

# Napomene

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## SUMORNA OČEKIVANJA

- 1 Overy, *Bombing War*, str. 20.
- 2 Examples of Large German Bombs,« Dec. 7, 1940, HO 199/327, UKARCH. Takođe, „Types of German Bombs and Mines,“ Jan. 3, 1941, HO 199/327, UKARCH. Tačna težina Satane iznosila je 1800 kilograma.
- 3 Fort, *Prof*, 130; Overy, *Bombing War*, 14—15.
- 4 Suss, *Death from the Skies*, 407.
- 5 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:20; Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 24, 39.
- 6 Ryan, *Bertrand Russell*, 146; Field, „Nights Underground in Darkest London,“ 13.
- 7 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 24.
- 8 „Mortuary Services,“ Department of Health, Scotland, March 1940, HO 186/993, UKARCH.
- 9 *Ibid.*; Suss, *Death from the Skies*, 409.
- 10 „Civilian Deaths due to War Operations,“ Department of Health, Scotland, Feb. 28, 1939, HO 186/1225, UKARCH.
- 11 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 101, 102.
- 12 World War II Diary,“ 49, Meiklejohn Papers; Bell, „Landscapes of Fear,“ 157.
- 13 Basil Collier, *Defense of the United Kingdom*, 69; Longmate, *Air Raid*, 78.

- 14 Ziegler, *London at War*, 73; Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 77.
- 15 „World War II Diary,“ 15, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 16 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 74; Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 104.
- 17 Nicolson, *War Years*, 77, 84, 91.

#### PRVI DEO: PRETNJA RASTE

##### Prvo poglavlje: MRTVOZORNIK ODLAZI

- 1 Thompson, *Assignment*, 164.
- 2 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 444n. Za više o kraljevim osećanjima prema Čerčilu, vidi *ibid*, 445-446.
- 3 Olson, *Troublesome Young Men*, 294; Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 196. (Kod Olsona se pojavljuju tri znaka uzvika; kod Robertsa samo jedan, na kraju rečenice. Ipak, čini se da je to bila prilika za uzvike.)
- 4 Olson, *Troublesome Young Men*, 306.
- 5 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 209.
- 6 *Ibid*, 208.
- 7 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 443—44.
- 8 *Ibid*, King George VI, 444.
- 9 Thompson, *Assignment*, 164—65.
- 10 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 15.
- 11 Pawle, *War and Colonel Warden*, 39.
- 12 Thompson, *Assignment*, 183.
- 13 Hickman, *Churchill's Bodyguard*, 116—17.

##### Drugo poglavlje: NOĆ U „SAVOJU“

Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 264.

- 2 „World War II Diary,“ 342, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 3 Pismo Ketlin Hariman Meri Hariman Fisk, 7. juli 1941, Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 4 Purnell, *Clementine*, 152.
- 5 *Daily Mail*, Sept. 4, 2019.
- 6 *Ibid*.
- 7 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 143.
- 8 *Ibid*, 145—46.
- 9 *Ibid*, 153. Decenijama kasnije u porodičnom domu majora Hauarda, zamku Hauard u Jorkiširu, snimaće se popularna televizijska adaptacija romana Ivline Voa *Povratak u Brajdshed*.
- 10 Dnevnik, 9. maj 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.

- 11 *Ibid*, 10. maj 1940.
- 12 *Ibid*.
- 13 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 111—12.
- 14 *Ibid*, 153.
- 15 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:140.
- 16 Za pojedinosti o Kolvilovom odrastanju vidi njegovu knjigu *Footprints in Time*.
- 17 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:129.
- 18 *Ibid*, 141.
- 19 Rukopisni dnevnik, 11. maj 1940, Colville Papers. Kolvilov prvobitni unos dosta se razlikuje od onog objavljenog u knjizi *Fringes of Power*, 143—44. Ovo zapažanje u knjizi je izostavljeno.
- 20 Dockter and Toy, *Who Commanded History?*, 416.
- 21 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 446.
- 22 Lukacs, *Five Days in London*, 67.
- 23 *Ibid*.
- 24 Olson, *Troublesome Young Men*, 328.
- 25 Lukacs, *Five Days in London*, 81.
- 26 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:2—3.
- 27 *Ibid*, 3.

#### Treće poglavlje: LONDON I VAŠINGTON

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:70—71.
- 2 Lukacs, *Five Days in London*, 72n.
- 3 Sumner Welles, Memorandum, March 12, 1940, FDR/Safe. Vels očigledno preteruje kad govori o cigari dužoj od pola metra. Ili se makar nadamo da je tako.
- 4 Maier, *When Lions Roar*, 213.
- 5 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 268.

#### Četvrto poglavlje: NAELEKTRISANI

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:13.
- 2 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 220.
- 3 *Ibid*, 50.
- 4 Nel, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary*, 37.
- 5 *Ibid*, 29.
- 6 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 169. Čerčil je posebno vodio računa o kodnim nazivima tajnih operacija, kaže Izmej. Nazivi nisu smeli biti šaljivi ni

- lakoumni. „Kako bi se osećala neka majka da sazna da joj je sin poginuo u poduhvatu zvanom ZEKIN ZAGRLJAJ?“, napisao je Izmej. Ibid, 187.
- 7 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 24—25.
  - 8 Ibid, 22.
  - 9 Colville, *Winston Churchill and His Inner Circle*, 161.
  - 10 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 116.
  - 11 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 198.
  - 12 Overy, *Bombing War*, 239.
  - 13 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:22.
  - 14 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 150.
  - 15 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:30—31.
  - 16 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 274.
  - 17 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 42.
  - 18 Čerčil Ruzveltu, telegram, 15. maj 1940, FDR/Subject.
  - 19 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:69.
  - 20 Kennedy, *American People in World War II*, 21.
  - 21 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:54.
  - 22 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 50. Takođe i Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:62.
  - 23 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:154
  - 24 Wrigley, *Winston Churchill*, 113.
  - 25 Carter, *Winston Churchill*, 171.
  - 26 Purnell, *Clementine*, 48.
  - 27 Carter, *Winston Churchill*, 173.
  - 28 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 156.
  - 29 Purnell, *Clementine*, 177.
  - 30 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 156.
  - 31 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:157.
  - 32 Ibid.
  - 33 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:83—89. Vidi i: Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 45—47. Ta knjiga pruža vrlo iznenađujuće priče o nastanku Čerčilovih najvećih govora.
  - 34 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 47.
  - 35 Dnevnik, 22. maj 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
  - 36 Moran, *Churchill*, 5.
  - 37 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:162.
  - 38 Purnell, *Clementine*, 162.
  - 39 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 2:216.

- 40 Thompson, *Assignment*, 173.  
41 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 211.

Peto poglavlje: STRAH OD MESECA

- 1 „British Strategy in a Certain Eventuality,“ May 25, 1940, War Cabinet Papers, CAB/66/7, UKARCH.
- 2 Clapson, *Blitz Companion*, 27.
- 3 Dalton, *Fateful Years*, 329.
- 4 Memorandum, 6. maj 1943, Writings File, Memoirs, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 5 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 112.
- 6 Lee, *London Observer*, 79. General Li takode, na strani 54, govori o Biverbruku kao o „patuljastom i preosetljivom.“ Pošto se srela s njim u proleće 1941, Ketlin Hariman uporedila ga je s karikaturom iz satiričnom časopisa *Panč*: „Mali, proćelav, s velikim stomakom od kog se sužava do vrlo sjajnih žutih cipela. Njegova zamisao sporta jeste da se okruži inteligentnim ljudima, a onda ih podbada da se svađaju.“ Pismo Ketlin Hariman Meri Hariman Fisk, 30 maj 1941, Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 7 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 265.
- 8 Naišao sam na taj nadimak u nekoliko izvora, npr. Chisholm and Davie, *Beaverbrook*, 339, 356, 357, 371, i Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 2:83.
- 9 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 66.
- 10 Moran, *Churchill*, 7.
- 11 A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 411.
- 12 Purnell, *Clementine*, 194.
- 13 Maier, *When Lions Roar*, 211.
- 14 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 11.
- 15 *Ibid*, 33.
- 16 A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 424.
- 17 Farrer, *G—for God Almighty*, 53.
- 18 Beleška, Čerčil Biverbruku [datum je jedva čitljiv, ali čini se da je 8. juli 1940], Prime Minister Files, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 19 Thompson, *Assignment*, 129. Možda vredi napomenuti da je Thompson 1943. Sam sebe ustrelio u nogu kad mu se pištolj zakačio za presvlaku nameštaja. Oporavio se i Čerčil ga je primio nazad. „Nemam nikakve sumnje u vezi s vama, Tompsone“, rekao je prema inspektorovom svedočanstvu premijer. „Vi ste vrlo oprezan čovek. Nastavite kao do sada.“ *Ibid*, 214—15.

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- 20 Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 124.
  - 21 Nicolson, *War Years*, 88.
  - 22 Ziegler, *London at War*, 82.
  - 23 Hinton, *Mass Observers*, 191.

Šesto poglavlje: GERING

- 1 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 59.
- 2 Kesselring, *Memoirs*, 60. Vidi i dnevnički unos pun neverice načelnika generalštaba kopnene vojske Franca Haldera sa zaključkom: „Vazduhoplovstvu se prepušta da dotuče opkoljenu neprijateljsku vojsku!!!“ Halder, *War Diary*, 165.
- 3 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 27—29.
- 4 Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 211.
- 5 Air Ministry Weekly Intelligence Summary, No. 51, Aug. 23, 1940, AIR 22/72, UKARCH.
- 6 „The Goring Collection,“ Confidential Interrogation Report No. 2, Sept. 15, 1945, Office of Strategic Services and Looting Investigative Unit, T 209/29, UKARCH. Ovo je zadivljujući ipodroban izveštaj o Geringovom ličnom pljačkaškom pohodu. Razmere ove operacije Geringove pokvarenosti oduzimaju dah. Podaci navedeni u ovom odeljku mogu se naći na stranama 7, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 35.
- 7 Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 214.
- 8 *Ibid*, 385.
- 9 Dietrich von Choltitz Interrogation, Aug. 25, 1944, WO208/4463, UKARCH.
- 10 „Hermann Goring,“ Interrogation Report, Military Intelligence Service, U.S. Ninth Air Force, June 1, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
- 11 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 468.
- 12 Baumbach, *Life and Death of the Luftwaffe*, 55.
- 13 The Birth, Life, and Death of the German Day Fighter Arm (Related by Adolf Galland),“ Interrogation Report, 28, Spaatz Papers.
- 14 *Ibid*.
- 15 Razgovor između Galanda i feldmaršala Erharda Milha, 6 juni 1945, transkript, Spaatz Papers.

