

## Nachthexen: Soviet Female Pilots in WWII

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The Nazi invasion of Operation Barbarossa across the western border transformed Russian soil into a front row battlefield. Combat facilitated and ushered in a reluctant acceptance of women in military, based more upon practicality and necessity than for equality; every able-bodied Soviet was expected to fight to defend their motherland. The world witnessed how these loyal Soviet women served on the front lines and excelled in specialized duties that were formerly inaccessible. The famed all-female, Soviet Fighter Pilot Regiments exemplified this. The impact of modern warfare catalyzed changes in both the Soviet attitudes towards women and gender roles shaped by Communism.

In 1917, Russia was the first country to declare legal equality for women, which allowed them to enter military service. Women were inherently equal in both rights and responsibilities as a Russian citizen as social equality was a fundamental part of the Communist ideology. However, ideology was not always exhibited in practice. "Military service and, indeed, war with the exception of the more traditional female support roles were again considered outside the scope of women's affairs."<sup>1</sup> They were allowed to enlist as volunteers but were dissuaded from service despite universal military service laws of 1925 and 1939. In spite of this, one key mission by government led to progress in feminism.

Aviation was anticipated to be Russia's vital system for transportation in the future and the government formulated projects to prepare and train pilots, navigators, mechanics, and support crew. "Air transport was viewed as essential in such a vast and rugged country, and efforts were made to heighten public awareness and enthusiasm for aviation."<sup>2</sup> The grand government campaign increased public interest and awareness in aviation as a future strength for Russia and subsequently, there was increased interest in aviation related fields such as engineering, mechanics, geological surveying, and cartography. Young, female university students were a prime source for recruitment in these fields as well.

Approximately 400,000 women fought for the Red Army on the front lines of the 800,000 who volunteered for service during World War II. Combat training, including "instruction in mortars, light and heavy machine guns, or automatic rifles," was given to a third of the women and "another three hundred thousand served in the AA units and performed all functions in the batteries, including firing the guns."<sup>3</sup> Gender did not limit these women from gaining the necessary skills to function in combat.

At the time of the Great Patriotic War, women were expected to exemplify the maternal role by protecting and nurturing children and supporting their husbands or brothers who fought to defend Mother Russia against Nazi Germany. Every "Good Russian Woman" was also expected to strive to be a Good Communist, embodying "the self-sacrificing and courageous traits of a warrior, defending her country as she would her own child."<sup>4</sup>

The strong tide of nationalism that grew during the early years of World War II prompted many young Russian women to seek military service because they identified with the Communist ideology of patriotism. There was no question whether they, as women, should do anything, but rather a question asking what exactly they could do for their country. AA gunner K.S. Tikohonovich stated, "'We' and 'Motherland' meant the same thing for us" when prompted for the reason "why she had volunteered for such dangerous and 'unwomanly' work."<sup>5</sup>

Many used their service as a means to fulfill their pilot ambitions but some were equally propelled by more personal reasons for their service. Nadezhda "Nadya" Popova, a female pilot with the 588<sup>th</sup> Night Bombers Regiment, requested a position at the frontline to seek revenge for her brother's death. In addition, fighter ace, Lidiya Litvyak, hoped for family redemption by proving herself in air combat. In 1937, her father had been among the thousands imprisoned and killed for undisclosed reasons and Litvyak believed her efforts in combat could "erase his status as an enemy of the people."<sup>6</sup>

Patriotism is evident in a letter written by Ekaterina "Katya" Budanova to her sister Olechka where she revealed, "I am now devoting my entire life to the struggle against the vile Nazi creatures...I am not afraid to die but I don't want to die...If I am fated to perish, my death will cost the enemy dearly. My dear winged "Yak" is a good machine and our lives are inseparably bound up together; if the need arises, we shall both die like heroes."<sup>7</sup> Budanova was killed in action on July 19, 1943, in a skirmish with three Messerschmitts, but had already achieved fighter ace status with a reported six independent combat kills.

