

Beleške

UVOD

1. Politikolozi su, razume se, često proučavali pitanja političkog vođstva, mada obično nastojeći da konstruišu apstraktne modele ili vrste političkog vođstva. Dragoceni primeri takvog rada, a većina je izvanredna, mogu se pronaći u: R. A. W. Rhodes and Paul 't Hart, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*, Oxford, 2016, esp. 89, 150, 157, 210–11, 220, 230, 322–3, 343, 382–4 and chs. 22–8.
2. Videti, na primer, E. H. Carr, *What Is History?*, London, 1st edn 1961, 2nd edn 1984, ponovljeno izdanje sa uvodom koji je napisao Richard J. Evans, London, 2018, ch. 2, 'Society and the Individual', i Evansov uvod, xvi–xvii.
3. Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, trans. Louise and Aylmer Maude, Ware, 2001, xi, 541–4, 777–8, 889–92, 929–58.
4. Imanuel Geiss, 'Die Rolle der Persönlichkeit in der Geschichte: zwischen Überbewerten und Verdrängen', in Michael Bosch (ed.), *Persönlichkeit und Struktur in der Geschichte*, Düsseldorf, 1977, 23.
5. Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lässig (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency*, New York and Oxford, 2008, 19.
6. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts. Monster, Retter und Mediokritäten*, Berlin, 1998, 18. Margaret MacMillan, *History's People. Personalities and the Past*, London, 2017, izlaže pet tematskih eseja u kojima nastoji da ulogu vodećih ličnosti prošlosti locira

- unutar šireg konteksta impersonalnih ekonomskih, socijalnih i kulturnih činioaca i tokova koji oblikuju istorijsku promenu.
7. Jean-Baptiste Decherf, *Le Grand Homme et son pouvoir*, La Tour d'Aigues, 2017, 7–59, istražuje korene i razvoj slike, predstave, o „velikom čoveku.“
 8. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1841, reprint, n.d., ii.
 9. Carlyle, cxxvi.
 10. Priča se da je njegova „herojska“ biografija Fridriha Velikog potresla Hitlera do suza u vreme približavanja poslednjeg čina drame u berlinskom bukeru 1945. godine. H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (1947), London, 1973, 140.
 11. Jacob Burckhardt, *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (1st edn, Berlin-Stuttgart, 1905, citirano iz izdanja C. H. Beck, sa tekstom koji je naknadno napisao Jürgen Osterhammel), Munich, 2018, 217–19.
 12. Burckhardt, 219.
 13. Burckhardt, 238, 246.
 14. Burckhardt, 258.
 15. Burckhardt, 250–51.
 16. Burckhardt, 222–3.
 17. Lucy Riall, 'The Shallow End of History? The Substance and Future of Political Biography', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40/3 (2010), 375–97; Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, New Haven and London, 2007, 390–97.
 18. Riall, Garibaldi, 387.
 19. Riall, Garibaldi, 397.
 20. Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*, London, 1974, 3–9; Joachim C. Fest, 'On Remembering Adolf Hitler', *Encounter*, 41 (October 1973), 19.
 21. Geoffrey Best, *Churchill. A Study in Greatness*, London, 2001, 329–30, ističući da se „njegovo pravo na veličinu zasniva na dostignućima na polju rata i politike“, tvrdi da je „on učinio ono što... najveći među ljudima mogu da učine: promenio je očigledan tok istorije.“ Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *Churchill's Shadow*, London, 2021, chs. 19–21, opisuje neverovatno širenje „mita“ o Čerčilu dugo posle njegove smrti.
 22. Andrew Roberts, Churchill. *Walking with Destiny*, London, 2019, 786–9.
 23. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Günther Roth and Claus Wittich, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978, 215–6, 241–54,

-
- 1111–57. Arthur Schweitzer, *The Age of Charisma*, Chicago, 1984, primenjuje Veberov koncept na razne moderne političke vođe.
24. Frank Dikötter, *How to Be a Dictator. The Cult of Personality in the Twentieth Century*, London, 2019, izlaže brojne rečite primere.
 25. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Moscow, 1954, 10. (Neznatno sam izmenio prevod.)
 26. *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Amazon reprint, n.d., 35–7.
 27. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 24, 61.
 28. Heather Elizabeth Mitterer, 'The Role of Personality in Leader Effectiveness', 22 January 2014, <https://sites.psu.edu/leadership/2014/01/22/the-role-of-personality-in-leader-effectiveness/>, accessed November 2021.
 29. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 3: *Global Empires and Revolution, 1890–1945*, Cambridge, 2012, 5–13.
 30. Weber, 53.
 31. Mann, 13.
 32. Videti Brown, 45.
 33. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Strongmen*, New York, 2020, svrstava Trampa i druge novije populističke lidere u isti nasledni red koji seže do velikih diktatora dvadesetog veka.

POGLAVLJE 1: VLADIMIR ILIČ LENJIN

1. Robert Service, *Lenin. A Biography*, London, 2000, 134–5, o promeni imena.
2. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 231.
3. Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians*, London, 2001, 362–85.
4. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 3: *Global Empires and Revolution, 1890–1945*, Cambridge, 2012, 174–90, esp. 182–3, 188–9.
5. Service, *Lenin*, 232.
6. Dimitri Volkogonov, *Lenin. Life and Legacy*, London, 1995, 110, 156.
7. Service, *Lenin*, 204, 212, 247, 274.
8. Mann, 175.
9. Mann, 184.
10. Victor Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator. An Intimate Portrait*, London, 2017, 22–3.

11. Sebestyen, 156–7.
12. Service, *Lenin*, 200, 232.
13. Service, *Lenin*, 19, 22; Robert Payne, *Lenin*, New York, 1964, 14.
14. Service, *Lenin*, 197, navodi četrnaest velikih evropskih gradova.
15. Sebestyen, 30, 184–7.
16. Summaries in Payne, 147–54; Sebestyen, 138–41; Service, *Lenin*, 135–9.
17. Service, *Lenin*, 152–3.
18. Service, *Lenin*, 171, 176.
19. Hosking, *Russia*, 361.
20. Service, *Lenin*, 259.
21. Service, *Lenin*, 263– 5; Martin McCauley (ed.), *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State 1917– 921. Documents*, London, 1975, 54–5.
22. Lars T. Lih, “‘All Power to the Soviets!’ Biography of a Slogan”, *International Relations*, 24 July 2017, <https://socialistproject.ca/2017/07/b1454/>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
23. Service, *Lenin*, 269.
24. Volkogonov, ch. 5, detaljno opisuje ličnost svakog ponaosob.
25. Mann, 185–6.
26. Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union*, London, 1985, 43.
27. Sebestyen, 337, citat.
28. Leonard Schapiro, *1917*, London, 1985, 131–2.
29. Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed. Trotsky, 1879–1921*, Oxford, 1970, 311–12.
30. Service, *Lenin*, 308–9.
31. Deutscher, 325; Robert Service, *Trotsky. A Biography*, London, 2009, 191.
32. Robert Gellately, *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler. The Age of Social Catastrophe*, London, 2007, 42–3.
33. Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, London, 1998, 73.
34. Schapiro, chs. 9–10; Service, *Lenin*, 314–19.
35. Sebestyen, 381; takode Payne, 426.
36. Schapiro, 147–9; Service, *Russia*, 74–5.
37. Orlando Figes, *A People’s Tragedy. The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, London, 1996, 631, 642; Gellately, 46–8.
38. Figes, *People’s*, 630– 31.
39. Volkogonov, 313 (i str. 306, 311).

40. Figes, *People's*, 627–9.
41. Volkogonov, 148–9 (i poglavlje 5 za opise ličnosti boljševika u grupi oko Lenjina).
42. Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*, London, 2000, 7, za broj pripadnika vojske.
43. Service, *Lenin*, 336–40 (citat na str. 339); Mawdsley, 42–6.
44. Service, *Trotsky*, 216.
45. Service, *Lenin*, 403.
46. Figes, *People's*, 618, 622–3; Orlando Figes, *Revolutionary Russia 1891–1991*, London, 2014, 153.
47. Service, *Lenin*, 363; Gellately, 53.
48. Volkogonov, 233–4.
49. Volkogonov, 235–40.
50. Figes, *People's*, 640, 647, 649 (i 627–49 za sveukupno širenje terora).
51. Service, *Lenin*, 443 (i za još dokaza o Lenjinovom zalaganju za korišćenje terora, 395, 411–12, 431, 435, 444).
52. Figes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 159.
53. Service, *Lenin*, 408–9; Volkogonov, 388; Sebestyen, 460–61; Payne, 525; Service, *Trotsky*, 272–8.
54. Mawdsley, 349–61.
55. Service, *Lenin*, 412, 418–19.
56. Hosking, *Soviet Union*, 134–5.
57. Figes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 166–7, 190.
58. Service, *Lenin*, 422–33.
59. Figes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 189–94.
60. Ovaj odeljak teksta zasniva se na: Service, *Lenin*, chs. 26–7.
61. Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin. Paradoxes of Power 1878–1928*, London, 2015, 498–501.
62. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 217.
63. Service, *Lenin*, 475–81, za poslednje mesece i smrt.
64. Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult*, New Haven and London, 2012, 22.
65. Arthur Schweizer, *The Age of Charisma*, Chicago, 1984, 167.
66. Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System*, London, 1985, 57–71.
67. Plamper, 24.
68. Figes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 181–2.
69. 'Russians Say Lenin Played Positive Role: Poll', <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-lenin-positive-role-levada-poll/28441045.html>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.