Sedmo poglavlje: DOVOLJNO BLAŽENSTVO

- 1 Česti očajnički unosi Džona Kolvila o Gej Mardžeson mogu se naći u izvornom, rukom pisanom dnevniku u njegovim dokumentima u

Čerčilovom arhivskom centru, ali priča je, osim nekoliko površnih opaski, izostavljena iz objavljene verzije pod naslovom *The Fringes of Power*.

- 2 Manuscript Diary, May 22, 1940, Colville Papers.
- 3 *Ibid*, May 26, 1940.
- 4 Lukacs, *Five Days in London*, 140.

#### Osmo poglavlje: PRVE BOMBE

- 1 Directive to Ministers, May 29, 1940, Prime Minister Files, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 2 Dalton, *Fateful Years*, 335—36. Vidi i malo drugačiju, blažu verziju u Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 225.
- 3 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 154, 156.
- 4 „Private Life of a Prime Minister,“ MEPO 2/9851, UKARCH.
- 5 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:171.
- 6 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 144.
- 7 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:243.
- 8 Halle, *Irrepressible Churchill*, 137; Maier, *When Lions Roar*, 256. U Mejerovoj verziji stoji: „A ako dođu, udaraćemo ih u glavu pivskim bocama jer je to sve čime imamo da se borimo protiv njih!“
- 9 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 157.
- 10 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 70.
- 11 Nicolson, *War Years*, 94.
- 12 *Ibid*, 89—90.
- 13 Pottle, *Champion Redoubtable*, 224—25.
- 14 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 53.
- 15 *Ibid*, 54-55.
- 16 *Ibid*, 55.

#### Deveto poglavlje: SLIKA U OGLEDALU

- 1 Lukacs, *Five Days in London*, 192—93n.

#### Deseto poglavlje: UTVARA

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:177.
- 2 *Ibid*.
- 3 Thompson, *Assignment*, 217.
- 4 A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 657.
- 5 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 296.

- 6 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 93, 95.
- 7 Spears, *Fall of France*, 150. U pismu od 30. maja 1940. američki ambasador u parizu Vilijem Bulit napisao je predsedniku Ruzveltu: „za slučaj da me bomba raznese pre nego što se ponovo vidimo, želim da znate da je bilo divno raditi za vas i od srca Vam zahvaljujem na prijateljstvu.“ Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 62.
- 8 Spears, *Fall of France*, 161.
- 9 Kenedijev telegram Halu, 12. juni 1940, FDR/Safe.

## DRUGI DEO: NEIZBEŽNA SLUČAJNOST

### Jedanaesto poglavlje: TAJNA LABUDOVOG ZAMKA

- 1 Fort, *Prof*, 232.
- 2 *Ibid*, 329.
- 3 Birkenhead, *Prof in Two Worlds*, 68.
- 4 Colville, *Winston Churchill and His Inner Circle*, 48.
- 5 Fort, *Prof*, 12.
- 6 Birkenhead, *Prof in Two Worlds*, 16.
- 7 Fort, *Prof*, 208.
- 8 Colville, *Winston Churchill and His Inner Circle*, 46.
- 9 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 135. Vidi 135—50 za Džounsov zanimljivi opis njegovog detektivskog posla.
- 10 Ana je bila kraljica svega šest meseci, dok braj nije poništen zbog nekonzumiranja. „Kao što znate, slabo mi se dopadala pre“, poverio se Henri Osmi Tomasu Kromvelu,. „ali sada mi se dopada još manje.“ Ova romantična epizoda može se poronaći u Robert Hutchinson, *Thomas Cromwell* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), 253.
- 11 Harrod, *Prof*, 2.
- 12 Diary, June 13, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 13 Spears, *Fall of France*, 199. Vidi *ibid*, 198—220, za Spirsov podrobni opis tog sudbnosnog sastanka u Turu.
- 14 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 135—50.
- 15 *Ibid*, 137.
- 16 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 173.
- 17 Fort, *Prof*, 216.
- 18 Lindemanova poruka Čerčilu, 13. juni 1940, F107/17, Lindemann Papers.
- 19 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 137.
- 20 Pottle, *Champion Redoubtable*, 224.



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- 21 No. 10 Downing Street: Expenditure, 1935—1936,“ Ministry of Works Report, WORK 12/245, UKARCH.
  - 22 Diary, June 15, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
  - 23 *Ibid*, June 18, 1940.
  - 24 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:337.
  - 25 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:337—38.
  - 26 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:183.

## Dvanaesto poglavlje: DUHOVI GLUPIH LJUDI

- 1 Nel, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary*, 60—61.
- 2 Thompson, *Assignment*, 3.
- 3 Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 49—50.
- 4 J. Gilbert Jenkins, *Chequers*, 7.
- 5 Thompson, *Assignment*, 3.
- 6 Kad je Li kupio sliku, smatralo se da je delo samog Rembranta. Kasnija istraživanja utvrdila su da ju je naslikao njegov učenik Gerbrand van den Ekhaut. Major, *Chequers*, 128.
- 7 Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 25—26.
- 8 *Ibid*, 59, 61—62.
- 9 Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 256.
- 10 Fort, *Prof*, 164-65.
- 11 *Ibid*, 165.
- 12 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:184.
- 13 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 186.
- 14 J. Gilbert Jenkins, *Chequers*, 122.
- 15 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:184.
- 16 *Ibid*.
- 17 *Ibid*.
- 18 Nije tačno utvrđeno koliko je cigara dnevno Čerčil pušio i koliko bi ih zaista popušio do kraja. „Palio je cigaru odmah posle doručka“, primetio je inspektor Tompson, „ali do ručka ta cigara bila bi popušena samo dopola; često ju je ponovo pripaljivao i jednako često osmah ostavljao. On žvače cigare, ne puši ih.“ Postupak ponovnog pripaljivanja obuhtao je mnogo plamena i dima. „Najčešće vidim u mislima gospodina Čerčila kako ponovo pripaljuje cigaru“, napisala je njegova sekretarica Elizabet Lejton (kasnije gospođa Nel.) Opisala je redosled: „Na trenutak je ostavljao ono što je radio, plamen velikog palidrvjeta skakutao je gore-dole, a iz usta su mu izbijali oblaci plavičastog dima; zatim je brzo mahao šibicom da je

ugasi i nastavljao s poslom.“ Popušene cigare ili one koje mu se nisu dopale Čerčil je bacao u najbliže ognjište. Činjenica da su Čerčilove cigare gotovo stalno samo tinjale navela je generala Ijana Džejkoba, pomoćnika sekretara Ratnog kabineta, da primeti: „On zapravo uopšte nije pušio“. Vidi Thompson, *Assignment*, 251; Nel, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary*, 45; Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 182.

19 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:184-85.

20 *Ibid*, 183.

#### Trinaesto poglavlje: ŽIGOSANJE

1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:185.

2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:346.

3 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 138.

4 *Ibid*.

5 *Ibid*, 139.

6 Fort, *Prof*, 261.

7 *Ibid*, 262.

8 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:189.

9 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:359.

10 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 123.

11 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 100.

12 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 460.

13 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 299.

14 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 194.

15 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 271.

16 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 180.

17 Biverbruk Čerčilu, 16. juni 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.

#### Četrnaesto poglavlje: „OVA ČUDNOVATA I SMRTONOSNA IGRA“

1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:360-68.

2 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 59.

3 *Ibid*.

4 „Experience of the campaign“: „Urgent Measures to Meet Attack,“ Report by the Chiefs of Staff, June 19, 1940, CAB 66/8, UKARCH.

5 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 144.

6 Nel, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary*, 30.

7 Fort, *Prof*, 227; Ismay, *Memoirs*, 172; Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:402.

- 8 Fort, *Prof*, 227.
- 9 *Ibid*, 242.
- 10 *Ibid*.
- 11 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 145.
- 12 *Ibid*.
- 13 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 153.
- 14 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 385.
- 15 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 153.
- 16 *Ibid*, 146.
- 17 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 386—87.
- 18 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 148.
- 19 Lough, *No More Champagne*, 288—89. Knjiga Dejvida Loha Nema više šampanjca odlično opisuje kako se Čerčil finansijski mučio tokom većeg dela karijere.
- 20 Jones, *Most Secret War*, 148—49.

## Petnaesto poglavlje: LONDON I BERLIN

- 1 Diary, June 23, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 2 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 60.
- 3 *Ibid*.

## Šesnaesto poglavlje: CRVENA UZBUNA

- 1 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 306.
- 2 Battle Summary No. 1: Operations Against the French Fleet at Mers-el-Kebir (Oran), July 3—6, 1940, Appendix A, ADM 234/317, UKARCH.
- 3 *Ibid*.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:415.
- 5 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 109.
- 6 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 154.
- 7 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:433n3.
- 8 *Ibid*, 452—53; Lindemann to Churchill, minute, June 30, F108/21, Lindemann Papers.
- 9 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:444—45.
- 10 Note, „Home Defense,“ June 28, 1940, War Cabinet Papers, CAB 66/9, UKARCH.
- 11 Clementine to Winston, June 27, 1940, CSCT 1/24, Clementine Churchill Papers.

## Sedamnaesto poglavlje: „TOFREK!“

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:555.
- 2 Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 108—9.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:207.
- 4 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 57.
- 5 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:207.
- 6 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 69.
- 7 Kathleen Harriman to Mary Harriman Fisk, May 30, Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 8 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 123.
- 9 *Ibid*, 86.
- 10 *Ibid*, 85.
- 11 Sarah Churchill, *Keep on Dancing*, 18.
- 12 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 264.
- 13 Purnell, *Clementine*, 139.
- 14 Sv tri događaja mogu se naći u *ibid*, 88, 115.
- 15 *Ibid*, 182.
- 16 Winston Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Dec. 29, 1929, RDCH 1/3/3, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 17 Colville, *Winston Churchill and His Inner Circle*, 36.
- 18 Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 315.
- 19 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:231.
- 20 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 69.
- 21 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 6.
- 22 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:208—9.
- 23 *Ibid*, 209-210.

