were attracted by the «Heim ins Reich» project. Only a year after their departure, some repatriated Germans expressed their regret and desire to return. They were disappointed in what they found in the Reich and tried to return to Romania. For the Germans who had lived in Bukovina for generations, the adoptive homeland offered them a real shock, being neither mentally nor materially attached to the new house. We reproduce the text of a letter from a German from Ilișești-Bukovina sent from Germany: «Since I arrived here, my wife and children have suffered and are suffering a lot, missing our dear Bukovina. I convinced myself and we want to go back. Not only us, but also other families of true Germans, who have received German citizenship, miss their homeland and

want to return... Please write to me if I have received another citizenship, maybe we still keep the Romanian one? The boys are waiting for the clock to return to the country»²³.

In early June, when the information about the future attack on the U.S.S, Hacman noticed in the Germans from Romania, who left in the summer of 1940, a feeling of regret. Their hopes for a better life in Germany were dashed. Finding out that they are going to be colonized in the territories of the General Government, «they are very disappointed and dissatisfied because they did not find out what they were promised. They were promised good land and were given only land with stones and sand. If they could, they would return immediately. Some of them would be crushed»²⁴. The logistical complications of this huge plan to relocate the East Germans, devised by Baldur von Schirach and Hans Frank, were suspended in the spring of 1941²⁵. Meanwhile, the repatriated ethnic Germans remained in temporary camps, which did not provide optimal living conditions. Authorities were unable to provide enough accommodation and, in order to keep up with the large number of German immigrants, sent them to special camps²⁶. Hence the discontent, recorded by Max Hacman, among the Bukovinians settled in the Reich.

Moods. Behaviors and attitudes

In the description of the moods that Hacman caught in Berlin, we summarize a few observations that complement certain facts, and reproduce the Berlin atmosphere or nuance opinions and attitudes. According to Hacman, the city continued to live by peacetime rules, with only a few restrictions. The population had become accustomed to these, too, despite isolated critical voices. Road traffic was normal, even during anti-aircraft alarms. Even though the windows were clogged and trams stopped during the bombings, daytime British air strikes were rare²⁷. The city's architecture is not influenced by bombings, but by Hitler's desire to create *Germany*²⁸. «The appearance of the city has not changed much. Only works on the two axes North-South and East-West, which are going to be big boulevards, and which continue feverishly and during the war, even on Sundays, tend to change its aspect a lot»²⁹.

But the effects of the war are very varied. Camouflage and bomb protection measures have turned the German capital into a safer city. The number of traffic accidents has increased, as well as the number of rapes or murders. Despite the fact that they are not mentioned in the *Journal*, the reports of the Gestapo and the RSHA Security Service mention them. December 1940 was the month when they even reached the pages of the «Völkischer Beobachter»³⁰.

Until the end of 1940, Hacman did not notice any major changes in the routine life of Berliners. Nor did the restrictions imposed by the authorities change the behavior of the inhabitants of a capital, which had shown a strong desire for life since the years of the Weimar Republic. The apparent silence was doubled by the fact that there were no limitations on everyday structures. Berliners could still manage their personal or group lives. And sports competitions remained, within the limits of the war, unaffected. The same happened with the theater stage, with the opera and especially with the cinematography, the cinemas enjoying a bigger influx than before³¹.

«The population of Berlin is very quiet, leading their lives not only every day, but also every night if the police did not order the closure of all public places already at [missing text n.n.] in the evening. In fact, all the restaurants, theaters, cinemas are sometimes so full that you can't even find a single free seat. At the cinemas, when a better movie is on, you have to buy a ticket 2–3 days in advance. True, packaged food is neither as tasty nor as plentiful as it once was. However, bread and potatoes are in satisfactory quantities and qualities, and only meat and all kinds of fats, then eggs, milk, coffee, tea, etc. are harder to buy. But the people you meet on the street or in the subway are in a good mood; you don't see worried faces, you don't hear any dissatisfaction. In short, so far so good. I don't think Hitler himself knows what will happen next»³².

The final scene, «Hitler doesn't know either», appears sequentially in Hacman's *Journal* and includes both genuine Berliners and those adopted by the great metropolis. The image returns to Hacman's pages. The difference between the majority of the population and the state authorities is visible. Although Hacman is in the capital of a state at the height of his political and military power, he does not escape some of the fatigue of the population, fed up with war, and especially of the uncertainties about its end. In December 1940, a close friend told him confidentially, «that as the war continues, the population's discontent grows and that by six months, at least half of it will demand peace, which Hitler does not want to consider, being too passionate». Hacman is attracted to another detail. Both the countless public statements of the officials and the private discussions make him meditate on a possible German-Soviet military conflict. He was hoping for a war that could bring the northern part of Bukovina back and, implicitly, his return to Chernivtsi. Therefore, any moment of closeness, at least declarative between the Reich and the U.R.S.S. irritated him: «On the other hand, following the Russo-German Convention, the German Communists are beginning to gain courage. Beautiful prospects»³³.