Organizations that provided flight training and combat skills of marksmanship, defense and chemical warfare were established through the military and other programs to prepare young Communists. The Osoaviakhim, the Society for Cooperation in Defense and Aviation-Chemical Development, was a paramilitary organization founded in 1927 to provide such training and, by 1935, had developed a network of over 150 air clubs to teach and train pilots.<sup>8</sup> Women interested in aviation sought training through this unique opportunity.

"Officially, young Soviet women were encouraged to participate in all facets of Osoaviakhim training. However, many women encountered obstacles when attempting to get into flight training."<sup>9</sup> Marina

Chechneva, later awarded with the Hero of the Soviet Union for her night bomber pilot service, was one of the many who faced such opposition. She recollected, "Aviation is not a woman's affair' they declared repeatedly, and tried in every way possible to dissuade young women from joining the air club."<sup>10</sup> Valentine Pavlovna Chuayeva sought military service to avenge her father's death: "I wanted to fight, to take revenge, to shoot."<sup>11</sup> Her request for a combat assignment was denied after she was advised that, "Telephone operator was the most vital work she could do."<sup>12</sup> These were common scenarios the young women faced when they inquired about service or special training and still, they persisted to seek opportunities to utilize and improve upon their skills. In response to the chauvinist remark, Chuayeva made her affront evident when "she retorted that telephone receivers did not shoot."<sup>13</sup>

Marina Raskova was one of the young women who pursued her ambitions of becoming a pilot. In childhood, she was an aspiring opera singer until an illness at the age of fifteen had set her on another path. Raskova studied chemistry, engineering, and navigation instead and became the first woman to earn a professional USSR air navigator diploma in 1934. She was an instructor at the N. Ye. Zhukovsky Air Force Engineering Academy in Moscow, where she initially faced discrimination from male military officers in the classroom. Her skill, intelligence, and performance as an instructor quickly changed the male students' opinions. Soon afterwards, the Academy sent her to flight instruction at the Central Flying Club in Moscow.<sup>14</sup> Raskova had obtained her pilot's license a year after passing the navigator's examination, and by 1935, she had taken her first independent flight.

By 1938, Raskova established several world records in long-distance non-stop flights. She was referred as the "Russian Amelia Earhart" for her piloting achievements, including a six thousand kilometer flight from Moscow to the Soviet Far East in the *Rodina*. Together with co-pilots Valentina Grizodubova and Paulina Osipenko, the flight from Moscow to the Sea of Okhotsk took twenty-six hours and twenty-nine minutes to complete in September 1938. The three Soviet female pilots were the first to be awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup> Undoubtedly, she was the inspiration and impetus for many other young women to pursue aviation during this time. By the end of the 1930s, Soviet female pilots accounted for nearly one-third of all the pilots trained in the USSR.<sup>16</sup>

When the Germans invaded in 1941, young aspiring ladies wrote letters to Raskova seeking her advice regarding how they could best use their flight skills to serve the country and more pointedly, "how they could get to the front, preferably in an air force unit."<sup>17</sup> Raskova used her personal connection with Stalin through her position on the People's Defense Committee to obtain approval for forming all-female aviation regiments. Reportedly, Stalin "seemed to have a general personal

interest in the women and their record-breaking flights" and was deeply interested in the young female pilots for their "tremendous international propaganda value."<sup>18</sup> In October 1941, Raskova was granted authority to select candidates for her 122<sup>nd</sup> Composite Air Group. This selection would later be reorganized into the 586<sup>th</sup> Fighter Aviation Regiment, the 587<sup>th</sup> Day Bomber Aviation Regiment, and the 588<sup>th</sup> Night Bomber Aviation Regiment.<sup>19</sup>

Candidates were divided into four categories based on their skills and background: pilots, navigators, mechanics and armorers. Many candidates had been trained through Osoaviakhim prior to the start of war and many were university students with technical knowledge and skills. Candidates for either fighter or bomber pilot positions were required to have a minimum 500 hours of flight time training, which was a high standard for competition. The 122<sup>nd</sup> pilots were put through nearly three years of intensive flight training that was condensed into a program lasting only several months.<sup>20</sup> Training was typically "ten courses a day plus two hours of drill" while navigators additionally studied Morse Code and thus, enjoyed extended schedules, "rising earlier than the other students, who slept on average five or six hours a night."<sup>21</sup> Raskova was intent on training superb, highly skilled pilots and often utilized surprise nighttime drills to prepare these young women for front line conditions.