## Osamnaesto poglavlje: OSTAVKA BROJ JEDAN

- 1 Beaverbrook to Churchill, June 30, 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 2 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:214.
- 3 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:454.
- 4 Young, *Churchill and Beaverbrook*, 150.

## Devetnaesto poglavlje: ODRED H

- 1 Sve pojedinosti o operaciji u Mers el Kebiru navedene su na osnovu „Battle Summary No. 1: Operations Against the French Fleet at Mers-el-Kebir (Oran), July 3—6, 1940,“ ADM 234/317, UKARCH.

To je vrlo pismen i ravnodušan prikaz, pun odlomaka iz original-nih dokumenata, i zbog toga je potpuno jeziv. Iz nekog razloga – verovatno radi pogodnosti – većina posrednih izvora za operaciju koristi naziv Oran, ali činjenica je da su se glavni događaji odigrali u Mers el Kebiru.

- 2 Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 107; Martin, *Downing Street*, 14. Martin ne navodi reči „i najbolnijom.“
- 3 Young, *Churchill and Beaverbrook*, 153.
- 4 „Hitler's 'Programme' and the Genesis of Operation 'Barbarossa,' „ 896.
- 5 Halder, *War Diary*, 230.
- 6 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 33.
- 7 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 149.
- 8 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 233—34.
- 9 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:215.
- 10 Diary, July 3, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 11 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:474.
- 12 Nicolson, *War Years*, 100.
- 13 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:216.
- 14 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 189.
- 15 Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 110.
- 16 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 150.
- 17 „My Memory of the Lunch in the Downstairs Flat . . . „ n.d., Churchill Family and Mary Soames File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 18 Inspektor Tompson strepeo je od tog pogleda i vrlo dobro ga je poznao. Znao je da njegovo neprestano prisustvo ume da nervira, da je „pre naporno i neprikladno nago zaštitničko, makar za nju“, i poštovao je to što je ona svoje nezadovoljstvo zadržavala za sebe. „Ipak, umela je ledeno da pogleda nekoga kad joj je strpljenje pri kraju i u takvim prilikama uvek bih pozeleo da nestanem dok se ona ponovo ne smiri.“ Thompson, *Assignment*, 15.

#### Dvadeseto poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 14, 156—57.
- 2 *Ibid*, 14.
- 3 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 63.
- 4 *Ibid*, 65.
- 5 Evacuation of Civil Population from East, South-East, and South Coast Towns,“ July 3, 1940, War Cabinet Memoranda, CAB 66/8, UKARCH.

- 6 Imminence of a German Invasion of Great Britain,“ Report by the Joint Intelligence Sub-committee, July 4, 1940, Appendix A, War Cabinet Memoranda, CAB 66/9, UKARCH.
- 7 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:218.
- 8 *Ibid*, 216.

Dvadeset prvo poglavlje: ŠAMPANJAC I GARBO

- 1 Manuscript Diary, July 10, 1940, Colville Papers. Ovo su, kako ih je Kolvil nazivao, „beznačajni“ unosi koje je izbacio iz objavljene verzije svog dnevnika.

Dvadeset drugo poglavlje: ZAR SMO ZAISTA POTONULI TOLIKO DUBOKO?

- 1 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, 62.
- 2 Nicolson, *War Years*, 100.
- 3 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, 71.
- 4 Brojni takvi telegrami mogu se naći u Ruzveltovom arhivu, u Dokumentima predsednikovog kabineta, FDR/Diplo. Na primer, 13, i 14. juli 1940.
- 5 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 169.
- 6 Diary, Aug. 5, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 7 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 124.
- 8 *Ibid*, 119.
- 9 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 229.
- 10 *Ibid*, 231.
- 11 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, 79.
- 12 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 231.
- 13 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:533.
- 14 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 78.
- 15 *Ibid*, 79.
- 16 Beaverbrook to Churchill, minute, Jan. 31, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 17 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 81.
- 18 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 34.

Dvadeset treće poglavlje: ŠTA, ZA IME...?

- 1 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 100; Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 71.

## Dvadeset četvrto poglavlje: TIRANINOVA MOLBA

- 1 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 363.
- 2 Boelcke, Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels, 67.
- 3 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 362.
- 4 Vidi transkript govora u Vital Speeches of the Day, 6:617—25, na [www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1940/1940-07-19b.html](http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1940/1940-07-19b.html).
- 5 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 363-364.
- 6 Galland, *The First and the Last*, 8.
- 7 Pojedinsti o Galandovom odrastanju karijeri mogu se naći u njegovoj autobiografiji Prvi i poslednji i u dokumentima vezanim za posleratna saslušanja pred zvaničnicima ratnog vazduhoplovstva SAD. Naročito vidi 18. maj 1945, transkript jednog saslušanja i celovitiji izveštaj: „Rođenje, život i smrt nemačkih dnevnih lovačkih jedinica (prema rečima Adolfa Galanda)“, Spaatz papers.
- 8 Ovaj lovački avion često nazivaju Bf 109, po njegovom prvobitnom proizvođaču *Bayerische Flugzeugwerke*. Overy, *Battle of Britain*, 56.
- 9 Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 129—30.
- 10 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 362.
- 11 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:234.
- 12 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 250.
- 13 Boelcke, Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels, 70.
- 14 *Ibid*, 74.

## Dvadeset peto poglavlje: PROFINO IZNENAĐENJE

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:580.

## Dvadeset šesto poglavlje: BELE RUKAVICE U ZORU

- 1 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 406.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:667.
- 3 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 398.
- 4 Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 49.
- 5 *Ibid*, 52.
- 6 Churchill to Roosevelt, cable, July 31, 1940, FDR/Map.
- 7 Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 142.
- 8 A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 446.
- 9 Za opširan prikaz epizode vidi Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers. Takođe i Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 95—97.

## Dvadeset sedmo poglavlje: DIREKTIVA BROJ 17

- 1 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 37—38.
- 2 Otto Bechtle, „German Air Force Operations Against Great Britain, Tactics and Lessons Learnt, 1940—1941“ (lecture, Feb. 2, 1944), AIR 40/2444, UKARCH.
- 3 Štaviše, krajem 1942. jedan zarobljeni nemački pilot rekao je na slušanju da, ako su nemački obavestajni izveštaji tačni, Kraljevsko ratni vazduhoplovstvo i savsničke vazduhoplovne snage imaju „manje od pet stotina aviona“. Vidi: „Intelligence from Interrogation: Intelligence from Prisoners of War,“ 42, AIR 40/1177, UKARCH.
- 4 „The Birth, Life, and Death of the German Day Fighter Arm (Related by Adolf Galland),“ Interrogation Report, 15, Spaatz Papers.

## Dvadeset osmo poglavlje: „O, MESEČE SJAJNI“

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:636.
- 2 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:251.
- 3 *Ibid*, 252.
- 4 *Ibid*, 253—54.
- 5 *Ibid*, 254.
- 6 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 373.

## TREĆI DEO: STRAVA

## Dvadeset deveto poglavlje: ORLOV DAN

- 1 Baker, *Adolf Galland*, 109—11; Basil Collier, *Battle of Britain*, 70—71; Basil Collier, *Defense of the United Kingdom*, 184—88; Bekker, *Luftwaffe Diaries*, 151; Overy, *Battle of Britain*, 62—63.
- 2 Galland, *The First and the Last*, 18.
- 3 *Ibid*, 24.

## Trideseto poglavlje: ZBRKA

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:261.
- 2 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 409—10.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 404.
- 4 Baker, *Adolf Galland*, 110.

## Trideset prvo poglavlje: GERING

- 1 Baker, *Adolf Galland*, 157.



- 2 War Diary of Kampfgruppe 210, "Appendix to Interrogation Report 273/1940, AIR 40/2398, UKARCH.

Trideset drugo poglavlje: BOMBARDER NA PAŠNJAKU

- 1 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 180.
- 2 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 331.
- 3 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 321.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:679.
- 5 Air Ministry Weekly Intelligence Summary, No. 51, Aug. 23, 1940, AIR 22/72, UKARCH.
- 6 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 423—24.
- 7 Basil Collier, *Battle of Britain*, 88—89.
- 8 Nicolson, *War Years*, 111. Vilijem Šajrer je u dnevniku opisao zvuk šrapnela eksplodirane protivavionske grnate: „Kao da grad udara po limenom krovu. Čuje se kako pada kroz krošnje na krovove šupa.“ (389.)
- 9 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 148.
- 10 *Ibid*, 143.
- 11 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:264—65.
- 12 Air Interrogation Reports, 237/1940 and 243/1940, AIR 40/2398, UKARCH. Izveštaj 237 navodi oznake na avionu: Plavi štiti s belom morskou zvezdom u sredini, žuti krug u sredini zvezde. Krilo odozgo tamnozeleno, odozdo sivo.“
- 13 Bessborough, *Enchanted Forest*, 118. Sin lorda Besboroa i njegov koautor Klajv Aslet objavili su zanimljivi prikaz imanjanja i engleskog života na selu pod naslovom *Začarana šuma: Priča o Stanstedu u Saseksu*. Iz knjige se može saznati mnogo štošta, na primer da jedan vitraž na istočnoj strani prikazuje Zavetni kovčeg, što je vrlo zanimljiva pojedinost (80). Pored toga, može se dosta saznati o ranoj taktici pravljenja „Pite vaskrsnuća“ kako bi se stvorio privid da je domaćin pripremio više hrane za obrok nego što zapravo jeste „negledno jelo od raznovrsnih ostataka koje služi samo da poveća broj poslužavnika, a inače nije predviđeno za upotrebu“ (73).