70. Alice Underwood, 'Why Lenin's Corpse Lives On in Putin's Russia', <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/why-lenins-corpse-lives-putins-russia>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.

POGLAVLJE 2: BENITO MUSOLINI

1. S druge strane Atlantika, Mussolini je uživao „ogromnu popularnost“ u SAD. John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism. The View from America*, Princeton, 1972, 23.
2. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 2: *Their Finest Hour*, London, 1949, 548.
3. Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini*, London, 1983, xiv, 122; citat u: A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Harmondsworth, 1964, 85; R. J. B. Bosworth, *Mussolini*, London, 2002, 424.
4. R. J. B. Bosworth, *The Italian Dictatorship*, London, 1998, 76–81, temeljno istražuje istrajnost prezrlih stavova o Musoliniju kojima se odbacuje kao puki „diktator šarlatan“ ili „žalosna imitacija Cezara“ – u suštini, kao pretenciozna ništarija koja je samo dizala mnogo buke praznim rečima.
5. Luisa Passerini, *Mussolini Immaginario*, Rome and Bari, 1991, 70–76, 99–101.
6. Hans Woller, *Mussolini. Der erste Faschist*, Munich, 2016, 57–8.
7. Woller, *Mussolini*, 59–60; Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 110; Mack Smith, 33.
8. Emilio Gentile, 'Paramilitary Violence in Italy: The Rationale of Fascism and the Origins of Totalitarianism', in Robert Gerwarth and John Horne (eds.), *War in Peace. Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, Oxford, 2012, 89.
9. Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power. Fascism in Italy 1919–1929*, London, 1987, 77; Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, London, 2004, 117–18.
10. Dominique Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis*, Cambridge, Mass., 2020, 16–21.
11. Gentile, 'Paramilitary Violence', 89–92; Michael Mann, *Fascists*, Cambridge, 2004, 100–118; Wolfgang Schieder (ed.), *Faschismus als soziale Bewegung*, Hamburg, 1976, 75.
12. Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, London, 1991, 26–7.
13. Michael R. Ebner, *Ordinary Violence in Mussolini's Italy*, New York, 2011, 25–34; Matteo Millan, 'The Institutionalisation of Squadristo', *Contemporary European History*, 22/4 (2014), 556;

- Jens Petersen, 'Violence in Italian Fascism, 1919–25', in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (eds.), *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe*, London, 1982, 280–94, daje statističke podatke o razmerama nasilja.
14. Lyttelton, *Seizure*, 44–6; Mack Smith, 52, o odbacivanju programa iz 1919. godine.
 15. Paul Corner, *Fascism in Ferrara 1915–1925*, Oxford, 1975, 170–76.
 16. Frank M. Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany, 1919–22*, Cambridge, 1989, 60–61, 102, 147.
 17. Emilio Gentile, 'Fascism in Power: The Totalitarian Experiment', in Adrian Lyttelton (ed.), *Liberal and Fascist Italy*, Oxford, 2002, 144.
 18. MacGregor Knox, *To the Threshold of Power, 1922/33*, Cambridge, 2007, 328; Woller, *Mussolini*, 72–4; Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 157–62; Pierre Milza, *Mussolini*, Paris, 1999, 282–9.
 19. Knox, *Threshold*, 329.
 20. Marco Tarchi, 'Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover', in Dirk Berg Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell (eds.), *Conditions of Democracy in Europe, 1919–1939: Systematic Case-Studies*, Basingstoke, 2000, 304–13.
 21. Knox, *Threshold*, 268 81, 327.
 22. Giulia Albanese, *The March on Rome: Violence and the Rise of Italian Fascism*, London, 2019, x, xiii, 74–7, 86–7.
 23. Mack Smith, 62–3.
 24. Albanese, 91–2.
 25. Woller, *Mussolini*, 67.
 26. Schieder, *Faschismus*, 80–83, o povećanju broja članova partije i njenom promenljivom karakteru.
 27. Adrian Lyttelton, 'Fascism in Italy: The Second Wave', in George L. Mosse (ed.), *International Fascism: New Thoughts and New Approaches*, London and Beverley Hills, 1979, 45, 48.
 28. Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 199; Lyttelton, *Seizure*, 250.
 29. Lyttelton, 'Fascism in Italy', 47–8.
 30. Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 203; Lyttelton, *Seizure*, 265–6; Milza, 345–50.
 31. Woller, *Mussolini*, 115–17.
 32. Millan, 550; Lyttelton, *Seizure*, 269–307, podrobno proučava Farinačijevo službovanje na mestu sekretara partije i opadanje moći partije. Milza, u poglavlju 12 razmatra sastavne delove strukture moći na nižim hijerarhijama u odnosu na Musolinijev položaj.
 33. Ebner, 48–71.

34. Gentile, 'Fascism in Power', 169.
35. Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, 'Das System Mussolini. Die Regierungspraxis des Diktators 1922 bis 1943 im Spiegel seiner Audienzen', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 66/2 (2018), 217–25.
36. Woller, *Mussolini*, 118–19.
37. Emilio Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*, Cambridge, Mass., 1996, 136–9.
38. Stephen Gundle, Christopher Duggan and Giuliana Pieri (eds.), *The Cult of the Duce. Mussolini and the Italians*, Manchester, 2015, esp. 2–4, 27–40; Christopher Duggan, *Fascist Voices*, London, 2012, xi, 230, 241, 279; Piero Melograni, 'The Cult of the Duce in Mussolini's Italy', in Mosse, 73–90; Frank Dikötter, *How to Be a Dictator*, London, 2019, 14–19; Woller, *Mussolini*, 114–15; Milza, 555–62; Paul Corner, *The Fascist Party and Popular Opinion in Mussolini's Italy*, Oxford, 2012, 210–11, 280; Paul Corner (ed.), *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes*, Oxford, 2009, 122–46.
39. Corner, *Popular Opinion*, 138–41; John Gooch, *Mussolini's War*, London, 2020, 33.
40. Mack Smith, 220–21.
41. MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed 1939–1941*, Cambridge, 1986, 9–10.
42. *Ciano's Diary 1937–1943*, London, 2002, 102 (18 June 1938), 110 (17 July 1938), 152–3 (4 November 1938), 208 (27 March 1939).
43. Izraz je prvi put upotrebljen u: Hans Mommsen, *Beamtentum im Dritten Reich*, Stuttgart, 1966, 98 n. 26.
44. MacGregor Knox, *Common Destiny. Dictatorship, Foreign Policy, and War in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, Cambridge, 2000, 142–3.
45. Christian Goeschel, *Mussolini and Hitler*, New Haven and London, 2018, 45–52.
46. Goeschel, 89–90.
47. *Ciano's Diary*, 201 (15 March 1939).
48. Knox, *Common Destiny*, 137–44; Gooch, 15–17.
49. Gooch, 33.
50. Joe Maiolo, *Cry Havoc: The Arms Race and the Second World War 1931–1941*, London, 2010, 196–202; Gooch, 55–6; Knox, *Common Destiny*, 150–51.
51. Corner, *Popular Opinion*, 138–41; Christian Goeschel, 'Mussolini, Munich and the Italian People', in Julie Gottlieb, Daniel Hucker

- and Richard Toy (eds.), *The Munich Crisis. Politics and the People*, Manchester, 2021, 156–8, 161, 165–6.
52. Hans Woller, *Geschichte Italiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 2010, 153–61; Woller, *Mussolini*, 164–71; Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 338–44.
 53. Michele Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy*, Maddison, Wisconsin, 2000, x, 42–3, 53–4.
 54. *Ciano's Diary*, 264 (24 August 1939).
 55. Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed*, 104–5.
 56. Woller, *Mussolini*, 209.
 57. Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed*, 18–30.
 58. Woller, *Mussolini*, 200.
 59. Gooch, 296, 350.
 60. Filippo Focardi, 'Italy's Amnesia over War Guilt: The "Evil Germans" Alibi', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 25/4 (2014), 8; Woller, *Mussolini*, 233–4.
 61. Claudia Baldoli, 'Spring 1943: The Fiat Strikes and the Collapse of the Italian Home Front', *History Workshop Journal*, 72/1 (2011), 181–9; Gooch, 365.
 62. Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 403–4.
 63. Woller, *Mussolini*, 298–301; MacGregor Knox, 'Das faschistische Italien und die "Endlösung" 1942/43', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 55 (2007), 53–5, 77–9, 91–2; Meir Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, Oxford, 1978, 323, 348–50, 389–90, 408–14.
 64. Claudio Pavone, *A Civil War. A History of the Italian Resistance*, London, 1991, 2014, ch. 5; Woller, *Geschichte Italiens*, 197–8; H. James Burgwyn, *Mussolini and the Salò Republic 1943–1945*, Cham, 2018, 335–6.
 65. Hans Woller, *Die Abrechnung mit dem Faschismus in Italien 1943–1948*, Munich, 1996, 279.
 66. Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics 1943–1988*, 92.
 67. Woller, *Die Abrechnung*, 271–3; Filippo Focardi and Lutz Klinkhammer, 'The Question of Fascist Italy's War Crimes: The Construction of a Self-Acquitting Myth (1943–1948)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9/3 (2004), 330–48.
 68. Rasprave o stepenu podrške pružene diktatoru usledile su naročito posle objavljivanja četvrtog toma *Mussolini il duce. Gli anni del consenso 1929–1936*, Turin, 1974. Snažnu kritiku De Feličevog metoda, pristupa i procene izlaže Wolfgang Schieder, *Faschistische Diktaturen*, Göttingen, 2008, 50–55.

