

Degree Project

Bachelor of Arts

War, peace and the women's voice

A study of the newspaper Tidevarvet and its view on women's rights and the peace during the interwar period

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Subject/main field of study: History
Course code: RK2037
Credits: 15hp
Date of examination: 4th June 2020

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Abstract:

The purpose of this essay is to study articles from the newspaper *Tidevarvet* during the newspapers first years 1923-1924, and the newspapers last year, 1936. The main focus will be on the topics about women's right and the peace issue.

The main research questions are the following: What is Tidevarvets opinions on the topics of peace and the women's issue? Did these opinions change from the newspapers start in 1923 to it's final year in 1936? Can their opinions somehow be reflected in the modern convention about human rights?

The method that is used is a qualitative content analysis. Some of the articles in todays convention of human rights can be seen in the newspaper.

Tidevarvet were a production of it's time, were the topics of the time dominated the discussion. The suffragette movement was a big subject in the newspapers first years, when the women just two years before had ben given the right to vote. But when the war in Europe was approaching in the newspapers later years, the issues of peace became more dominant.

Keywords:

Human rights, League of Nations, Interwar Period, Tidevarvet, Fogelstadsgruppen, The suffragette movement

A special thanks to Niklas and Anja.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
Purpose and research questions:	6
Background:.....	7
Human rights in the world – League of Nations and the United Nations:.....	7
The female civic school at Fogelstad:.....	8
Tidevarvet:	9
Previous research:	11
Method:.....	13
The material:	14
Criticism of the method:	15
Research:.....	15
1923-1924:.....	16
Women’s issues:	16
The peace:	21
Conclusions of the first year:	26
1936:	27
Women’s issues:	27
The peace:	29
Conclusion on the last year:.....	33
Discussion:.....	34
References:.....	39
Printed works:	39
Internet sources:.....	41

Introduction

It's started as a weekly political newspaper and its edited by female forces. Tidevarvet wants to be a meeting place, an arena where men and women fight equally. Tidevarvet believes that everything concerns women and that their options concerns everyone, which should be shown, since they now have received citizenship. ¹

Today, human rights are a big part of laws all over the world, but how did the world look before the formation of the United Nations?

Before the United Nations, there was instead the League of Nations. The league of nation was founded in a time when the world just had faced one of the biggest wars known to mankind. The conventions that come before the great war, like the Geneva convention, talked more about how to fare a just war and not how to treat the people. The human rights as seen in the Untied Nations is a fairly late invention, compared to the history of mankind.

In the universal declaration of human rights, article 21 says that everyone has the right to democracy, that everyone has the right to vote in their country, and that every adult is allowed to choose their own leaders. ²

In Sweden, women weren't allowed to vote until 1921. Not until then could women be seen as full-fledged citizens of society. 1921 gave the women more rights and responsibility. How did this affect them? What was their next step?

This thesis will study the newspaper called *Tidevarvet*³ that was founded 1923 by a group of women called *Fogelstadsgruppen*⁴. Fogelstadsgruppen were a group of women who created the female civic school at Fogelstad. Some of these women were the first women in the Swedish government, others were doctors, teachers and advocates.

Tidevarvet was a paper created by women for women. It was concentrated on topics that the editor's thought was necessary for women, like politics and

¹ Tidevarvet number 1, 1923. Translated by the author of the essay.

² <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/>

³ Tidevarvet can be translated to "The era" or "The age"

⁴ Fogelstadsgruppen can be translated to "The Fogelstad group"

feminism. The newspaper started two years after women in Sweden got their right to vote, and therefore it's most interesting to see what their thought was on women's issues.

Even if they did not know it back then, the newspaper was written in a time we today call the interwar period. This marks the period between the first and second world war, and the topic of war and peace will be central in the newspaper. It's also interesting to see how the women thought about the war, their standing point was in regards to the Versailles peace treaty, the civil war in Spain and the idea of European post-war disarmament.