Trideset treće poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 78—79. Gebels je smislio naročito lukav način da stvara nelagodu u Engleskoj pojačavajući već postojeće strahove da petokolonaši delotvorno pripremaju

put za invaziju. Naredio je direktoru programa za inostranstvo da ovo ostvari ubacujući „dobro osmišljene poruke koje zvuče tajanstveno“ u redovne programe, poruke koje zvuče onako kako bi svako zamišljao tajnu komunikaciju među špijunima „i da tako održava u životu sumnju da smo u dodiru s pripadnicima pete kolone u Velikoj Britaniji.“ Lako je zamisliti britansku porodicu kako sluša takvu emisiju u subotu uveče. „Baš čudno – zašto je taj spiker upravo po šesti put rekao 'ovsena kaša?'“ *Ibid*, 79.

#### Trideset četvrto poglavlje: STARA REKA

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:266.
- 2 Upward to Churchill, Aug. 20, 1940; Beaverbrook to John Martin, Aug. 26, 1940, Correspondence, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 3 Beaverbrook to Churchill, Aug. 27, 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:697.
- 5 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:267.
- 6 Miller, *Occult Theocracy*, 8. Idit Miler napisala je i neku vrstu kuvara, objavljenog 1918, u kom je objašnjavala kako je najbolje smanjiti bacanje hrane u domaćinstvu, a savete je podesila za „domaćinstvo od dvanaestoro slugu i troje gospodara“. Vidi Edith Starr Miller, *Common Sense in the Kitchen: Normal Rations in Normal Times* (New York: Brentano's, 1918), 3.
- 7 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:99n.

#### Trideset peto poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Overy, *Battle of Britain*, 87.
- 2 Basil Collier, *Battle of Britain*, 95.

#### Trideset šesto poglavlje: VREME JE ZA ČAJ

- 1 Fort, *Prof*, 233; Birkenhead, *Prof in Two Worlds*, 167, 272-273; Note, „Mrs. Beard: An old woman...“ June 4, 1959, A113/F1, Lindemann Papers. Za ostatak duge priče o ostareloj bolničarki – i njenim sve većim novčanim zahtevima – vidi F2–F15. Za druge primere Profine velikodušnosti, vidi fascikle A114-118.
- 2 Za razne reference u čaju vidi Overy, *Battle of Britain*, 45-46; Stan-sky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 138; Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 78; Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 182-183.
- 3 Fort, *Prof*, 217.

## Trideset sedmo poglavlje: ZALUTALI BOMBARDERI

- 1 Bekker, *Luftwaffe Diaries*, 172; Basil Collier, *Battle of Britain*, 95; Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:270.
- 2 Našao sam ovaj prenos na [www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2014/today-in-media-history-edward-r-murrow-describes-the-bombing-of-london-in-1940/](http://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2014/today-in-media-history-edward-r-murrow-describes-the-bombing-of-london-in-1940/). U ove odlomke interpunkciju sam stavio da pokaže kako sam ja čuo snimak, mada su drugi transkripti možda drugačiji.
- 3 Bekker, *Luftwaffe Diaries*, 172.
- 4 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 159.

## Trideset osmo poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 388.
- 2 *Ibid*, 397.
- 3 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 82.

## Trideset deveto poglavlje: AH, MLADOST!

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:270.
- 2 *Ibid*, 271.
- 3 „Home Opinion as Shewn in the Mails to U.S.A. and Eire,“ Sept. 5, 1940, War Cabinet Papers, CAB 66, UKARCH.
- 4 Diary, Aug. 26, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 5 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 167.
- 6 *Ibid*, 171.
- 7 *Ibid*, 172.
- 8 Diary, Aug. 28, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 268; Maier, *When Lions Roar*, 251.
- 10 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 268.
- 11 Beaverbrook to Churchill, Sept. 2, 1940, Correspondence, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.

## Četrdeseto poglavlje: BERLIN I VAŠINGTON

- 1 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 82.
- 2 *Ibid*.
- 3 Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 149.
- 4 Goodhart, *Fifty Ships That Saved the World*, 194.

## Četrdeset prvo poglavlje: ON DOLAZI

- 1 Manchester and Reid, *Defender of the Realm*, 152.
- 2 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 396.
- 3 Preneseno u Richard Townshend Bickers, *The Battle of Britain: The Greatest Battle in the History of Air Warfare* (London: Batsford, 2015). Takođe, vidi onlajn: „Plan of Attack,” doc. 43, Battle of Britain Historical Society, [www.battleofbritain1940.net/document-43.html](http://www.battleofbritain1940.net/document-43.html).
- 4 Overy, *Bombing War*, 88.
- 5 Wakefield, *Pfadfinder*, 7—12.
- 6 *Ibid*, 45.

## Četrdeset drugo poglavlje: ZLOSLUTNI DOGAĐAJI

- 1 Alanbrooke, *War Diaries*, 105.

## Četrdeset treće poglavlje: CAP BLANK-NEZ

- 1 „The Goring Collection,” Confidential Interrogation Report No. 2, Sept. 15, 1945, 3, 4, 9, i, u dodacima, „Objects Acquired by Goring,” Office of Strategic Services and Looting Investigative Unit, T 209/29, UKARCH.
- 2 Bekker, *Luftwaffe Diaries*, 172; Feigel, *Love-Charm of Bombs*, 13. Primedbe su citirane u Garry Champion, *The Battle of Britain, 1945—1965: The Air Ministry and the Few* (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). Za spreman izvor vidi Battle of Britain Historical Society, [www.battleofbritain1940.net/0036.html](http://www.battleofbritain1940.net/0036.html).

## ČETVRTI DEO: KRV I PRAŠINA

## Četrdeset četvrto poglavlje: JEDNOG VEDROG LETNJEG DANA

- 1 Diary, Sept. 7, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 2 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 434—35.
- 3 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 31—32.
- 4 Ziegler, *London at War*, 113.
- 5 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 33—34.
- 6 Nicolson, *War Years*, 121.
- 7 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 53.
- 8 Feigel, *Love-Charm of Bombs*, 129.

- 9 „More About Big Bombs,“ Interrogation Report 592/1940, Sept. 22, 1940, AIR 40/2400, UKARCH.
- 10 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 435.
- 11 Overy, *Bombing War*, 87.
- 12 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 165.
- 13 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 439.
- 14 Wyndham, *Love Lessons*, 113—16.
- 15 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 72.
- 16 Adolf Galland Interrogation, May 18, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
- 17 Kesselring, *Memoirs*, 76.
- 18 Farrer, *G - for God Almighty*, 62.

Četrdeset peto poglavlje: NEPREDVIDIVA ČAROLIJA

- 1 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 183.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:788—89.
- 3 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 184.
- 4 „Diary of Brigadier General Carl Spaatz on Tour of Duty in England,“ Sept. 8, 1940, Spaatz Papers.
- 5 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 184.
- 6 Young, *Churchill and Beaverbrook*, 152.
- 7 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 61.
- 8 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 83.
- 9 *Ibid*, 141.
- 10 Diary, Sept. 8, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 11 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 173.
- 12 Diary, Sept. 11, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 13 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:801—3.
- 14 Air Defence of Great Britain,“ vol. 3, „Night Air Defence, June 1940—December 1941,“ 56, 66, AIR 41/17, UKARCH.
- 15 Feigel, *Love-Charm of Bombs*, 15.
- 16 Martin, *Downing Street*, 25.
- 17 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 414.
- 18 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 401.

Četrdeset šesto poglavlje: SAN

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:834.
- 2 Addison and Crang, *Listening to Britain*, 418.
- 3 *Ibid*, 105.

- 4 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 102.
- 5 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 440.
- 6 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 112. Field, „Nights Underground in Darkest London,“ 44M7, zapaža da se u novembru 1940. Svega oko četiri odsto Londonaca sklonilo u stanice i „odgovarajuća velika skloništa.“ U oktobu 1940. Domaće obaveštajno odeljenje navelo je studiju Masovnih posmatranja koja je utvrdila da oko četiri odsto Londonaca koristi javna skloništa. Kao glavni razlog izbegavanja stanica bio je naveden „strah od zatrpavanja.“ Home Intelligence Weekly Report for Sept. 30—Oct. 9, 1940, INF 1/292, UKARCH.
- 7 Overy, *Bombing War*, 147.
- 8 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 112. Procena od 71 odsto, navedena u studiji „masovnih posmatranja“, pojavljuje se u Home Intelligence Weekly Report for Sept. 30—Oct. 9, 1940, INF 1/292, UKARCH.
- 9 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 468.
- 10 *Ibid*, 469.
- 11 *Ibid*, 470.
- 12 Alanbrooke, *War Diaries*, 107.
- 13 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:810.

#### Četrdeset sedmo poglavlje: USLOVI ZATOČENIŠTVA

- 1 J. Gilbert Jenkins, *Chequers*, 26—30, 120—21; Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 176—77.
- 2 J. Gilbert Jenkins, *Chequers*, 28.
- 3 Diary, Sept. 15, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 4 *Ibid*, Sept. 14, 1940.
- 5 Winston Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, 332.
- 6 *Ibid*, 333—37.
- 7 *Ibid*, 336.
- 8 *Ibid*, 336—37.
- 9 Diary, Sept. 15, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.

#### Četrdeset osmo poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Interrogation of General A. D. Milch, Transcript, May 23, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
- 2 Air Ministry Weekly Intelligence Summary, No. 51, Aug. 23, 1940, 7, AIR 22/72, UKARCH.
- 3 Boelcke, Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels, 91.

## Četrdeset deveto poglavlje: STRAH

- 1 Diary, Sept. 21, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:862.
- 3 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harri-man Papers.
- 4 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:292—93.

## Pedeseto poglavlje: HES

- 1 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 21, 88—89, 160—63. Kopija pisma na-lazi se u „The Capture of Rudolf Hess: Reports and Minutes,“ WO 199/328, UKARCH.