69. Michael A. Ledeen, 'Renzo De Felice and the Controversy over Italian Fascism', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11 (1976), 269–82; Renzo De Felice and Michael A. Ledeen, *Fascism: An Informal Introduction to Its Theory and Practice*, London, 1976, 2017.
70. Gundle et al., 252–4.
71. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Strongmen*, New York and London, 2020, 79–83 i 244–5, procenjuje privlačnost „jakih ljudi“ Silvija Berlusconija i Matea Salvinija.
72. Angelo Amante, 'Half of Italians Want "Strongman" in Power, Survey Shows', <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-survey-IDUSKBN1YA1X5>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
73. Woller, *Mussolini*, 317–23; Bosworth, *Mussolini*, 413–19.
74. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benito_Mussolini, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.

POGLAVLJE 3: ADOLF HITLER

1. Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919–1945*, vol. 3, Exeter, 1988, 764–5 (takođe str. 740). Kompletne reference i citati u ovom poglavlju nalaze se u mojoj dvotomnoj Hitlerovoj biografiji: Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, London, 1998, and *Hitler, 1936–45*, London, 2000. U druge važne biografije spadaju: Alan Bullock, *Hitler. A Study in Tyranny*, 2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1962; Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*, London, 1974; and Volker Ullrich, *Hitler* (2 vols.), London, 2016, 2020; Peter Longerich, *Hitler: A Life*, London, 2019. Brendan Simms, *Hitler: Only the World Was Enough*, London, 2019, praktično jedini tvrdi da je Hitlerova centralna ideološka preokupacija bio anglo-američki kapitalizam.
2. Promenljivi stavovi prema Hitleru izloženi su u: Ian Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth': Image and Reality in the Third Reich*, Oxford, 1987, 264–6.
3. Hans Mommsen, 'Nationalsozialismus', in *Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, Freiburg, 1971, column 702.
4. Claudia Schmölders, *Hitlers Gesicht*, Munich, 2000, 7–14.
5. Eberhard Jäckel and Axel Kuhn (eds.), *Hitler. Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905–1924*, Stuttgart, 1980, 69.
6. Thomas Weber, *Hitler's First War*, Oxford, 2010, 250–55, 345–6.
7. Noakes and Pridham, vol. 1, Exeter, 1983, 13.

8. Kritičko izdanje koje sada prihvataju vodeći autoriteti je ono koje je objavio Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich: *Hitler.Mein Kampf. Eine kritische Edition*, ed. Christian Hartmann et al., Munich, 2016.
9. Suštinska poenta koju ističe Eberhard Jekel u prvoj sistemskoj analizi *Majn kampf*. Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung. Entwurf einer Herrschaft*, Tübingen, 1969, 140–41; i u najnovije vreme Laurence Rees, *Hitler and Stalin*, London, 2020, 1–2.
10. Lothar Machtan, *The Hidden Hitler*, London, 2001, 88–93 (citat na str. 93).
11. Anton Joachimsthaler, *Hitlers Liste*, Munich, 2003, odbacuje mnoge neosnovane priče i posebno rasvetljava njegove odnose sa ženama.
12. Otto Gritschneider, *Der Hitler-Prozeß und sein Richter Georg Neithardt*, Munich, 2001, 51.
13. Gregor Štraser koristi jezik feudalnog doba – „vojvoda i vazali“ – kada 1927. godine opisuje odnos vođe i njegovih sledbenika kao suštinu Nacističke partije. Noakes and Pridham, vol. 1, 54.
14. Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik*, Munich, 1962, 271.
15. Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, London, 2003, izuzetno upućeno i opsežno predstavlja tu višeslojnu krizu.
16. Martin Broszat, *German National Socialism, 1919–1945*, Santa Barbara, 1966, 58–9.
17. Heinrich August Winkler, *Weimar 1918–1933. Die Geschichte der ersten deutschen Demokratie*, chs. 14–18, izvanredan je vodič kroz složenosti produbljiivanja političke krize, naposljetku kobne.
18. Dietrich Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party 1919–1933*, Newton Abbot, 1971, 294–6.
19. Benjamin Carter Hett, *Burning the Reichstag*, Oxford/New York, 2014, iznosi nove razloge za sumnju u to da je mladi holandski komunist Marinus van der Lube bio jedini počinilac.
20. Vodeći advokati koji se bave ustavnim pravom naglasili su to tumačenje: Noakes and Pridham, vol. 2, Exeter, 1984, 200, 476, 486.
21. Noakes and Pridham, vol. 2, 200.
22. Franz Neumann (ed.), *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*, London, 1942, 75, bio je među prvima koji su istakli značaj Hitlerove harizmatičke moći. Laurence Rees, *The Dark Charisma of Adolf Hitler*, London, 2012, procenjuje njen uticaj.
23. Noakes and Pridham, vol. 2, 207.

24. Heike B. Görtemaker, *Hitlers Hofstaat*, Munich, 2019, proučava sastav i prirodu kruga ljudi u Berghofu.
25. Leonidas E. Hill (ed.), *Die Weizsäcker-Papiere 1933–1950*, Frankfurt, 1974, 162.
26. Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges*, Stuttgart, 1981, 86.
27. Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, Jerusalem, 2004, 241.
28. Gerald Fleming, *Hitler und die Endlösung*, Wiesbaden, 1982, 86.
29. Elke Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, part 2, vol. 2, Munich, 1996, 498.
30. Noakes and Pridham, vol. 3, 1049.
31. Peter Longerich, *The Unwritten Order: Hitler's Role in the Final Solution*, London, 2001, 106.
32. Na primer, Peter Witte et al., *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42*, Hamburg, 1999, 294, iznosi zapis o Hitlerovom sporazumu 18. decembra 1941. godine da Jevreje treba istrebiti kao partizane. Fleming, 62–8, 163–5, o Himlerovoj tvrdnji da je imao ovlašćenja od Hitlera za svoje akcije.
33. Longerich, *The Unwritten Order*, 119.
34. Nicolaus von Below, *Als Hitlers Adjutant 1937–45*, Mainz, 1980, 398.
35. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany*, London, 1968, 402, 404.
36. Mary Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, Oxford, 2018, 245–58.

POGLAVLJE 4: JOSIF STALJIN

1. Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, London, 1971, 587.
2. Naredni odeljak zasniva se uglavnom na: Robert Service, *Stalin. A Biography*, London, 2004; Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary 1879–1929*, London, 1974 (= Tucker 1); Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin. The Court of the Red Tsar*, London, 2003; Edvard Radzinsky, *Stalin*, New York, 1996; i na noviju, opsežnu studiju: Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin. Paradoxes of Power 1878–1928*, London, 2015 (= Kotkin 1).
3. Service, *Stalin*, 10–11, rezimira to pitanje.
4. Laurence Rees, *Hitler and Stalin. The Tyrants and the Second World War*, London, 2020, xxvi.
5. Khrushchev, 307.

6. Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin. Waiting for Hitler 1929–1941*, London, 2018 (= Kotkin 2), 234–5, 492–3.
7. Sebag Montefiore, 305–6.
8. Sebag Montefiore, 259–61.
9. Kotkin 1, 422.
10. Evan Mawdsley, *The Stalin Years. The Soviet Union, 1929–1953*, Manchester, 1998, 80.
11. See Service, *Stalin*, 165–6.
12. Adam B. Ulam, *Stalin. The Man and His Era*, Boston, 1989, 218–19; Tucker 1, 288–9.
13. Neizvesno je da li je Lenjin, koji je 1923. bio gotovo potpuno onesposobljen usled niza moždanih udara, zaista napisao, ili diktirao, ovaj dokument. Smatra se, osnovano, da je Lenjinova supruga Krupska uplela prste u sastavljanje dokumenta želeći da stvori konfuziju oko pitanja Lenjinovog naslednika ocrnjujući i druge kandidate kao i Staljina. Kotkin 1, 498–501.
14. Videti Service, *Stalin*, 147: „Da je umro u septembru 1917. godine, niko – sasvim sigurno – ne bi pisao njegovu biografiju.“ Krajnji datum mogao bi čak da se produži na 1924. godinu i otkrivanje Lenjinovog testamenta.
15. Videti Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System*, London, 1985, ch. 11, ‘The Social Background of Stalinism’.
16. Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, London, 1998, 162.
17. Jasan prikaz ovih rivalstava u: Tucker 1, 299–303.
18. Kotkin 1, 662–76; Alec Nove, *Stalinism and After*, London, 1981, 29–37.
19. Hans Mommsen, ‘Cumulative Radicalisation and Progressive Self-Destruction as Structural Determinant of the Nazi Dictatorship’, in Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin (eds.), *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, Cambridge, 1997, 75–87.
20. Moshe Lewin, ‘Bureaucracy and the Stalinist State’, in Kershaw and Lewin, 62–3, o petnaest procenata više činovnika između 1928. i 1939. godine.
21. Kotkin 2, 162; Moshe Lewin, *The Soviet Century*, London, 2005, 84–9; Richard Overy, *The Dictators. Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia*, London, 2004, 65, 169.
22. Kult Staljina stupa na scenu 1929. godine povodom proslave njegovog pedeset i petog rođendana. Naredne tri godine kult relativno