Purpose and research questions:

The purpose of this thesis is to study articles from the newspaper Tidevarvet during the newspapers first years 1923 and 1924, and the last year 1936. The main focus will be on the topics about women's right and the peace issue. How much did the newspaper write about these two issues? Is there any difference in how much space these issues are given in 1923 versus 1936? The reason to study the first year and the last, is to see if the newspapers content somehow changes during the 13 years it was active. The main research questions are the following:

- What was Tidevarvets opinions on the topics of peace and the women's issue?
- Did these opinions change from the newspapers start in 1923 to its final year in 1936?
- Can their opinions be reflected in the modern convention about human rights?

Background:

Human rights in the world – League of Nations and the United Nations:

The idea of a global organization that would defend the human rights arose after the first world war, when more and more voices were raised about the impact of war on both countries and people. The dream was to build a democratic and peaceful Europe that safeguarded human rights. The League of Nations was formed on the 10:th of January 1920, as an aftermath of the world war and the Versailles peace treaty.⁵

The central idea in the League of Nations was that war is a crime, not only against those who had been affected by it, but against humanity itself. The initiator to the League of Nations was US President Woodrow Wilson. He wanted to pursue foreign policy for peacekeeping purposes. The main thought was that League of Nations would prevent more wars from arising. Many international issues were raised in the league, including minority rights and labour laws.

The decisive body in the League of Nations was the League of Covenants, in which all members were represented. In the League of Nations, all decisions would be unanimous and no right of veto existed, unlike today's United Nations. The greatest power lay in the Council of the Nations, where every country took turns to be on the council. Some of the countries were permanent members in the council, namely the winners of the great war: Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The council worked primarily to ensure world peace and to act as mediators in conflicts. A court was also upheld, as a model for the international court that we can see today in Hague.⁶

In practice however, the League of Nations was never as strong as they had anticipated and hoped for, since the world's great powers were not members at the same time. The United States, despite being the initiator, never joined the League of Nations and Germany left the organization in 1933 when Hitler came to power. Since the League of Nations never could force its members to intervene in conflicts, it never became the peace agency the world had hoped for. The economic collapse in Europe in the 1930s also had a negative impact on the

⁵ Eskilsson, 1991, p.102. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations/The-Covenant>, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.htm>

⁶ Ibid.

League of Nations. After the second world war, the League of Nations was dissolved and instead gave way for a new association that gave us the human rights: The United Nations.⁷

In 1948 the declaration of human rights was founded. In the past, rights had focused primarily on the states and the countries, and this was the first time it was actually aimed at the individual. Today, the UN has seven conventions on human rights and those who are members must report to the United Nations on a regular basis. The Declaration of human right defines the human rights and was developed by the Human Rights commission under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt. It expresses the commitment of the member states to work for human rights, justice and equality around the world. The declaration consists of 30 articles addressing human rights, and essentially states that every human is entitled to these absolute rights, without any distinction of any kind. Every human has the right to be treated equally regardless of origin, gender, language or religion. It's about human dignity and how human dignity can be protected. Being born free and that every human being has the same value.⁸

The female civic school at Fogelstad:

The newspaper Tidevarvet was founded by the same women who founded the female civic school Fogelstad. Both the female civic school and Tidevarvet emerged from the new issues that arose with female suffrage. How should the women's experiences be used and highlighted? What were the common goals for women?⁹

The school started in the year 1921, but had its first official course in 1925. The founders were Honorie Hermelin, Kerstin Hesselgren, Ada Nilsson, Elisabeth Tamm and Elin Wägner.¹⁰ These women all had their political base in the association of liberated women.¹¹

⁷ . <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations/The-Covenant>,
<https://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.htm>

⁸ <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/>

⁹ Eskilsson, 1991, p.56., Knutson 2005, p.31.

¹⁰ Eskilsson, 1991, p.29.

¹¹ Eskilsson, 1991, p.71.

