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978-1-107-09107-8 - Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance

Jelena Batinić

Excerpt

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## Introduction

It was a strange yet most impressive sight when girls of eighteen and twenty went into battle with men.... Some of them had rifles slung across their shoulders, a few bore stretchers, and others carried first aid kit[s]. They were scattered throughout the ranks among the men, beautiful, healthy, strong girls, both dark and fair ... the reality seemed fantastic.

*(Major William Jones, the first British officer to parachute to Tito's Partisans)<sup>1</sup>*

Yesterday we had our second black day, we had to leave many dead and badly wounded on a bridge. And when you consider that we suffered these losses at the hands of a *female* Partisan company, it really makes you want to throw up.

*(Lieutenant Peter Geissler of the Wehrmacht's 714th Infantry Division, in a 1942 letter from Bosnia)<sup>2</sup>*

[Partisan] women showed extraordinary bravery in these struggles and they freely charged at our machine guns. Before the battle began, the women had been dressed in black, but after the first shots they threw away their black overcoats and all of a sudden they were in white overcoats. It has been noticed that many were pregnant among the killed women and girls, although, according to the seized acts of the Communist archive, it

<sup>1</sup> Major William Jones, *Twelve Months with Tito's Partisans* (Bedford: Bedford Books, 1946), 78.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted in Ben Shepherd, *Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 209. Italics in the original.

was strictly forbidden that women get pregnant in order to have as many of them as possible participating in combat.

*(Report to the Serbian Ministry of Interior, 17 November 1943)<sup>3</sup>*

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Who could've known last year, comrades,	<i>Oj drugovi, ko bi znao lani</i>
That girls would become Partisans.	<i>Da će cure biti Partizani.</i>

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*(Wartime folk song)*

When, in 1943, William Jones saw Yugoslav Partisan women in action, the sight struck him as strange, impressive, and fantastic. Such sights were no less fantastic in the eyes of Partisans' adversaries, who sometimes struggled to rationalize the presence of female warriors on the battlefield, as the preceding quotes suggest. The unlikely scene of wardrobe change at the beginning of the battle, after which the women, "many of them pregnant," charged at machine guns, seems like a bizarre ritual. Nor were male Partisans themselves always sure how to understand the appearance of female soldiers in their units. Who, indeed, could have known that women would become fighters?

The mass participation of women in the communist-led Yugoslav Partisan resistance is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the Second World War. According to official figures, by the end of the war two million women had been involved in the Partisan movement. Some 100,000 served in the Partisan army – a degree of female military involvement unprecedented and unrepeatable in the region.<sup>4</sup> Why and how did the Partisans recruit women? What made these women – the majority of them peasants from underdeveloped areas with strong patriarchal traditions – decide to take up arms? More intriguing still: What made their transformation into warriors acceptable to the peasant-filled

<sup>3</sup> Report on the struggle between the Partisans and the Serbian gendarmerie under the collaborationist puppet government of Milan Nedić, 18 October, 1943. In Bosa Cvetić et al., eds., *Žene Srbije u NOB* (Beograd: Nolit, 1975), 686.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to verify the preceding figures. In the past two decades, scholars have revised some official estimates of the communist era concerning World War II in the region, but not those on women's participation in the war. Extant historical records about women in the Partisan movement are incomplete at best. However, they do suggest that it is safe to talk about tens of thousands of female Partisans, an unprecedented mass mobilization of women in the rear support system, and a truly extraordinary wartime phenomenon. Official figures taken from Dušanka Kovačević, *Women of Yugoslavia in the National Liberation War* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenski Pregled, 1977), 51; *Leksikon Narodnooslobodilačkog rata i revolucije u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1980), vol. 2, p. 1251.

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Partisan ranks? How were they integrated into the movement and how were their relations with men regulated? Last but not least, what was the legacy of women's mass military and political mobilization in the region? To try to answer these questions, this study explores the history and postwar memory of the phenomenon. It is, more broadly, concerned with changes in gender norms caused by the war, revolution, and the establishment of the communist regime, which claimed to have solved the "woman question" and instituted equality between the sexes.