- miruje, moguće da bi se izbeglo povezivanje Staljina sa previranjima izazvanim kolektivizacijom, a zatim se vraća na scenu još ekspanzivnije od sredine 1933. godine pa nadalje. Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult*, New Haven and London, 2012, 29, 36.
23. Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power. The Revolution from Above, 1928–1941*, New York, 1990 (= Tucker 2), 444.
 24. Kotkin 2, 497.
 25. Kotkin 1, 739.
 26. Kotkin 2, 131.
 27. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 256.
 28. Service, *Russia*, 215.
 29. Kotkin 2, 391–3, 479, 542, 586, 618–19, 740.
 30. Lew Besymenski, *Stalin und Hitler. Das Pokerspiel der Diktatoren*, Berlin, 2004, 282–90.
 31. Richard Overy, *Russia's War 1941–1945*, London, 1999, 117.
 32. Overy, *Russia's War*, 287–8.
 33. Laurence Rees, *War of the Century*, London, 1999, 323–3; Rees, *Hitler and Stalin*, 390–91; Service, *Stalin*, 512.
 34. Rees, *War of the Century*, 152–3.
 35. Jörg Baberowski, *Scorched Earth. Stalin's Reign of Terror*, New Haven and London, 2016, 362–71; Sean McMeekin, *Stalin's War*, London, 2021, 317.
 36. Baberowski, 376–7.
 37. Baberowski, 316–17.
 38. Baberowski, 328–34, 382–4; McMeekin, 146–9.
 39. Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars*, New Haven and London, 2006, 22.
 40. Roberts, 20–22.
 41. Sebag Montefiore, 334; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin. Triumph and Tragedy*, London, 1991, 413; Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union*, London, 1985, 272; Radzinsky, 472.
 42. Radzinsky, 472–3; Baberowski, 358.
 43. Rees, *War of the Century*, 70–73; Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices. Ten Decisions that Changed the World 1940–1941*, London, 2008, 289–90.
 44. Rees, *War of the Century*, 63–4, o njegovoj odgovornosti za katastrofalan gubitak Kijeva, kada je 600.000 vojnika Crvene armije palo u ruke Nemaca.
 45. John Erickson, *The Road to Stalingrad*, London, 1975 (1998 edn), 335, 337–8; David M. Glanz and Jonathan House, *When Titans*

- Clashed. How the Red Army Stopped Hitler*, Kansas, 1995, 105–6.
46. Erickson, 347, 349.
 47. Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, *Reminiscences and Reflections*, Moscow, 1985, vol. 2, 71–5, 86; Rees, *War of the Century*, 123–4; Roberts, 122–6; Rees, *Hitler and Stalin*, 196–202.
 48. Zhukov, 79; Erickson, 370–71.
 49. Zhukov, 87–100.
 50. Roberts, 159–62; Glanz and House, 129, 198–201, 259, 266; Rees, *Hitler and Stalin*, 369–70.
 51. Laurence Rees, *World War Two behind Closed Doors*, London, 2008, 211, 240–42; McMeekin, 507–11, 600–602.
 52. Radzinsky, 497.
 53. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 260–61; Overy, *Russia's War*, 291.
 54. *War Diaries 1939–1945. Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke*, ed. Alex Danchev and Daniel Todman, London, 2001, 301 (14 August 1942).
 55. Service, *Stalin*, 512; Sebag Montefiore, 436–7.
 56. Service, *Stalin*, 583.
 57. Service, *Stalin*, 561, 563–4.
 58. Service, *Stalin*, 630.
 59. Lewin, Making, 9. Videti i: Lewin, *Soviet Century*, 10–11.
 60. Brown, 255.
 61. McMeekin, 652– 5.
 62. Service, *Stalin*, 635–6.
 63. Roberts, 3.

POGLAVLJE 5: WINSTON ČERČIL

1. David Reynolds, *In Command of History*, London, 2004, xxi: „Čerčil istoričar oblikovao je našu sliku o Čerčilu premijeru. A to je bila njegova čvrsta namera.“
2. Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, London, 2001, 593.
3. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 88; Jenkins, 775–7.
4. Andrew Roberts, *Churchill*, London, 2019, 904–6.
5. Roberts, *Churchill*, 113,
6. Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters 1931–1950*, Oxford, 1954, 204.
7. Roberts, *Churchill*, 210–11.
8. Roberts, *Churchill*, 294, 310, 314–16.

9. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 373.
10. Geoffrey Best, *Churchill. A Study in Greatness*, London, 2001, 138.
11. Roberts, *Churchill*, 183.
12. N. J. Crowson, *Facing Fascism. The Conservative Party and the European Dictators 1935–40*, London, 1997, 185.
13. Clive Ponting, *1940. Myth and Reality*, Chicago, 1993, 57.
14. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 1: *The Gathering Storm*, London, 1948, 601.
15. Andrew Roberts, 'The Holy Fox'. *The Life of Lord Halifax*, London, 1997, 197.
16. Jenkins, 577–82; Roberts, *Churchill*, 494–500, za opis debate.
17. Ponting, 57.
18. Jenkins, 583–5; Roberts, *Churchill*, 507, 500–11; Ponting, 65–6; Roberts, 'Holy Fox', ch. 21.
19. Ponting, 103–11; John Lukacs, *Five Days in London. May 1940*, New Haven and London, 2001; Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices. Ten Decisions that Changed the World, 1940–1941*, London, 2008, ch. 1.
20. Ponting, 110–11.
21. Roberts, 'Holy Fox', 220.
22. Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova, bez Čerčilovog odobrenja, ipak je sve do sredine juna razmatralo mogućnosti da se preko Švedske pristupi kompromisnom mirovnom sporazumu. Ponting, 111–19.
23. Max Hastings, *Finest Years. Churchill as Warlord 1940–45*, London, 2009, 76–7, 93, za primere.
24. Ovaj odeljak teksta umnogome se zasniva na: Richard Toye, *The Roar of the Lion. The Untold Story of Churchill's World War II Speeches*, Oxford, 2015, 227–32; takođe, Roberts, *Churchill*, 535–6, 715–16.
25. Roberts, *Churchill*, 572, 747.
26. Toye, 206.
27. Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival 1940–1965*, London, 1966, 292.
28. Roberts, *Churchill*, 689–90; Hastings, 211–12.
29. *War Diaries 1939–1945. Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke*, ed. Alex Danchev and Daniel Todman, London, 2001, xx–xxi.
30. Roberts, *Churchill*, 734.
31. Jenkins, 622–4; Roberts, *Churchill*, 573–4.
32. Jenkins, 777–8; Hastings, 246–7; Roberts, *Churchill*, 715. Najdetajniju procenu delotvornosti bombardovanja izložio je Richard Overry, *The Bombing War. Europe 1939–1945*, London, 2013.

-
33. John Colville, *The Fringes of Power. Downing Street Diaries 1939–1955*, London, 1985, 183; *War Diaries*, 251.
 34. Hastings, xx; Roberts, *Churchill*, 736.
 35. Hastings, 43–4.
 36. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 384.
 37. Hastings, 124–30; Roberts, *Churchill*, 683.
 38. Jenkins, 642; Hastings, 117; Colville, 315.
 39. *War Diaries*, 282–6; Hastings, 312–14.
 40. Hastings, 478–82.
 41. Hastings, 493–6.
 42. *War Diaries*, 458–9; Hastings, 409–21.
 43. Colville, 574.
 44. Roberts, *Churchill*, 812.
 45. Laurence Rees, *Behind Closed Doors. Stalin, the Nazis and the West*, London, 2008, 155–63.
 46. Roberts, *Churchill*, 884.
 47. Hastings, 359–60.
 48. Rees, 214.
 49. Moran, 141.
 50. Rees, 221, 239, 309, 315–17.
 51. Diana Preston, *Eight Days at Yalta*, London, 2019, 117, 245; Hastings, 551.
 52. Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars*, New Haven and London, 2006, 220–21.
 53. Best, 332.
 54. Jenkins, 792; Brown, 89.
 55. Kao što je objasnio Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, London, 1975.
 56. Paul Addison, 'The Three Careers of Winston Churchill', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2001, 183.
 57. David Carlton, *Churchill and the Soviet Union*, Manchester, 2000, 131, 136, 141–3.
 58. Hugo Young, *This Blessed Plot. Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair*, London, 1998, 6, 10–18 (citat, str. 13).
 59. Young, 19–22.
 60. Jenkins, 818.
 61. Roberts, *Churchill*, 948–9.
 62. Roberts, *Churchill*, 963.
 63. Addison, 'The Three Careers', 185.

64. Roberts, *Churchill*, 959. John Charmley, *Churchill. The End of Glory*, London, 1993, ističe gubitak imperije kao potpunu suprotnost onome što je Čerčil želeo, što se borio da sačuva, ali pravi grešku verujući da je njegov položaj bio jači nego što stvarno jeste bio, te nešto što je bio neminovan proces vidi kao posledicu neuspeha Čerčilovog političkog vođstva.
65. Roberts, *Churchill*, 943–4.
66. Jenkins, 818.
67. ‘Edward Heath, “a Euro-sceptic”? Churchill? Never’, *Independent*, 26 September 1996, <https://www.independent.co.uk/archive>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
68. Roberts, *Churchill*, 960.
69. Young, 6.
70. Kriitička procena Čerčilovog zaveštanja: Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *Churchill's Shadow*, London, 2021, objavljena je nakon što je ovo poglavlje napisano.