## Pedeset prvo poglavlje: UTOČIŠTE

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:839.
- 2 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, 26. Trik s narandžama Majre Hes spominje se u Fort, *Prof*, 49.
- 3 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 188.
- 4 Harrison, *Living Through the Blitz*, 81.
- 5 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 195.
- 6 *Ibid*, 175.
- 7 Wyndham, *Love Lessons*, 121.
- 8 Ova prepiska nalazi se u Churchill Archives Centre, CHAR 1/357, Winston Churchill Papers.
- 9 Za prekoračenje troškova vidi „Chequers Household Account,“ Ju-ne—Dec. 1940. i C. F. Penruddock to Kathleen Hill, March 25, 1941; Hill to Penruddock, March 22, 1941, CHAR 1/365, Winston Churchill Papers. U dosijeu se nalaze i brojni drugi računi za druge periode. Došao sam do sume od 20.288 dolara upotreбивši formule usklađivanja i rasta koje je izneo Dejvid Lok u knjizi *Nema više šam-panjca*, prema kojima je jedna funta u periodu 1939—1941. vredela četiri dolara, a kad se to pomnoži s faktorom 16, dobija se približna današnja vrednost u dolarima. Čerčilovo prekoračenje tokom 1940. bilo je 317 funti, odnosno 1.268 dolara. Kad se to pomnoži sa 16, dobije se 20.288 dolara. O vozačima gostiju, vidi Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 107.
- 10 Vidi „Wines Installed in Cellar at Chequers, 23rd October, 1941,“ i odgovarajuću prepisku, CHAR 1/365, Winston Churchill Papers.
- 11 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 292.

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- 12 Suss, *Death from the Skies*, 314; Swiss Cottager, Bulletin Nos. 1—3, digital collection, University of Warwick, mrc-catalogue. warwick.ac.uk/records/ABT/6/2/6.
  - 13 Cooper, *Trumpets from the Steep*, 44.
  - 14 Ziegler, *London at War*, 135.
  - 15 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 248.
  - 16 *Ibid*, 247.
  - 17 Cooper, *Trumpets from the Steep*, 68.
  - 18 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 441.
  - 19 *Ibid*, 442.
  - 20 Field, „Nights Underground in Darkest London,“ 17; Overy, *Bombing War*, 146; „On This Day: Occupation of the Savoy, 14th September 1940,“ Turbulent London, turbulentlondon.com/2017/09/14/on-this-day-occupation-of-the-savoy-14th-september-1940/.
  - 21 Ziegler, *London at War*, 122—23.
  - 22 Nicolson, *War Years*, 120; „Animals in the Zoo Don't Mind the Raids,“ *The War Illustrated* 3, No. 4 (Nov. 15, 1940). Vidi i: „London Zoo During World War Two,“ Zoological Society of London, Sept. 1, 2013, www.zsl.org/blogs/artefact-of-the-month/zsl-london-zoo-during-world-war-two.
  - 23 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 82.
  - 24 Cowles, *Looking for Trouble*, 441.
  - 25 Kathleen Harriman to Mary Harriman Fisk, June n.d., 1941, Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
  - 26 Stansky, *First Day of the Blitz*, 170—71.
  - 27 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 122.
  - 28 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 186.
  - 29 Ziegler, *London at War*, 91.
  - 30 Fort, *Prof*, 161—63.
  - 31 *Ibid*, 163.

#### Pedeset drugo poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Overy, *Bombing War*, 97.
- 2 Shirer, Berlin Diary, 411—13. Britanske obaveštajne službe trudile su se da vode zarobljenike koji sarađuju u obilazak Londona, čak i u pozorište“, kako bi im pokazale koliko je grada preživelo bombardovanje. „Zarobljenici su mogli svojim očima da vide da grad ne leži u ruševinama kako su im govorili“, stoji u izveštaju o obilascima. Pred tim prizorima njihovo poverenje u ono što im vođe govore



se kolebalo i često su još usrdnije sarađivali. „Intelligence from Interrogation: Intelligence from Prisoners of War,“ 10, AIR 40/1177, UKARCH. Drugi obavještajni izveštaj donosi odlomak razgovora između dvojice zarobljenika koji su britanski islednici tajno snimili i u kom jedan zarobljenik kaže: „I dalje ne shvatam kako London još postoji!“ „Da“, kaže drugi, „to je neobjašnjivo, mada su mene vozili kroz udaljenije četvrti, ali... sigurno je više uništeno.“ Special Extract No. 57, WO 208/3506, UKARCH. (Zanimljivo je što je ovaj dosije bio je tajna do 1992.)

- 3 Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 448.
- 4 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 97.
- 5 *Ibid*, 98.

Pedeset treće poglavlje: META: ČERČIL

- 1 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 118.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:818—19.
- 3 Pottle, *Champion Redoubtable*, 228.
- 4 Lee to Neville Chamberlain, April 4, 1940, PREMI4/I9, UKARCH.
- 5 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 95; Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 10; Pamela C. Harriman, „Churchill's Dream,“ *American Heritage*, Oct./Nov. 1983.
- 6 Ismay to P. Allen, Aug. 29, 1940, PREM 14/33, UKARCH.
- 7 Ismay to General Sir Walter K. Venning, Aug. 8, 1940, „Protection of Chequers,“ pt. 3, WO 199/303, UKARCH.
- 8 J. B. Watney to GHQ Home Forces, Sept. 22, 1940, i „Note for War Diary,“ Sept. 14, 1940, „Protection of Chequers,“ pt. 3, UKARCH.
- 9 „Report on Cigars Presented to the Prime Minister by the National Tobacco Commission of Cuba,“ Oct. 14, 1941, CHAR 2/434.
- 10 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:1238.
- 11 *Ibid*, I238n.
- 12 Colville to Churchill, June 18, 1941, CHAR 2/434, Winston Churchill Papers.
- 13 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 63.
- 14 Beaverbrook to Churchill, June 26, 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 15 Farrer, *Sky's the Limit*, 65.
- 16 *Ibid*, 63.
- 17 Lindemann to Churchill, minute, Aug. 14, 1940, F113/19, Lindemann Papers.
- 18 Lindemann to Churchill, Aug. 20, 1940, F114/12, Lindemann Papers.

- 19 Home Intelligence Weekly Report for Sept. 30—Oct. 9, 1940, INF 1/292, UKARCH.
- 20 Diary, Sept. 26 and 27, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 21 *Ibid*, Sept. 27, 1940.
- 22 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:902.
- 23 Diary, Oct. 8, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers; Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 179—80.
- 24 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 25 Diary, Oct. 10, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 26 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers; Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 100; Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 72.
- 27 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:307.
- 28 *Ibid*, 309.
- 29 *Ibid*.
- 30 Nicolson, *War Years*, 128—29.
- 31 Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, 640.
- 32 Chisholm and Davie, *Beaverbrook*, 445.

Pedeset četrto poglavlje: RASIPNIK

- 1 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 2 *Ibid*; Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 92.
- 3 Winston Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Oct. 18, 1931, RDCH 1/3/3, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 4 Winston Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Feb. 14, 1938, RDCH 1/3/3, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 5 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 6 Ogden, *Life of the Party*, 102—3.
- 7 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 14.
- 8 Pamela Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Sept. 17 and 18, 1940, RDCH 1/3/5 File no. 1, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 9 Pamela Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Sept. 9, 1940, RDCH 1/3/5 File no. 1, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 10 Pamela Churchill to Randolph Churchill, [bez datuma, ali verovatno kraj oktobra 1940], RDCH 1/3/5 File no. 2, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 11 Pottle, *Champion Redoubtable*, 230.

- 12 Nicolson, *War Years*, 121.
- 13 J. Gilbert Jenkins, *Chequers*, 146.
- 14 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:318.
- 15 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 175; Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime ministers*, 110.

## Pedeset peto poglavlje: VAŠINGTON I BERLIN

- 1 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 198.
- 2 *Ibid*, 191.
- 3 Kershaw, *Nemesis*, 336.
- 4 Overy, *Battle of Britain*, 98.
- 5 „Air Defense of Great Britain,“ vol. 3, „Night Air Defense, June 1940—December 1941,“ 82, AIR 41/17, UKARCH.

## Pedeset šesto poglavlje: ŽABLJI GOVOR

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:979.
- 2 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 80.
- 3 *Ibid*, 81.
- 4 *Ibid*.
- 5 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:980—82.
- 6 Diary, Oct. 21, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 7 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 108.
- 8 „Intelligence from Interrogation: Intelligence from Prisoners of War,“ 42, AIR 40/1177, UKARCH.

## Pedeset sedmo poglavlje: OVIPOZITOR

- 1 Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 189.
- 2 Nicolson, *War Years*, 126.
- 3 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1053—54.
- 4 *Ibid*, 1147.
- 5 Lindemann to Churchill, Nov. 1, 1940, FI2I/I, Lindemann Papers.
- 6 Portal to Churchill, Nov. 5, 1940, PREM 3/22/4K UKARCH.
- 7 Wakefield, *Pfadfinder*, 67.
- 8 Churchill to Ismay, Nov. 18, 1940, PREM 3/22/4K UKARCH.
- 9 Ismay to Churchill, Nov. 21, 1940, PREM 3/22/4K UKARCH.
- 10 Za pojedinosti o rđavoj noći pilota Hansa Lemana vidi Wakefield, *Pfadfinder*, 64—67.

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 Pedeset osmo poglavlje: NAŠ POSEBNI IZVOR

- 1 Svi zvanični obaveštajni izveštaji i memorandumi koje sam upotrebio da ispričam priču o napadu na Koventri u ovom i sledećem poglavlju mogu se naći u dosijeu: „German Operations 'Moonlight Sonata' (Bombing of Coventry) and Counter-plan 'Cold Water,' „ AIR 2/5238 u nacionalnom arhivu Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva. Još od samog napada teoretičari zavere trude se da dokažu da je Čerčil znao za napad i da nije preduzeo ništa kako ne bi otkrio tajnu Blečli Parka. No, ova dokumenta, s kojih je 1971. skinuta oznaka tajnosti, jasno pokazuju da je Čerčil te noći nije znao da je meta Koventri.
- 2 Colville, *Winston Churchill*, 85.
- 3 Kako se inspektor Tompson izrazio: „Neije mogao da se drži podalje od napada kao što nije mogao da sedi mirno tokom rasprave u parlamentu“ Thompson, *Assignment*, 126.