The Yugoslav Partisans, led by Josip Broz Tito, were probably the most successful antifascist resistance movement in Europe. Championing a supraethnic patriotism in a region troubled by interethnic strife, they managed to win authentic popular support, seize power, and liberate a significant portion of the country on their own. Their values were to dominate Yugoslavia's official culture for decades afterward. Consequently, their wartime exploits have attracted some scholarly attention in the West. Yet gender has been paid scant attention in the existing literature, which tends to overlook its centrality for the Partisans' resistance strategy and nation-building practices.

The present work draws on the scholarship on gender and war. Scholars have noted, first, that total war of the twentieth century "acted as a clarifying moment, one that has revealed systems of gender in flux and thus highlighted their workings." War, in other words, is a good place to study gender. Second, emergency conditions of total war destabilized all social arrangements and opened up possibilities "to either alter or reinforce existing notions of gender, the nation, and the family."<sup>5</sup> This destabilization was perhaps nowhere more obvious than in Yugoslavia, which, occupied and dismembered, saw a war of resistance against the invaders together with an explosion of interethnic violence, a civil war, and a social revolution. Women's mass military engagement took place in such turmoil, posing a challenge to traditional gender norms. Accordingly, the definition of womanhood became one of the focal points of contestation among multiple rival factions. While anticommunist groups tried to discredit the Partisans by making the female fighter a favorite target of their propaganda, Partisan leaders took pride in proclaiming the birth of the "new woman" and, with her, the dawn of a new era of equality. The present study explores this flux of the gender system, the ways that the Communist Party attempted to stabilize and fix it, and the ways it was recast in the process.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret R. Higonnet et al., "Introduction," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret R. Higonnet et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 5.

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The reformulation of gender norms during the war could be registered on three levels, the level of political rhetoric, the level of institutions, and the level of daily practice, and this study addresses each. The three-level approach allows me to examine what the Partisan leadership said about gender, whether and how this language corresponded to party policy and the movement's institutional setup, and how these policies and institutions affected the daily lives of men and women in the movement. It also allows me to investigate the ways that ordinary men and women on the ground reacted to and shaped Partisan gender politics from below.

The study begins by analyzing the *rhetoric* that Partisan leaders devised to recruit women and justify their active participation in the movement. It shows how their strategy rested upon a skillful combination of traditional Balkan culture with a revolutionary idiom. In its appeals to women, the party consistently stressed its dedication to women's emancipation and gender equality. Parallel to such statements it also drew on patriarchal folk traditions. For modern purposes of mass mobilization, the communists consciously invoked the heroic imagery of freedom fighters from South Slavic folklore, which appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the population. References to the epic lore allowed the party's leaders to claim lineage with the legendary Balkan heroes and establish cultural authority among the peasantry. Most important for our discussion here, traditional culture provided acceptable models for women's participation in warfare. The communists evoked the images of epic heroines to attract women to the movement and legitimize the *partizanka* (female Partisan) in the eyes of the populace.<sup>6</sup>

Second, this work examines the *institutional* basis – in the form of the Antifascist Front of Women (AFW) – that the leadership developed for

<sup>6</sup> I have decided to use the term “rhetoric” here rather than the broader and more neutral term “language,” as my analysis focuses primarily on the communists’ addresses to the masses, including their own ranks, and examines what I see as persuasive strategies. It is important to note, however, that my use of “rhetoric” does not necessarily imply a dishonest motivation behind Partisan mobilizing strategies. Nor does it exclude the possibility of a genuine ideological belief on the part of the leadership; quite the contrary. For communists, political rhetoric – or, in their terminology, “agitation and propaganda” – had no negative connotations, but was considered a legitimate and necessary tool of the revolutionary struggle. Incidentally, Carol Lilly’s recent study has shown that official rhetoric in revolutionary Yugoslavia tended to reflect the party’s goals and intentions accurately. See Lilly, *Power and Persuasion: Ideology and Rhetoric in Communist Yugoslavia, 1944–1953* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 9.