Pilots in the 588<sup>th</sup> Regiment were tasked with night missions to bring chaos to German troops on the front lines, "an average of fifteen times a night."<sup>22</sup> They flew unwieldy wood-and-canvas Polikarpov U-2 biplanes, designated the Po-2, which were not combat planes. The Po-2s were training aircraft equipped with bomb racks, a light machine gun in the rear cockpit, and noise and flare mufflers for stealth.<sup>23</sup> Outfitted "with up to three hundred kilos of bombs strapped to their wings," the Po-2s were successful at "bombing railways, bridges, supply depots and troop positions that were most heavily fortified with anti-aircraft guns."<sup>24</sup>

The aim was to maintain a state of chaos by flying at targets in regular intervals, interrupting or forbidding the Nazis sleep, keeping the troops on constant alert and therefore, additional stress. Po-2s would travel in pairs, one approaching the target to attract attention as a decoy, and the other, under stealth, to drop the bombs. The pilots would descend from high altitude, "throttle back the engine to idle, fly in over the target soundlessly, and drop the bombs almost before the enemy was aware of their presence."<sup>25</sup> The ladies took pride in their relentless harassment bombing missions. Nadezhda Popova recalled popular rumors telling of chemical injections that gave them supernatural powers and skills, adding to the mystique of the female pilots. These women were referred to as *Nachthexen*, "Night Witches," a decidedly mild moniker bestowed on them by German troops that indicated the endearment extended to the nocturnal bombers.

Raskova was well-respected by her military peers and those pilots she trained. She was a skillful pilot and driven leader but was more admired for her kindheartedness, sense of humor, and sensitivity. She was the inspiration to many young Russian women: an attractive, young, talented woman who piloted a plane and fought for Mother Russia. She was given command of the 587<sup>th</sup> Day Bomber Regiment and was ready to lead her trainees and assess their skills in combat. Valentina Kravchenko, a 587<sup>th</sup> navigator, remembered, "When we were in training we would sit in our dug-out around the stove and she [Raskova] would sing to us."<sup>26</sup>

The women dealt with conflicting feelings themselves, having been trained as pilots with skills in combat. They were excited and anxious to test their flying skills and prove themselves in combat but also experienced difficulty in adjusting to the role in warfare. Mariya Dolina, pilot with the 587<sup>th</sup> Regiment, revealed her inner conflict: "I wanted to help liberate my people from the enemy. It was the cherished dream of the girls to liberate the land, but none of us wanted to fight, to kill."<sup>27</sup> Dolina flew 2,800 hours and made approximately 200 combat missions during the course of the war.<sup>28</sup>

Nadezhda Popova was a bomber pilot in the 588<sup>th</sup> Night Witches regiment. Her first combat mission was over the front line in the Ukraine. She recollected, "It seemed that it was an abyss of darkness, pitch black... and when I got up in the air, I could see the front line marked by green, red, and white tracer lights, where skirmishes continued throughout the night."<sup>29</sup> The pilots were trained to look for projector lights as they were used to flying blind in total darkness. A plane in front of her was suddenly illuminated and she witnessed its fatal descent. "I flew toward the enemy lines, thinking I must help my friends. Irrational thoughts...I knew they were dead. We dropped the bombs on the dots of light below. They shot at us and I circled round and flew back towards the base...I was ordered to fly another mission immediately. It was the best thing to keep me from thinking about it."<sup>30</sup>

