

**Yugoslav “Women in Struggle”: The Antifascist Women’s Front, Agitprop  
and the Women’s International Democratic Federation (1945-1952)**

By

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## Abstract

The Antifascist Women's Front (Antifašistička fronta žena, AFŽ) was one of the Yugoslav mass organizations established during the war that continued its work in the post-war years. While the history and structure of the Antifascist Women's Front was studied into detail, the broader political picture, which also had an impact on the organization, was neglected. Therefore, the main idea of this research is to observe the AFŽ's work in relation to major political events that marked Yugoslav history in the period between 1945 and 1952.

This research shows how political conflicts did not bypass AFŽ's work. The main event, around which this thesis is developed, is the 1948 split between Tito and Stalin. Through this event the AFŽ's work will be observed on a national and international level, that is, the way in which the AFŽ shaped and performed its tasks in relation to the two powerful organizations, the Yugoslav Agitprop sector and the Women's International Democratic Federation.

To present the work of AFŽ I rely on the archival documents of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women (Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena, KDAŽ) and the Yugoslav Agitprop archive for Croatia, as well as on the official AFŽ magazine *Women in Struggle*. These sources situate the Antifascist Women's Front of Croatia into a broader political picture and through close reading of the documents and the magazine *Women in Struggle* present their activities and role of women's organization in the post-war Yugoslavia. This analysis of the archival documents and published articles shows that the Antifascist Women's Front was not under the strict control of the Yugoslav Communist Party, but rather

that women's mass organization was an active organization at the national and international level.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AFŽ – Antifašistički front žena / Antifascist Women's Front

Agitprop – Sektor za agitaciju i propagandu / Agitation and Propaganda Sector

CK SKH – Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske / Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia

CO AFŽJ – Centralni odbor Antifašističke fronte žena Jugoslavije / Central Committee of the Antifascist Women's Front of Croatia

FNRJ – Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija / People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia

GO AFŽH – Glavni odbor Antifašističke fronte žena Hrvatske / Main Committee of the Antifascist Women's Front of Croatia

HR-HAD – Hrvatska-Hrvatski državni arhiv / Croatia-Croatian State Archive

NOP – Narodnooslobodilački pokret / National Liberation Movement

NOR – Narodnooslobodilački rat / National Liberation War

NRH – Narodna Republika Hrvatska / the People's Republic of Croatia

WIDF – Women's International Democratic Federation

## INTRODUCTION

“The Socialist Party is the only one that has made the full equality of women their liberation from every form of dependence and oppression, an integral part of its program; not for reasons of propaganda, but from necessity.”<sup>1</sup>

This opening quotation shows how August Bebel in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century explained what women’s position would be in the new communist society.<sup>2</sup> Women were considered as part of a larger socialist movement through which their emancipation should be achieved and that was one of the reasons why women’s mass organizations were often established in socialist states as mass organizations of or for women.<sup>3</sup>

In Yugoslavia such an organization was formed in 1919 as part of the Socialist Worker’s Party of Yugoslavia (communist), but its work was banned a year after when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was outlawed.<sup>4</sup> However, women re-organized themselves and continued their work during the inter-war period under the Independent Labor Party of Yugoslavia (Nezavisna radnička partija Jugoslavije, NRPJ) and in 1942 they reorganized themselves into a new women’s organization, the Antifascist Women’s Front (Antifašistička fronta žena, AFŽ).<sup>5</sup>

In this thesis I cover the period of AFŽ’s work between 1945 and 1952. I chose this period for two main reasons. The first reason is that this period was the most intensive for

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<sup>1</sup> August Bebel, “Woman and Socialism”, in: *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir*, ed. Alice S. Rosi, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988, 502.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Donna Harsch, “Communism and Women”, in: *The History of Communism*, ed. Stephen A. Smith, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 492.

<sup>4</sup> In June 1920 Socialist Worker’s Party of Yugoslavia (communist) changed its name into Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Komunistička Partija Jugoslavije, KPJ), headed by Josip Broz Tito from 1937; Neda Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku* (Women’s Question in Serbia in XIX and XX centuries), Belgrade: Dvadesetčetvrta – Žene u crnom, 1996, 102; Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest* (The Croatian History), book 21, Zagreb: Europa Press Holding, 2008, 333.

<sup>5</sup> Ivana Pantelić, *Partizanske kao građanke* (Female Partisans as Citizens), Belgrade: Institut za savremenu historiju, 2011, 34; Lydia Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi* (Horses, Women, Wars), ed. Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, Zagreb: Ženska infoteka, 1996, 81.

AFŽ's work and included major political changes, the Tito-Stalin split and the 3D reform.<sup>6</sup> The second reason is that during these years the agitation and propaganda sector (Agitprop) was the most powerful apparatus in Yugoslavia and AFŽ, as a mass organization, was part of it. In the thesis I want to present AFŽ's work within Yugoslavia by observing the organization as part of the Agitprop system and thus include in the research the broader Yugoslav political context in the early post-war years. To achieve that I will rely on AFŽ and Agitprop archival documents, the AFŽ magazine *Žena u borbi* [Women in Struggle; hereafter *Women in Struggle*]. However, AFŽ's work cannot be observed and limited only to Yugoslav territory since the organization has been very active on the international level as part of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). Therefore, this thesis includes the broader international picture of AFŽ's work and activities with special attention on the published material related to the WIDF. *Women in Struggle* is my main source for researching AFŽ activism in this period and through the close reading of the magazine articles I will discuss what press can tell us about the work of the women's mass organization, how major political events affected AFŽ's work and how they were presented in the magazine. Although this research is primarily focused on the Antifascist Women's Front, the documents related to Agitprop and WIDF's are included to show how AFŽ operated within these two powerful organizations.

The pioneering work on AFŽ was written by the ethnologist, sociologist and feminist, Lydia Sklevicky. Her major book, *Konji, žene, ratovi* (Horses, Women, Wars) was published posthumously in 1996.<sup>7</sup> She was a pioneer in women's history in Croatian historiography and one of the first second-wave feminists who conducted a research on AFŽ outside the

<sup>6</sup> 3D Reform included democratization, de-centralization and de-bureaucratization. More about these changes is mentioned in the first chapter.

<sup>7</sup> Jelena Tesija, *The End of the AFŽ – The End of the Meaningful Women's Activism? Re-thinking the History of Women's Organizations in Croatia 1953-1961*, Master's Thesis, online access through CEU Library (<http://www.library.ceu.hu/cat/#&panel1-1>), at 4<sup>th</sup> February 2015, 14-15.

Communist Party and in opposition to the official women's organization which was, at that time, the Conference for the Social Activity of Women (Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena, KDAŽ).<sup>8</sup> Her work is very important because she argues that AFŽ gradually lost its autonomy after 1945, a position she argues in more details, in her article "Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation: the Case of Post-Revolutionary Yugoslavia."<sup>9</sup> Another more recent perspective comes from Chiara Bonfiglioli who argues that Sklevicky's research has to be revisited and that women's activism was multi-layered. She considers politics and economy as elements that have to be included in any study of AFŽ. She suggests that "we need to reflect on forms of political and social agency that were expressed within the framework of existing political movements and institutions."<sup>10</sup> Her work offers a new point of view and a new approach to the AFŽ organization.

Unlike historiography related to AFŽ, Agitprop attracted a larger number of scholars. The most valuable work comes from the Croatian historian, Berislav Jandrić.<sup>11</sup> The author analyses the organization of the Communist Party of Croatia in the post-war years and he dedicates one chapter to the structure and organization of Agitprop. This book is of great importance because the author, in his approach to the topic, includes the political, economic and cultural situation, as well as elements of public life of the time. Another significant work on Agitprop comes from Carol Lilly.<sup>12</sup> The author critically approaches the subject and presents

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<sup>8</sup> Tesija, *The End of the AFŽ*, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Lydia Sklevicky, "Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation: the Case of Post-Revolutionary Yugoslavia", in: Arina Angerman et al (eds.), *Current Issues in Women's History*, London and NY: Routledge, 1989, 93-108.

<sup>10</sup> Chiara Bonfiglioli, "Women's Political and Social Activism in the Early Cold War Era. The Case of Yugoslavia", in: *Aspasia* 8 (2014), 4.

<sup>11</sup> Berislav Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom. Komunistička partija Hrvatske 1945.-1952. Organizacija, uloga, djelovanje* (Croatia Under the Red Star. The Communist Party of Croatia 1945-1952. Organization, role, activity), Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Carol S. Lilly, "Problems of Persuasion: Communist Agitation and Propaganda in Post-war Yugoslavia, 1944-1948, in: *Slavic Review*, vol. 53, 1994, 395-413.

the weak sides of Agitprop, which eventually led to its dissolution, focusing on the period between 1945 and 1948. Even though these two works are of great significance I have to mention two other authors working on Agitprop, Snježana Koren and Magdalena Najbar-Agičić.<sup>13</sup> Koren connects unpublished archival material and secondary sources to present the relationship between politics and education after 1945, while Najbar-Agičić's work is significant because the author analyses communist politics in the field of culture and science in Croatia and provides a comparative analysis of Croatia with Poland, Czechoslovakia, GDR and Hungary.

From the brief literature overview it is clear that authors uniting on both organizations, AFŽ and Agitprop, have different viewpoints and approaches to the subjects. Scholars' attention given to the AFŽ is smaller and almost absent from Croatian historiography which makes this topic even more challenging. My research combines the material from two archives, the KDAŽ and Agitprop, which provides a good basis for research on their relationship.<sup>14</sup> Because of the extensive archives I will use the AFŽ official magazine, *Women in Struggle*, as a source through which I will present the relationship between the AFŽ and Agitprop. Since my focus is on the documents related to the magazine and publishing, I will analyse their correspondence related to press and see how it is reflected in the published material in the magazine. To support this research I will use Katarina Spehnjak's book which discusses the role and the importance of newspapers in Croatia from 1945 to 1952 and Gordana Stojaković's

<sup>13</sup> Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960) Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija* (Policy of History in Yugoslavia (1945-1960) Communist Party, Teaching History, Historiography), Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012.; Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija: prilozi istraživanju politike komunističke vlasti u Hrvatskoj (1945-1960) na polju culture i znanosti* (Culture, Science, Ideology: contributions to the research of politics and communist government in Croatia (1945-1960) in the field of culture and science), Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2013.

<sup>14</sup> The AFŽ documents are kept under the archive of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women (Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena, KDAŽ) and the Agitprop documents are part of the archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Alliance of Croatia. They are both located in the Croatian State Archive in Zagreb.

work about the Antifascist Women's Press in Serbia.<sup>15</sup> My analysis of the published material is focused on two main topics. The first topic is AFŽ's work in Croatia and the second is AFŽ international activism where I focus on their relationship with the Women's International Democratic Federation. Through these analyses I want to present AFŽ's activism on a national and international level and the role of politics in the AFŽ work by relating it to the Agitprop documents.

This brief background raises three questions important for my research. First, how can we relate the work of a women's mass organization and the sector for agitation and propaganda? In order to answer the question I correlate the AFŽ and Agitprop archival material, focusing on the documents related to newspapers, magazines, publishing and the editorials of the magazine, *Women in Struggle*. A close reading of the documents provides an insight into the correspondence between the two. Along with the documents I will analyse the content of the magazine *Women in Struggle*, comparing Agitprop directives with what was actually published. This approach provides an insight into the representation of topics and changes in the content of the magazine, and thus allows the observation of the impact of policies on the relationship between Agitprop and AFŽ.

Second, in what ways did the political situation affect the work and role of AFŽ within Croatian society? In this case I hold Chiara Bonfiglioli's viewpoint that we have to observe other elements like the economy and politics. By studying the work of AFŽ in the post-war period we cannot ignore Yugoslavia's situation in 1948 and at the beginning of the 1950. To answer this question I observe the role of AFŽ within Croatia, their correspondence with

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<sup>15</sup> Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda. Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945.-1952.* (Publicity and Propaganda: The National Front in Politics and Culture in Croatia 1945-1952), Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2002; Gordana Stojaković, *Rodna perspektiva u novinama. Antifašistička fronta žena (1945-1953)* (Gender Perspective on the Antifascist Women's Front Press (1945-1953)), Novi Sad: Zavod za ravnopravnost polova, 2012.

Agitprop and tasks performed by AFŽ members in the period between 1945 and 1952. Considering that the tasks of AFŽ, in this early Yugoslav period, were constantly growing, I argue that AFŽ and its members were an active part of Croatian society and not the obedient executors of directives that came from the Agitprop sector or the Communist Party. On the contrary, I consider that AFŽ members played a major role for different people, especially women, children, peasant women and women workers.

The third question is what was the influence of the Tito-Stalin split on the Antifascist Women's Front official magazine *Women in Struggle* and its articles related to the AFŽ international activism? In order to answer this question I will focus on the articles related to the relationship between AFŽ and WIDF with special emphasis on the 1948 and 1949 events. In this case I look at the AFŽ documents related to international relations, but my main source is the magazine. I analyse the articles before and after 1948/1949 to present how the attitude of the AFŽ is represented after the break up. By examining published material and relating it to the archival documents about AFŽ international connections I provide an insight into the AFŽ stance on this issue and the influence of politics on the work of the women's organization. The WIDF allows me to present, using a specific example, how the relationship between the AFŽ and the Agitprop were conditioned by political events.

The thesis is divided into three main chapters and covers the time period from 1945 to 1952. The first chapter presents Agitprop's work in relation to AFŽ and answers questions related to agitprop's structure, its departments and their roles, the top down system of communication and their connection to and control over mass organizations with an emphasis on AFŽ. In the second chapter I will analyse AFŽ through their official magazine and its topics from the war and post-war period. In this chapter I will put AFŽ work into the context of the

press and show the importance of media as a source through which we can examine the work of the women's organization and their ties with higher state apparatuses, as well as their correspondence with its lower departments. In the last chapter I will use an international example to show the communication between AFŽ and Agitprop, the influence of politics on women's organizations and its representation in the magazine. The main focus is on the AFŽ relationship with the Women's International Democratic Federation and AFŽ's expulsion from the WIDF in 1949. In this chapter I analyse the magazine articles related to the WIDF and observe the changes and consequences of the Tito-Stalin split on the relationship of the AFŽ and WIDF. A major turning point in the work is 1948 that dramatically changed the politics of Yugoslavia and on its basis changes in Agitprop's and AFŽ work are analysed. This thesis presents the Antifascist Women's Front as an active mass organization on a national and international level and the way in which politics, to some extent, shaped their work.

## 1. WOMEN'S MASS ORGANIZATION AND ITS POSITION WITHIN THE AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA SYSTEM

In 1945, when the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavia, FNRJ) was established, the USSR was a Yugoslav role model. After 1948 and the Tito-Stalin split, Yugoslavia started to emphasize the role of its revolution during the war, the history of the Yugoslav Communist Party and tried to distance itself from the Soviet model.<sup>16</sup> The 1946 FNRJ Constitution was to a large extent a copy of the 1936 Soviet one and it included women's position in the new society, according to which "women have equal rights with men in all fields of state, economic and social-political life".<sup>17</sup> The same law was copied to the Croatian Constitution a year later under Article 25.<sup>18</sup> This fact that women were equal to men in all fields constitutionally is necessary for understanding the position of AFŽ as part of the Communist system and not as a separate women's organization.