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women's mobilization. Focusing on the AFW's wartime history, it shows how in the Partisans' institutions, much as in their rhetoric, the revolutionary coexisted with the traditional. Females recruited by the AFW contributed to the Partisan war effort primarily through an extension of their customary tasks within the family and village communities: feeding, cleaning, nursing, and caring for others. The chief goal of the communist women's organization was to channel women's labor and help create a reliable support system for the Partisans; it did so largely by adapting local traditions to a new institutional framework. Through modern organizational devices, the communists put peasant women's age-old labor skills to use in a systematic fashion, transforming local customs of village women supporting their warrior men into instruments of mass participation in modern warfare.

Third, I focus on realities on the ground: on *daily practice* and, in particular, the problems of women's integration into the movement. A close look at everyday life allows me to explore, among other things, how ideology functioned in unscripted conditions. Without much guidance from Moscow and with no precedents in local history, the leaders in the units had to decide on the spot about such questions as what kind of relations between the sexes would be acceptable; whether Partisans would be allowed to marry and spouses to serve together in the same unit; who would do the laundry, cooking, and other chores. Delving into these mundane issues concerning the division of labor and regulations of sexual conduct, this study probes the dynamics between revolutionary agendas on the top and realities on the ground. It sheds light on the power of old patterns and the prevalence of a belief in "natural" and unchangeable gender features and duties in the movement. In daily life, too – and perhaps most obviously on this level – an accommodation of the traditional went hand in hand with revolutionary changes.

The party's mobilizing genius, this study argues, lay precisely in this rhetorical, institutional, and practical adaptation of peasant traditions in a distinctly modern way. It was largely thanks to their deft appropriation of traditional culture that the Partisans managed to enlist not only men but also the female masses, justify their active participation in the war, and build a powerful, relatively self-sustaining resistance movement. But this strategy also had a flipside, as it helped institutionalize old concepts of gender difference and the accompanying hierarchies.

The story of the phenomenon of women's participation in the Partisan struggle would not be complete without an examination of its postwar

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legacy. The fourth level of analysis, then, entails a study of memory. I look at the ways that the *partizanka* was memorialized in Yugoslavia's culture, tracing her journey from the revolutionary icon par excellence in the early postwar years to the oblivion of the present. The crumbling of the *partizanka*'s icon through growing sexualization and marginalization, this book shows, mirrored the gradual erosion of Yugoslav communism and, more generally, of the Yugoslav nation itself.

#### GENDER, REVOLUTION, AND WAR IN SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

Scholars have documented the multiple roles that women played in the Partisan movement but have not asked questions about gender as an organizing criterion. For Yugoslav historians during the communist era, the victorious Partisan struggle – as the foundational myth of the ensuing communist regime – was in many respects the most privileged topic. In the first decades following the war, as Stevan Pavlowitch explains, historiography was intended to support the revolution and the building of socialism. “History was then made to begin when the Communist Party went over to the resistance in 1941. All the rest was prehistory leading to that event.”<sup>7</sup> The state and the party encouraged, commissioned, and funded scholarship concentrating on the so-called National Liberation War. A result of these research incentives from above is a vast corpus of publications on the Partisan movement. Some focus on a particular region, district, or even village; others are more comprehensive. Almost every Partisan brigade has a historical study dedicated to it. Profuse as they are, though, these academic works constitute a small fraction of what may be termed a hyperproduction of texts on the war and revolution. There exists a plethora of published primary and secondary sources, including memoirs, collections of documents and data, compilations of Tito's and other leaders' speeches, reprints of wartime Partisan publications, and anthologies on war-related subjects.

Accordingly, there is also a considerable communist-era literature on women in the Partisan movement. It includes a volume on women of Yugoslavia as a whole,<sup>8</sup> several separate volumes on female participants

<sup>7</sup> Stevan Pavlowitch, *The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and Its Problems, 1918–1988* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 129.

<sup>8</sup> Dušanka Kovačević, ed., *Borbeni put žena Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Leksikografski zavod “Sveznanje,” 1972), provides introductory historical narratives on women from each of the Yugoslav republics.