As was commonplace amongst the women pilots, they focused on work and their mission to keep their attentions off death. It became habitual to complete dozens of successive flights each night. Popova recalled "I remember some nights I would fly eight or ten missions, and when we were fighting in Poland, I made eighteen combat missions in one long winter night. I stayed in the cockpit almost all the time, and I would have some tea while the aircraft was being reloaded."<sup>31</sup>

The women were conscious of the tacit need to prove themselves constantly to the men, as pilots, and to Russia, as patriots, and "the women were acutely aware that they had to meet or even surpass the standards set by male aviators" who scrutinized their skills and they were constantly being judged and tested."<sup>32</sup> This fueled their drive to always be prepared and continually hone their combat flight skills but it also added to the stresses of identity.

There was a double-standard assessment of the women as soldiers using the same skills and training and performing the same jobs as the males. The dual identities of woman and fighter and the expectations of both roles brought conflict. Often, the "men were repulsed by women who behaved in a tough or cruel way, even when they did the same themselves" and yet there remained an expectation that their duties were well executed.<sup>33</sup> A young female who volunteered her service for the firing squad to execute deserters was the recipient of alienation from the males in her mixed unit who refused to speak to her. The estrangement was an added emotional burden to the expected trauma of battle. Later, she faced insensitivity during post-war psychiatric treatment, when "she was told to get married and have 'lots of children' to restore her soul."<sup>34</sup>

Paranoia regarding co-mingling and fraternization was rampant amongst those who did not truly support the Communist policy of women in the military. The young women were aware of this pleasurable distraction from war and death and destruction and perhaps some were incited to innocent flirtation as a method of coping. Nadya Popova revealed, "We always tried to look good. We wore a little make-up even if it was forbidden. You only have your youth once. Ours came during the war, but still, we were not going to miss it."<sup>35</sup>

The battlefield was a space for females to work alongside males as colleagues and comrades defending their homeland, but perpetually mixed gender interactions also generated a unique social environment where societal norms were blurred. One female soldier divulged that on the front lines, battle-fatigued and starving, going days or weeks without bathing, "the conditions were hardly conducive to sex anyway...It seems impossible to think of a million women with the front-line troops, without a great deal of sex going on. But then we weren't like that. We were just trying to survive."<sup>36</sup>

As the women exhibited their skills and proved themselves in battle and fought alongside the men, the do-or-die instinct became second nature, a necessary state of mind. Gender became an irrelevant label or definition because survival and defense were their only goals. Unsurprisingly, close friendships established under these conditions were common and "there were strong friendships between us all. All these feelings were tested in extreme conditions because at any moment you could be killed."<sup>37</sup> Anna Kirilina, an armament mechanic with the 125<sup>th</sup> Guards Bomber Regiment, described it best when she revealed:

"Wartime is wartime, and war is not a labor for women. We didn't even feel what was happening because we were so physically overstrained. But the war made us not friends, but relatives. It made us sisters, dear, dear creatures to each other...For the four years of war, we all went through and

experienced so much that sometimes it seems impossible for a human creature to know it in her whole lifetime."<sup>38</sup>

The impact of serving alongside men provided one woman with a unique glimpse of another side of masculinity that would she would possibly never witness under normal societal interaction.

One woman recalled a unique glimpse of another side of masculinity in her male colleagues, one that she would never have witnessed had it not been for their camaraderie borne on the battlefield. She shared:

"I gained a new respect for men, soldiers, born not out of idolatry from afar, but out of sharing this with them, exposed to their weaknesses, seeing how they coped and showed more human sides. They cried, they were frightened, they were upset about killing. It was important for me to experience that, alongside them, as their companions...That left a great impression on me."<sup>39</sup>

The pilots considered their missions to be vital operations for the defense of Mother Russia and were driven to protect their comrades. Popova stated, "I don't think you can separate men from women in this situation. War does not spare anyone, it doesn't distinguish between the sexes or the young from the old"<sup>40</sup> The difficult acceptance of the brutality of warring allowed the women to concentrate on the tasks at hand. Once the initial shock of battle passed, there was an emotional adaptation to combat as "a who-will-win situation. They were destroying us and we were destroying them. There was no choice involved. That is the logic of war: it is life or death, victory or be vanquished."<sup>41</sup>