Women and women's position were an important element in the new Yugoslav state, since women had played a great role in the National Liberation War (Narodnooslobodilački rat, NOR), even though women started to form their organizations before the war and that AFŽ was not a product of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.<sup>19</sup> The aim of AFŽ during the war was to provide the partisan army with supplies (clothing, shoes, food, etc.), money and medicine, but women also ran hospitals, orphanages, schools and literacy courses for women.<sup>20</sup> Tasks performed during the war taught them organizational skills which proved to be extremely important for the women's organization in the early post-war years.

<sup>16</sup> Najbar-Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Bonfiglioli, "Women's Political and Social Activism", 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ustav Narodne Republike Hrvatske* (Zbirka zakona, uredba i naredaba Narodne Republike Hrvatske) (The Constitution of the People's Republic of Croatia (The Collection of Laws, Regulations and Orders of the People's Republic of Croatia), no. 5, in: *Izdanje Narodnih novina*, official journal of the NRH, 1947, 14.

<sup>19</sup> About AFŽ predecessors see: Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 79-81 and Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji*, 102.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 5-6.; see also: Stojaković, *Rodna perspektiva u novinama. Antifašistička fronta žena (1945-1953)*, 42.

The Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia was formed in December 1942 and soon after that, in June 1943, the Main Committee of AFŽ Croatia (Glavni odbor AFŽ Hrvatske, GO AFŽH) was established.<sup>21</sup> The Main Committee of AFŽ Croatia was the highest AFŽ authority in Croatia and as such it had its lower AFŽ village, city, county and region committees and departments.<sup>22</sup> In 1944 AFŽ became part of the People's Front (Narodna Fronta, NF)<sup>23</sup> and it was integrated in the hierarchical network of the National Liberation Committees (Narodnooslobodilački odbori, NOO).<sup>24</sup> During the war AFŽ was helping Yugoslav partisans and after the war the organization continued its work as only women organization in Yugoslavia and as part of the Communist Party. In July 1945 the first congress of the AFŽ Croatia took place in Zagreb.<sup>25</sup> At the congress it was decided about future AFŽ task which consisted of: consolidation of brotherhood and unity, consolidation of the People's Government, construction and reconstruction of the state, education of youth, care of children, the disabled and wounded, suppression of illiteracy and attendance of professional courses and schools.<sup>26</sup> One of the elements which women transferred to the postwar period was the women's magazine *Women in Struggle*. The People's Front and AFŽ were mass organizations and as such, after the war, they belonged under the department of mass organizations within the Agitprop system. In this chapter I will present Agitprop's structure with emphasis on the

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<sup>21</sup> HR-HAD 1234 KDAŽH, 150, *Žena u borbi* (Women in Struggle), 1950.

<sup>22</sup> See more about the AFŽ hierarchical organization in: Sklevicky, "Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation: the Case of Post-Revolutionary Yugoslavia", 99.

<sup>23</sup> The People's Front (Narodna Fronta, NF) was mass political organization through which Yugoslavia organized and controlled social life. It was established before the war under the name Unified National Liberation Front (Jedinstvena Narodnooslobodilačka fronta, JNOF). See more: Igor Stanić, "Leksikon" (Lexicon), in: *Refleksije vremena 1945.-1955.* (The Time Reflections 1945-1955), ed. Bovoljak, Jasmina, Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2012, 289-293.

<sup>24</sup> Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi* 86-87.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 96-97.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 97.

Antifascist Women's Front as women's mass organization and changes that happened in the relationship between Agitprop and AFŽ after the Tito-Stalin split.

### 1.1. The agitation and propaganda sector (Agitprop)

During the war Agitprop was located at the Supreme Headquarters (Vrhovni štab) of the military leadership of the National Liberation Movement. One of its main assignments was publishing radio-news, pocket-gazettes, leaflets and various announcements, as well as translation and publishing of Marxist literature.<sup>27</sup> Agitprop reorganization started in 1945 when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Centralni Komitet Komunističke Partije Jugoslavije, CK KPJ) announced the directive about basic organizational principles and political basis for the system activity.<sup>28</sup> The head of the federal Agitprop was Milovan Đilas and the aim of the reorganization was to strengthen the organization and to reduce what was considered the spontaneity and anarchy within it.<sup>29</sup> According to the directive, many people within the Agitprop did not understand the importance of their work and they worked without consulting with the higher Agitprop departments, so such practice should be stopped.<sup>30</sup> The Agitprop system of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia (Centralni komitet Komunističke Partije Hrvatske, CK KPH) was established on June 1<sup>st</sup> 1945 and political guidelines for its work came from the responsible commissions of the Yugoslav Communist Party.<sup>31</sup> The Agitprop sector of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

<sup>27</sup> Najbar-Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija*, 30.

<sup>28</sup> Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, 159.

<sup>29</sup> Najbar-Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija*, 31-32.

<sup>30</sup> Similarly to AFŽ Agitprop also had its lower departments which controlled work of different regional, city and district departments. All these departments were organized in five different sectors, just like the main CK KPH Agitprop of Croatia. See more: Berislav Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, 160.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 162.

Croatia was fully reconstructed in 1947 and from that year it was directly related to the assignments of the five-year plan.<sup>32</sup>

In 1945 Agitprop had five main departments: press and agitation, theoretical-lecturing, a cultural, educational and an organizational-technical sector.<sup>33</sup> According to Jandrić, after 1948 new department for foreign agitation and propaganda was from the utmost importance.<sup>34</sup> From *Figure 1.1* we can observe the hierarchical structure of Agitprop departments in 1946: the head of agitprop, departments, departments' division and administration where the reports about work were sent. The theoretical-lecturing sector was important for education and enlightenment of cadres and it also controlled the work of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia.<sup>35</sup> The cultural and artistic sector oversaw the work of the most important republic cultural institutions, including the Croatian National Theater and the Society of Croatian Writers, while foreign agitation, which is not shown in the figure, become the most important department after 1948 since its role was mobilization of citizens in the anti-Cominform campaign.<sup>36</sup> The most significant sector was press and agitation with special attention to newspapers. Since other media, such as radio and television, were underdeveloped more attention was given to newspapers because they were easily accessible to large numbers of people.<sup>37</sup> The correspondence between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Agitprop, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and its lower units was born top down and vice versa.<sup>38</sup> CK KPJ Agitprop sent directions to lower departments, who periodically had to send their work reports

<sup>32</sup> Najbar-Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija*, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, 161.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 164-166.

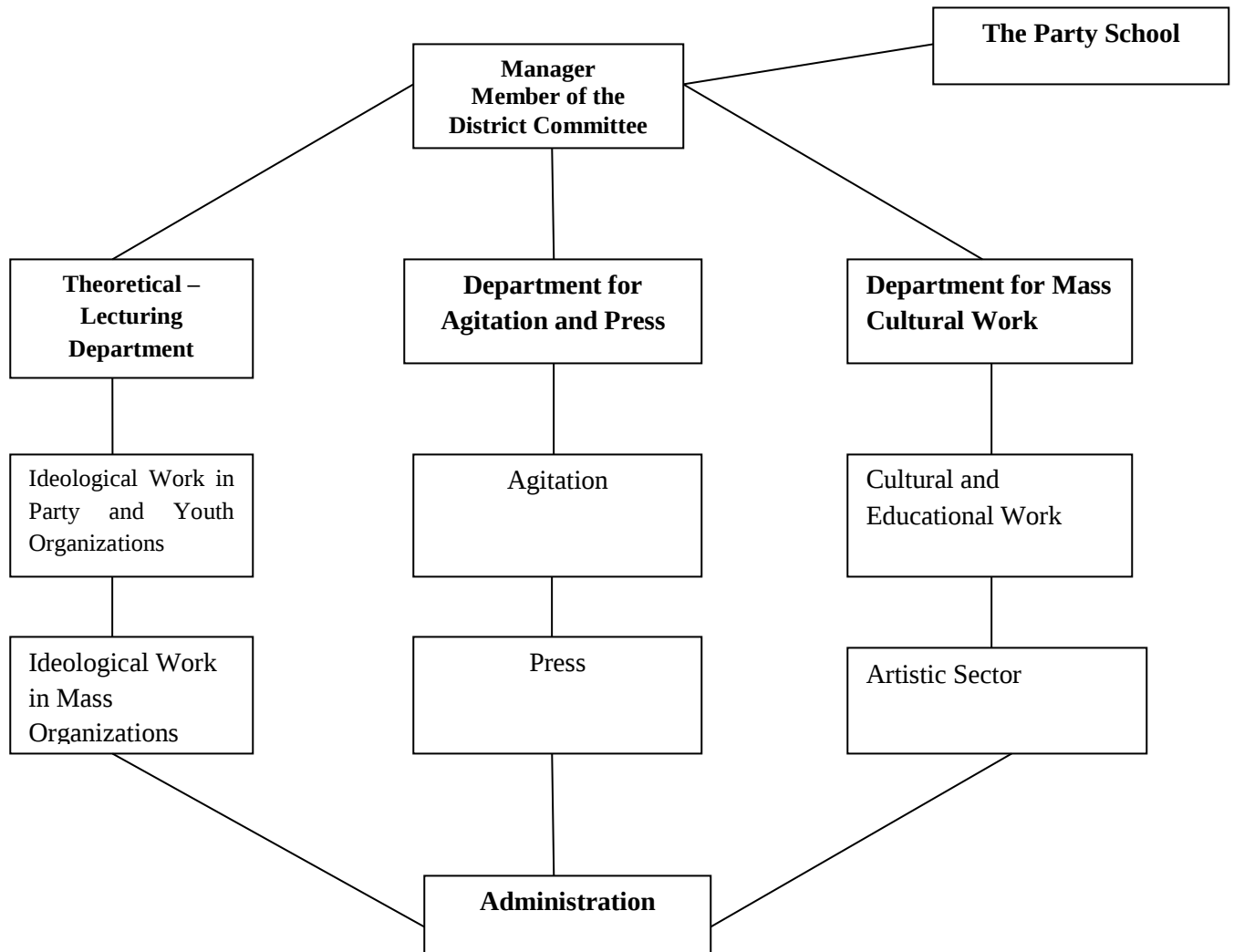
<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 162.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 162-165.; See also: Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda*, 93-98.

<sup>37</sup> Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, 166.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 163.

to the higher levels. In this correspondence CK KPH Agitprop served as the transmission between CK KPJ and lower departments since everything that was addressed to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia firstly had to be sent to the CK KPH Agitprop.



**Figure 1.1,** HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Odjeljenje Agitprop (Agitprop departments), 1946.

One of the main Agitprop task was to properly implement KPJ policies and to ideologically and politically educate the masses. The Agitprop documents define the purpose of agitation and propaganda to “concentrate all national, political, cultural, educational and scientific life” and “to introduce the masses with slogans that were hardly understandable to

them.”<sup>39</sup> Agitation itself is defined as: “on the one hand, it is a way, or agent, of mobilizing the masses to achieve further goals, and on the other it is a solution for the specific tasks that stand before the Communist Party at the exact moment and without that solution it is not possible to achieve the goal.”<sup>40</sup> While agitation was described as way of mobilizing masses for future goals, propaganda was defined as something that: “clarifies some goals to the masses, for example, what working people of our country receive from the construction of socialism, general terms, some of our further ideas for which we are fighting, opens a perspective to the masses and explain.”<sup>41</sup> In the post-war years one of the main Agitprop tasks was to ideologically and politically educate the new generation of communists. After the war Yugoslavia was highly underdeveloped country and newspapers were considered to be the most important agent in the political struggle.<sup>42</sup> Agitprop also had an influence in decisions related to the composition of newspaper’s editorial boards and it was desirable that editors were part of the Communist Party, even though that was not considered a warranty of a newspaper’s quality.<sup>43</sup> “Official public opinion”, which was actually government position on different issues, was presented through the newspapers and it was possible for people to read the implicit attitudes of the government and authorities.<sup>44</sup> All newspapers, except religious ones, were under direct state control.<sup>45</sup> However, this was not the only form of supervision, since the state

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<sup>39</sup> HR-HAD 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, O reorganizaciji agitacije i propagande (About the reorganization of agitation and propaganda), 1945.

<sup>40</sup> HR-HAD 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, O značenju agitacije i propaganda (About the meaning of agitation and propaganda), The exact year of the document is not known, but all documents in the file are written between 1945 and 1950.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Spehnjak, Javnost i propaganda, 91.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 96.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 91.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 102.

also controlled material resources such as publishing companies which were under state ownership, printing houses, printing paper and the distribution system.<sup>46</sup>

Close reading of Agitprop documents also provides an insight into the type and nature AFŽ's work and its position as the women's mass organization within the Agitprop system. Croatian feminist, Sklevicky, divided AFŽ organization work into four main phases.<sup>47</sup> The first phase covers the war period from 1942 to 1945, the second phase from 1945 to 1947 is the educational model of AFŽ, while the third phase is the directive model which lasted from 1948 to 1949 and the last phase, the dualistic model of the transitional phase, lasted from 1950 to 1953. The third phase is the most important phase for this research. According to Sklevicky during this phase AFŽ came under the strict control and influence of the People's Front and one of the main AFŽ assignments was to attract large number of women into the work force and participate in realization of the five-year plan.<sup>48</sup> As was mentioned in the introduction, Sklevicky argued how AFŽ gradually lost its autonomy. However, the documents provide another possible answer.

The documents dated between 1945 and 1947 show that Agitprop was in that period mostly preoccupied with lower organization and reorganization, unqualified personnel who worked in important positions, the quality of published material and many other issues necessary for proper Agitprop work. After 1948 and the Tito-Stalin split, AFŽ, as well as other mass organizations, appeared more frequently in the documents. The role of AFŽ in that period can still be called an educational model of AFŽ since in one of the operating instructions Agitprop clearly stated that its members had to teach 68.000 women to read and write, the exact number of reading groups that had to be formed, lectures and courses to be held and cinema

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 117-138.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 117-118.

and theater performances to be visited by women.<sup>49</sup> In the AFŽ report, which was sent back to Agitprop, it states that by May 1948 AFŽ members educated 58.903 women and 35.074 were still attending different literary and educational courses.<sup>50</sup>

Immediately after the Cominform resolution in 1948, Yugoslavia continued its support towards the USSR. Therefore, the Agitprop's work and its assignments remained almost the same as before. The reasons for this can be that it was expected that the problem was going to be solved or a simple tactical solution since nobody knew what was going to happen next. In one of the CK KPJ directives from 1948 it is pointed out how the Yugoslav press still needs to support the USSR and all articles related to foreign policy had to be discussed with Agitprop before publishing.<sup>51</sup> The directive also emphasized how all press needs to pay attention to these events and send reports from different meetings or conferences, that any bad news about Yugoslavia should not be published and that all CK KPJ statements and other materials related to this topic should be sent abroad to inform Yugoslav people and the World of Yugoslav position.<sup>52</sup> It seems that Tito and the Communist hierarchy in 1948 did not consider the split as important or permanent as they did a year later and they even reinforce some measures such as collectivization to show how the USSR accusations were wrong.<sup>53</sup>

## **1.2. The influence of the Tito-Stalin split on the Agitprop system and mass organizations**

While in 1948 the authorities still supported the USSR their reports and directives from 1949 are of a different character. From these directives it is noticeable that Tito started his fight against those who were considered to be supporters of the Cominform resolution. The

<sup>49</sup> HR-HAD 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 9, Plan rada kulturno-prosvjetne sekcije (The cultural and educational section work plan for 1948), 1947.