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from each of the republics of the Yugoslav federation,<sup>9</sup> innumerable contributions on women from specific localities,<sup>10</sup> books on the *partizankas* from select units,<sup>11</sup> as well as biographies of the most prominent female leaders.<sup>12</sup> Conceptualized as communist memorials, these works typically feature a patchwork of veteran reminiscences, biographical sketches, select documentary records, and historical commentary. Although professional historians did contribute pieces, a good portion of this literature was written by former participants and intended for broad audiences. It is then not surprising that these contributions vary in scholarly rigor as much as they vary in scope. What they do have in common – besides glorifying the valor of female Partisans and emphasizing

<sup>9</sup> Bosnia-Herzegovina – for a collection of reminiscences see Rasim Hurem, ed., *Žene Bosne i Hercegovine u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi 1941–1945. godine: sjećanja učesnika* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977). Croatia – for a collection of primary documents, biographical sketches, and reminiscences, see Marija Šoljan, ed., *Žene Hrvatske u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi* (Zagreb: Savez Ženskih Društava Hrvatske, 1955). Macedonia – for a collection of documents, see Vera Veskovic-Vangeli and Marija Jovanovik, ed., *Ženite na Makedonija vo NOV: Zbornik na dokumenti za učestvoto na ženite od Makedonija vo narodnoosloboditelna vojna i revolucijata 1941–1945* (Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1976). For historical narrative, see Vera Veskovic-Vangeli, *Ženata vo osloboditelne borbi na Makedonija 1893–1945* (Skopje: Kultura, 1990), and idem., *Ženata vo revolucijata na Makedonija 1941–1945* (Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1982). Montenegro – for an introductory historical narrative, see Jovan Bojović et al., *Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1918–1945* (Titograd: Istorijski Institut u Titogradu, 1969). Serbia – for a combination of biographical sketches, documentary sources, and introductory historical narrative, see Bosa Cvetić et al., ed., *Žene Srbije u NOB*. For Vojvodina, see Danilo Kecić, ed., *Žene Vojvodine u ratu i revoluciji, 1941–1945* (Novi Sad: Institut za istoriju, 1984). Slovenia – for a collection of documents, memoirs, and articles see Stana Gerk, Ivka Križnar, and Štefanija Ravnikar-Podvebšek, eds., *Slovenke v Narodnoosvobodilnem boju: Zbornik dokumentov, člankov in spominov*, vols. 1–2 (Ljubljana: Zavod 'Borec', 1970).

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Anka Brožević-Rikica, ed., *Žene Vinodola u NOB-u: Zbornik radova* (Rijeka: Koordinacioni odbor za njegovanje i razvoj tradicije NOB-a, 1986); Radivoj Acanski, *Žene kulske opštine u radničkom pokretu, NOR-u i socijalističkoj revoluciji* (Kula: Konferencija za društveni položaj i aktivnost žena, 1985); Ruža Gligović-Zeković, *San i vidici: žene nikšićkog kraja u NOB* (Nikšić: Organizacija žena i SUBNOR, 2000), and others.

<sup>11</sup> Desanka Stojić, *Prva ženska partizanska četa* (Karlovac: Historijski Arhiv u Karlovcu, 1987); Špiro Lagator and Milorad Čukić, *Partizanke Prve Proleterske* (Beograd: "Eksport-pres" i Konferencija za pitanja društvenog položaja žena u Jugoslaviji, 1978); Stana Džakula Nidžović, *Žene borci NOR-a Sedme banijske udarne divizije* (Čačak: Bajić, 1999); Ljiljana Bulatović, *Bila jednom četa devojačka* (Beograd: Nova knjiga, 1985); Obrad Egić, *Žene borci Druge Proleterske Dalmatinske narodnooslobodilačke udarne brigade* (Zadar: "Narodni List," 1983); and others.

<sup>12</sup> For biographies of individual women, see Stanko Mladenović, *Spasenija Cana Babović* (Belgrade: Rad 1980); Milenko Predragović, *Kata Pejnović: Životni put i revolucionarno delo* (Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1978), and others.