POGLAVLJE 6: ŠARL DE GOL

1. Julian Jackson, *A Certain Idea of France. The Life of Charles de Gaulle*, London, 2019, 377 (speech of 1959); Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle. The Rebel, 1890–1944*, London, 1990, 215 (= Lacouture 1).
2. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 208.
3. Schwarz, 216.
4. Jackson, 305.
5. Charles de Gaulle, *War Memoirs*, vol. 1: *The Call to Honour 1940–1942*, London, 1955 (= DG 1), 3.
6. Lacouture 1, 3; Jackson, 19.
7. Schwarz, 208.
8. Jackson, 329.
9. Jackson, 29.
10. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol.2: *Their Finest Hour*, London, 1949, 142.
11. John Colville, *Downing Street Diaries 1939–1955*, London, 1985, 159–60.
12. DG 1, 86; Lacouture 1, 203–12; Jackson, 119; Paul-Marie de La Gorce, *De Gaulle*, Paris, 1999, 252.
13. Schwarz, 204.

14. DG 1, 89; Lacouture 1, 223–6; Jackson, 3–6; Gorce, 254–5; Éric Roussel, *Charles de Gaulle*, Paris, 2002, 126–31.
15. Jackson, 140.
16. Rod Kedward, *La Vie en bleu*, London, 2006, 278.
17. DG 1, 256–9, 262; Lacouture 1, 309–19.
18. Jackson, 162.
19. Lacouture 1, 252–5; Roussel, 154–6.
20. Jackson, 186.
21. Kedward, 276.
22. Jackson, 133–4, 149.
23. Charles de Gaulle, *War Memoirs*, vol. 2: *Unity 1942–1944*, London, 1959 (= DG 2), 38–9; David Schoenbrun, *The Three Lives of Charles de Gaulle*, London, 1966, ch. 5 (97–140).
24. Jackson, 153.
25. DG 2, 15–17, 75–9, 101–2, 114–18, ukazuju na tenzije.
26. Schoenbrun, 94–5.
27. Jackson, 158–9.
28. Joseph Bergin, *A History of France*, London, 2015, 230.
29. DG 1, 273–5; Jackson, 198–200; Lacouture 1, 378–80; Gorce, 353–9; Roussel, 267–9.
30. Lacouture 1, 445; Gorce, 457–8; Roussel, 362–3; Jackson, 271.
31. DG 2, 151–8.
32. DG 2, 226–7; Lacouture 1, 520–3; Jackson, 312–13; Gorce, 516–18; Roussel, 425–8.
33. Jackson, 315.
34. Lacouture 1, 529.
35. DG 2, 305–9; Roussel, 450; Lacouture 1, 575; Jackson, 328.
36. Jackson, 329; Lacouture 1, 577–8; DG 2, 311–14.
37. Charles de Gaulle, *War Memoirs*, vol. 3: *Salvation 1944–1946*, London, 1960 (= DG 3), 64–82; Jackson, 356; Roussel, 470–77; Gorce, 678–82; Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle. The Ruler, 1945–1970*, London, 1991 (= Lacouture 2), 47–54. Staljin je otvoreno govorio o stravičnoj, krvoločnoj prirodi svoje vladavine, hvaleći se De Golu svojom surovošću. Laurence Rees, *Behind Closed Doors*, London, 2008, 331.
38. Diana Preston, *Eight Days at Yalta*, London, 2019, 117.
39. DG 3, 233–6; Robert Gildea, *France since 1945*, Oxford, 2002, 37; Schoenbrun, 79, 83, o De Golovim trajnim stavovima o političkom vođstvu i ulozi ličnosti.
40. DG 3, 278–9.

41. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Günther Roth and Claus Wittich, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978, 1449–53. Arthur Schweitzer, *The Age of Charisma*, Chicago, 1984, 288–96, raspravlja o De Golu kao o harizmatiskom vođi, mada samo u kontekstu rata. Takođe videti: Schoenbrun, 179. Jean-Baptiste Decherf, *Le Grand Homme et son pouvoir, La Tour d'Aigues*, 2017, 220–26, ukazuje na De Golovo neoromantičarsko verovanje u to da ispunjava sudbinu kao francuski nacionalni heroj.
42. Gildea, 38.
43. Jackson, 389; Lacouture 2, 129–31 (tekst govora, str. 130); Roussel, 534–5; Gorce, 749–50.
44. Kedward, 381.
45. Jackson, 395.
46. Gildea, 45.
47. Jackson, 429.
48. Jackson, 434–40; Lacouture 2, 154–5, 188–9; Gorce, 825–9.
49. Jackson, 464–5.
50. Gildea, 50–51; Kedward, 339; Bergin, 245.
51. Natalya Vince, *The Algerian War, the Algerian Revolution*, Cham, 2020, knjiga je dragoceni vodič kroz mnoštvo istoriografskih analiza i interpretacija.
52. Jackson, 549.
53. Jackson, 487–8, and Roussel, 603, obojica ističu svesnu ambivalentnost. Takođe videti, Lacouture 2, 186. Gorce, 923, izlaže tekst De Golovog obraćanja.
54. Gildea, 32.
55. Jackson, 619.
56. Jackson, 641–2; Lacouture 2, 223–5; Gorce, 1034–8; Roussel, 622–3.
57. Jackson, 638–40.
58. Jackson, 639. Savet ministara nije bio ništa više do „dekorativan“ čak i pod De Golom kao premijerom, pre nego što je postao predsednik. Serge Berstein and Pierre Milza, *Histoire de la France au xx. Siècle: III. 1958 à nos jours*, Paris, 2006, 12.
59. Jackson, 562–5; Berstein and Milza, 39–49.
60. Jackson, 669–71; Gildea, 58–9; Berstein and Milza, 62–3.
61. Kedward, 392–4.
62. Jackson, 758; Lacouture 2, 572–6; Gorce, 1317–19; Roussel, 906–7.
63. Jackson, 761; Lacouture 2, 581.

-
-
64. Naziv knjige Eugena Vebera; Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years. France in the 1930s*, New York, 1996.
 65. Jackson, 480–81.
 66. Decherf, 14, 220–40.
 67. Jackson, 781.
 68. Jackson, xxix.

POGLAVLJE 7: KONRAD ADENAUER

1. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Adenauer*, vol. 1: Der Aufstieg, Munich, 1994 (=Schwarz 1), 128.
2. Schwarz 1, 347.
3. Schwarz 1, 344–5.
4. Klaus- Jörg Ruhl, *Neubeginn und Restauration*, Munich, 1982, 124.
5. Klaus- Dietmar Henke, *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands*, Munich, 1996, 367–72; Schwarz 1, 429–34.
6. Schwarz 1, 467–73; Christopher Knowles, 'How It Really Was. Konrad Adenauer and His Dismissal as Mayor of Cologne by the British in 1945', blog, 30 March 2008, https://howitreallywas.typepad.com/how_it_really_was/2008/03/konrad-adenauer.html , pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
7. Schwarz 1, 473, 477–8, 500–503, 508–9.
8. Schwarz 1, 432, 436, 619.
9. Andrea Hoffend, 'Konrad Adenauer und das faschistische Italien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, 75 (1995), 481. Zahvalna sam na ovoj referenci Kristijanu Gešelu (Christian Göschel).
10. Schwarz 1, 293–5, 333.
11. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dilemma*, London, 1974, 152.
12. Schwarz 1, 522–7; Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 2014, 586–7; Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany*, vol. 1: *From Shadow to Substance 1945–1963*, Oxford, 1989, 113–14.
13. Schwarz 1, 567, 619.
14. Bark and Gress, 236–44, 250–51.
15. Schwarz 1, 909–17; Bark and Gress, 298–300; Heinrich August Winkler, *Germany: The Long Road West, 1933–1990*, Oxford, 2000, 136–8; Klaus- Jörg Ruhl (ed.), *Mein Gott. Was soll aus Deutschland*

- werden?' *Die Adenauer- Ära*, Munich, 1985, 130– 1, 143–4; Herbert, 637–8.
16. Elisabeth Noelle and Erich Peter Neumann (eds.), *The Germans. Public Opinion Polls 1947– 1966*, Allensbach and Bonn, 1967, 471.
 17. Videti: Schwarz 1, 920–24; Bark and Gress, 299–300; Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *Germany, America, Europe*, New Haven and London, 1989, 155–7; Herbert, 638; Winkler, 137–8; Arnulf Baring, *Im Anfang war Adenauer*, Munich, 1971, 246–54; Ruhl, 122–52; Rolf Steininger, *Eine Chance zur Wiedervereinigung? Die Stalin Note vom 10. März 1952*, Bonn, 1985, 75, tvrdi da je bilo šanse.
 18. Hanrieder, 154.
 19. Schwarz 1, 926.
 20. Herbert, 636, 639; Konrad Adenauer, *Erinnerungen*, 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1965–8, vol. 1, 570, 563; vol. 2, 298, 301–4.
 21. Bark and Gress, 330–3; Winkler, 151–2.
 22. Bark and Gress, 270; Winkler, 133.
 23. Alan S. Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, London, 1992, 136–7.
 24. Bark and Gress, 381.
 25. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Adenauer*, vol. 2: *Der Staatsmann, 1952–1967*, Munich, 1994 (= Schwarz 2), 287–91 (citat, 291).
 26. Schwarz 2, 285.
 27. Noelle and Neumann, 505.
 28. Bark and Gress, 427; Winkler, 167–8.
 29. Bark and Gress, 431–4; Hanrieder, 13–14.
 30. Bark and Gress, 454–7.
 31. Bark and Gress, 494.
 32. Ruhl, 466–70 (za tekst sporazuma); Bark and Gress, 516–17; Winkler, 198; Schwarz 2, 810–26.
 33. Schwarz 2, 814–15.
 34. Bark and Gress, 496.
 35. Bark and Gress, 518; Winkler, 197–8.
 36. Schwarz 2, 824–6.
 37. Noelle and Neumann, 195, 200, 241, 243; A. J. Merritt and R. L. Merritt (eds.), *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany. The OMGUS Surveys, 1945–1949*, Urbana, 1970, 30–31.
 38. Noelle and Neumann, 240–41.
 39. Schwarz 1, 796.