<sup>50</sup> HR-HAD 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 9, Podaci o opismenjanju žena (Data about women's literacy), 1948.

<sup>51</sup> HR-HAD 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Od CK KPJ (From CK KPJ), 1948.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest*, 443.

1948 events had an impact on the press since many journalist and editors lost their jobs under the accusation that they were Cominform supporters. The lack of personnel was felt in different editorials and in the quality of published material. The agitation and propaganda sector report from 1949 says:

At the beginning of 1949, and earlier, the press did not feel scarcity of personnel. The press in Croatia is rated as weak for various reasons: a large number of under covered non-Party elements, non-Party people who were not politically mature enough for the tasks of the press, the level of professionalism of journalism was low, and the Party organization in the redactions did not carry the fight to improve the quality of printing adequately. Members of Agitprop did not go to the Party meetings in some editorial boards.<sup>54</sup>

From another 1949 report it is visible that it was hard to replace people who were moved from their positions and that the circulation of newspapers decreased due to the lack of paper (Croatia received only 37% of planned paper which was the lowest percentage among the republics).<sup>55</sup> Other reports, written in the same year, show how the fight against the Cominform became the most important issue in all aspects. The department for foreign agitation wrote how “agitation and propaganda gained a momentum swing on the Cominform’s first anniversary.”<sup>56</sup> The same report states that Agitprop needed to expand and include mass organizations such as AFŽ, which proved itself as very active by holding 130 meetings of its Executive board (Izvršni odbor, IO) and more than 500 mass meetings related to the Budapest events in just two months.<sup>57</sup> It also highlights that more articles about the Cominform were published in the local press of different cities and regions, who took the information from the central newspapers,

<sup>54</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 7, Izvještaj odjeljenja za agitaciju i štampu (The agitation and propaganda sector report), 1949.

<sup>55</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Izvještaj uprave za agitaciju i propaganda CK KPH o radu kroz 1949. godinu (The report of the administration for agitation and propaganda CK KPH about the work through 1949), 1949.

<sup>56</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 8, Izvještaj odjeljenja vanjske propagande Agitpropa CK KPH za 1949. godinu (The department of foreign propaganda Agitprop CK KPH report for 1949), 1949.

<sup>57</sup> AFŽ delegation was, according to their reports and *Women in Struggle*, humiliated and not welcomed at the WIDF congress in Budapest. More about this issue will be explained in the third chapter.

mostly *Borba* (Fight) and *Naprijed* (Forward).<sup>58</sup> The Agitprop documents also present AFŽ as one of the most active mass organization which held numbers of meetings and included tens of thousands of women.

In 1949 communication between Agitprop and AFŽ was more frequent because Agitprop wanted to include mass organizations in the anti-Cominform campaign. AFŽ was a link that was supposed to introduce broad masses of women to the Yugoslav problems, just as youth organization had to present these same problems to numerous young people. Lydia Sklevicky marked the years 1948/1949 as the directive phase for AFŽ, but this was a directive phase for the whole of Yugoslavia. The 1949 documents clearly state that there is a lack of people in mass organizations and that political education among people is low. The proposal for the maintenance of district advisories on the issues of agitation and propaganda says that “AFŽ, together with the People’s Front and the youth organization, should be a transmission apparatus for agitation and propaganda in the district committees.”<sup>59</sup> The political situation required the involvement of all organizations and their lower departments through which people should be introduced with all current issues. This was exactly what the Antifascist Women’s Front was doing and reason why the AFŽ was one of the most active organizations can be observed through Jandrić’s work in which he mentions how Yugoslav communists came to power by their independent military victory in the war.<sup>60</sup> Since a large number of women participated in the war and victory they surely understand how important it was to defend their country against the enemy, which was also exactly what the government wanted from them. As

<sup>58</sup> One of the most important central newspapers in Croatia and Serbia was *Naprijed* (Forward) and *Borba* (Fight). They were daily newspapers with topics related to political issues.

<sup>59</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Prijedlog za održavanje oblasnih savjetovanja po pitanju agitacije i propaganda (Proposal for the maintenance of district advisories on the issue of agitation and propaganda), 1949.

<sup>60</sup> Jandrić, *Hrvatska pod crvenom zvijezdom*, 36.

members of the Terrestrial Board of the Veteran Alliance (Zemaljski odbor Saveza boraca) pointed out before the second AFŽ congress:

Our Antifascist Women's Front is different from women's fronts in other countries because in our women organization now has more than 100.000 women, members of the Veteran Alliance. From this it is visible that women led the fight and did not wait for others to fight for them.<sup>61</sup>

The correspondence was top-down, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia over the People's Front to AFŽ and its lower departments, but that does not necessarily mean that the organization was dutifully obeying orders from above. The AFŽ documents show that members of this organization were not only obedient executors of the People's Front and the Communist Party. On the one hand, the AFŽ archival material shows that during the conflict more attention was paid to the political situation and it was believed to be important to introduce women who lived in villages to the situation and the official Yugoslav stance on this subject. On the other hand, there are numerous reports from the Main Committee of AFŽ Croatia and its lower committees on educational work among women and children. Political conditions directed AFŽ's work to some extent, but the organization still carried out their previous tasks such as literacy courses, reading groups, newspapers, holiday celebrations and many other tasks that were put in front of them at their first congress in 1945.

The historian, Carol Lilly, shows that Agitprop's main problem, which eventually led to its failure, could be traced before 1948 and the Tito-Stalin split.<sup>62</sup> The first reason she mentions are KPJ priorities which changed during the Agitprop period from 1945 until 1952.<sup>63</sup> During the first two years after the war it was important for the country, after gaining power, to

<sup>61</sup> HR-HAD 1234 Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske (KDAŽH), 11, Pozdrav kongresu u ime Zemaljskog odbora Saveza boraca i svih boraca NOR-a Hrvatske (Greeting to the Congress on behalf of the Terrestrial Board of the Veteran Alliance and all veterans of NOR Croatia), 1949.

<sup>62</sup> Lilly, "Problems of Persuasion", 398-407.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

implement the social program through political and economic legislation and to shape the existing culture in a way that was closer to the communist ideology. The government wanted to eliminate the opposition, rebuild the economy and people were called for action and recruited for specific tasks. After 1948 and the split with Stalin, the Yugoslav government openly declared its goal of building socialism, Marxist-Leninism ideology and the creation of peasant working cooperatives.<sup>64</sup> The second reason was disunity among the top KPJ leaders which was often based on national questions.<sup>65</sup> The last reason for Agitprop's failure lies in the inadequacy of the middle and lower party cadres who were mostly uneducated and not familiar with Marxist Leninist theory.<sup>66</sup> Lilly's research show that Agitprop was weakly organized before 1948, and if the lack of qualified people in different fields after the break is observed, it can be concluded that Agitprop system did not recover or work any better in later years. I argue that Agitprop wanted to implement its agitation and propaganda work through mass organizations because that was the easiest and the fastest way to approach numbers of people and to acquaint them with the political situation and the official government opinion on the matter, but that cannot be marked as fully directive phase in which organizations were only receiving commands from above and fulfilled them.

### **1.3. The relationship between Agitprop and AFŽ**

Although certain directives and instructions did come from various government bodies to AFŽ, I would describe the communication between AFŽ and Agitprop as a flow of authority that depended on the political situation. In the first two years Yugoslavia was modeled on the USSR, in 1948 it restrained from sudden reactions on the accusations and still

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 398-399.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 401.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 407.

supported the USSR, but in 1949 Yugoslavia started to distance itself from the USSR and the Soviets. While on the one hand Yugoslavia defended itself from the Cominform accusations, on the other she was developing her new path towards socialism. Susan Woodward argues that changes in agriculture and the introduction of self-management and workers' councils were not an attempt of government legitimacy verification, but rather a new path which was part of the so-called "3D" of decentralization, de-bureaucratization and democratization.<sup>67</sup> This shows that Yugoslavia was at that time experiencing big changes from within and without.

In order for the newly-constructed reform to be implemented it was necessary to introduce people to its goals and this could be achieved, once again, through mass organizations and their field work. In the mass agitation working plan for 1949 it states that "mass agitation needs to make its working plan according to the new assignments."<sup>68</sup> These new assignments were: the socialist transformation of villages, the development of socialist competitions for bigger work productivity and the fight against the Cominform.<sup>69</sup> The directions that AFŽ received, related to this plan, were: to hold regular meetings with its lower departments, mobilize women for cooperative movement, direct its lower departments to the Party path, write about cooperatives in the magazine *Women in Struggle*, publish a brochure on women in cooperatives, write a report about past work and future plans and hold seminars on topics related to the cooperatives, current successes and perspectives of future cooperative developments.<sup>70</sup> Similar directions were given to the People's Front and the Youth organization. Special forms of the women's issues did not exist; and the "women problems"

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<sup>67</sup> Susan Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment. The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945-1990*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995, 100; see also: Dušan Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest* (Croatian contemporary history), Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999., 312-334.

<sup>68</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Plan rada masovne agitacije (Working plan for the mass agitation), 1949.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

was considered solved in 1945, since they were part of the working people who would re-build their country and help create the new socialist society. At the fifth congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1948 it was stated that the Party did not consider the women's question as something separate from the working class because women could not achieve equality without the liberation of the working class.<sup>71</sup> Their overall conclusion was that AFŽ has to work on strengthening the organization and develop itself as part of the People's Front.<sup>72</sup> From these reasons the relationship between Agitprop and AFŽ could be described as the relationship that depended on political situation and current state tasks. It is noticeable that the correspondence between them is more frequent before some major events and celebrations or during the time of specific issues such as the anti-Cominform campaign, harvest or productivity competitions, while at other times the correspondence is reduced.

Sklevicky in her work "Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation" discusses AFŽ's loss of autonomy during the period between 1945 and 1952 as a consequence of the state control and organizational hierarchy.<sup>73</sup> In her work she often used the word "autonomy" to express the loss of women's agency and activism. The first scholar who thought that her work needed to be revisited was Chiara Bonfiglioli.<sup>74</sup> She argues that women's political and social activism during the Cold War was fundamental in the earliest years.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, a close reading of the Agitprop and AFŽ documents shows that AFŽ did not lose its "autonomy" between 1945 and 1952, but rather that the organization was active in various fields. While they were constantly active on the task related to literacy, children, women's day

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<sup>71</sup> HR-HAD 1234 KDAŽH, Stenografski zapisnik IV. Plenuma GO AFŽ Hrvatske (Stenographic record from the IV Plenum GO AFŽ Croatia), 1948.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Sklevicky, "Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation", 93-108.

<sup>74</sup> Bonfiglioli, "Women's Political and Social Activism in the Early Cold War Era", 2.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

or holding courses and seminars, there were also new tasks that the government earmarked for AFŽ. The documents allow tracking these new tasks, so we can see that in the first years literacy courses were the most important as a prerequisite for raising women's awareness, and only later the anti-Cominform campaign or the first five-year plan were given as new assignments. It is important to highlight that AFŽ was not the only mass organization who received these directions from above, but they received directions that were intended for work among women. At the fourth plenum of GO AFŽ Croatia, Maca Naceva, the vice-president of Central Committee of the AFŽ Yugoslavia, said that AFŽ is not a secondary organization, but part of the People's Front which works on the tasks that are contained in its program.<sup>76</sup> What Bonfiglioli calls "the multilayered character of women's activism in the Cold War period" can be observed through their different assignments and work on the ground among women and thus shows that AFŽ and women in Yugoslavia in the post-war period were active as organization and as members of the Yugoslav society.<sup>77</sup>

The fact that they were not deciding about all of their work completely on their own as an independent organization, but as part of the People's Front and women's mass organization within the government apparatus, is not a reason to claim that they were under complete state control. Work that AFŽ conducted within the Agitprop system show that their task were very diverse and that the AFŽ's work was constantly supplemented with new assignments that were important for Yugoslavia, but also for Yugoslav women.

<sup>76</sup> HR-HAD 1234 KDAŽH, 20, Stenografski zapisnik IV. Plenuma GO AFŽ Hrvatske (Stenographic record from the IV Plenum GO AFŽ Croatia), 1948.

<sup>77</sup> Bonfiglioli, "Women's Political and Social Activism in the Early Cold War Era", 2.

## 2. WOMEN IN STRUGGLE

Research related to women's press on Yugoslav territory before and after the war is very scarce. The Serbian feminist, Gordana Stojaković, examined the Antifascist Women's Front newspapers and the gender perspective in the newspapers in Vojvodina (Serbia) in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>78</sup> According to Stojaković around 30 women's magazines were published on the Yugoslav territory.<sup>79</sup> In Croatia Lydia Sklevicky focused on the AFŽ press and their official magazine *Women in Struggle*. The magazine was firstly published on the liberated areas of Lika in March 1942 by the AFŽ district committee of Lika.<sup>80</sup> One year later, with establishment of AFŽ Croatia, the magazine title was taken over for the official magazine of the AFŽ Croatia and the district magazine had to change its name.<sup>81</sup> According to Sklevicky the main magazine task was communication and connection among women.<sup>82</sup> The system of this communication was vertical and through the vertical system higher AFŽ departments sent directives to the lower committees.<sup>83</sup> Also important was horizontal system of communication through which women, by reading various women's press, could learn about the similarities of their lives and develop networks among each other.<sup>84</sup> To some extent Sklevicky's research can be complemented by material published in the magazine. From the article "Our women's press", written in 1945, it is visible that the first antifascist women's magazine in Croatia, *Mlada žena* (Young Women), was published in 1936 and two years later the magazine, *Ženski svijet* (Women's World), was published. The aim of these magazines was to gather women and prepare them to fight against fascism and the war. Even though some of the magazines were

<sup>78</sup> Stojaković, *Rodna perspektiva u novinama Antifašističkog fronta žena (1945-1953)*, 22.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 59.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

forbidden in 1939 they started to be published again during the war and between March 1942 and June 1943 eleven different magazines were issued in the liberated areas of Croatia.<sup>85</sup>

While Stojaković's focus was on gender perspective in the newspapers and Sklevicky's on the system of communication, this chapter is focused on the magazine redaction, their correspondence with higher authorities and the AFŽ lower departments, women's activities that can be observed through published material and the political context in which the magazine was published. On the territory of Croatia *Women in Struggle* was the official AFŽ magazine and the variety of activities that AFŽ's work encompassed can be seen through their magazine. To observe the circumstances in which the magazine was published I rely on the Agitprop and AFŽ archival material and the AFŽ magazine itself. In the chapter the war and post-war period are studied separately, not only because of the chronological assumptions, but also because of the different context in which they emerged and different political situation that shaped the work of the women's mass organization and its press.