The most important concept for Fogelstadsgruppen was the personage and the individual.¹² The society and the individual were bound to each other and formed each other, was the basic ideology. Society affects the individuals, and in order for the individuals to become suited to create a good society, the population's condition must be improved.¹³

Fogelstadskvinnornas vision was to get women to use their right to vote to promote the choice of the free people. They didn't want to define themselves in any political party when it came to the question about developing the society.¹⁴

The person in charge of the school was Elisabeth Tamm, who had long thought about starting a civic school for women. This school would be for women from all different walks of life and be politically and religiously unbound. The school would provide aid for women to enter this new world that previously had been reserved for the men. With the help of Fogelstadsskolan, women could contribute to a civic influence.¹⁵

Honorine Hermelin became headmaster, and the first course was held in 1922, even if the school itself wasn't fully consecrated until 1925.¹⁶ The goal was to make women independent and responsible citizens by gathering women from different fields of work and areas of life. It wanted to "Seek the connection between the hand, the brain and the work of the heart, between the world inside the home and the society, between the individual and the group." A lot of focus in the school was on history, oral presentation, social science, ethics, philosophy and cultural history.¹⁷

Tidevarvet:

It was from this civic school that Tidevarvet was born. The newspaper's first issue was published on November 24, 1923. It came out once a week, and a subscription costed 6 Swedish kronas per full year or 50 Swedish pennies for a month. The

¹² Eskilsson, 1991, p. 202., Levin 1997, p. 27.

¹³ Levin, 2003, p. 149.

¹⁴ Eskilsson, 1991, p. 207.

¹⁵ Knutson, 2005, p. 31.

¹⁶ Eskilsson, 1991, p.11-29., Knutson 2005, p.141.

¹⁷ Knutson, 2005, p. 141.

number of subscribers was around 3000. In Stockholm you could also buy the magazine in upwards of 80 locations, such as cigar shops and newspaper offices.¹⁸

It was a radical political newspaper, edited and read mainly by women. The content was focused on things that had to do with women's lives, activities, history and future. The articles that was about political issues, both nationally and internationally were often written from a female perspective. Newspapers targeting women had existed before, but these were more oriented towards housewives or women who were politically bound to a party. The larger newspapers also had a women's page, where they wrote about food, fashion and family life.¹⁹

In Tidevarvet, the most important issues were about the peace, farming, people, school and women's issues.²⁰ The responsible publisher became Ada Nilsson, a well-known lecturer about sexual education who preached maternal care and contraception.²¹ The first editor was Ellen Hagen, but she would later be replaced by Elin Wägner between 1925 to 1927. She was in turn replaced by Carin Hermelin.²²

Permanent employees from the start was the Lawyer Eva Andrén, theologian Emilia Fogelklou, the literary critic Klara Johansson, but also Kerstin Hesselgren, Frida Steenhoff, and Elisabeth Tamm.²³

Initially, the strongest impressions came from Norway and England, but even Germany was seen as a good example of maternity pay and financial maternal aid. However, after the Nazi success in Germany Tidevarvet distanced itself from the nation.²⁴

The magazine's last issue was released in 1936, when the internal conflicts and the and economy hit the rock bottom.²⁵ The closure of the paper was discussed already in 1932, but the newspaper would continue with economic donations from mainly Elisaberth Tamm.²⁶ Elisaberth Tamm, Kerstin Hesselgren, Honorine Hermelin, Ada Nilsson, Eva Andrén and Ellen Hagen had all donated money to the

¹⁸ Eskilsson, 1991, p.111., Knutson 2005, p.238.

¹⁹ Eskilsson, 1991, p. 118.

²⁰ Eskilsson, 1991, p. 33 & 112.

²¹ Knutson, 2005, p. 32.

²² Eskilsson, 1991, p. 111., Levin 1997, p. 26.

²³ Levin 1997, p. 26.

²⁴ Levin 1997, p. 34-35.

²⁵ Eskilsson, 1991, p.112-113., Knutson 2005, p.257.