-
40. Winkler, 184–5.
 41. Winkler, 162.
 42. Winkler, 167.
 43. Winkler, 155–6.
 44. Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*, New York, 2002, 311.
 45. Merritt and Merritt, 93–4, 121–3, 161; Mary Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, Oxford, 2018, 216–19.
 46. Winkler, 155.
 47. Herbert, 663–5.
 48. Eckart Conze et al., *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit*, Munich, 2010, 493.
 49. Fulbrook, 250–51.
 50. Schwarz 1, 658.
 51. Fulbrook, 242.
 52. Reinhard-M. Strecker, *Hans Globke. Aktenauszüge. Dokumente*, Hamburg, 1961, sakupio je materijal o antijevrejskim zakonima na čijem je sastavljanju Globke saradivao. Globke je osuđen na smrt u odsustvu, na političkom suđenju u Demokratskoj Republici Nemačkoj na Fulbrook, 242.
 53. Noelle and Neumann, 296.
 54. Pertti Ahonen, *After the Expulsion. West Germany and Eastern Europe 1945–1990*, Oxford, 2003, 104–5, 110–13; Winkler, 139.
 55. Schwarz 2, 530.
 56. Ruhl, 231–45, o predlozima za društvenu reformu.
 57. Winkler, 193–5; Herbert, 756–69.
 58. Schwarz 2, 868, citira Die Zeit, 18 October 1963.
 59. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unsere_Besten; and 'First German Chancellor wins TV Search for Greatest German', Independent, 1 December 2003, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/first-german-chancellor-wins-tv-search-for-greatest-german-94160.html>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
 60. Schwarz 1, 902–3; Winkler, 149.
 61. Hansard, Foreign Affairs, House of Commons Debate, 11 May 1953, vol. 515, columns 889–90, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1953/may/11/foreign-affairs>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021, German trans. Ruhl, 164.

POGLAVLJE 8: FRANSISKO FRANKO

1. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 198.
2. O Frankovom životu i karijeri pre Gradanskog rata, videti Paul Preston, *Franco. A Biography*, London, 1993, chs. 1–4, i Stanley G. Payne and Jesus Palacios, *Franco. A Personal and Political Biography*, Madison, Wisconsin, 2014, chs. 1–4 (= P&P).
3. Preston, *Franco*, 12.
4. Preston, *Franco*, 323; Enrique Moradiellos, *Franco. Anatomy of a Dictator*, London, 2018, 29.
5. Paul Preston, *A People Betrayed. A History of Corruption, Political Incompetence and Social Division in Modern Spain, 1874–2018*, London, 2020, 7, 19–24.
6. Mary Vincent, *Spain 1833–2002. People and State*, Oxford, 2007, 99.
7. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 61, 81.
8. Vincent, 104–7; Frances Lannon, ‘Iberia’, in Robert Gerwarth (ed.), *Twisted Paths. Europe 1914–1945*, Oxford, 2008, 143–5.
9. Walther Bernecker, ‘Spain: The Double Breakdown’, in Dirk Berg Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell (eds.), *Conditions of Democracy in Europe, 1919–39*, Basingstoke, 2000, 405–6.
10. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, xii–xiii; Bernecker, 410–12.
11. Alejandro Quiroga and Miguel Ángel del Arco (eds.), *Right-Wing Spain in the Civil War Era*, London and New York, 2012, 52.
12. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 228–9; Vincent, 120–22; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914–45*, London, 1995, 254.
13. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 237; Vincent, 122.
14. Michael Mann, *Fascists*, Cambridge, 2004, 329.
15. Vincent, 134.
16. Matthew Kerry, *Unite, Proletarian Brothers! Radicalism and Revolution in the Spanish Second Republic*, London, 2020, ch. 6 (153–80). Zahvalan sam Dr Kerry za na podacima o žrvama pobune. Takođe, Preston, *Franco*, 104–7; Vincent, 133–4.
17. Moradiellos, 33.
18. Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War 1936–1939*, Cambridge, 2002, 76.
19. Preston, *Franco*, 124, 129–30, 131–2; P&P, 114–15, 505.
20. Preston, *Franco*, 134–5.
21. P&P, 119–20.
22. P&P, 505.
23. Preston, *Franco*, xviii.

-
24. Preston, *Franco*, 164.
 25. Preston, *Franco*, 182–5; P&P, 143–7.
 26. Moradiellos, part 2 (57–147), izlaže poreklo i eksploatisanje kulta kaudilja.
 27. Preston, *Franco*, 187–9.
 28. P&P, 168.
 29. Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust. Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, London, 2012, 151–3, 191–2, 229–35, 665–71; Vincent, 139–40.
 30. Paul Preston, *Comrades. Portraits from the Spanish Civil War*, London, 1999, 54; Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, xi.
 31. Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark. European International History 1933– 1939*, Oxford, 2011, 192, 196–7, 220, 231.
 32. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, xi; procenjuje se da ih je manje u: P&P, 198–9, 203; opet, drugačije brojke date su u: Heinrich August Winkler, *Geschichte des Westens. Die Zeit der Weltkriege*, Munich, 2011, 817.
 33. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 505–6.
 34. Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence. Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945*, Cambridge, 1998, 47.
 35. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, xi.
 36. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 119.
 37. P&P, 193–5.
 38. Stanley G. Payne, *Falange. A History of Spanish Fascism*, Stanford, 1961, 158– 76; Sheelagh M. Ellwood, *Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era*, Basingstoke, 1987, 40–45; Moriadellos, 99–100, 127–9.
 39. Preston, *Franco*, 344–5.
 40. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 358–9.
 41. Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime 1936– 1975*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1987, 282, 333; Xavier Moreno Juliá, *The Blue Division. Spanish Blood in Russia, 1941–1945*, Eastbourne, 2015, 67, 70–71, 288, 297, 303–4; Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 'Spain', in Jochen Böhrer and Robert Gerwarth (eds.), *The Waffen-SS – A European History*, Oxford, 2017, 99–100.
 42. Preston, *Franco*, 517–25; Payne, *Franco Regime*, 337.
 43. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 397–8.
 44. P&P, 299, 316.
 45. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 397.
 46. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 469–70.

47. Vincent, 167.
48. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 437–8, 470–71.
49. Moradiellos, 76–80, 188–9.
50. Sasha D. Pack, 'Tourism and Political Change in Franco's Spain', in Nigel Townson (ed.), *Spain Transformed. The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959–75*, London, 2010, 55.
51. P&P, ch. 16 (391–413), ch. 18 (431–46), and 515–16, problematičan prikaz Franka kao španskog „odlučujućeg modernizatora“ i „diktatora koji je vodio ka razvoju“.
52. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 23, 234.
53. Preston, *Franco*, 337.
54. Preston, *Franco*, 783.
55. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 407–11.
56. P&P, 365–6.
57. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 400–401; J. P. Fusi, *Franco. A Biography*, London, 1985, 43.
58. Payne, *Franco Regime*, 399; Preston, *A People Betrayed*, chs. 12–15.
59. Moradiellos, 81–8.
60. Moradiellos, 197, opisuje Franka kao „bonapartističkog vojnog diktatora“
61. Fusi, 45.
62. I dalje je govorio protiv „zavere slobodnih masona levičara“ u svom posljednjem javnom obraćanju 1. oktobra 1975, neposredno pre svoje smrti. Fusi, 167.
63. Preston, *Franco*, 706–7; Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 406–7; Payne, *Franco Regime*, 405–7.
64. Preston, *Franco*, 752.
65. Svakako je preterano govoriti (P&P, 520) o „španskom modelu demokratizacije“, za koji je Franko makar delimično zaslužan.
66. Moradiellos, 3, 7–8; Julián Casanova, 'Disremembering Francoism: What is at Stake in Spain's Memory Wars?', in Helen Graham (ed.), *Interrogating Francoism*, London, 2016, 206–7.
67. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 547.
68. Townson, Introduction, 8.
69. Vincent, 240.
70. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 549.
71. Po jednoj proceni, Španija je 1975. godine bila „približno na istom nivou socio-ekonomskog razvoja na kom bi bila da [Franko] nikada

- nije postojao“. Edward Malefakis, ‘The Franco Dictatorship: A Bifurcated Regime?’, in Townson, 253.
72. Townson, Introduction, 12–13; Pablo Martín Aceña and Elena Martínez Ruiz, ‘The Golden Age of Spanish Capitalism’, in Townson, 45–6.
 73. William J. Callahan, ‘The Spanish Church: Change and Continuity’, in Townson, 191.
 74. Što jasno pokazuje Casanova, in Graham, *Interrogating Francoism*, ch. 9.
 75. Moradiellos, 5–6.
 76. Preston, *A People Betrayed*, 539–43.
 77. Naziv eseja Ernsta Noltea, ‘Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will’, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 June 1986, koji je pokrenuo ogromnu kontroverzu u Nemačkoj poznatoj kao „spor istoričara“ (Historikerstreit).