These women faced great change during demobilization at the end of the Great Patriotic War in May 1945. They had acquired knowledge and skills through new opportunities created by the necessity for a labor force that would allow the functioning of the military. They had challenged gender definitions and social skepticism through the completion of basic training. In combat, they had honed their newly acquired skills and performed their duties in excellence, and then were demobilized rapidly and discharged from service. "Subsequently banned from service academies, which were virtually the only way to become a military pilot and/or officer in the USSR," these women were discouraged from continuing their military careers or seeking employment in related positions.<sup>42</sup>

The primary goal was to rebuild Russia and the women were a labor source essential to the civilian workforce. The women were encouraged to return to their homes and start families and return to the workforce because they were no longer needed as soldiers and pilots. The war brought destruction to the country and "while the Soviet government emphasized that women were 'first and foremost wives and mothers,' they were

also workers, and in late 1945, women constituted 63 percent of the workforce in Moscow."<sup>43</sup> The same early-war emphasis on women as nurturers, the ties to the Mother Russia identity of self-sacrifice for the family, was publicly promoted.

A common dilemma for these women grew out of the social pressures of deciding to place more importance on the family instead of an aviation or military career. The issue of rebuilding the nation was vital and every citizen had a duty and task to ensure the goal was successfully met. "Any image of the new Soviet women as military officer and pilot that resulted from wartime experience was far outweighed by the overwhelming official emphasis on the Soviet woman as mother, wife and builder of society" that essentially, the efforts, sacrifices, and achievements of these women were disappeared from history.<sup>44</sup> There were some women who felt it was no longer necessary to continue in their combat positions during peacetime; "Performance...was not the issue, but practicality."<sup>45</sup>

Irina Rakobolskaya, pilot with the 588<sup>th</sup> Regiment, rationalized the difficult reality and challenges she faced to pursue both a family and piloting career when she stated, "I think that during the war, when the fate of our country was being decided, the bringing in of women into aviation was justified. But in peacetime a woman can only fly for sport...otherwise how can one combine a career with a family and with maternal happiness?"<sup>46</sup>

These women pilots were young and most considered returning to their pre-war occupations if aviation was not an option. Many of them were attending university when the war began and consequently, they returned to finish their education. Some of the women who did attempt to pursue aviation after the war found they were unable to fly because of injuries or from the effects of combat. Poor living conditions on the battlefield such as malnutrition, exhaustion, and emotional trauma contributed to poor physical and mental health, and "had taken a heavy toll...many of them, who hoped to fly in civil aviation, failed the medical examination."<sup>47</sup>

Post-war life was difficult for some of those female pilots who had wed military husbands. Although it was expected for the women to defer to their husband's career ambitions and transition to domestic life, the social hypocrisy was frustrating and hard to accept.

Other pilots were fortunate to be able to continue their aviation careers despite the opposition they faced. Upon arrival at Zhukovsky Military Aviation Academy, Ekaterina Riabova, was instructed by her commanding officer, "you have already proved what Soviet women are capable of when their help is essential. But the conditions of study in a military academy take a heavy toll on the female body. You lost a lot of strength and health in the war. We must protect you. Enroll to study in a civilian university instead."<sup>48</sup> Despite the dissuasion from entering "the off-limits male territory of the aviation academy," Riabova completed her undergraduate

studies, enrolled in graduate school, started her family and attended speaking engagements in Europe and Asia in the two years after the war.<sup>49</sup>

Women who volunteered for military service comprised eight percent of all combatants and their performance in battle proved that gender did not account for skills. Nearly 150,000 were decorated for their accomplishments and 91 of these Russian women were recipients of the highest award for valor, the Hero of the Soviet Union medal.<sup>50</sup> Of the one thousand who made up the all-female Fighter Pilot Regiments, more than 30 were awarded for their bravery with the Hero of the Soviet Union medals. At least 50 of these women were killed in action and two regiments received "Guards" distinctions.<sup>51</sup>