Group psychology is found even in children. A certain state of emotion, perhaps even agitation, overwhelmed him as he noted that during the November 21st air alarm, he saw a group of children behaving almost normally.

«What impressed me most then was the attitude of a group of about 30 children, aged between 1 and 12, who were leaving with another train in a children's camp in Basel and who, together with their accompanying mothers, kept the most perfect peace, both in the cellar where all the passengers had to take refuge, and especially when boarding the train, when the cannons were still roaring violently»³⁴.

Here, Hacman captures a less known aspect. Following the British air raids in September 1940, Hitler decided to evacuate the most vulnerable people in the capital. Martin Borman has prepared a circular for children to be sent to rural areas in the Reich. The operation, called *Kinderlandverschickung* (KLV), began in the autumn of 1940. KVL was described not as an evacuation, but as a referral of children under 14 from more exposed neighborhoods, in rural Sudetenland, Saxony, Brandenburg, Silesia and even East Prussia. Some teachers were able to leave with these children to continue with them in school, in the regions where they were settled, for a period of six months. Many did not return to Berlin until the end of the war. In the first days of the operation, 3,000 children left the capital, followed by another 15,000 in October and 42,000 in November³⁵.

On the other hand, what seems to be reprehensible is the change in the attitude of many Berliners, who are ready to take advantage of the war, as it is.

«First of all, the professionals are rude, extremely rude, either as a result of the new nationalist course with the extraordinary circumstance of the ministerial blankets, or as a result of the war. For example, a hairdresser to whom Filuța wanted to explain how she wants to be styled, answered firmly: „Don't teach me how to do it!” And when she only asked a shoemaker, who meant on a piece of leather for the ping, the pieces he needed, he thought, „you need so much”, she immediately returned the piece of leather without answering. Then, even in several stores, we entrusted that all the objects displayed in the shop windows, were not for sale, but they are only to be promoted. Many objects such as lighters, electric lamps, batteries for those lamps, are very difficult to find and disappear quickly. Many eyewitnesses talk about that showcases the shops were full of goods, but that a familiar poster explicitly said, „The goods displayed in the windows are not for sale”»³⁶.

Hacman doesn't mention the issue of winter warming. Numerous testimonies converge on the idea that this became a constant problem for Berliners in the winter of 1940–1941³⁷. From another Romanian testimony about wartime Berlin, provided by D.C. Amzăr, we notice that the heating problem was just as acute since the winter of 1939–1940, the lack of coal on the market being felt by the Berliners, especially with the approach of winter³⁸.

A critical remark is given by the visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka³⁹, to whom «a princely reception is made. Mr Gobbels has ordered that all shops and establishments be closed from 2 pm so that the population can line up on the streets of Berlin. Puiu Bodnărescu tells us that the establishment where he works has even received an order for the workers to appear, to acclaim the great guest»⁴⁰. Instead, the Minister of Propaganda had to repeatedly visit working-class neighborhoods to boost morale, which he invariably found good⁴¹. In the very days of V.M. Molotov's visit in the German capital, in November, he captures a discussion in a shop, which betrays this state of mind: «In a shop a lady wanted to buy a pot. Taking the pot in his hand, he asks the seller: How much does this cost? To which she answers angrily: It's a night pot. Go and tell Molotov — who was just in Berlin — that we already have to eat from night pots»⁴².

One thing Nazi German researchers cannot overlook is the Jewish issue. In Hacman it rarely occurs. He notices it in the attitude of the merchants. «On the other hand, I look at posters posted on some store doors: “Jews are not wanted” or “Jews entrance denied”»⁴³. Reports on the situation of Jews in Germany are very rare in Hacman's pages, and those are taken from official statements. Anti-Semitic measures were tightened in September 1941, when the University professor was preparing to leave Berlin. An explanation could be found. In the intellectual circles of the Reich capital, the Jewish question is not openly discussed. Nicolaus Sombart remembered that this was not commented on or done as little as the «other misfortunes caused by the Nazis»⁴⁴. It is equally true that until September 1941, when the professor left Berlin, the Jews in the capital of the Reich were not subjected to violent, criminal measures⁴⁵. He recalled, however, the story of a German professor at the University of Cologne, where Bernhard Rust, the Reich's Minister of Education, had told the Faculty of Theology professors: «And you, professors of the Theology Faculty, do you still plan to believe in the Jewish bastard fairy tale?» Hacman he also interjects his own comment: «As can be seen, National Socialism seems very determined to destroy the Christian religion for the Jewish origin of its founder»⁴⁶.