POGLAVLJE 9: JOSIP BROZ TITO

1. To nije bilo retko ime u delu Hrvatske iz koga potiče, istakao je. Uzeo ga je zato što „mi je palo na pamet u tom trenutku.“ Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito Speaks. His Self Portrait and Struggle with Stalin*, London, 1953, 80–81.
2. Citati iz: Milovan Đilas, *Tito. The Story from Inside*, New York, 1980, 4, 15, 33, 40, 46, 67, 116. Videti i: Marie-Janine Calic, *Tito. Der ewige Partisan*, Munich, 2020, 95; Jože Pirjevec, *Tito and His Comrades*, London, 2018, 391.
3. Pirjevec, 385.
4. Fitzroy Maclean, *Eastern Approaches*, London, 1949, 308, 311, 325–6.
5. Calic, *Tito*, 96–101. Manje je verovatna tvrdnja koja se pominje u Jasper Ridley, *Tito. A Biography*, London, 1994, 344, da je preživela čistke i da je 1990. godine i dalje živela u Sovjetskom Savezu.
6. Dedijer, 35.
7. Dedijer, 90–91.
8. Calic, *Tito*, 101.
9. Pirjevec, 35–7.
10. Calic, *Tito*, 86–8, 96–101, 104; Pirjevec, 43–4.
11. Edvard Radzinsky, *Stalin*, New York, 1996, 412.
12. U praksi je bio na tom položaju od 1937, posle pogubljenja Gorkića. Ridley, 134–5.

13. Calic, *Tito*, 105; Pirjevec, 46.
14. Ridley, 245, o prvom sastanku, 1944.
15. Đilas, 26–9.
16. Calic, *Tito*, 106; Pirjevec, 48.
17. Njihov značaj za Tita tokom rata bio je evidentan Maklinu (Maclean, 326–8).
18. Calic, *Tito*, 145.
19. Ti podaci su navedeni u: Pirjevec, 75, 111; Calic, *Tito*, 119, 149, 166, 179.
20. Calic, *Tito*, 136.
21. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Das Gesicht des Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1998, 584; Pirjevec, 132.
22. Đilas, 12–13.
23. Calic, *Tito*, 132 (i str, 134 za mapu Titovih kretanja između 1941. i 1944.).
24. Đilas, 13.
25. Pirjevec, 134–7; Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804–1999*, London, 1999, 532.
26. Maclean, 504–14, opisuje uticaj sovjetskih trupa.
27. Calic, *Tito*, 168, 182.
28. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 221.
29. Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (1996), London, 2009, 204–9; Pirjevec, 150–51; Calic, *Tito*, 206–7; Ridley, 260.
30. Calic, *Tito*, 195.
31. Calic, *Tito*, 198.
32. Geoffrey Swain, *Tito. A Biography*, London, 2011, 92, 187.
33. Robert Service, *Stalin. A Biography*, London, 2004, 631.
34. Marie-Janine Calic, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 2010, 191; Calic, *Tito*, 239, 243. Pirjevec, 199, iznosi podatke o 30.000 zatvorenika na Golom Otoku „i sličnim institucijama“, ali bez navođenja izvora ili detalja o mnogo većem broju ljudi.
35. Pirjevec, 152–3.
36. Calic, *Tito*, 203.
37. Primeri u: Pirjevec, 187, 190, 198.
38. Đilas, 21, 31, 92–116; Pirjevec, 144–9; Swain, 183.
39. Calic, *Tito*, 239–40.
40. Calic, *Jugoslawien*, 203.
41. Calic, *Jugoslawien*, 198–200; West, 244.

-
42. Pirjevec, 228–9; Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 192–3; Calic, *Tito*, 248–9; Đilas, 74–6.
 43. Đilas, 161–2.
 44. Glenny, 579, 581.
 45. Pirjevec, 326–38; Calic, *Tito*, 323–6.
 46. Glenny, 582.
 47. Pirjevec, 338–9, 353–4.
 48. Geoffrey Swain and Nigel Swain, *Eastern Europe since 1945*, London, 4th edn, 2009, 151.
 49. Calic, *Tito*, 283.
 50. Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 197; Ridley, 306–7.
 51. Calic, *Tito*, 293.
 52. Pirjevec, 275–7.
 53. Calic, *Tito*, 310–11.
 54. Pirjevec, 265–7.
 55. Calic, *Tito*, 286–8.
 56. Ridley, 358.
 57. Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 202.
 58. Pirjevec, 440–41.
 59. Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 255–6.
 60. Glenny, 583–5.
 61. Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1983, 196, 397.
 62. Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 253–4; 257–8; Calic, *Tito*, 331–7; Swain and Swain, 181.
 63. Pirjevec, 394; Glenny, 576.
 64. Pirjevec, 345.
 65. Calic, *Tito*, 375.
 66. Glenny, 623.
 67. Da nije bilo Titovog vođstva, naročito je Hrvatska mogla da krene drugačijim putem. Dejan Jović, 'Reassessing Socialist Yugoslavia, 1956–90. The Case of Croatia', in Dejan Jović and James Ker-Lindsey (eds.), *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia. Key Issues and Controversies*, Abingdon, 2011, 117–29, naglašava jedinstven značaj Tita (sa očeve strane Hrvata) za integrisanje Hrvatske u posleratnu Jugoslaviju.
 68. Calic, *Jugoslavien*, 286–7; Calic, *Tito*, 380.
 69. Calic, *Tito*, 384–5; Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgia – a Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*, Ljubljana, 2008, 129–34; Ridley, 420.

POGLAVLJE 10: MARGARET TAČER

1. Hugo Young, *One of Us*, London, 1990, 383; John Campbell, Margaret Thatcher, vol. 2: *The Iron Lady*, London, 2003 (= Campbell 2), 303; Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher. The Authorized Biography*, vol. 1: Not for Turning, London, 2013 (= Moore 1), 745 note.
2. Young, 393–13.
3. John Campbell, *Margaret Thatcher*, vol. 1: *The Grocer's Daughter*, London, 2000 (= Campbell 1), 19. 4. Campbell 1, 2, 32, 446; Moore 1, 8–9.
5. Young, 98.
6. Campbell 1, 270–77; Moore 1, 259–63; Young, 82.
7. Steve Richards, *The Prime Ministers. Reflections on Leadership from Wilson to May*, London, 2019, 151–8.
8. Peter Hennessy, *The Prime Minister. The Office and Its Holders since 1945*, London, 2000, 408.
9. Campbell 1, 264.
10. Andrew Gamble, 'The Thatcher Myth', *British Politics*, 10/1 (2015), 9–10.
11. Campbell 1, 414.
12. Moore 1, 412–13.
13. Dominic Sandbrook, *Who Dares Wins. Britain, 1979–1982*, London, 2019, 9, 48, 50, 57.
14. Robert Tombs, *The English and Their History*, London, 2014, 759–61, i deo 7, gde uverljivo pokazuje iluziju propadanja.
15. Smislio ga je Džefri Haui, ne sama Tačerova. Nigel Lawson, *The View from No. 11*, London, 1992, 100.
16. Campbell 2, ch. 11, koristi ovaj izraz da proceni odnose gospođe Tačer sa njenim kabinetom.
17. Moore 1, 533.
18. Moore 1, 641.
19. Hennessy, 405–7, ističe njihov značaj.
20. Young, 212–16; John Hoskyns, *Just in Time. Inside the Thatcher Revolution*, London, 2000, 275–85; Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, London, 1995, 132–9.
21. Lawson, 98–9, 246; Robert Skidelsky, *Britain since 1900*, London, 2014, 339.
22. Young, 203, 316, 318.
23. *The Economist*, 21 May, 4 June, cit. Young, 321.

24. George Eaton, 'How Public Spending Rose under Thatcher', *New Statesman*, 8 April, 2013, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/04/how-public-spending-rose-under-thatcher>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
25. U stvarnosti je „srednjoročna finansijska strategija“ iz 1980. promašila svoju metu, a to je redukovanja rasta novčane mase svake godine, ali je ekonomska kriza koju je sama vlada stvorila (izazivajući ogromno povećanje nezaposlenosti) stopu inflacije u velikoj meri smanjila. Skidelsky, 341.
26. Young, 144.
27. Young, 193–5, 353.
28. Simon Rogers, 'How Britain Changed under Margaret Thatcher. In 15 Charts', *Guardian*, 8 April 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/datablog/2013/apr/08/britain-changed-margaret-thatcher-charts>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
29. Young, 241.
30. Hennessy, 412.
31. Young, 263; Thatcher, 177–9.
32. David Cannadine, *Margaret Thatcher. A Life and Legacy*, Oxford, 2017, 47.
33. Sandbrook, 761–4.
34. Campbell 2, 135.
35. Moore 1, 700–703; Thatcher, 205–8; Hennessy, 419.
36. Young, 275–6.
37. Young, 276; Moore 1, 712; Campbell 2, 145–6; Thatcher, 214.
38. Cannadine, 49; Sandbrook, 834, navodi da joj je početkom juna popularnost skočila na 53 procenata.
39. Sandbrook, 837–8.
40. Thatcher, 139–43; Lawson, 141, 144; Hoskyns, 274–5, 289–91; Young, 366.
41. Tombs, 817.
42. Richards, 178.
43. Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher. The Authorized Biography*, vol. 2: *Everything She Wants*, London, 2015, 146–7, za procenu izgubljenih radnih mesta 1984–1985.
44. Campbell 2, 361–2.
45. Moore 2, 151; Campbell 2, 359–60.
46. Campbell 2, 796; Hennessy, 428.
47. Campbell 2, 273–9; Moore 2, 117–35.