### 2.1. The women's press during the war period (1943-1945)

When the Croatian AFŽ was formed in June 1943 during the Conference of Croatian women *Women in Struggle* was established as its official magazine.<sup>86</sup> The magazine was first printed in the Agitprop printing house in the mountain Javornica, but because of the war the printing house often had to move, first to Skrad at the beginning of 1944 and in the spring of the same year it to the forest Crna Lokva.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the editorial office of *Women in Struggle*

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> HR-HAD 1234 KDAŽH, 150, *Žena u borbi* (Women in Struggle), 1950.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

moved to liberated areas.<sup>88</sup> Between 1943 and 1945 the magazine had five main editors: Olga Kovačić, Kreačić Žoga, Bosiljka Krajčić, Nada Sremec and Vjeda Zagorac.<sup>89</sup>

The AFŽ Main Committee report, written after the first issue of the magazine was published, explains the magazine purpose, which was to present the work of women and other organizations during the National Liberation War.<sup>90</sup> Women in all liberated areas were sought to collect letters, articles, novels and songs that could be published, especially those related to AFŽ work. The editors often sent letters to women they knew asking them to write an article or to find another women for the job. These correspondences and friendships are illustrated by a request addressed to comrade Daskalica:

Dear Daskalica,

After you left we discussed that that you should write an article about women and the army for the next issue of the *Women in Struggle*. Write in a convenient and accessible way your observations about comrades in brigades. It can be reportage or a literary dash. You must have seen and noticed a lot of things, so write. Marija talked about that with you, so you think a little bit, sit down and sharpen your pen, and then, [write] as you know, and we know that you know well [how to write].

Please, take this seriously, and make an effort for the public interest, as soon as possible. The editors count on this for sure.

Besides that, get back to us sometimes.

I am sorry that you could not stay longer in Otočac so we could talk.

We are sending you greetings and we love you.

Death to fascism – freedom to people!<sup>91</sup>

Many other similar letters are kept in the AFŽ archive, but the correspondence with the printing house shows that collecting articles was easier than publishing them. The Main Committee of the AFŽ Croatia sent a letter to the District Committee KPH Lika (Okružni komitet KPH Lika) on 19<sup>th</sup> of August stating that the magazine issue for July is in a long overdue.<sup>92</sup> Twenty days later, on 11<sup>th</sup> September, Agitprop responded that they did not have printing ink and how they

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 150, Glavni urednici *Žena u borbi* (The main editors of the Women in Struggle), 1966.

<sup>90</sup> HR-HDA 1722 Antifašistička fronta žena (AFŽ), 1, GO AFŽ Hrvatske (GO AFŽ Croatia), 1943.

<sup>91</sup> HR-HDA 1722 AFŽ, 1, Drugarici Daskalici (To comrade Daskalica), 1943.

<sup>92</sup> HR-HAD 1722 AFŽ, 1, GO AFŽ Hrvatske Okružnom komitetu za KPH Lika (GO AFŽ Croatia to the District Committee KPH Lika), 1943.

had to add one of their own ink tubes since the tube that AFŽ send them was not useable.<sup>93</sup> They also said that if they did not manage to receive the ink they will be forced to suspend the printing of the magazine.<sup>94</sup> Eventually the July number was issued, but since there is no exact date of publishing it is not possible to say how late it was. However, the August and September issues, as well as the issues from October 1944 to January 1945, were published as double issues which suggest that problem with ink, paper or moving of the printing houses was ongoing through the war period.

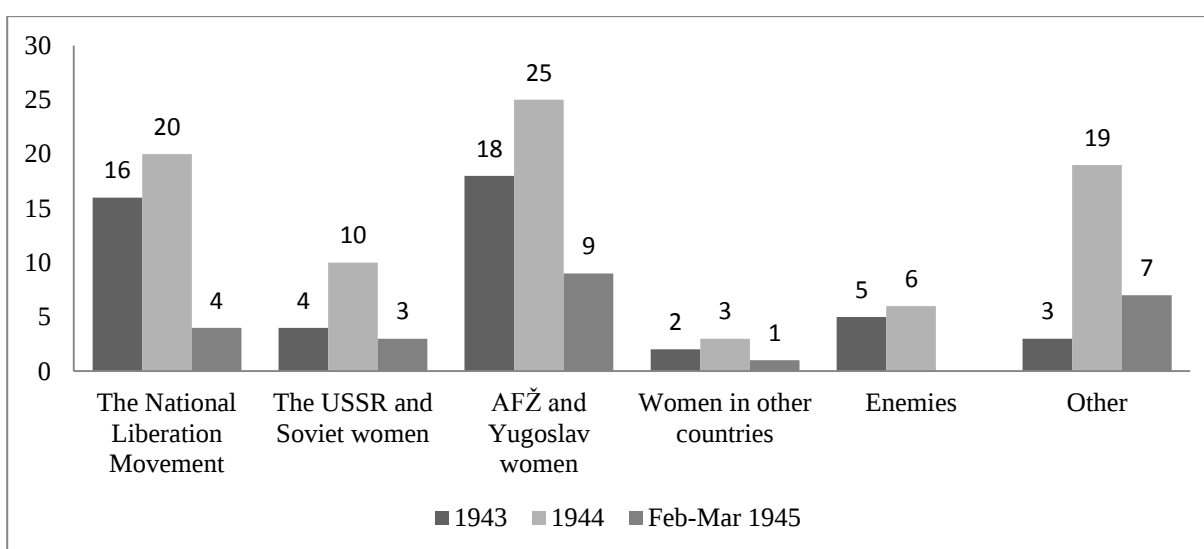
### **2.1.1. Published material in war-issues of *Women in Struggle* magazine**

The analysis of the published articles (*Figure 2.1*) from 1943 to March 1945 shows that a range of topics diverse. I divided the material into several different groups. The first group is articles about National Liberation War (NOR) which was along with the AFŽ the most important topic for the editors. These articles are mostly related the Partisans' Army, the National Liberation Movement and other organization such as the People's Front, that were fighting against the occupiers, as well as the topics related to the future construction of Yugoslavia and importance of peasants. The second group consisted of articles related to the USSR and Soviet women who were, according to the content of the published articles, role model for Yugoslavia during the war and in the first years after the liberation. The Antifascist Women's Front and Yugoslav women is the topic to which the most articles were dedicated and includes articles related to AFŽ work among women and children, literacy courses, health, their participation in the war, stories about prominent female figures and reports about women who were not part of the war or the organization. Even though Yugoslav women considered the

<sup>93</sup> HR-HAD 1722 AFŽ, 1, Agitprop Okružnog komiteta za Liku GO AFŽ Hrvatske (the District Committee Lika Agitprop to GO AFŽ Croatia), 1943.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

Soviet women as a role model, they also used stories about other women's organizations and their struggles during the war.<sup>95</sup> So there is small number of articles related to women from other countries such as Italy, China or Bulgaria. Articles about enemies include topics about Germans, the Independent State of Croatia and Ustashas or Chetniks. Articles written in the form of stories related to suffering under the occupation are placed under the last section since many of them do not have author's name and it is hard to determine their authenticity. In that section are also included different poems, novels, stories and number of short news.



**Figure 2.1,** Topic representation in the magazine *Women in Struggle* for the issues published in 1943 and 1944.

Even though the *Figure 2.1* shows that the number of articles increased, in 1943 fewer numbers were issued since the first copy of the magazine was published in June 1943. Issues for December 1944 and January 1945 were published as double number, as well as February and March 1945. The magazine was not published in the period between April and July 1945 which is probably due to the end of the war and complex situation that followed on Yugoslav territory. Altogether, between June 1943 and March 1945, 11 issues of the magazine were

<sup>95</sup> Published articles related to the Soviet women show that Yugoslav women considered them as role model in different aspects of life, especially in construction of socialism and as mothers.

published, of which four were double issues. The magazine was usually issued on 20, 24 or 32 pages, which certainly depended on the availability of paper and ink, as well as the printing house and the quantity of the solicited material.

Considering that AFŽ during the war had to secure and organize a normal form of life in the liberated areas and that they had to introduce women to the meaning and notion of women's political and cultural emancipation, the magazine served as an important source of information.<sup>96</sup> In this period newspapers and magazines also served as a propaganda and agitation tool whose task was to introduce people, as well as to teach them, about the main principles of communist ideology, the meaning of the NOR, future Yugoslav aims and enemy crimes. In particular, the women's magazine during the war served as tool for familiarizing women's audience with current events and the rights that would be guaranteed to them in the new state. Through the articles related to the successes of the USSR, speeches held by prominent Yugoslav communist figures and, most importantly, through AFŽ work, women were told about the emancipation and liberation that was supposed to come with communism. Work that AFŽ performed during the war showed that women could be active participants in many fields and that in the socialist society women will achieve their equality to men. This way of attracting women into the organization was a form of the communist propaganda and agitation and it succeeded in its aim of attracting a large number of women into the organization. The importance of the women's press during the war was presented at the 1945 exhibition about cultural and artistic work of the participants of the National Liberation War, which was organized by CK KPH Agitprop in city of Crikvenica.<sup>97</sup> At the exhibition the importance of the separate women's press and its role among women were emphasized. The

<sup>96</sup> About AFŽ role and work in liberated areas see: Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 25-26.

<sup>97</sup> HR-HAD 1722 AFŽ, 2, *Štampa naših žena* (Our women's press), 1945.

fact that AFŽ became part of the People's Front in 1944 did not reduce the value that women's mass organization had in the post-war years. Members of AFŽ continued with their work among women and children, they got new assignments, as mentioned in the first chapter, and they continued to be not only an active part of the Yugoslav society, but also its creator.

## 2.2. The post-war period and the magazine

The first issue of *Women in Struggle* in liberated and newly formed Yugoslavia was published in July 1945 as a double issue on 48 pages. In this issue a large number of topics were dedicated to the upcoming first congress of the AFŽ of Croatia, their past successes and the future assignments that stood ahead of them. The new editor of the magazine, Nada Sremec, wrote an article stating that the women's press existed in the inter war period and that its emergence is closely related to the Antifascist Women's Front.<sup>98</sup> Even though she said that all events that women experienced during the war had a reflection on women's press, she also wrote:

Many pages of women's press are filled by directive articles; a large part of them is written by skilled hands, which are used to the pen, but today they are not separate from those hands that hold the pen from recently and with difficulty, who are used to hoe and hard work.<sup>99</sup>

The Croatian historian, Katarina Spehnjak, mentioned earlier, discusses in her 1993 article how many socialist countries had the so-called transmission model of communication in which the whole system of communication and correspondence served for the transfer of ideas of the Communist Party.<sup>100</sup> According to Spehnjak that means that the role of media is

<sup>98</sup> Sremec, "Naša ženska štampa", 42.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>100</sup> Katarina Spehnjak, "Uloga novina u oblikovanju javnog mnijenja u Hrvatskoj 1945.-1952." (The Role of Newspapers in Shaping Public Opinion in Croatia 1945-1952), in: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, no. 2-3, 1993, 89, 166.

predetermined and that they shape the public according to already imagined form.<sup>101</sup> The transmission model of communication conveys the Party ideas, and newspapers are shaping public and public opinion in a preconceived ideological form.<sup>102</sup> Since the articles published during the war, in which readers got acquainted to the Party ideas and communist ideology, could be described as directive it is possible that the magazine in that period was based on the transmission model of communication. However, in editorial Sremec's "but today" and the fact that many, apparently peasant women, learned how to write means that the women's press in the new state changed or at least, that was the goal of the magazine editors.

The department for mass agitation and press was related to AFŽ through the Main Committee of the People's Front, but according to the Agitprop documents the fully developed mode of work was established and practiced only from 1950.<sup>103</sup> The magazine *Women in Struggle* is mentioned in the Agitprop archive along with other mass organizations and other newspapers or magazines and there are no specific documents addressed to the AFŽ magazine. The documents show that most attention was given to the central newspapers *Borba* (Fight) and *Naprijed* (Forward), which were of the utmost importance for Agitprop, and such intensive correspondence with other publications did not exist or it is not kept in the archive. Its documents related to AFŽ work and their assignments as a women's mass organization often contained brief instructions about topics that needed to be more represented in the magazine or what topics deserved more attention. Most of these examples can be found after the Tito-Stalin split. In 1949 Agitprop wants that women's protests related to anti-Cominform campaign are published in every issue of *Women in Struggle*, but they also needed to be published in other

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Neka pitanja iz organizacije i agitacije i propagande i metodologije rada (Some questions related to organization, agitation and propaganda and methodology of work), 1950.

newspapers.<sup>104</sup> Material related to *Women in Struggle*, its editors, published material, and problems with paper or correspondence with higher and lower departments can be found in the AFŽ documents.

### 2.2.1. *Women in Struggle* in the post-war years (1945-1952)

From the liberation until 1952 the magazine editors changed three times.<sup>105</sup> Nada Sremec, Serbian Croat born in 1898, professor and member of the Communist Party from 1944, was the editor of the magazine from 1945 to 1947.<sup>106</sup> From 1948 until the July 1949 the magazine had two editors, Marija Šoljan and Emilija Šeparović. Marija Šoljan was in the Communist Party from 1940 and she was a wife of Vladimir Bakarić, the president of the CK KPH, while Emilija Šeparović was a Croatian intellectual and a Party member from 1943.<sup>107</sup> From 1949 until the end of 1950 Marija Šoljan was the only editor and she was followed by Emilija Šeparović who edited the magazine until April 1957. The 1949 AFŽ report to KPH states how all editors of the *Women in Struggle* redaction were the Communist Party members, which means that they were chosen with particular care.<sup>108</sup>

A small number of documents related to the editorial work in the first two year is preserved. However, at the AFŽ meeting in 1946 members of AFŽ, and some of whom were magazine associates, discussed how to help the editor Sremec in her work and how to find a good typist for *Women in Struggle*.<sup>109</sup> They concluded that Sremec often worked “on her own

<sup>104</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Plan masovne agitacije u borbi protiv Kominforma (The plan of mass agitation in anti-Cominform campaign), 1949.

<sup>105</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 150, Glavni urednici *Žena u borbi* (The main editors of the *Women in Struggle*), 1966.

<sup>106</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 64, Partijska ćelija GO AFŽ (The Party cell GO AFŽ), 1947.

<sup>107</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 64, I. rajonskom komitetu KPH (To the 1<sup>st</sup> district committee KPH), 1947.; HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 64, Ćelija pri GO AFŽ (GO AFŽ cell), 1948.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 64, Zapisnik (Record), 1946.

hand” and that solution is in “the right approach”, but they did not find a final solution for needed help. Another document contains more information about redaction work and says that the editorial board should meet between 26<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of every month.<sup>110</sup> Four different sectors existed within the magazine: social, cultural-educational, economic and propaganda.<sup>111</sup> The redaction members should have come to the meeting with ready proposals for their sector, as well as for the other sectors and they needed to be ready for the criticism of the past edition. In this report opening of the new section for political news was recorded which means that they were ready for expanding the magazine sections and introducing new topics.

