

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.
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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.
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 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.
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- 1111–57. Arthur Schweitzer, *The Age of Charisma*, Chicago, 1984, primenjuje Veberov koncept na razne moderne političke vođe.
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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.

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11. Sebestyen, 156–7.
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14. Service, *Lenin*, 197, navodi četrnaest velikih evropskih gradova.
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16. Summaries in Payne, 147–54; Sebestyen, 138–41; Service, *Lenin*, 135–9.
17. Service, *Lenin*, 152–3.
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38. Figes, *People’s*, 630– 31.
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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.
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53. Service, *Lenin*, 408–9; Volkogonov, 388; Sebestyen, 460–61; Payne, 525; Service, *Trotsky*, 272–8.
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55. Service, *Lenin*, 412, 418–19.
56. Hosking, *Soviet Union*, 134–5.
57. Figes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 166–7, 190.
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POGLAVLJE 3: ADOLF HITLER

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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.
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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.
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16. Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, London, 1998, 162.
17. Jasan prikaz ovih rivalstava u: Tucker 1, 299–303.
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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.
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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.
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 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.
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 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.
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 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.
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- Clashed. How the Red Army Stopped Hitler*, Kansas, 1995, 105–6.
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 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.
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 57. Service, *Stalin*, 561, 563–4.
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 59. Lewin, Making, 9. Videti i: Lewin, *Soviet Century*, 10–11.
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3. Archie Brown, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, London, 2014, 88; Jenkins, 775–7.
4. Andrew Roberts, *Churchill*, London, 2019, 904–6.
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6. Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters 1931–1950*, Oxford, 1954, 204.
7. Roberts, *Churchill*, 210–11.
8. Roberts, *Churchill*, 294, 310, 314–16.

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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.
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23. Max Hastings, *Finest Years. Churchill as Warlord 1940–45*, London, 2009, 76–7, 93, za primere.
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26. Toye, 206.
27. Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival 1940–1965*, London, 1966, 292.
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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.
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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.
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44. Roberts, *Churchill*, 812.
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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.
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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.
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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.
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25. DG 2, 15–17, 75–9, 101–2, 114–18, ukazuju na tenzije.
26. Schoenbrun, 94–5.
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28. Joseph Bergin, *A History of France*, London, 2015, 230.
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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.
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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.
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55. Jackson, 619.
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3. Schwarz 1, 344–5.
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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.
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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).
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11. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dilemma*, London, 1974, 152.
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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*

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 27. Noelle and Neumann, 505.
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 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.
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 38. Noelle and Neumann, 240–41.
 39. Schwarz 1, 796.

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40. Winkler, 184–5.
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 43. Winkler, 155–6.
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 45. Merritt and Merritt, 93–4, 121–3, 161; Mary Fulbrook, *Reckonings*, Oxford, 2018, 216–19.
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 51. Fulbrook, 242.
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 56. Ruhl, 231–45, o predlozima za društvenu reformu.
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 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.

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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.

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24. Preston, *Franco*, 164.
 25. Preston, *Franco*, 182–5; P&P, 143–7.
 26. Moradiellos, part 2 (57–147), izlaže poreklo i eksploataciju 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; Moradiellos, 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.

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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

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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

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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.

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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.