48. Thatcher, 463; Young, 303; Moore 2, 240.
49. Campbell 2, 292; Moore 2, 610.
50. Campbell 2, 605; Cannadine, 101–2.
51. Cannadine, 98.
52. Moore 2, 693; Cannadine, 95. notes to pp. 317–36
53. Lawson, 574.
54. Lawson, 561–2; Thatcher, 666–7; Hennessy, 428.
55. Lawson, chs. 71–7 (888–971).
56. Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography*, vol. 3: *Herself Alone*, London, 2019 (= Moore 3), 561–6, 580–84, 587–92; Campbell 2, 701–6; Anthony Seldon, *Major. A Political Life*, London, 1998, 110–16.
57. Campbell 2, 744.
58. Videti: Cannadine, 96; Campbell 2, 800; Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory. Britain 1900–1990*, London, 1996, 400.
59. Moore 3, 853.
60. Moore 3, 645–6.
61. Moore 3, 853.

POGLAVLJE 11: MIHAIL GORBAČOV

1. William Taubman, *Gorbachev. His Life and Times*, New York, 2017, 539.
2. Taubman, 5.
3. Taubman, 1–5.
4. Vladislav M. Zubok, ‘Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War: Perspectives on History and Personality’, *Cold War History*, 2/2 (2002), 61–100, izlaže dragocenu analizu (citat na str. 75). Zahvalan sam Kristijanu Gešelu (Christian Göschel) što mi je ukazao na ovaj esej.
5. Taubman, 36.
6. Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, Oxford, 1996, 29.
7. Taubman, 215–16; Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 92.
8. Taubman, 125.
9. John Miller, *Mikhail Gorbachev and the End of Soviet Power*, London, 1993, 61.
10. Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970–2000*, Oxford, 2001, 27, 173–4.
11. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader. Political Leadership in the Modern Age*, London, 2014, 166.

-
12. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 90–91.
 13. Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs*, London, 1997, 277–9.
 14. Miller, 62.
 15. David Lane, 'The Roots of Political Reform: The Changing Social Structure of the USSR', in Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward (eds.), *Perestroika. The Historical Perspective*, London, 1991, 95–113.
 16. Archie Brown, *Seven Years that Changed the World*, Oxford, 2008, 32.
 17. Brown, *Myth*, 165.
 18. Brown, *Myth*, 167–8.
 19. Gorbachev, 638–9.
 20. Taubman, 480.
 21. Brown, *Myth*, 169–72.
 22. Gorbachev, 224–9.
 23. Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, London, 1995, 459–63.
 24. Gorbachev, 280.
 25. Gorbachev, 214, 280.
 26. Gorbachev, 223.
 27. Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, London, 1998, 441.
 28. Gorbachev, 259–60.
 29. Taubman, 207–10; Brown, *Seven Years*, 64, 202 n. 28.
 30. Taubman, 198–8, 219–20; Brown, *Seven Years*, 50, 64.
 31. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 71; Miller, 54.
 32. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 131.
 33. Brown, *Seven Years*, 13.
 34. Gorbachev, 241–2.
 35. Gorbachev, 248. Miller, 64–5, smatra da je 1986. godina bila ključna za Gorbačovljev preobražaj od reformatora u nekog ko radikalno dovodi u pitanje sistem. Međutim, čini se da je promena ipak bila postepenija i kumulativna a ne iznenadna.
 36. Service, 486.
 37. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 155.
 38. Taubman, 309; Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 166.
 39. Service, 452; Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 147.
 40. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 145; Service, 460.
 41. Brown, *Myth*, 166.
 42. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 178.
 43. Service, 461.
 44. Brown, *Seven Years*, 110–11.

45. Taubman, 371–2.
46. Taubman, 365–71.
47. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 227.
48. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 216.
49. Taubman, 300.
50. Taubman, 416.
51. Gorbachev, 592–7 (citati, str. 596).
52. Taubman, 498.
53. Richard J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – and After*, London, 1997, 407.
54. Taubman, 480–81.
55. Gorbachev, 626; Ivan T. Berend, *Central and Eastern Europe 1944–1993*, Cambridge, 1996, 280.
56. Gorbachev, 625.
57. Brown, *Seven Years*, 263.
58. Zubok, 85–7.
59. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 247–51; Zubok, 85–93.
60. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 244.
61. Taubman, 493.
62. Taubman, 488.
63. Taubman, 552–3.
64. Taubman, 564.
65. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 246–7.
66. Taubman, 569 and 767 n. 101.
67. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 198–204, 289.
68. Taubman, 586.
69. Service, 522–5.
70. Taubman, 677, 685.
71. *The Sunday Times*, 23 May 2016, 13; *Guardian*, 21, 22, 24 March 2017; Taubman, 676–81, 684–6.

POGLAVLJE 12: HELMUT KOL

1. Navedeno u Wikipediji za Helmuta Kola, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helmut_Kohl, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
2. Helmut Kohl, *Erinnerungen 1982–1990*, Munich, 2005 (= Kohl 2), 270–73.
3. Gernot Sittner (ed.), *Helmut Kohl und der Mantel der Geschichte*, Munich, 2016, 26.

4. Helmut Kohl, *Erinnerungen 1930–1982*, Munich, 2004 (= Kohl 1), part 1 (15–108); Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Helmut Kohl. Eine politische Biographie*, Munich, 2014, part 1 (15–133).
5. Patrick Bahners, *Helmut Kohl. Der Charakter der Macht*, Munich, 2017, 21.
6. Kohl 1, 596–7, 60–69, 621.
7. Kohl 1, 629–44, 649.
8. Bahners, 120.
9. Sittner, 94.
10. Kohl 2, 52.
11. Kohl 2, 261–8.
12. Kohl 2, 27–30, 120–24.
13. Schwarz, 309–21, esp. 312–16; Bahners, 112, 122–5, 162, 281; Sittner, 82–95, 196–201.
14. Edgar Wolfrum, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1990*, Stuttgart, 2005, 450.
15. Schwarz, 326.
16. Schwarz, 383.
17. Wolfrum, 455; Kohl 1, 43–4.
18. Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 2014, 1018; Schwarz, 377–9; Bahners, 181.
19. Schwarz, 383.
20. Schwarz, 444–51, za detalje.
21. Schwarz, 460.
22. Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs*, London, 1997, 565 (takode: 669–71).
23. Schwarz, 398.
24. Schwarz, 491.
25. Kohl 2, 965.
26. Kohl 2, 970–71.
27. Peter Merseburger, *Willy Brandt 1913–1992*, Munich, 2002, 837; Wolfrum, 537–8.
28. Kohl 2, 990–95.
29. Schwarz, 531–3.
30. Herbert, 1108; Kohl 2, 996.
31. Schwarz, 534–5.
32. Kohl 2, 1025.
33. Kohl 2, 1020; Bahners, 138.
34. Gorbachev, 682.
35. Wolfrum, 542.

36. Helmut Kohl, *Vom Mauerfall zur Wiedervereinigung. Meine Erinnerungen*, Munich, 2009, 218; Schwarz, 570–72; Herbert, 1123.
37. Herbert, 1125–6.
38. Heinrich August Winkler, *Geschichte des Westens. Vom Kalten Krieg zum Mauerfall*, Munich, 2014, 1064; Wolfrum, 544.
39. Kohl, *Vom Mauerfall*, 194–6.
40. Schwarz, 585–7.
41. Kohl, *Vom Mauerfall*, 271–2.
42. Schwarz, 692, 712–13.
43. Heinrich August Winkler, *Geschichte des Westens. Die Zeit der Gegenwart*, Munich, 2015, 19.
44. Schwarz, 691–3.
45. Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone, *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union*, Oxford, 1999, 32.
46. Kasnija procena Saveznog ustavnog suda u vezi sa Lisabonskim ugovorom iz 2007. godine ukazala je na granice, pod Osnovnim zakonom (ustavom), davanja suvereniteta, čime se u suštini isključuje mogućnost da bi sama Evropska unija mogla da postane država. ova. Dieter Grimm, *Europa ja – aber welches? Zur Verfassung der europäischen Demokratie*, Munich, 2016, 233.
47. Bahners, 293.
48. Schwarz, 736.
49. Sittner, 114–15.
50. Timothy Garton Ash, *History of the Present. Essays, Sketches and Despatches from Europe in the 1990s*, London, 1999, 147.
51. Schwarz, 847. Takođe, o Kolovom stilu vođenja kampanje, Sittner, 134–43.
52. Schwarz, 848.
53. Schwarz, 796 (takođe: 831–2).
54. Sittner, 294.
55. Schwarz, 870–96, izlaže razmere „afere“. Videti i: Bahners, 191– 5, 224–5, 240–41, 246–9, and <https://www.dw.com/en/the-scandal-that-rocked-the-government-of-helmut-kohl/a-5137950>, pristupljeno u novembru 2021.
56. Sittner, 389.
57. Bahners, 253–7.
58. Bahners, 267–70, 275, 303; Sittner, 394–403, naročito 339–400.