However, there were some misunderstandings, especially between the magazine and AFŽ lower departments. The district committee of AFŽ Brod wrote to the redaction that even though the agreement was to send the magazine only to them, they also sent it to other organizations which meant that they could not share all issues which were received or as they put it “it is not known who drinks and who pays for it”.<sup>112</sup> This is just one of the examples, which might mean that they were still working on the organization and correspondence in the early years. Another interesting example is a woman who represented herself under the name Anka Alebić and claimed that she was an associate of *Women in Struggle* and tried to get information related to the merchant navy.<sup>113</sup> The magazine received a letter and warning directly from the FNRJ Ministry of Maritime Affairs to be on the alert because of that event. These cases show that the magazine by 1947 did not yet have an elaborate network of associates.

<sup>110</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Za propagandnu sekciju (For the propaganda section), 1947.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Okružni odbor AFŽ Brod (The District Committee of AFŽ Brod), 1946.

<sup>113</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Predmet: Alebić Anka (Case: Alebić Anka), 1947.

After 1948 more material related to the magazine is preserved, which show how it approached solving certain problems. Their communication with lower AFŽ departments was more frequent and they sent direct instructions about work. Some articles were sent back for modification, while others were accepted or rejected. Rejected articles usually did not follow the Party line or it was considered that they contained a wrong message for the audience.<sup>114</sup> Correspondence with the editors of other magazines from the other Yugoslav republics was recorded as well. They asked the Main Committees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro to send them their magazines in order to open new section about news from the other republics.<sup>115</sup> More organized work and new ideas are noticeable in 1948. It is evident that they elaborated new ideas and work on expanding the content of the magazine, but to a large extent their approach remained the same. For example, they wanted to dedicate a section to female workers in industry and they sent letters to people they knew and asked them to write for them or to find someone else for the job. In most cases in their requests they were not asking, but commanding it in a nice way. Most of the letters ended with “we have already earmarked the place in the magazine for that article, so please send it to us by the 1<sup>st</sup> of the month.”<sup>116</sup> I highlight once again that their associate network might not be completely developed by 1948 and they had to rely on their acquaintances or acquaintances of AFŽ members from other districts. However, not only lower organization departments were criticized, the main editors also received some warnings. The Main Committee of the AFŽ warned comrades Marica Zastavniković and the editor Nada Sremec not to discuss issues, which are usually under the redaction or the Main Committee of the AFŽ, in the book store, but

<sup>114</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Redakcija *Žena u Borbi* Kotarskom odboru AFŽ Đakovo (The Women in Struggle redaction to the County Board Đakovo), 1948.

<sup>115</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, GO AFŽ Hrvatska (GO AFŽ Croatia), 1948.

<sup>116</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Drugarica Mica Šrepfler (Comrade Mica Šrepfler), 1948.

to do it in the editorial office.<sup>117</sup> In the documents evidence of major cooperation between the redaction and the People's Front or Agitprop and propaganda section is missing. On the one hand, this can mean that the documents are missing. On the other, this can be a sign that between 1945 and 1948 they had an opportunity to develop women's press without strong control from above and to expand the magazine sections in directions which they considered to be relevant to their readers.

Freedom in the creation of the content of the magazine does not mean that the cooperation with the higher authorities was missing completely. Namely, all printing assignments had to be approved by the Information office which was located under the Presidential government because they made all decision related to the paper usage, its format and type.<sup>118</sup> The AFŽ propaganda section had to send plans and data on publishing activities to the Information office, which included plans for *Women in Struggle*. In 1948 they had to send the publishing plan, type of books or magazines they intend to publish, circulation and type and amount of paper they need.<sup>119</sup> The AFŽ Main Committee plan predicted that *Women in Struggle* circulation will increase from 57,000 to 60,000 copies in 1948 and that it will be published on 32 pages with 4 literary annexes throughout the year, as well as 24 issues of "The little AFŽ book" (20,000 copies) and four "big books" (each 10,000 copies). This was a plan for all AFŽ publications. However, in 1948, the year of Tito-Stalin split, as a consequence had a shortage of paper, only five issues of *Women in Struggle* had 32 pages, one was published on 24 and six on 16 pages.<sup>120</sup> Two issues had less than 60,000 copies, while others exceeded the

<sup>117</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 64, Zapisnik sa sastanka ćelije GO AFŽ Hrvatske (Record from the GO AFŽ Croatia meeting), 1947.

<sup>118</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 127, Hrvatska seljačka tiskara (Croatian Peasant Printing house), 1948.

<sup>119</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 153, NRH Predsjedništvo vlade Ured za informacije (NRH Presidential Government the Information Office), 1948.

<sup>120</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 153, Izvještaj o izvršenju plana izdavačke djelatnosti 8A report on the execution of the publishing activities plan), 1948.

planned figure of 60,000 copies and even reach the amount of 68,000. Only 11 issues of “the Little AFŽ book” were published, from which eight in Croatian and three in Italian language. Two issues were double and only three were published in 20,000 copies. Two “big books” were published which means they fulfilled 50% of that plan and they also issued a picture book for children outside the plan.<sup>121</sup> The editor, Marija Šoljan, said in 1949 that after the USSR stopped the paper delivery it was only important to continue with publishing the magazine even if the issue only had 16 or 24 pages.<sup>122</sup>

Even though year 1948 was a turning point for the whole of Yugoslavia, major changes took place a year after. As it was mentioned in the first chapter, many people were dismissed from their jobs with the accusation that they were Cominform supporters and Agitprop started to pay greater attention to the press and its editors. AFŽ was observed as part of the People’s Front and they did not receive different instructions from other mass organization. More criticism can be found in AFŽ documents. In her report, Šoljan criticized the lower AFŽ departments and its members because of its negligence to the magazine.<sup>123</sup> A similar conclusion was reached by the Agitprop a year later.<sup>124</sup> They pointed out on a low number of AFŽ women who were active in smaller areas such as city and district committees and that these women had to cooperate with male comrades who could explain the meaning of Yugoslav struggle if needed.<sup>125</sup> This concern about women was made because they wanted a large number of women to be included into politics. Even though in this report they refer to women’s participation in different committees, material published in *Women in Struggle* shows

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, Referat Marije Šoljan o listu “Žena u borbi” (Marija Šoljan’s report on the magazine *Women in Struggle*), 1949.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> HR-HDA 1220 CK KPH Agitprop, 1, Oblasnim, gradskim, kotarskim komitetima (To region, city and county committees), 1950.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

that they also wanted women to be active in a broader political arena. One such example can be observed through implementation of self-management in the early 1950s. It was important that self-management goals are understandable to all Yugoslav people, male and female, so they could actively participate in its implementation and in elections for working councils. The easiest way to introduce women to the related topics was by publishing them in *Women in Struggle*. In similar way women were introduced to other political and economic topics, such as the five-year plan or cooperatives, and encouraged to become politically active citizens on many different fields.

The post-war years examined through the documents related to the magazine show that the relationship between the Agitprop and AFŽ was depending on the political situation. For the Agitprop it was important to carry out the Party line and propaganda content in the newspapers had to be in line with the country development and new socialist path.<sup>126</sup> Even though this was written in 1948 it also referred to the later years. Still, the women's organization and its magazine were mostly neglected and left on their own. They received instructions to write about the anti-Cominform campaign, the five-year plan or peasant cooperatives, but they were the one who had to find authors and collect the articles. What is interesting is that after 1950 the magazine is filled with a variety of topics. It was often emphasized that the magazine does not attract enough readers because its content is dry and not interesting. However, after 1950 it became more adapted for women and mothers. A large number of topics related to household, sewing, taking care of the children and fashion began to blossom which enriched the magazine with topics that women were more interested in. In that period titles such as "Kitchen and Advices", "What Should We Wear", "Children's Health",

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<sup>126</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 20, Referat sekcije za propaganda i kulturno-prosvjetni rad (The propaganda and cultural-educational section work report), 1948.

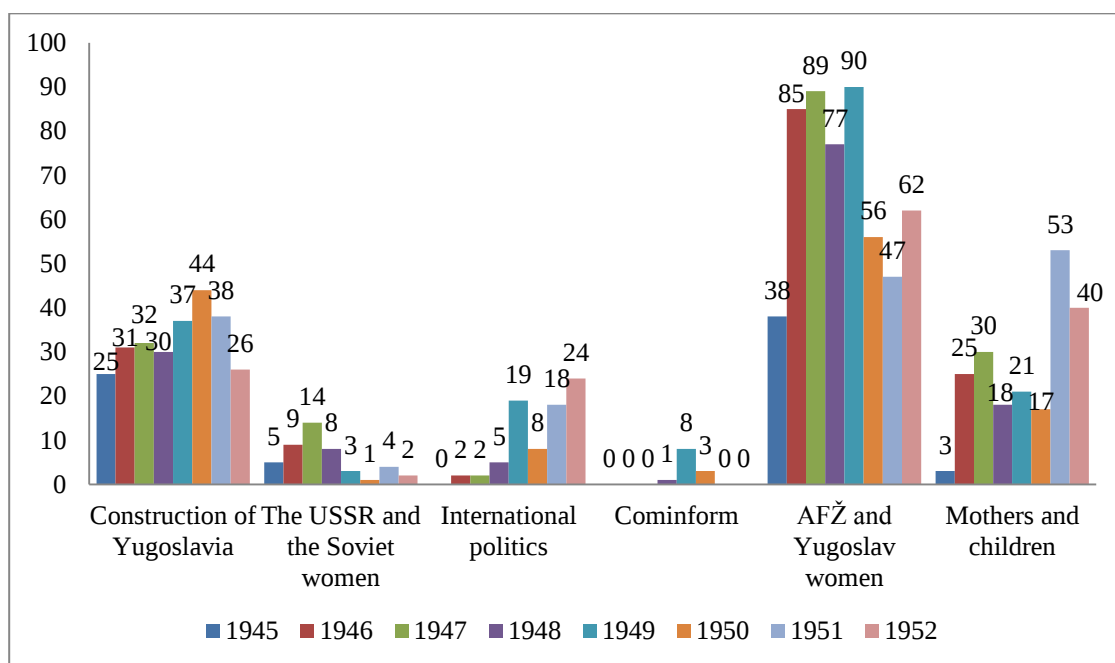
“Let’s Teach Our Girls Handcrafts” or “Household and technics” were the most frequently published topics and content of the magazine changed.

Published material is presented in *Appendix 1* into detail and *Figure 2.2* shows the change of some major topics between 1945 and 1952. From the figure is visible that AFŽ and topics related to Yugoslav women occupied most of the magazine space. However, in *Appendix 1* it is shown that “Other” topics between 1950 and 1952 outnumbered the articles related to AFŽ and Yugoslav women. This is the result of an increase in material related to short news, the enlarged number of songs, novels, and interesting facts from science or fashion advices. Great attention was given to Yugoslavia and its construction and to the articles related to mothers and children, which also includes AFŽ work among Yugoslav youth. These two topics often overlapped with AFŽ and their work since members of AFŽ, journalist and the redaction of the magazine often explained new laws, women’s rights, future Yugoslav goals or the importance of children education in a way which was more suitable for Yugoslav women. For example, they used female workers to explain the five-year plan and peasant women to discuss cooperatives, so we can often see titles such as “Our tasks in the spring sowing,” “Women in the realization of the five-year plan” or “We became teachers”. The articles related to Yugoslavia and politics that usually did not include women were mostly speeches of prominent figures or articles taken from other newspapers.

Some topics in the magazine began to decline in 1949, the same year when the articles related to Cominform started to grow.<sup>127</sup> It is clear that negative articles were the consequence of the events that happened due to the Tito-Stalin split. Agitprop documents, as mentioned earlier, showed that AFŽ was one of the most active mass organizations in the anti-Cominform

<sup>127</sup> In the same year eight articles, mostly negative, about the Women’s International Democratic Federation (WIDF) were published as well. The WIDF was a large international women’s organization and AFŽ was part of it until 1949.

campaign which was probably the result of their expulsion from the biggest international women organization. The political situation in 1948 and 1949 did not just have an effect on Yugoslavia, but also on AFŽ. From the split their activities were mostly limited to work within Yugoslavia which had an impact on the magazine. Large number of topics related to AFŽ, Yugoslav women, especially workers and peasants, mothers and children were proof of their work, but also a confirmation that they followed Tito and the new Yugoslav path. The fact that there were more articles related to fashion could mean two things. First, the magazine was being adjusted to the female readership and second, this could be a way of showing the Yugoslav opening towards the West.



**Figure 2.2,** Number of represented topics in *Women in Struggle* by years, 1945-1952

The Agitprop's lack of interest for the AFŽ work in some periods or increased correspondence between them was noticeable in the magazine work. The editors were part of AFŽ organization and the Communist Party members, but according to the published material they were primarily focused on women within Yugoslavia. The magazine was a tool through

which they could present their successes to the general public. Even without the AFŽ documents, only by reading the magazine, it is clear that the organization was active on many different fields. Women from smaller cities or villages played a great role in their communities and constructed Yugoslav society from within by introducing current topics and issues to people who could not read or did not have access to different newspapers and magazines. This could be achieved through the AFŽ usual tasks related to reading groups or literacy courses where they used *Women in Struggle*, as well as other published material which included different newspapers, books and brochures. Maybe Agitprop, the Communist Party or the People's Front gave instructions for work that needed, according to them, more attention, but the real agents were women. Work that needed more attention means that there was some attention already given and that women work on it, sometimes even before they received these directions, like in the case with anti-Cominform campaign. Between 1945 and 1952 the magazine topics expanded in parallel with the expansion of AFŽ activities.

The transmission model of communication where Party ideas and ideology play a major role cannot be fully applied on the post-war years of the magazine since the magazine material was diverse and mostly related to the AFŽ work, while ideological topics dictated directly from the Communist Party or the Agitprop were absent or taken from political daily newspapers. Some topics in the magazine remained the same through the whole period between 1945 and 1952, while new subjects were added. One of the reasons for that is that AFŽ, in a liberated country, expanded its work. Women's activism was present in many different fields: politics, literary courses, pioneers, Yugoslav youth, cooperatives, schools and child cares and even international activities, which included women's and children's organizations. All these had an impact on the women's press and their successes were presented in it. The organization

was never considered to be separate from the wider struggle of the whole Yugoslav society and from that reason it was not apolitical organization and it cannot be observed as such. Therefore, the organization reflected consequences of political developments on the national and international level.

### 3. AFŽ ACTIVISM ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The AFŽ's activism on the international level is best reflected in its relationship with the Women's International Democratic Federation. The WIDF is rooted in the interwar period when a large number of liberal, socialist and left-feminist women, out of fear and opposition to fascism, started to become involved in anti-fascist activism.<sup>128</sup> In this chapter, based on the archival documents and the analysis of the magazine articles, I will explore the changing relationship between AFŽ and the WIDF and the influence of political events on these women's organizations. Even though the WIDF supported the Soviet Union, it was not founded as a "Soviet front" and many of the WIDF members were non-communist women.<sup>129</sup> Francisca de Haan characterizes the WIDF as a "left-feminist" international organization with an emphasis on peace, women's rights, anti-colonialism and anti-racism and states how many of its leading women were communist.<sup>130</sup> However, using the example of the relationship between the WIDF and the Yugoslav AFŽ it is visible that the political situation of 1948 had consequences on both women's organizations and that they were not apolitical. In this case apolitical refers to a wider political situation, with special emphasis on the Tito-Stalin split, which influenced the relationship between the AFŽ and the WIDF. The AFŽ expulsion from the WIDF in 1949 shows how these two women's organizations were not only political in its programs, but that broader political events also had an impact on their work and relationship.

The Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia was part of the WIDF and it was internationally active in several fields between 1945 and 1952. They were involved in protests

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<sup>128</sup> Francisca de Haan, "The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF): History, Main Agenda, and Contributions, 1945-1991", in Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds.: *Women's and Social Movements, International – 1840 to Present* (WASI) online archive, 2012, accessed through CEU Library, <http://www.library.ceu.hu/cat/#&panel1-1>, at 23 November 2014.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

against Franco's Spain, they supported armament reduction and the Soviet proposal for control of atomic energy, and they wanted a fair trial for Greek democrats. Since these protests were addressed to the United Nations, the AFŽ carried out its international work through the Women's International Democratic Federation. Most of this work was consisted of letters of protest, which were referred to the WIDF. These following examples present the AFŽ hierarchy within the organization: The Central Committee of AFŽ Yugoslavia sent instructions to the Main Committee of the AFŽ Croatia that letters of protest needed to be sent to WIDF and these instructions were then sent to lower AFŽ departments.<sup>131</sup> Protest letters were returned from district and city committees to the Main Committee of the AFŽ Croatia who sent them to the Central Committee of the AFŽ Yugoslavia and then they were forwarded to the WIDF. The aim of this hierarchical correspondence was to support the WIDF's intervention in the United Nations.

The WIDF Founding Congress was held in Paris in late November 1945 and the number of women represented on the Congress was 81 million.<sup>132</sup> Only according to the Serbian feminist, Neda Božinović, 850 women from 40 countries who participated in the Congress, represented 120 million women. The magazine *Women in Struggle*, before the Congress, estimated that WIDF represented around 120 million women, but after the Congress, the magazine lowered their number to 81 million as well.<sup>133</sup>

Between 1945 and 1949 AFŽ published 21 articles about the WIDF in their magazine. One of the first articles related to the WIDF was the article published after the Congress of the

<sup>131</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 71, CO AFŽ Jugoslavije (CO AFŽ Yugoslavia), 1947.

<sup>132</sup> de Haan, "The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)"

<sup>133</sup> "Međunarodni kongres žena" ("International Women's Congress"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 21 (1945), 3-4.; Anka Berus, "Međunarodni kongres žena" ("International Women's Congress"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 22 (1946), 9-11.

Union of French Women in June 1945.<sup>134</sup> The article presented the main goals which were to be discussed in November at the first WIDF Congress. What is interesting is that the author of the article, who is not known, dedicated most of the text to the quotations from Eugénie Cotton, Dolores Ibarruri and Nina Popova. Even though they are of great importance, the opinions of Yugoslav women on anti-fascism and future international goals were not mentioned. It is obvious that the AFŽ is supporting the initiative, but if we think about all Yugoslav women, there is a great chance that a large number of them did not know who Cotton or Ibarruri were and that the voice of Yugoslav representatives would have brought them closer to the events.

The article is in the form of a report from the Congress and the role of Yugoslav delegation is not discussed. However, after the Congress AFŽ members tried to popularize WIDF among women and familiarize them with the organization through reading groups and lectures. A large number of reports from 1948 about the popularization of WIDF are kept in the Agitprop archive. According to them Agitprop required from the lower AFŽ departments a report about then three-year work related to WIDF. From one of these reports we can read:

The popularization of the WIDF among our women expanded and there was a big interest among our women. Through mass meetings women were introduced to the WIDF work and they are introduced to their resolutions as well. Around 98 meetings were held, and more than 13,743 women participated in them. From these meeting several telegrams were addressed to the WIDF and in them we asked the WIDF to intervene with the United Nation organization, so that the life of Greeks democrats could be saved.<sup>135</sup>

Most of these lectures were held during different celebrations such as March 8<sup>th</sup> or the Children's week and a large number of women participated. However, according to the report in some places women did not learn about WIDF which the report blamed on the lower AFŽ

<sup>134</sup> "Međunarodni kongres žena", 3-4.

<sup>135</sup> HR-HDA CK KPH 1220 Agitprop, 5, Centralnom komitetu KPH /Agit-propu/ od kotarskog komiteta KPH Karlovac (To the Central Committee of KPH /Agit-prop/ from the District Committee KPH Karlovac), 1948.

departments and bad communication.<sup>136</sup> The AFŽ archive contains translations of WIDF's resolutions that were most likely forwarded to regional and city departments so they could be read and discussed at the meetings.

In 1945 the agenda of the first WIDF Congress was published in the magazine.<sup>137</sup> The seven main points of the agenda were: the elections of the Congress Presidency, participation of women in the fight for the destruction of fascism, women's participation in the establishment of democracy and the consolidation of peace, the economic, legal and social status of women and measures to be taken for it to be improved as soon as possible, the problem of children, the adoption of the WIDF statute and the selection of the permanent WIDF administration. Only two articles were published before the official establishment of WIDF, but they show us that Yugoslav women were involved in the WIDF from the very beginning and from their reports it is clear that they used different activities to popularize WIDF among Yugoslav women.

As already mentioned, the first Congress was held in Paris from 26 November to 1 December 1945. Eugénie Cotton was elected as the first president of the WIDF and Nina Popova as Vice-President.<sup>138</sup> The Yugoslav Antifascist Women's Federation was one of the founding organizations of the WIDF.<sup>139</sup> At the first Congress six delegates represented AFŽ: Mitra Mitrović, Anka Berus, Olga Humo, Dr. Olga Milošević, Kata Pejnović and Mileva Rodić.<sup>140</sup> Olga Milošević was Yugoslav representative in the preparatory committee, while

<sup>136</sup> HR-HDA CK KPH 1220 Agitprop, 5, Centralnom komitetu KPH /Agit-propu/ od kotarskog komiteta KPH Krapina (To the Central Committee of KPH /Agit-prop/ from the District Committee KPH Krapina), 1948.

<sup>137</sup> "Međunarodni kongres žena održat će se 26. studenog ove godine u Parizu" ("International Women's Congress will take place on 26<sup>th</sup> November this year in Paris"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 21 (1945), 4.

<sup>138</sup> Ivana Pantelić, *Partizanske kao građanke* (Female Partisans as Citizens), Belgrade: Institut za savremenu historiju, 2011, 88.

<sup>139</sup> Bonfiglioli, "Women's Political and Social Activism in the Early Cold War Era", 7.

<sup>140</sup> Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji*, 160.

Mitra Mitrović was elected as Yugoslav representative in the WIDF executive committee.<sup>141</sup>

During the inter-war period Mitrović had been one of the founders of the women's journal *Žena danas* (Women Today) and after the war she was the first female Minister of Education in Serbia and wife of Milovan Đilas, head of the federal Agitprop.<sup>142</sup>

The Serbian feminist, Ivana Pantelić, conducted an interview with one of the Yugoslav delegates, Olga Humo, in 2007.<sup>143</sup> On a question if she had been satisfied with the Congress, she answered: "I was not, that was real Agitprop, the Popular Front and those stories, I did not like that. Now, it does not have to mean that it was not good and that it was not in the right place at the time." It is not perfectly clear what "real Agitprop, the Popular Front and those stories" means, but her statement indicates that politics was part of women's organizations work and she did not like it. However, her statement from 2007 can be a consequence of the passage of time and it might be different from her thinking in the 1940s. This view differs from the article that Anka Berus, another Yugoslav delegate, published in *Women in Struggle* right after the Congress. Berus wrote how the establishment of the WIDF happened at the right moment and that women had a great role in the final destruction of fascism.<sup>144</sup> The author emphasized the importance of international cooperation, WIDF's commitment to achieve women's political and economic emancipation and to protect mothers and children, as well as to improve the position of women and children in the colonies in different parts of the World. The Congress dealt with the issues of primary importance which

<sup>141</sup> "Međunarodni kongres žena", 3-4; "Naša delegacija na Međunarodnom kongresu žena" ("Our delegation at the WIDF's Congress"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 22 (1946), 13; Other Yugoslav delegates: Anka Berus was the Croatian financial minister, Olga Humo was an English teacher, Olga Milošević was Head of the Public Health Ministry, Kata Pejinović was a Vice-President of Croatian Parliament, while Mileva Rodić was a peasant woman;

<sup>142</sup> Gordana Stojaković, "Outline for the portrait: Women's Anti-fascist Front of Vojvodina 1942-1953", in: *Partizanke. Žene u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi* (Partisans. Women in the National Liberation Struggle), eds. Daško Milinović, Zoran Petakov, Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2010, 87.

<sup>143</sup> Pantelić, *Partizanske kao građanke*, 90.

<sup>144</sup> Berus, "Međunarodni kongres žena", 9.

included politics and society in global terms, which she says means that the Congress was good and “in the right place at the time”.<sup>145</sup>

After the Congress the magazine published several articles related to WIDF and their members. It was usual that they reported about prominent Yugoslav and Croatian figures, but they also dedicated one article to Dolores Ibarruri.<sup>146</sup> The article was primarily a review of the book *Spain between death and birth* written by Otto Bihalji-Merin and the focus was on Ibarruri’s representation in the book.<sup>147</sup> In 1947 the magazine published WIDF’s resolution and their appeal to all women.<sup>148</sup> In the appeal WIDF encourages women to unite themselves, regardless of their race, and to fight against the remnants of fascism.<sup>149</sup> After this short article there was a period of a temporary silence and the next time WIDF was mentioned was during the 1948 Congress in Budapest.<sup>150</sup> Information about the Congress were very dull, congress was ongoing and the article included only the dates and names of Yugoslav delegates. At the time of the Congress the Tito-Stalin conflict was heating up. Stalin did not approve of Yugoslavs’ attempt to annex Trieste and their support of communist forces in the Greek Civil War, but most of all Stalin did not like Tito’s idea of an independent Balkan Federation.<sup>151</sup> The Second Cominform Resolution, from November 1949, marked the final split between Tito and Stalin and shortly after the Resolution, AFŽ was expelled from the WIDF.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Pantelić, *Partizanske kao građanke*, 90; Oath to WIDF was published in the same issue of the magazine along with the pictures of Eugénie Cotton, Dolores Ibarruri and Nina Popova, see: “Zakletva“ („Oath“), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 22 (1946), 11.

<sup>146</sup> “Pasionaria”, in: *Žena u Borbi*, no. 37 (1947), 4-5.

<sup>147</sup> Oto Bihalji Merin often wrote under the pseudonyms Pierre Merin and Peter Thoene

<sup>148</sup> “Rezolucija” (“Resolution”), in: *Žena u Borbi*, no. 37 (1947), 5; “Apel Međunarodne demokratske federacije žena ženama cijelog svijeta” (“WIDF appeal to all women around the World”), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 34 (1947), 1.

<sup>149</sup> “Apel Međunarodne demokratske federacije žena”, 1.

<sup>150</sup> “Kongres MDFŽ-a u Budimpešti” (“WIDF Congress in Budapest”), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 12 (1948), 11.

<sup>151</sup> Chiara Bonfiglioli, “Cold War Internationalisms, Nationalisms and the Yugoslav-Soviet Split. The Union of Italian Women and the Yugoslav Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia”, in: *Women's Activism: Global Perspective from the 1890s to the Present*, eds. Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, Jane Purvis, Kassimira Daskalova, London: Routledge, 2012, 64.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

In December 1948 the Main Committee of AFŽ Croatia received the statement of the Yugoslav delegation at the Executive Committee of WIDF in Budapest, which had been sent by the Central Committee of AFŽ Yugoslavia. The message attached to the statement clearly said:

With this statement only the closest comrades – members of the Secretariat, can be introduced. The statement must not be retyped or given to the press. The statement should be kept in the safe place.<sup>153</sup>

However, everything that is written in the statement was published in the next issue of *Women in Struggle*. The published article, as well as the statement kept in the archive, shows that there had been a cooling of relations and minor tensions between AFŽ and WIDF.<sup>154</sup> The article presents Mitra Mitrović's report in which she claims how it is her duty to inform Yugoslav women of the unfortunate events that happened in Hungary.<sup>155</sup> She did not dispute the work of the WIDF, but she emphasized that the Yugoslav delegation encountered hostility from the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Women. Some of the problems mentioned by the author are insults addressed not only to AFŽ, but also to Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav delegation, according to Mitrović, had problems from the very beginning. First, they were the only ones who could not get a visa for their guests. Second, in one session all delegates received newspapers in which the speech by an Albanian delegate, about how Yugoslavia wanted to colonize Albania, was marked in red. This action was considered offensive and seeking to represent Yugoslavia in a bad light. Third, the Yugoslav flag was missing on the opening day. Fourth, the Hungarian delegate insulted Yugoslavia by saying how they are not consistent in their fight against imperialism. Last but not least was an article published in WIDF's

<sup>153</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 71, CO AFŽ Yugoslavia (CO AFŽ Yugoslavia), 1948.

<sup>154</sup> "Izvještaj o radu delegacije AFŽ-a na kongresu MDFŽ-a u Budimpešti" ("Report on the work of the AFŽ delegation on the WIDF Congress in Budapest"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 1 (1949), 8-9.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 8.

informative bulletin which stated that AFŽ was getting off track.<sup>156</sup> That the situation was tense and that Mitrović did not exaggerate in her report shows in the fact that the second part of the Report on the International Women's Congress had a special focus on the conflict with the Yugoslav delegation who was considered to be Tito's agents.<sup>157</sup>

The opinion of the Yugoslav delegates was that Yugoslav women, especially members of AFŽ who participated in the war, were great role models to women all around the World. They thought that they achieved a lot for Yugoslav women and Yugoslav society and that they would do much more in the future.<sup>158</sup> Therefore, Mitrović claimed that they did not deserve this hostility and that they should have had the right to enter a plea related to this problem on the WIDF's executive committee meeting. However, Mitrović was not allowed to finish her speech which was labeled as Trotskyist provocation by Nina Popova and Jeanette Vermeersch.<sup>159</sup> In spite of everything, the AFŽ Executive Board considered the Second Congress as very successful and they adopted the tasks assigned at the Congress. However, according to Mitrović, unpleasant events had to be highlighted because it was wrong to insult the Yugoslav delegation considering that their goals were the same as the goals of other delegates gathered in Budapest. According to Mitrović's report, it seems the situation in 1948 was not tense only between Tito and Stalin, but also between AFŽ and WIDF. AFŽ did not dispute the fact that they supported Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party; for that reason they considered this hostility and accusations as an insult to Yugoslavia and AFŽ members and they felt the need to respond to them.