## Pedeset deveto poglavlje: OPROŠTAJ OD KOVENTRIJA

- 1 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 73.
- 2 *Ibid*, 79.
- 3 *Ibid*, 102.
- 4 *Ibid*, 109.
- 5 *Ibid*, 105.
- 6 *Ibid*, 106.
- 7 *Ibid*, 95.
- 8 Donnelly, *Mrs. Milburn's Diaries*, 66.
- 9 Suss, *Death from the Skies*, 412; Longmate, *Air Raid*, 156.
- 10 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 223.
- 11 A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 454.
- 12 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 196.
- 13 „Note on German Operation 'Moonlight Sonata,'“ and Counter-plan 'Cold Water,' „ 2, AIR 2/5238, UKARCH.
- 14 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 202.
- 15 Harrison, *Living Through the Blitz*, 135.
- 16 *Ibid*, 134.
- 17 Longmate, *Air Raid*, 212.
- 18 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 109.
- 19 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 177.
- 20 Kesselring, *Memoirs*, 81.
- 21 Bekker, *Luftwaffe Diaries*, 180.

## Šezdeseto poglavlje: RAZONODE

- 1 Diary, Nov. 17, 1940, Colville Papers.
- 2 Pamela Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Nov. 19, 1940, RDCH 1/3/5 File no. 2, Randolph Churchill Papers.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:379.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1002.
- 5 Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 107.
- 6 Cowles, *Winston Churchill*, 327.
- 7 Beaverbrook to Winston Churchill, Dec. 2, 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 8 Churchill to Beaverbrook, Dec. 3, 1940, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.

## Šezdeset prvo poglavlje: POSEBNA ISPORUKA

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1169.
- 2 Churchill to Sinclair et al., Dec. 9, 1940, G 26/1, Lindemann Papers.
- 3 Churchill to Sinclair et al., Jan. 12, 1941, G 35/30, Lindemann Papers.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1204.
- 5 Churchill to Roosevelt, Dec. 7, 1940, FDR/Diplo. Takođe i u FDR/Map.
- 6 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 272.
- 7 Cooper, *Trumpets from the Steep*, 69.
- 8 Diary, Dec. 12, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1217.
- 10 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 224.

## Šezdeset drugo poglavlje: DIREKTIVA

- 1 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, I8I—82.

## Šezdeset treće poglavlje: TAJ LUCKASTI STARI ZNAK DOLARA

- 1 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 225.
- 2 *Ibid*, 229.

## Šezdeset četvrto poglavlje: ŽABAC NA KAPIJI

- 1 A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 58.
- 2 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 275.
- 3 Hylton, *Their Darkest Hour*, 107.
- 4 James R. Wilkinson to Walter H. McKinney, Dec. 27, 1940, FDR/Diplo.
- 5 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 313.

- 6 Cockett, *Love and War in London*, 149.  
 7 *Ibid*, 140.  
 8 Clementine Churchill to Winston Churchill, Jan. 3, 1941; „The 3-Tier Bunk“, „Sanitation in Shelter“, „Shelters Visited in Bermondsey on Thursday December 19th 1940“, sve u PREM 3/27, UKARCH.

U vezi s ovom temom evo lepe priče za doručak: Početkom jeseni novinar Kingsli Martin posetio je ogromno sklonište Tilsberi u Ist Endu, skladište margarina u koji je noću dolazilo i do četrnaest hiljada ljudi. Zatim je napisao slikovit esej o tom doživljaju pod naslovom *Rat u istočnom Londonu*. Korisnici skloništa – „belci, Jevreji i inoverci, Kinezi, Indijci i crnci“ – ne obraćaju pažnju na higijenu, napisao je. „Olakšavaju se u zgradi gde stignu. U tome im pomaže margarin u kartonskim kutijama koje mogu da se naslažu u korisne gomile iza kojih ljudi mogu da se ukopaju i udobno spavaju i prazne se.“ Nije znao da li se taj margarin šalje u gradske prodavnice, ali je napisao da je „opasnost od hiljada ljudi koji spavaju na londonskom margarinu sasvim očigledna.“

Želi li neko još tosta? PREM 3/27, UKARCH.

- 9 Churchill to Home Secretary et al., March 29, 1941, PREM 3/27, UKARCH.  
 10 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 342.  
 11 *Ibid*, 343.  
 12 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 520.

#### Šezdeset peto poglavlje: WEIHNACHTEN

- 1 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 179—80.  
 2 *Ibid.*, 208.  
 3 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 49.  
 4 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 112.  
 5 *Ibid*, 110.  
 6 Za ovaj nz dnevničkih unosa Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 201, 204, 215, 217, 209. 321

#### Šezdeset šesto poglavlje: GLASINE

- 1 Za ove i brojne druge glasine vidi Home Intelligence Weekly Reports for Sept. 30—Oct. 9, 1940; Oct. 7—Oct. 14, 1940; Jan. 15—Jan. 22, 1941; Feb. 12—Feb. 19, 1941, sve u INF 1/292, UKARCH. Za

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vimbldonsku glasinu vidi: „Extract from Minute by Mr. Chappell to Mr. Parker, Sept. 23, 1940,“ HO 199/462, UKARCH.

Šezdeset sedmo poglavlje: BOŽIĆ

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:383.
- 2 Lee, *London Observer*, 187.
- 3 Martin, *Downing Street*, 37.
- 4 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:383.
- 5 Diary, Dec. 24, 1940, Colville Papers.
- 6 Colville, *Winston Churchill and His Inner Circle*, 110.
- 7 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 185.
- 8 Martin, *Downing Street*, 37.
- 9 Diary, Dec. 25, 1940, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 10 Nicolson, *War Years*, 131.
- 11 Wyndham, *Love Lessons*, 166.

Šezdeset osmo poglavlje: POLAGAČ JAJA

- 1 Basil Collier, *Defense of the United Kingdom*, 274.

Šezdeset deveto poglavlje: ZA DOBRA STARA VREMENA

- 1 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 228.
- 2 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 222.
- 3 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 344.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 2:1309.
- 5 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 223.
- 6 Martin, *Downing Street*, 37; Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:386.

**PETI DEO: AMERIKANCI**

Sedamdeseto poglavlje: TAJNE

- 1 Lee, *London Observer*, 208.
- 2 Churchill to Beaverbrook, Jan. 2, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 3 Beaverbrook to Churchill, Jan. 3, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 4 Churchill to Beaverbrook, Jan. 3, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 5 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:2—3.
- 6 *Ibid*, 4—6.
- 7 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:387.
- 8 *Ibid*.

- 9 Singleton to Churchill, Jan. 3, 1941, F125/12, Lindemann Papers.
- 10 Beaverbrook to Churchill, Jan. 6, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 11 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:35.
- 12 Churchill to Beaverbrook, Jan. 7, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 13 A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 465.
- 14 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 234.
- 15 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:393.
- 16 *Ibid*, 392.
- 17 Pamela Churchill to Randolph Churchill, Jan. 1, 1941, RDCH 1/3/5 File no. 3, Randolph Churchill Papers.

Sedamdeset prvo poglavlje: VANREDNI U JEDANAEST I TRIDESET

- 1 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 213—14.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:58.
- 3 Diary, Jan. 10, 1941, Colville Papers.
- 4 Donnelly, *Mrs. Milburn's Diaries*, 72.
- 5 Diary, Jan. 11, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 6 Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 385—86.
- 7 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:395.
- 8 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:68—69; Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:396.
- 9 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:69.
- 10 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:397.
- 11 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 243.

Sedamdeset drugo poglavlje: ZA SKAPA FLOU

- 1 Moran, *Churchill*, 6.
- 2 Nel, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary*, 78.
- 3 Andrew Roberts, *Holy Fox*, 280.
- 4 Lee, *London Observer*, 224.
- 5 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 214.
- 6 Lee, *London Observer*, 225.
- 7 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:86.
- 8 *Ibid*, 86-87.

Sedamdeset treće poglavlje: KUDA GOD TI IDEŠ

- 1 Martin, *Downing Street*, 42.
- 2 Lee, *London Observer*, 226.
- 3 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 214.



- 4 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 246.
- 5 Lee, *London Observer*, 227.
- 6 Martin, *Downing Street*, 40; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 250.
- 7 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 215.
- 8 *Ibid*, 216.
- 9 *Ibid*; Moran, *Churchill*, 6.
- 10 Moran, *Churchill*, 6.
- 11 Diary, Jan. 18, 1941, Colville Papers.
- 12 Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 255.
- 13 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:165.

Sedamdeset četvrto poglavlje: DIREKTIVA BROJ 23

- 1 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 56—58.
- 2 „Hermann Goring,“ Interrogation Report, Military Intelligence Service, U.S. Ninth Air Force, June 1, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
- 3 Interrogation Report, Generals Attig, Schimpf, et al., May 20, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
- 4 Kesselring, *Memoirs*, 85.

Sedamdeset peto poglavlje: NASILJE NA VIDIKU

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:191.
- 2 Home Intelligence Weekly Report for Feb. 5—12, 1941, INF 1/292, UKARCH.
- 3 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3 :192—200.
- 4 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 229.
- 5 Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, 447, 849.
- 6 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:224.
- 7 *Ibid*, 225.
- 8 Telegrams, Jan. 21 and 23, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 9 Wyndham, *Love Lessons*, 171.
- 10 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harri-man Papers.

Sedamdeset šesto poglavlje: LONDON, VAŠINGTON I BERLIN

- 1 Conant, *My Several Lives*, 253—55.
- 2 „Memorandum for the Chief of Staff,“ War Department, March 3, 1941, Spaatz Papers.
- 3 Trevor-Roper, *Blitzkrieg to Defeat*, 58—59.

## Sedamdeset sedmo poglavlje: SUBOTA UVEČE

- 1 Wyndham, *Love Lessons*, 160.
- 2 Graves, *Champagne and Chandeliers*, 112.
- 3 *Ibid*, 115.
- 4 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 260.
- 5 Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 213.

## Sedamdeset osmo poglavlje: VISOK I NASMEŠEN

- 1 Averell Harriman, Memorandum to self, March 11, 1941, „Harri-  
man Mission“, Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 2 *Ibid*.
- 3 *Ibid*.
- 4 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 259.
- 5 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3 :320—24.