The irony is somehow present in the pages of the *Journal*. It's also present in the psychological evolution of countries, in a comparative form, but gives the Germans an air of superiority, long maintained by the Nazi political regime. The war, perceived as being somewhere far from the territorial limit of Berlin, cannot reach them.

«However, the Italians are much worse off in their war against the Greeks in Albania and against the British in Africa. In one place or another, offensive battles have turned into battles that Mussolini's divisions endure. I'm afraid that without Germany's effective help, the „fratelli (brothers)” will be suffocated. For now, the Berliner, who has a bad mouth, is starting to make fun of the „Duke”. Thus, regarding Mussolini's joining the war, last summer, against France, after it had already been defeated, the famous “veni, vidi, vici” of Julius Caesar, was as follows translated into German to the Duke : *Ich kam als ich sale das es siegle* (I came when I sold that it was sealed). And now, after the failures of the Italians in Albania, it is said that France is preparing orientation boards, which they want to place on the Franco-Italian border to stop the advance of the Greeks: „Stop, because this is where the French territory begins”»⁴⁷.

Conclusions. The information provided by the *Journal* is diverse and shows us a world caught in the war mixer, trying to adapt to realities for which the Germans had not been prepared, despite the outrageous propaganda and the desire of the National Socialist leadership to lead the war, with all its consequences.

Other images taken during his stay in Berlin are relevant to understanding the relationship between the population of the German capital and the political regime. Berlin society was very politically diverse and did not form a fundamental basis for Nazism. The traditions of the left, the vibrant Jewish community or the cosmopolitanism of the elites have survived the regime. Present in the intellectual, conservative circles, Hacman increasingly observes the criticisms brought by the academic personalities towards the regime. Far from being a supporter of the Nazi ideology and regime, Max Hacman notes his impressions or makes relatively discreet comments about the political system. From the way he memorizes his impressions, a certain restraint can be observed. He prefers to «speak» the critical remarks about the regime through the characters he meets, being restrained in making his own comments. But he cannot ignore the fact that, with the prolongation of the conflagration, criticisms are becoming more frequent. The events described in the *Journal* are illustrative of the understanding of the social climate in Berlin at war and of the way in which the Germans from Romania or the Romanians in the capital of the Reich perceived the state of affairs. Their worries are carefully recorded and increase Hacman's desire to return home, especially in the summer of 1941, when it finally became possible.

The image of people and places, deeds and aspirations, victories and sufferings, are taken from the serious picture of Berlin during the war. Berlin faces that appear sequentially in the pages of the *Journal* are also presented when they seek to capture group psychology. Certain attitudes, behaviors, and everyday patterns are sincerely rendered. He is disturbed by the attitude of some merchants but offers them circumstances through his relationship with propaganda and the political regime. He is pleasantly impressed by the image of a group of children caught in a bombing as they were walking towards a train station, but he is disappointed by the «potemkiada» organized by Goebbels with the arrival of a Japanese diplomat in Berlin. Instead, the observer gives us some anecdotes about looking at Italians to compare the mood of Berliners. Slightly unusual is the fact that he makes very few comments on the Jewish issue, in a world where anti-Semitism had overcome ideological barriers and become a state of affairs in which the exclusion and humiliation to which Jews were subjected had to draw more attention to an observer of plurivalent realities in the capital of the National Socialist Reich. Hacman's Berlin is rendered plastically, in its colors, faces, and images, but without being able to bring out of its scene the immediate reality: the world's greatest conflagration.

¹ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, d. 1814–1815, (infra: Hacman d. 1814, d. 1815).

² M. Olaru, Ș.M. Ungureanu, *Maximilian Hacman: Amintiri din războiul mondial (25 iulie — 10 octombrie 1914)* [Maximilian Hacman: Memories from the World War July 25 — October 10, 1914] (I), in «Analele Bucovinei», 2016, № 2 (47), p. 599–626.

³ D. Zbucea, *Proiecte de unificare europeană ale mișcărilor de rezistență din cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial* [Projects for European unification of the resistance movements from the Second World War], Cluj-Napoca, Science Book House, 2013, p. 23.

⁴ Demetru Emanuel Paulian (1887–1949), professor of neurology at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest, came to Berlin as Director of the Hospital for Mental Illness in Bucharest to give several lectures. (I. Matei, L. Nastasă-Kovács, *Cultură și propagandă. Institutul Român din Berlin (1940–1945)* [Culture and propaganda. Romanian Institute in Berlin (1940–1945)], Cluj-Napoca, Mega Publishing House, 2018, p. 371).

⁵ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 73.

⁶ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 74

⁷ H. Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1962, p. 34.