“the Communist Party’s leading role” – is the dominant ideological interpretation, which greatly limits their analytical and explanatory powers, reducing even the more sophisticated among them to fact-heavy, dull, often propagandistic accounts.

With the fall of communism, this literature has lost much of its appeal in the region, yet no new local scholarship has emerged to replace it. Attempts to incorporate the insights of feminist scholarship or the rich literature on gender and war have been extremely rare. A pioneer in this respect was the sociologist Lydia Sklevicky, whose study of the Croatian AFW provides the most balanced and thoroughly researched account of women’s organizational activity during the war and in the early postwar era available. Unfortunately, because of her untimely death in 1990, Sklevicky’s work remains unfinished.<sup>13</sup> In the turbulent political climate following the country’s disintegration in the 1990s, the topic of women’s mobilization was neglected, while scholars in the region tended to concentrate on issues of communist violence or ethnonational aspects of the war; for more than two decades, the *partizanka* seemed all but forgotten. Lately, there have appeared sporadic signs of new scholarly interest in women and revolution.<sup>14</sup> All postcommunist studies, however, are regional in scope and tend to focus on the women’s organization or select female leaders; no synthesis, thematic or geographic, and no extensive archival research on the Yugoslav-wide phenomenon of women’s mass mobilization have been attempted.

In the Anglo-American scholarship on World War II in Yugoslavia, works on British and American policy toward Tito’s Partisans and Draža Mihailović’s Chetniks prevail.<sup>15</sup> Little has been done on other aspects of the

<sup>13</sup> See Lydia Sklevicky, *Organizirana djelatnost žena Hrvatske za vrijeme Narodnooslobodilačke borbe 1941–1945* (Zagreb: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Hrvatske, 1984). A collection of Sklevicky’s works, which includes her unfinished dissertation, has been posthumously published in Zagreb. See Sklevicky, *Konji, Žene, Ratovi* (Zagreb: Ženska infoteka, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Two recent works, one on the postwar position of leading Partisan women, another on the AFW in Vojvodina, follow in Sklevicky’s steps. Ivana Pantelić, *Partizanke kao građanke: društvena emancipacija partizanki u Srbiji, 1945–1953* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011); Gordana Stojaković, “Skica za portret: Antifašistički Front Žena Vojvodine, 1942–1953,” in *Partizanke – Žene u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi*, ed. Daško Milinović and Zoran Petakov (Novi Sad: CENZURA, 2010), 13–39.

<sup>15</sup> The standard reference work in this respect is Walter R. Roberts, *Tito, Mihailovic, and the Allies, 1941–1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973). See also Phyllis Auty and Richard Clogg eds., *British Policy towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975); Mark Wheeler, *Britain and the War for Yugoslavia* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1980); Thomas M. Barker, *Social Revolutionaries and Secret Agents: The Carinthian Slovene*



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war, and very few studies attempt to combine political analyses with social or cultural ones. The memoirs and polemics written by the Allied operatives in wartime Yugoslavia, who often espoused the cause of either the Partisans or the Chetniks, have long been favorite sources of information on the Yugoslav resistance in the West.<sup>16</sup> Much of this literature was produced in the Cold War context, its chief question being why the Allies decided to shift their support from the royalist Chetnik movement to the communist Partisans. Only lately have different kinds of studies begun to emerge. The fall of communism and disintegration of Tito's Yugoslavia stimulated new approaches to the country's turbulent history. Newer studies seek to reexamine the war and Yugoslavia's past in general with an eye to nationality problems.<sup>17</sup> Yet most of this scholarship, much as the Cold War works that preceded it, remains largely gender-blind.

The minuscule body of works on women in the Partisan movement constitutes a separate and isolated subsection in Anglo-American scholarship on wartime Yugoslavia. This literature has explored women's roles and the influence of the revolutionary war on women, challenging the

*Partisans and Britain's Special Operations Executive* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1990); Kirk Ford, *OSS and the Yugoslav Resistance, 1943–1945* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992); Heather Williams, *Parachutes, Patriots, and Partisans: The Special Operations Executive and Yugoslavia, 1941–1945* (London: C. Hurst, 2003); and others.