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Éva Cserhádi, Jeléntes a Nemzetközi Nőkongresszól, 1948. December 17 Report on the International Women's Congress 17 December 1948, in: *Aspasia* 9, 2015, 131.

<sup>158</sup> "Izveštaj o radu delegacije AFŽ-a na kongresu MDFŽ-a u Budimpešti", 8-9.

<sup>159</sup> Cserhádi, Jeléntes a Nemzetközi Nőkongresszól, 139.

Thus it is not surprising that in the AFŽ magazine in the 1948 and 1949 editions there is an increase in global political subjects and a decrease of topics related to the USSR. The change in the magazine content shows that the events of 1948/49 shaped their work. Until the end of 1949 *Women in Struggle* published six articles related to WIDF. Articles written after 1948 were mostly judgmental and negative. The first article was published soon after the AFŽ expulsion from the WIDF. The Yugoslav delegation was banned from participating at the plenary session in Moscow in September 1949. After this event AFŽ executive committee published their response to the situation. The biggest blame was put on the French women, who had said that they “could not be friends with the fascist and criminal Tito’s politics.”<sup>160</sup> The Yugoslav response pointed out that it was forgotten that women of Yugoslavia fought in the war against fascism and that they were one of the initiators of the WIDF’s establishment. WIDF attacks on AFŽ were related to the USSR which was, according to the AFŽ executive committee, taking advantage of French women to present “the aspirations of the world’s democratic forces.”<sup>161</sup> Even though the title consists of the words “our response,” Yugoslav women thought that the response was not needed since they had history behind them to show their struggle and achievements. They even accused Stalin of revisionism of Marxism-Leninism and suggested that Tito’s Yugoslavia already started to develop its own path to socialism and that it was not possible to determine the life in socialist countries using a template from Stalin. Two citations from the response show how AFŽ and women were part of this political debate and how they supported the Yugoslav Communist Party and Tito: “For a

<sup>160</sup> “Naš odgovor kleveticima iz Biroa francuskih žena sa sastanka izvršnog odbora AFŽ-a Hrvatske” (“Our response to detractors from the Bureau of French Women from the executive committee meeting of the AFŽ of Croatia”), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 11 (1949), 6.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.; In the AFŽ handbook published for March 8<sup>th</sup> 1950 the Central Committee of AFŽ Yugoslavia also accused a small number of women, that they considered to be supporters of the Cominform and who were part of the WIDF Secretariat, about the decision on the AFŽ expulsion (HR-HAD 1234 KDAŽH, 166, Priručnik za aktivistkinje 8 Mart 1950 (Handbook for activist March 8<sup>th</sup> 1950)), 1950.

new morale and new men, our people raised their voices to our Party and comrade Tito. For such a morale we, women, raise our voices” and “That is the guarantee of our victory, our management, our people, it is not just victory for us, but for the whole progressive mankind.”<sup>162</sup> The word “our” dominates in these sentences. It seems that defamations addressed to Yugoslavia increased AFŽ’s desire to highlight what they had done and what they would do in the future. However, one cannot escape the feeling of the growing influence of politics in their publications which was a consequence of the Tito-Stalin split and tensions between the two organizations that were full of political hostility and accusations.

In the magazine WIDF was accused of destroying democracy among women’s organizations, but that was not the last thing written on the WIDF. Quite the contrary, in the same issue of *Women in Struggle* a second article was published by Anka Berus, one of the Yugoslav representatives in WIDF.<sup>163</sup> This article consists of her memories of the first Congress in 1945 when it was considered that Yugoslav women had great importance within the Federation. This article was written in a more peaceful tone and the role of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav women in national and international context was emphasized. Berus highlighted how before 1948 women from France, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary or Czechoslovakia were taking of Yugoslav women as an example of what women could achieve and after the unpleasant events in Budapest they were accused of being Tito’s agents.<sup>164</sup> Berus wanted to emphasize how their opinion and attitude towards the Yugoslav delegations changed after the conflict and how that was wrong since their goals remained the same.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>163</sup> Berus Anka, “Sjećanja sa osnivačkog kongresa MDFŽ u Parizu 1945. godine” (“Memories from the founding congress of the WIDF in Paris in 1945”, in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 11 (1949), 9-10.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 10.

Another article published in 1949, again by Anka Berus, was a reaction to the WIDF's decision that Yugoslav women could not participate at the WIDF plenum in Moscow.<sup>165</sup> Women from Zagreb sent a telegram to Tito to express their support for him and Yugoslavia, putting the fight for peace and democracy in the first place. Berus's speech to the women of Zagreb in 1949, which was attended by 20,000 women, was published in its entirety. Once again she argued against the WIDF's injustice towards AFŽ and WIDF's false representation of Yugoslavia. She said how, despite AFŽ objections to the WIDF's decision, AFŽ would exert every effort to fulfill the five-year plan. It seems that they expressed their support through the plan fulfillment and through emphasizing Yugoslav's new path and development as a success. As a supplement to Anka Berus's speech, the protest of the AFŽ main committee was published in its entirety as were parts of the protests from various AFŽ branches.<sup>166</sup>

A statement made by Vanda Novosel in 1948 shows how much the relationship between the organizations changed during one year:

In our country thousands of meetings, conferences and rallies were maintained with aims to introduce women with WIDF's goals and struggles. [...] The Central Committee published two brochures dedicated to the Federation meetings in Moscow and Stockholm. The Central Committee is also publishing a bi-monthly newsletter for overseas in Russian, French and English language, so that women and women's organizations from other countries could be introduced with the work of our organization. Our women are conscious that their tireless dedication to the country construction and implementation of the five-year plan secure the independence of our country and in that way they strengthen the democratic front in the world, which is also part of the WIDF's program.<sup>167</sup>

A year later AFŽ tried to distance itself from the WIDF and made a serious accusation related to the USSR and members of the WIDF. Both organizations showed that they were not developed as exclusively women's organizations dealing only with women's issues, but that they were part of a wider struggle. In all these events the women's press played a great role in

<sup>165</sup> Berus Anka, "Žene Zagreba protestiraju" ("Women from Zagreb are protesting"), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 12 (1949), 1-3.

<sup>166</sup> "Protestiramo" (We are protesting), in: *Žena u borbi*, no. 12 (1949), 3.

<sup>167</sup> HR-HDA 1234 KDAŽH, 20, Referat Vande Novosel (Vanda Novosel's report), 1948.

familiarizing women with the current events. *Women in Struggle* mostly brought reports of Yugoslav delegates or resolutions and decisions made at the WIDF Congresses. Most of these articles were written by women who were involved in Yugoslav politics and a large part of them were members of the Communist Party from the war period. Surely it was hard for these women to distance themselves from the Party and Yugoslav government. After all, their women's organization was part of that system.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis presents research on the Antifascist Women's Front of Croatia in a broader political context, and re-thinking some of the previous conclusions made by other scholars. One main focus was on Lydia Sklevicky's work and her viewpoint that AFŽ lost its autonomy due to strong state control. The thesis builds on Sklevicky's work since her contribution to AFŽ history and Croatian historiography is very valuable for researches studying AFŽ and its successors. However, my primary goal was to research two archives, Agitprop and the Conference for the Social Activity of Women (Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena, KDAŽ), and show that AFŽ cannot be examined without a wider political picture. Since both archives contain large number of documents, I decided to concentrate on the AFŽ magazine *Women in Struggle*, analyzing how the political situation reflects on the AFŽ work and how that was presented in the magazine.

By reading the documents I came to the conclusion that their relationship was not of equal intensity through whole period. Their correspondence was more frequent during the periods of celebrations or issues that were important for whole Yugoslavia, such as the five-year plans, cooperatives and, most importantly, the Tito-Stalin split. The years 1948 and 1949 were my turning point, as well as theirs. These years served as focal point through which I followed AFŽ work and women's activities. I used the magazine to help to locate women's activism in a wider context.

A division of the magazine content on several topics provided an insight into women's activities. Major changes in their publication were noticeable in the 1950s, but through the whole period the content expanded and it covered variety of topics. There were some changes in 1949 when topics related to the Cominform and international politics started

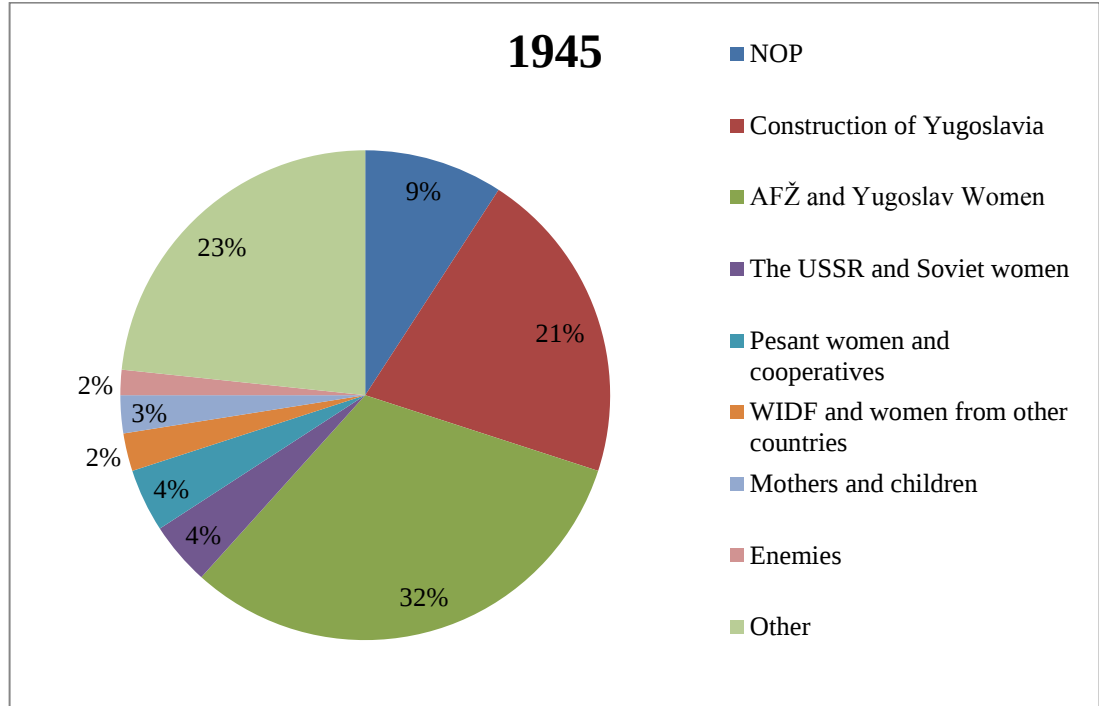
to increase, but through the entire period the AFŽ and Yugoslav women had a major role in shaping the magazine. The largest number of topics, political, educational, social or cultural, was related to the AFŽ work and experiences of Yugoslav women.

Through the research I always had in mind that AFŽ was established as part of the National Liberation Movement during the war and as such became part of it. This might be an element that is missing in Sklevicky's work even though she mentions it. Some women were part of the Communist Party before the war and a number of them joined the National Liberation Movement before AFŽ was established. Their activities, which were to a large extent related to the Communist Party, reach back into inter-war period and after 1945 those activities continued, but in a different surrounding. Women's activity in post-war Yugoslavia is not negligible. Women comprised around half of the Yugoslav population and AFŽ's work among women and children introduced current issues of the time. Raising of young generations and educating illiterates was the main work they performed from the time of war. They kept their old tasks and constantly added new ones which can be observed through the magazine content and reports about their work in different districts, cities and counties.

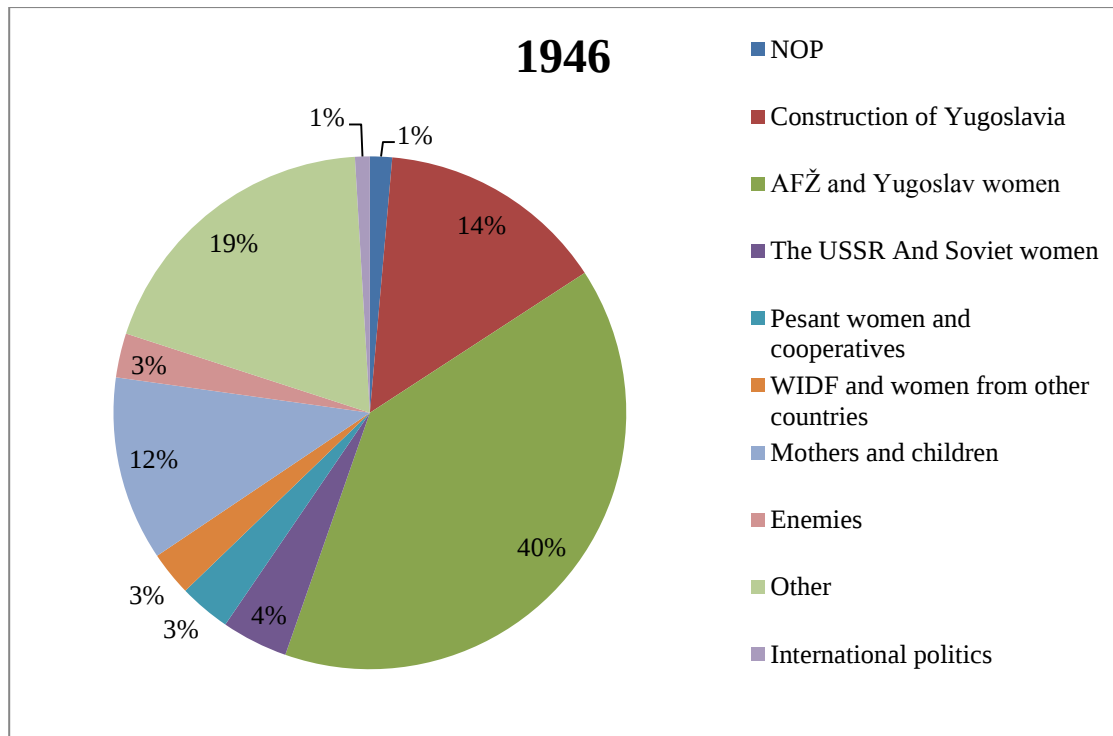
After the war the main task was to restore the country and Yugoslavia needed reconstruction from the ground up. AFŽ played a great role in the construction of the country by working among women and mobilizing them for different tasks, which were not necessarily related to work brigades, but were also related to women's education, involvement in the world of work, introducing them to their rights and creating active citizens. Along with these tasks AFŽ was present at the international level as well. The relationship between the AFŽ and the Women's International Democratic Federation shows that both organizations were influenced by political events. Observed documents confirmed my expectations that AFŽ activities were

present in the post-war period and that the control from above mostly depended on the political events. By including them in this research we can present a broader picture of the AFŽ's work and activities.