## Sedamdeset deveto poglavlje: SNEJKHIPS

- 1 Knjiga Čarlsa Grejvsa *Šampanjac i lusteri*, biografija „Pariskog ka-  
fea“, pruža slikovit i podroban izveštaj o bombardovanju na stra-  
nama 112 – 125. U Nacionalnom arhivu Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva  
nalazi se mapa koju su nacrtali istražitelji s tlocrtom kluba i raspo-  
redom povređenih i poginulih, a u njoj je i ova primedba: „Šestoro  
poginulih i dalje je sedelo za stolom. Nisu imali površinskih povre-  
da. HO 193/68, UKARCH.
- 2 Diary, March 8, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 3 Graves, *Champagne and Chandeliers*, 116.
- 4 Ziegler, *London at War*, 148.
- 5 Graves, *Champagne and Chandeliers*, 121.
- 6 Diary, March 8, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 7 Graves, *Champagne and Chandeliers*, 118—19.
- 8 Diary, March 8, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 191.

## Osamdeseto poglavlje: KADRIL BAJONETA

- 1 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:331.
- 2 *Ibid*, 332.
- 3 Alanbrooke, *War Diaries*, 145.
- 4 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:433.

- 5 Alanbrooke, *War Diaries*, 144—45.
- 6 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 262.

Osamdeset prvo poglavlje: KOCKAR

- 1 Waugh, *Diaries*, 493.
- 2 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 75.
- 3 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 Clarissa Eden, *Clarissa Eden*, 58.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 7 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.

Osamdeset drugo poglavlje: POSLASTICA ZA KLEMENTINU

- 1 „Atlantic Clipper Passenger List,“ New York—Lisbon, March 10—12, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers; Harriman, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin*, 19.
- 2 „World War II Diary,“ 2, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 3 Meiklejohn to Samuel H. Wiley, April 16, 1941, „Family Papers,“ W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 4 Martin, *Downing Street*, 42.
- 5 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 268.
- 6 Harriman, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin*, 21.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 8 Diary, „Monday & Tuesday,“ March 17—18, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 „World War II Diary,“ 10, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 11 Meiklejohn to Knight Woolley, May 21, 1941, Public Service, Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers. Harriman je imao i napade dispepsije, što je bio tajanstveni izraz za gorušicu i rđavo varenje.
- 12 Niven, *Moon's a Balloon*, 242.
- 13 Niven to Harriman, March 16, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 14 Christiansen to Harriman, March 19, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.

- 15 Owen to Harriman, March 19, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 16 Kathleen Harriman to Marie Harriman, March 19 [bez datuma, ali verovatno 1942], Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.

#### Osamdeset treće poglavlje: MUŠKARCI

- 1 Anthony Biddle to Franklin Roosevelt, April 26, 1941. FDR/Diplo.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:369.
- 3 „Air Raid Casualties,“ April 3, 1941, Metropolitan Police Report, MEPO 2/6580.
- 4 'Dearest, I Feel Certain I Am Going Mad Again': The Suicide Note of Virginia Woolf,“ *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment* 16, no. 4 (July 2020), [www.cambridge.org/core/journals/advances-in-psychiatric-treatment/article/dearest-i-feel-certain-i-am-going-mad-again-the-suicide-note-of-virginia-woolf/8E400FBiA-B0EEA2C2A6i946475CB7FA3](http://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/advances-in-psychiatric-treatment/article/dearest-i-feel-certain-i-am-going-mad-again-the-suicide-note-of-virginia-woolf/8E400FBiA-B0EEA2C2A6i946475CB7FA3).
- 5 C. R. Thompson to Hastings Ismay, March 26, 1941, Protection of Chequers, pt. 3, WO 199/303, UKARCH.
- 6 „Your Anderson Shelter This Winter,“ PREM 3/27, UKARCH.
- 7 Memorandum, „Yesterday evening . . . ,“ May 1, 1941, PREM 3/27, UKARCH.
- 8 Diary, March 28, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 „World War II Diary,“ 15, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 11 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
- 12 Channon, *Chips*, 385.
- 13 Gilbert, *Finest Hour*, 1048.
- 14 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:440.
- 15 Diary, March 30, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.

#### ŠESTI DEO: LJUBAV MEĐU PLAMENOVIMA

#### Osamdeset četvrto poglavlje: LOŠE VESTI

- 1 Ovi unosi mogu se naći pod navedenim datumima u: Mary's diary. Mary Churchill Papers.
- 2 Gilbert, *Finest Hour*, 1055.
- 3 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:460.
- 4 *Ibid.*

- 5 *Ibid*, 470. Za sam govor, vidi: *Ibid*, 461—70.
- 6 Nicolson, *War Years*, 162.
- 7 Harriman to Roosevelt, April 10, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 8 Diary, April 9, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 9 Winston Churchill to Randolph Churchill, June 8, 1941, CHAR 1/362, Winston Churchill Papers.
- 10 Diary, April 11, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 11 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:443.
- 12 Diary, April 12, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers; Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 193.
- 13 Thompson, *Assignment*, 215—16.
- 14 Diary, April 12, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 15 „War Reminiscences,“ 12, Oct. 13, 1953, Memoirs, Harriman Recollections, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 16 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 193.
- 17 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:480.
- 18 „War Reminiscences,“ 12, Oct. 13, 1953, Memoirs, Harriman Recollections, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 19 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:486m.
- 20 *Ibid*, 486.
- 21 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:444.
- 22 Clementine Churchill to Harriman, April 15, 1941, „Harriman Mission,“ Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 23 Averell Harriman to Kathleen Harriman, April 15, 1941, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 24 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 90.

Osamdeset peto poglavlje: PREZIR

- 1 Boelcke, Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels, 143.
- 2 Below, *At Hitler's Side*, 93; Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 311.
- 3 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:502.

Osamdeset šesto poglavlje: TE NOČI U „DORČESTERU“

- 1 Roosevelt to Cordell Hull, April 16, 1941, FDR/Conf.
- 2 Greene, *Ways of Escape*, 112.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:445.
- 4 „World War II Diary,“ 23, Meiklejohn Papers.

- 5 Lee, *London Observer*, 244.
- 6 U knjizi *Life of the Party*, Kristofer Ogden se oslanja na Pamelino sećanje da je večera održana u apartmanu ledi Emerald Kjunard, čuvene londonske domaćice visokog društva (118-120). No, u to vreme ledi Kjunard nije bila u Engleskoj. Sali Bedel Smit, u knjizi *Reflected Glory*, iznosi mnogo ubedljiviji iskaz (84-85). Vidi i Anne Chisholm, *Nancy Cunard*; u toj knjizi stoji da je ledi Kjunard bila na karibima u vreme kad je večera održana (159, 261). No, treba napomenuti da je krajnji ishod u svim delima isti.
- 7 Interview Transcripts, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harri-man Papers.
- 8 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 85.
- 9 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:445.
- 10 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 85.

#### Osamdeset sedmo poglavlje: BELE STENE

- 1 Lindemann to Churchill, April 17, 1941, F132/24, Lindemann Pa-pers.
- 2 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:449.
- 3 *Ibid*, 472.

#### Osamdeset osmo poglavlje: BERLIN

- 1 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 332.
- 2 *Ibid*, 33i.
- 3 *Ibid*, 335.

#### Osamdeset deveto poglavlje: OVA MRGODNA DOLINA

- 1 Cadogan, *Diaries*, 374.
- 2 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:548.
- 3 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 95.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:556.
- 5 *Ibid*, 577.
- 6 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 337.
- 7 *Ibid*, 340.
- 8 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:577.
- 9 Navedeno u: Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 142; „Studies in Broadcast Propaganda, No. 29, Rudolf Hess, BBC,“ INF 1/912, UKARCH.

## Devedeseto poglavlje: UTUČENOST

- 1 Beaverbrook to Churchill, April 30, 1941, BBK/D, Beaverbrook Papers.
- 2 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, i47.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:452.
- 4 Kimball, *Churchill and Roosevelt*, i80.
- 5 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:592.
- 6 *Ibid*, 600.

7 Sudbina pedeset razarača koje je Ruzvelt dao Britancima bila je različita. Najmanje dvanaest ih se sudarilo sa savezničkim brodovima, između ostalog s pet američkih. Kraljevska kanadska ratna mornarica dobila je dva razarača i u aprilu 1944. pokušala da ih vrati. Američka mornarica ih je odbila.

No, razarači su obavili svoju dužnost. Jedan nazvan *Čerčil* po premijerovom pretku pratio je četrnaest konvoja samo tokom 1941. Razarači su oborili jedan avion, potopili najmanje šest podmornica i pomogli da se jedna zarobi neoštećena, a Britanci su je uključili u svoju flotu.

Kako je rat odmicao, američki razarači otpisivani su iz aktivne službe. Desetak ih je služilo kao mete za obuku pilota. Osam razarača, među njima i *Čerčil*, prebačeno je Rusima, zajedno s devetim s kog su skidali delove.

Šesnaestog januara 1945. *Čerčil* je pod novim imenom Aktivni pratio konvoj ruskim Belim morem. Torpedirala ga je i potopila nemačka podmornica. Stradali su kapetan i 116 članova posade je stradalo; samo sedmorica su preživela.

Za najbolje svedočanstvo o razaračima vidi: Philip Goodhart, *Fifty Ships That Saved the World*. Naslov je preteran, ali priča je dobra.

- 8 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:600.
- 9 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:453.

## Devedeset prvo poglavlje: ERIK

- 1 Nicolson, *War Years*, 165.
- 2 „World War II Diary,” 56, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:454.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:596.
- 5 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 346.
- 6 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:454.

## Devedeset treće poglavlje: O OKLOPU I ORHIDEJAMA

- 1 Hansard, House of Commons Debate, May 6 and 7, 1941, vol. 371, cols. 704, 867—950.
- 2 Channon, *Chips*, 303.
- 3 Kathleen Harriman to Mary Harriman Fisk, Feb. 10, 1942, Correspondence, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 4 Pottle, *Champion Redoubtable*, 236.
- 5 Nicolson, *War Years*, 164.
- 6 Hansard, House of Commons Debate, May 6 and 7, 1941, vol. 371, cols. 704, 867—950.
- 7 Harriman to Roosevelt, May 7, 1941, Public Service, Chronological File, W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 8 *Ibid*, 465.
- 9 Nicolson, *War Years*, 164.