<sup>16</sup> On the Partisans see the writings of Fitzroy Maclean, Stephen Clissold, William Deakin, William Jones, Franklin A. Lindsay, and Basil Davidson. David Martin and Michael Lees are advocates of the Chetnik cause. The best and most comprehensive scholarly account in English on the Chetniks is Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: The Chetniks* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975). To the best of my knowledge, there is no comparable work on the Partisans.

<sup>17</sup> Much like the works in local languages, the English-language literature on interethnic relations during World War II has been preoccupied by the issues of culpability of individual nationalities for genocidal attacks, ethnic cleansing campaigns, and/or collaboration with the occupiers. Some of these works are not balanced and will not be cited here. Among the earliest studies to look at the issues of nationalism and interethnic strife during World War II and adhere to scholarly standards are Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919–1953* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) and Jill A. Irvine, *The Croat Question: Partisan Politics in the Formation of the Yugoslav Socialist State* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993). For a more recent look that stresses the significance of ideology in the Chetnik-Partisan conflict in Bosnia, see Marko A. Hoare, *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler's Bosnia: The Partisans and the Chetniks, 1941–1943* (New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2006). Emily Greble's excellent study of wartime Sarajevo moves away from the conventional focus on ethnonational categories to shed light on the importance of civic loyalties and confessional bonds. See Greble, *Sarajevo 1941–1945: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Hitler's Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

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official Yugoslav interpretation, but has not examined the role of gender. The sole English-language monograph is the work of the political scientist Barbara Jancar-Webster, *Women & Revolution in Yugoslavia* (1990). This study is valuable for broaching the subject to Western audiences and providing important introductory information. As Jancar-Webster did not have an opportunity to consult archival sources, her analysis is based on a limited selection of published material and on interviews with Partisan women.<sup>18</sup>

Besides Yugoslav studies, the present book is involved in debates that belong to several historiographical contexts. The first one concerns the flourishing field of gender and war studies. Scholarship on the subject of women and the two great wars of the twentieth century was long dominated by the so-called watershed debate; the focus, as Joan W. Scott explains, was “on women’s experience, on the impact of war upon them, with evidence being presented to affirm or deny that war was a turning point for them.”<sup>19</sup> Emerging from the social history of war, the notion that the world wars had served as catalysts of emancipatory social changes captured scholarly imagination in the 1970s. As Scott explains, proponents of this notion list the many new opportunities in the labor force and the military that opened to women during the wars; they also emphasize the fact that females gained suffrage and other political and legal rights after World War I or II in a number of countries worldwide. Many feminist scholars disagree, pointing to the impermanence and incompleteness of these improvements in women’s position. They argue that the power of traditional ideology hindered lasting change, stressing the facts that the wartime expansion of women’s roles was “only for the duration,” that there was a backlash pushing women back to domesticity shortly after the war, and that political rights had little meaning if not

<sup>18</sup> The English-language literature includes one monograph on Yugoslavia as a whole, one dissertation focusing on Croatia, and several articles by the same authors. See Barbara Jancar-Webster, *Women and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945* (Denver: Arden Press, 1990); Mary E. Reed, “Croatian Women in the Yugoslav Partisan Resistance, 1941–1945” (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980); idem., “The Anti-Fascist Front of Women and the Communist Party in Croatia: Conflicts within the Resistance,” in *Women in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, ed. Tova Yedlin (New York: Praeger, 1980), 129–39. Besides the Anglo-American works, there is a recent German-language monograph on Partisan women, Barbara Wiesinger’s *Partisaninnen: Widerstand in Jugoslawien (1941–1945)* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag Köln, 2008). Wiesinger also had no opportunity to conduct archival research, and her monograph is based on interviews and a somewhat larger selection of published sources.

<sup>19</sup> Joan W. Scott, “Rewriting History,” in Higonnet, *Behind the Lines*, 23.