- ⁸ Filuta Hacman was Maximilian's wife.
- ⁹ Elsa von Sendenhorst-Bawens was a professor at an American university.
- ¹⁰ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 127.
- ¹¹ D.C. Amzăr, *Jurnal berlinez* [Berlin Journal], Bucharest, Romania Press Publishing, 2005, p. 202.
- ¹² N. Sombart, *Tinerete în Berlin 1933–1943. O relatare* [Youth in Berlin 1933–1943. A story], Bucharest, Univers Publishing House, 1999, p. 133.
- ¹³ Hitler intends to appoint Göring as World Marshal. In this case, Goebels would become half-world marshal, and Himmler marshal of the underworld. (It is a play upon words in German, based on the phonetic similarity between the words *Weltmarschall*, a rank designation in the land forces, *Welt*-world, *Halbwelt*-half the world, *Unterwelt*-underworld). (Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, p. 165).
- ¹⁴ P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, Harvard University Press, 2008, p. 100.
- ¹⁵ The decline in the regime's popularity can be seen in the well-known analysis of Viktor Klemperer, a Jewish professor converted to Protestantism. To see for himself, he set out to count how many people in stores said «Heil Hitler» and how many said «Hello». Results: «At Zscheischler's bakery, five women said "Hello", two said "Heil Hitler"; but at the Ölsner grocery store everyone said Heil Hitler». However, as Germany's defeat became more certain, the balance undoubtedly shifted in favor of "Hello". This example, to which Klemperer returns throughout his *Diary*, is cited by many authors. (V. Klemperer, *I shall bear Witness: The Diary of Victor Klemperer 1933–1941*, London, Weidenfeld&Nicholson, 1998, p. 428).
- ¹⁶ This is the Catholic Bishop of Münster, who in July-August 1941 gave three sermons in which he accused the Nazi crimes of euthanizing the mentally ill, which enjoyed great notoriety in Germany. (P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, p. 118).
- ¹⁷ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 127.
- ¹⁸ He recalled in September 1941 a family who had been arrested for breaking a portrait of the Führer when news broke that four children had died on the Russian front. (V. Klemperer, *I shall bear Witness*, p. 426). There was a real conflict between the courts and the Gestapo-backed Nazi Minister of Justice. (R. Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazy Germany*, Oxford, 2001, p. 79).
- ¹⁹ From September 1, 1939, listening to foreign radio stations became a crime and was punishable by imprisonment. The BBC broadcast in German and estimated that between 10 and 15 million Germans were listening to London Radio. (R. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, New York, Basic Books, 2021, p. 209).
- ²⁰ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 88.
- ²¹ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 93.
- ²² Listening to foreign radio stations was banned or impossible with German-made devices due to interference. (N. Frei, *Statul Führerului. Regimul național-socialist 1933–1945* [Führer's State. The National Socialist Regime 1933–1945], Bucharest, Corint Editorial Group, 2007, p. 163).
- ²³ According to D. Șandru, *Mișcări de populație în România (1940–1948)* [Population movements in Romania (1940–1948)], Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2003, p. 97.
- ²⁴ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 112.
- ²⁵ I. Kershaw, *Hitler*, Bucharest, Meteor Press Publishing House, 2012, p. 567.
- ²⁶ P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, p. 166.
- ²⁷ R. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, p. 67.
- ²⁸ On April 20, 1941, Kempeler noted that Hitler's preoccupation with rebuilding the new Berlin seemed more important to Hitler than the war itself. Therefore, little importance was given to the destroyed buildings. (V. Klemperer, *I shall bear Witness*, p. 382).
- ²⁹ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, p. 162.
- ³⁰ R. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, p. 42, 44.
- ³¹ R. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, p. 50–51.
- ³² Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 15.
- ³³ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, p. 181.
- ³⁴ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, p. 157.
- ³⁵ R. Moorhouse, *Berlin at War*, p. 185–187.
- ³⁶ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 86.
- ³⁷ V. Klemperer, *I shall bear Witness*, p. 60.
- ³⁸ D.C. Amzăr, *Jurnal berlinez*, p. 106, 108.
- ³⁹ Yōsuke Matsuoka (1880–1946), Japanese diplomat and Foreign Minister of the Japanese Empire from 1940–1941, is considered one of the architects of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940. His visit to Germany in late March and early April 1941 brought no advantage to Germany.
- ⁴⁰ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 69–70.
- ⁴¹ P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, p. 278.
- ⁴² Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, f. 164.
- ⁴³ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1814, p. 163.
- ⁴⁴ N. Sombart, *Tinerete în Berlin*, p. 26.
- ⁴⁵ Editor Paulheinz Wantzen noted that the Jews in Berlin were «still remarkably well dressed», but in September 1941, identification was introduced, and soon the first group of Berlin Jews was deported. (P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, p. 211).
- ⁴⁶ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 11.
- ⁴⁷ Iași National Archives Service, Manuscript Collection Fund, Hacman, d. 1815, p. 16.

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