Marina Raskova died on January 4, 1943, while en route to the front at Stalingrad through a heavy snowstorm. She piloted a Pe-2 dive-bomber aircraft, flying in formation with two others. All four crewmembers of Raskova's plane were killed when the formation crashed near the Volga River. Raskova never lead her regiment in combat. Raskova was posthumously awarded the Order of the Patriotic war, First Class, and her remains were interred in the Kremlin wall.<sup>52</sup>

Upon Raskova's death, 587<sup>th</sup> Regiment command was handed over to Lieutenant-colonel Valentin Markov. Initially apprehensive of taking leadership over the all-female unit, Markov was unsure what to expect between himself and the unit. He decided, "to be a just, strict, and demanding commander, irrespective of the fact that all these personnel were female" and soon realized there were no differences in skills of the regiments due to gender.<sup>53</sup> Excellence in performance was due to their training and devotion to duty. Markov remarked, "They respected the truth and fair treatment towards them. They never whimpered and never complained and were very courageous...to some extent at the end of the war it was easier for me to command this female regiment."<sup>54</sup>

The 587<sup>th</sup> was awarded elite "Guards" status. Its regimental title was changed to the 125<sup>th</sup> Guards Bomber Regiment and they were named in honor of Marina Raskova. Even in death, Raskova remained a powerful leader and inspiration to the pilots and crew she trained. Her lessons and advice remained integral to the pilots, navigators, and technicians whom she trained and led. Many pilots carried her photograph in a pocket of their flight suits, a memento and token of good luck. Navigator Galina Brok-Beltsova said, "We all called ourselves, 'Raskovi,' belonging to Raskova. She was brave, and so we were brave."<sup>55</sup> Her efforts to promote aviation and opportunity for Russian women remain her legacy to present day.

Russians of every class were involved in the defense of Soviet soil from Nazi invaders. Communist ideology was likely much of the reason for this strong defense but it clearly was a more basic need to defend the collective "home" from outsiders who were only intent on raiding and destroying everything in sight.

The necessity for troops permitted Communist social equality to be practiced and the women fighter pilots, the *Nachthexen*, were the product of this unique, yet unfortunate, circumstance. In combat, their exceptional performance was proof to their nation that given the opportunity, the women could transcend the limits of their stereotypes.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 5.
- <sup>2</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 5.
- <sup>3</sup>D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.
- <sup>4</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.
- <sup>5</sup>D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.
- <sup>6</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.
- <sup>7</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.
- <sup>8</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 6.
- <sup>9</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.
- <sup>10</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 21.
- <sup>11</sup>D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318
- <sup>12</sup>D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.
- <sup>13</sup>D'Ann Campbell. "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1993), 318.

- <sup>14</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 16.
- <sup>15</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 6.
- <sup>16</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.
- <sup>17</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.
- <sup>18</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.
- <sup>19</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 23.
- <sup>20</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 7.
- <sup>21</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 24.
- <sup>22</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 143.
- <sup>23</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 18.
- <sup>24</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 143.
- <sup>25</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 19.
- <sup>26</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.
- <sup>27</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.
- <sup>28</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 20.
- <sup>29</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 27.
- <sup>30</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 27.
- <sup>31</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 19.
- <sup>32</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 25.
- <sup>33</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.
- <sup>34</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.
- <sup>35</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 145.
- <sup>36</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 145.
- <sup>37</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 146.
- <sup>38</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 124.
- <sup>39</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 146.
- <sup>40</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.
- <sup>41</sup>Shelley Saywell. *Women in War*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), 149.
- <sup>42</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 70.
- <sup>43</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 72.
- <sup>44</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.
- <sup>45</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.
- <sup>46</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 73.
- <sup>47</sup>Anne Noggle. *A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 124.
- <sup>48</sup>Amy G. Strebe. *Flying for her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 34.
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