## Devedeset peto poglavlje: PUN MESEC

- 1 Fred Taylor, *Goebbels Diaries*, 355.
- 2 *Ibid*, 358.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:457. U svom objavljenom dnevniku Kolvil je izbacio sve poslednje reči: „O njemu.“ Sitnica, ali zanimljiva.

## SEDMI DEO: TAČNO GODINU DANA

## Devedeset šesto poglavlje: SNOB ZVANI ANTON

- 1 Richard Collier, *City That Would Not Die*, 24—25, 26, 28.
- 2 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 194.
- 3 Basil Collier, *Defense of the United Kingdom*, 271.
- 4 Richard Collier, *City That Would Not Die*, 44.

## Devedeset sedmo poglavlje: ULJEZ

Nacionalni arhiv Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, jedno od najcivilizovanijih mesta na svetu, poseduje broje dokumente o Hesovoj sagi od kojih su neki tek nedavno stavljeni na raspolaganje istraživačima. U njima su sve pojedinosti koje bi iko mogao da poželi, ali i u ovom slučaju, kao i u slučaju priče o Koventriju, papiri će razočarati teoretičare zavera. Nije bilo nikakve zavere: Hes je poleteo za Englesku vođen suludim kapricom, bez posredovanja britanskih obaveštajnih službi. Ja sam se poslužio sledećim dokumentima:



- FO 1093/10.
- „The Capture of Rudolf Hess: Reports and Minutes,“ WO 199/328.
- WO 199/3288B. (Otvoren 2016.)
- AIR 16/1266. (Prvobitno zatvoren do 1029, ali otvoren ranije po Zakonu o slobodnom pristupu informacijama.)
- „Duke of Hamilton: Allegations Concerning Rudolf Hess,“ AIR 19/564.
- „Studies in Broadcast Propaganda, No. 29, Rudolf Hess, BBC,“ INF 1/912.

- 1 Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 211; Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 168.
- 2 „Report on the Collection of Drugs, etc., Belonging to German Airman Prisoner, Captain Horn,“ FO 1093/10, UKARCH. Horn je bilo šifrovano ime privremeno dodeljeno Hesu.
- 3 Toliver and Constable, *Fighter General*, 148—49; Galland, *The First and the Last*, 56; Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 135.
- 4 Report, „Rudolf Hess, Flight on May 10, 1941, Raid 42.J,“ May 18, 1941, AIR 16/1266, UKARCH.
- 5 *Ibid*; Note, „Raid 42J,“ Scottish Area Commandant to Commandant Royal Observer Corps, Bentley Priory, May 13, 1941, AIR i6/i266, UKARCH.
- 6 Prologue: May 10, 1941,“ Extract, AIR 16/1266, UKARCH. Ovo je razborit, podroban i objektivan izveštaj pisca Dereka Vuda; kopija se čuva u arhivu ministarstva ratnog vazduhoplovstva.

#### Devedeset osmo poglavlje: NAJSUROVIJI NAPAD

- 1 Richard Collier, *City That Would Not Die*, i57.
- 2 *Ibid*, 159—60; Ziegler, *London at War*, 161.
- 3 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 133.
- 4 „World War II Diary,“ 33, Meiklejohn Papers.
- 5 Report, „Rudolf Hess, Flight on May 10, 1941, Raid 42.J,“ May 18, 1941, AIR 16/1266, UKARCH. U istom dosijeu vidi i: „Raid 42J—10/5/1941,“ No. 34 Group Centre Observer Corps to Royal Observer Corps, Bentley Priory, May 13, 1941; and „Prologue: May 10, 1941,“ Extract. Vidi takođe: „The Capture of Rudolf Hess: Reports and Minutes,“ WO 199/328, UKARCH.
- 6 „Prologue: May 10, 1941,“ Extract, AIR 16/1266. 472 „No guns, bomb-racks“: Report, Major Graham Donald to Scottish Area

Commandant, Royal Observer Corps, May 11, 1941, AIR 16/1266, UKARCH. Takode i: „Prologue: May 10, 1941,“ Extract, AIR 16/1266.

- 7 Report, Major Graham Donald to Scottish Area Commandant, Royal Observer Corps, May 11, 1941, AIR 16/1266, UKARCH.
- 8 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 90.
- 9 „World War II Diary,“ 35, Meiklejohn Papers.

#### Devedeset deveto poglavlje: IZNENAĐENJE ZA HITLERA

- 1 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:459.
- 2 Diary, May 11, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.
- 3 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:459.
- 4 Colville, *Footprints in Time*, 112.
- 5 Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 209.
- 6 Douglas-Hamilton, *Motive for a Mission*, 193, 194.
- 7 Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 209, 210.
- 8 Diary, May 11, 1941, Mary Churchill Papers.

#### Stoto poglavlje: KRV, ZNOJ I SUZE

- 1 Feigel, *Love-Charm of Bombs*, 151—57.
- 2 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 19. Podsekretar ministarstva inostranih posloca Aleksander Kadogan mislio je drugačije. „Baš me briga za to. Voleo bih da je bomba raznela i većinu poslanika.“ Cadogan, *Diaries*, 377.
- 3 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 275.
- 4 „Statement of Civilian Deaths in the United Kingdom,“ July 31, 1945, HO 191/11, UKARCH.
- 5 Harrisson, *Living Through the Blitz*, 274.
- 6 Boelcke, *Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels*, 162, 165.
- 7 Stafford, *Flight from Reality*, 131.
- 8 Roosevelt to Churchill, [verovatni datum je 14 maj. 1941], FDR/Map.
- 9 Panter-Downes, *London War Notes*, 148.
- 10 Lee, *London Observer*, 276.
- 11 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 174—75.
- 12 *Ibid*, 236.
- 13 Toye, *Roar of the Lion*, 8.
- 14 Cooper, *Trumpets from the Steep*, 73.

## Sto prvo poglavlje: VIKEND U ČEKERSU

- 1 Harriman, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin*, 111—12.
- 2 Winant, *Letter from Grosvenor Square*, 198.
- 3 Harriman, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin*, ii2. Ruzvelt je to ponovio u telegramu od 8. decembra 1941. u kom je napisao Čerčilu: „Danas smo svi mi u istom čamcu s vama i narodima Carstva, a to je brod koji ne može i neće biti potopljen.“ Roosevelt to Churchill, Dec. 8, 1941, FDR/Map.
- 4 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:1580.
- 5 Anthony Eden, *Reckoning*, 331.
- 6 Gilbert, *War Papers*, 3:1580.
- 7 Ismay, *Memoirs*, 242.
- 8 Moran, *Churchill*, 9-10.
- 9 Martin, *Downing Street*, 69.
- 10 Winston Churchill to Clementine Churchill, December n.d., 1941, CSCT 1/24, Clementine Churchill Papers.
- 11 Harriman, Memorandum to self, „Trip to U.S. with 'P.M.,' December 1941,“ W. Averell Harriman Papers.
- 12 Thompson, *Assignment*, 246.
- 13 Ovu priču su razne ličnosti ispričale u raznim verzijama, ali s istim raspletom. *Ibid*, 248; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 442; Halle, *Irrepressible Churchill*, 165.
- 14 Za pojedinosti vidi: Hindley, „Christmas at the White House with Winston Churchill.“ Ja sam gledao filmski žurnal sa snimkom govora: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZTRbNThHnk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZTRbNThHnk).
- 15 Thompson, *Assignment*, 249.
- 16 Hastings, *Winston's War*, 205.

## Epilog: DOK VREME PROLAZI

- 1 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 232—33.
- 2 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 2:99.
- 3 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 32.
- 4 *Ibid*, 26—27.
- 5 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:523.
- 6 *Ibid*, 490.
- 7 Wheeler-Bennett, *Action This Day*, 60.
- 8 Colville, *Fringes of Power*, 1:533.
- 9 *Ibid*, 2:71.
- 10 *Ibid*, 84.

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- 11 *Ibid*, 116.
  - 12 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
  - 13 A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 440.
  - 14 Young, *Churchill and Beaverbrook*, 230.
  - 15 *Ibid*, 231.
  - 16 *Ibid*, 325.
  - 17 *Ibid*, 235.
  - 18 Singleton to Churchill, [ca. Aug. 1941], G 36/4, Lindemann Papers.
  - 19 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 106.
  - 20 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 247.
  - 21 *Ibid*, 20.
  - 22 Waugh, *Diaries*, 525.
  - 23 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 111.
  - 24 Interview Transcript, July 1991, Biographies File, Pamela Harriman Papers.
  - 25 *Ibid*.
  - 26 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 260.
  - 27 Note, „William Averell Harriman,“ Biographies and Proposed Biographies, Background Topics, Pamela Harriman Papers.
  - 28 Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 265.
  - 29 „Barbie“ [Mrs. Herbert Agar] to Pamela Digby Harriman, Sept. 19, 1971, Personal and Family Papers, Marriages, Pamela Harriman Papers.
  - 30 „Interrogation of Reich Marshal Hermann Goering,“ May 10, 1945, Spaatz Papers.
  - 31 Overy, *Goering*, 229.
  - 32 Goldensohn, Nuremberg Interviews, 129. 499 Investigators cataloged the works: „The Goring Collection,“ Confidential Interrogation Report No. 2, Sept. 15, 1945, 174, Office of Strategic Services and Looting Investigative Unit, T 209/29, UKARCH.
  - 33 Kershaw, *Nemesis*, 832—33.
  - 34 Douglas-Hamilton, *Motive for a Mission*, 246.
  - 35 Baker, *Adolf Galland*, 287—88, 290—92.
  - 36 Winston S. Churchill, *Memories and Adventures*, 31.
  - 37 Hastings, *Winston's War*, 460.
  - 38 Nicolson, *War Years*, 459.
  - 39 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 360—61.
  - 40 Elletson, *Chequers and the Prime Ministers*, 145.
  - 41 Soames, *Daughter's Tale*, 361.