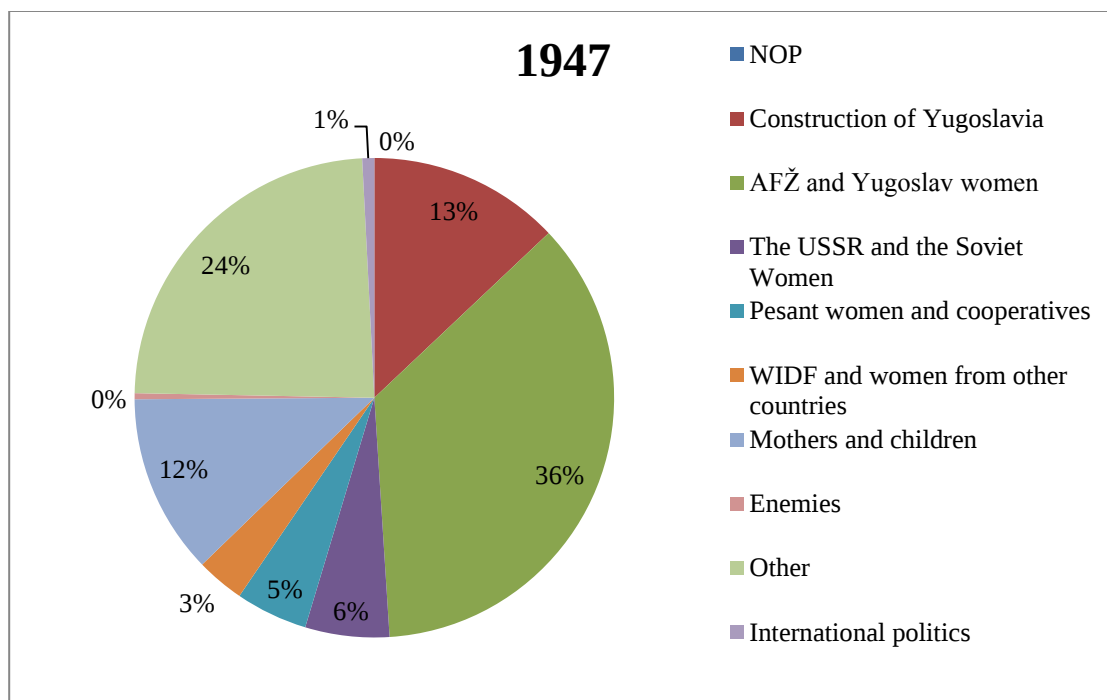
## APPENDIX 1



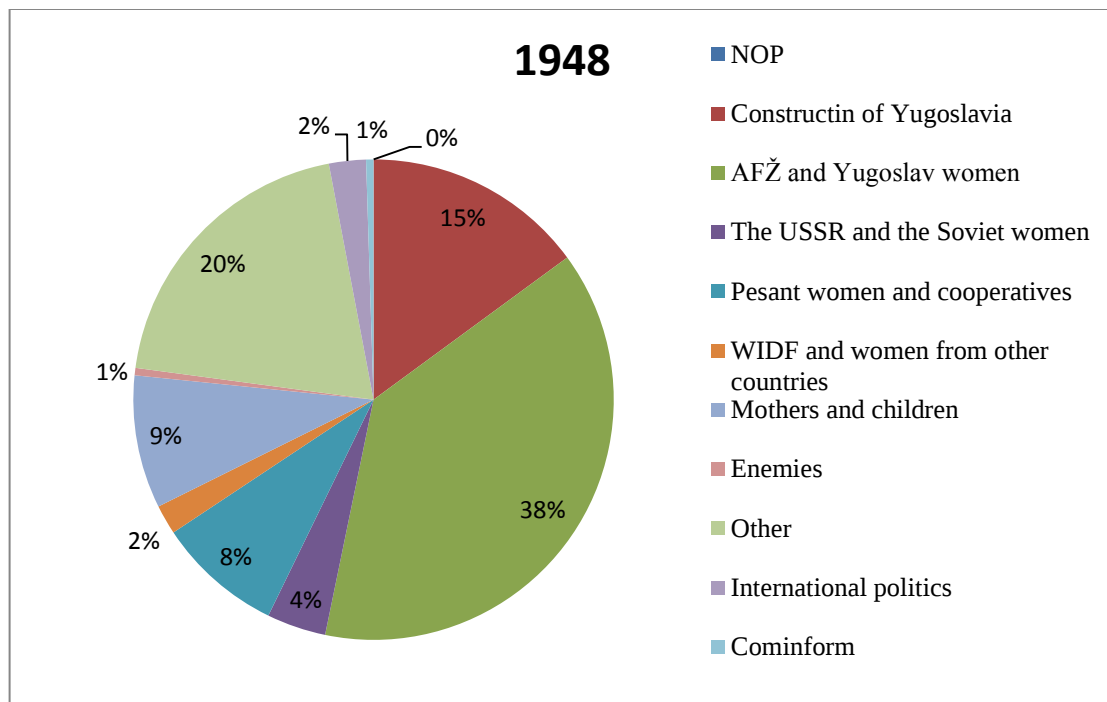
Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1945.



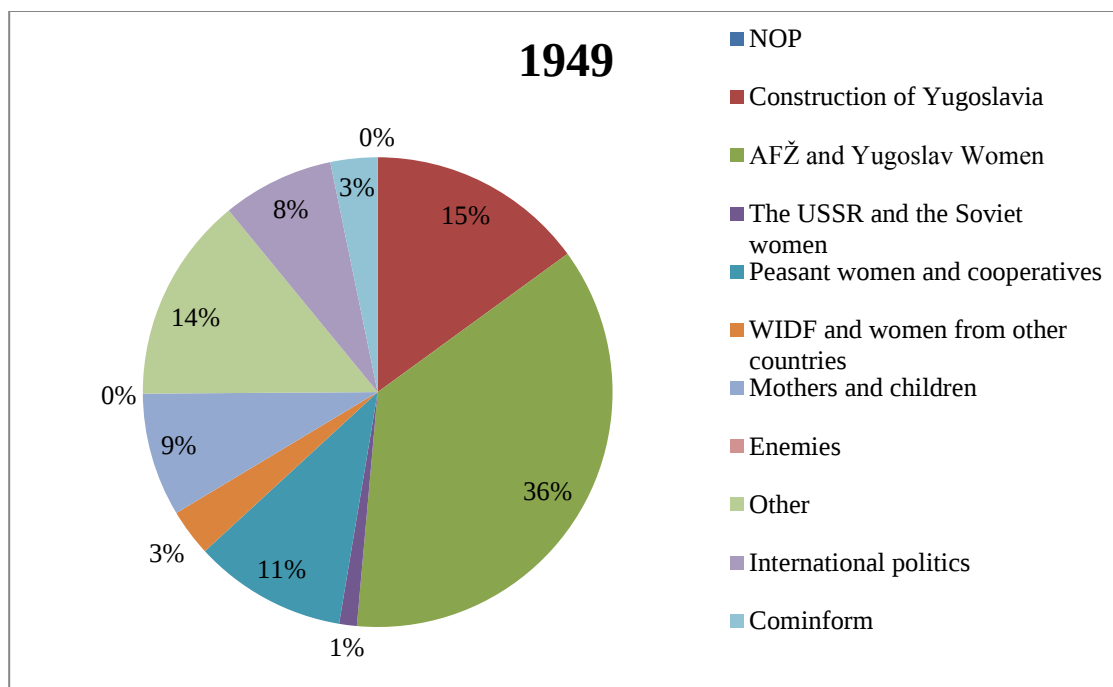
Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1946.



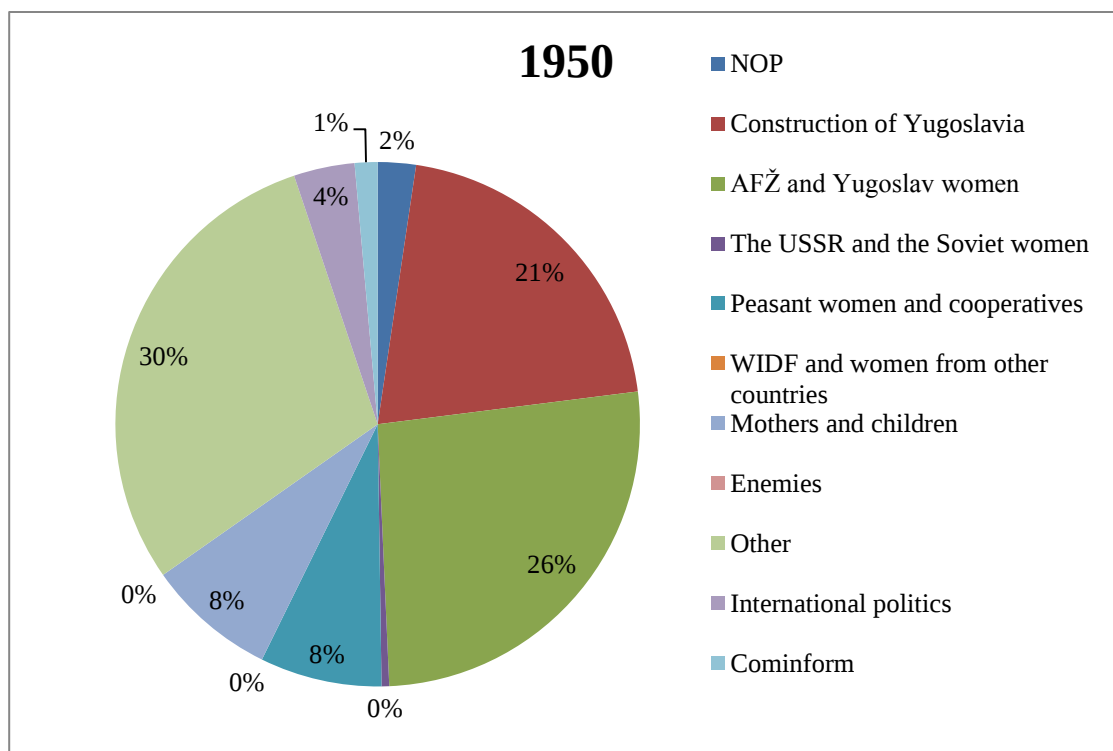
Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1947.



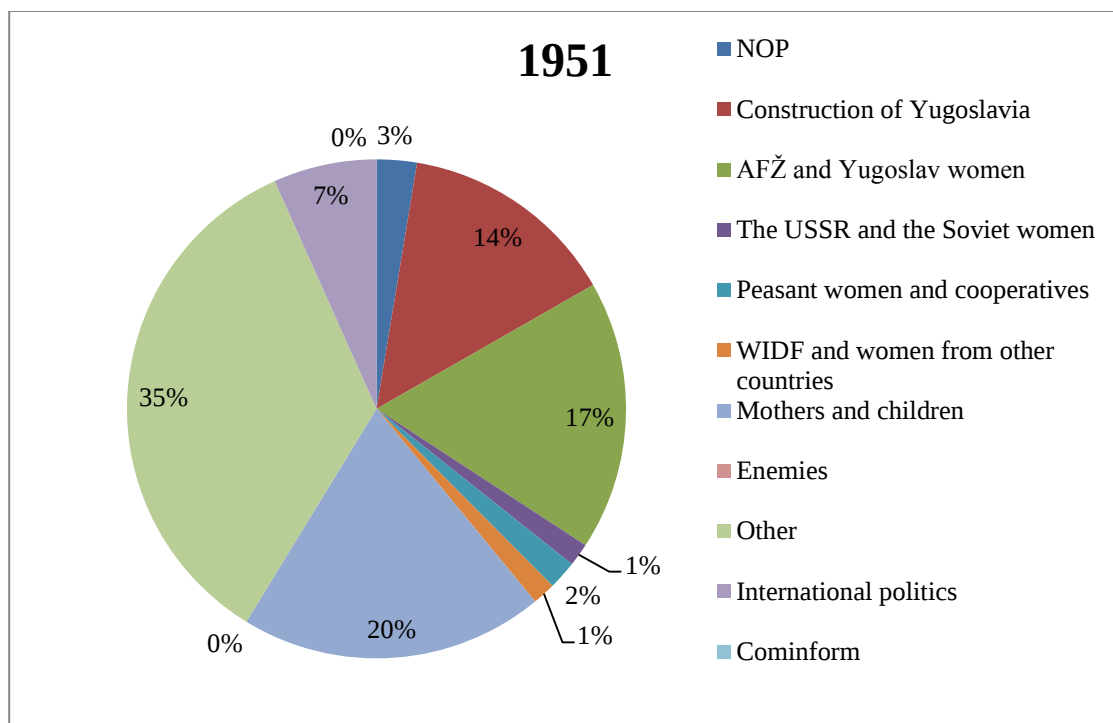
Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1948.



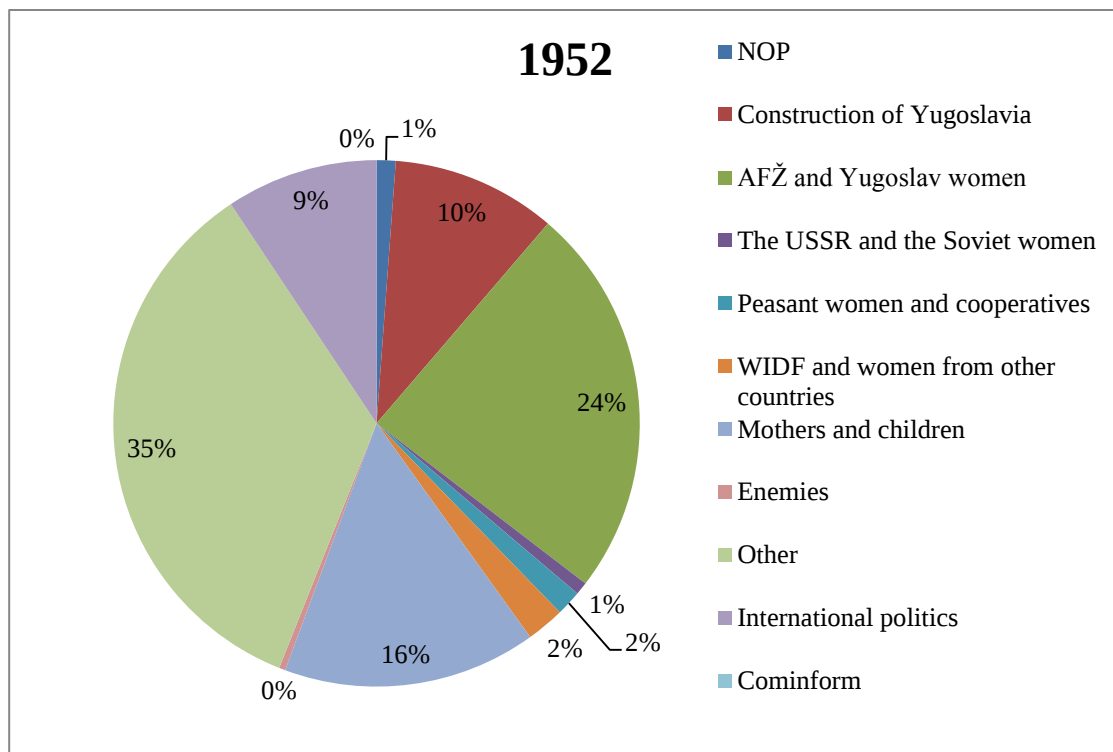
Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1949.



Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1950.



Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1951.



Topics represented in the magazine *Women in Struggle* in 1952.

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