²⁶ Levin 2003, p. 154.

company that gave out the newspaper, but it was mainly Elisabeth Tamm and Ada Nilsson who had funded most of the newspaper, and the latter's economy was heavily afflicted at this time. Tamm was severely ill, and the staff that edited the newspaper was tired of publishing and the work.²⁷

Previous research:

There's a lot of previous research on the civic school at Fogelstad, Fogelstadsgruppen and Tidevarvet. However, most of the previously works is focused on the civic school or Fogelstadsgruppen itself. Tidevarvet is often included in these works, but often as subcategories or occasional chapters in books. All these three subjects are in many ways intertwined, and many theses have been written on the subjects in subjects as pedagogy, literature and political science.

Lena Eskilssons doctoral thesis *Drömmen om kamratsamhället*²⁸, which also serves as a reference for this work, addresses the civic school as the main subject. Her thesis is about the school's ideology and political programs and this is reflected in the era when the school was active.

The anthology *Kvinnorna skall göra det! Den kvinnliga medborgarskolan på Fogelstad - som ide, text och historia*²⁹ contains scientific articles about Fogelstad and Fogelstadsgruppen. These articles are written by Hjärdis Levin, Gunilla Domellöf and Irene Andersson.

Berit Lindberg has in her thesis *Kvinnor – vakna, våga! En studie kring pedagogen och samhällsvisionären Honorine Hermelin Grönbech*³⁰ made a study about the headmaster of the civic school, Honorine Hermelin.

Katarina Leppänen has written *Rethinking civilisation in e European feminist context – History, nature, women in Elin Wägner's Väckarklocka*³¹, where she studies Elin Wägner's work "Väckarklocka" from three different perspectives.

²⁷ Levin 1997, p. 29., Levin 2003, p. 153-145 & 333.

²⁸ Eskilsson, 1991

²⁹ Witt-Brattström & Lennerhed, 2003.

³⁰ Lindberg, 2000.

³¹ Leppänen, 2005.

Elin Wägner also appears in Bibi Jonsson's thesis *I den värld vi drömmer om – utopin i Elin Wägners trettiotalromaner*³², where she looks at the ideas of the school and how their visions were dealt with in Wägner's books.

Gunilla Domellöf has also done her research based on Wägner in her thesis *Mätt med främmande mått, ideanalyser av kvinnliga författarens samtidsmottagande och romaner 1930–35*.³³

In the thesis *Elin Wägner i 1920-talet: Rörelseintellektuell och internationalist*³⁴, explores Birgitta Wistrand Elin Wägners world of ideas through her journalism and authorship.

Inger Ekbohm writes in *Den kvinnliga fredstanken. Fredrika Bremer och andra i kamp för fred*³⁵ about how Fredrika Bremer's ideas for peace existed both in Tidevarvet and in the civic school itself.

Even Irene Andersson's doctoral thesis in history, *Kvinnor mot krig. Aktioner och nätverk för fred 1914-1940*³⁶ has Fogelstadsgruppens fight against war as a theme.

In her book *Kvinnor på gränsen till genombrott*³⁷ Ulrika Knutsson writes about the life of the women at Fogelstad and looks at what was their most important issues.

A thesis that refer to Fogelstadsgruppen, but doesn't have it as its main subject, is Kerstin Engman's doctoral thesis about Moa Martinsson.³⁸ This thesis gives a bigger picture how Moa Martinssons writing was inspired by Fogelstadsgruppen and Tidevarvet.

In *Kvinnorna på barrikaden, sexualpolitik och sociala frågor 1923-1936*³⁹ by Hjärdis Levin, Levin talks about the great social involvement of the post war era and about its sexual issues. Levin has also written *En radikal herrgårdsfröken – Elisabeth Tamm på Fogelstad, liv och verk*⁴⁰, a book about Elisabeth Tamm and her life.

³² Jonsson, 2011.

³³ Domellöf, 2001.

³⁴ Wistrand, 2006.

³⁵ Ekbohm, 1991.

³⁶ Anderson, 1999.

³⁷ Knutson, 2005.

³⁸ Engman, 1990.

³⁹ Levin, 1997.

⁴⁰ Levin, 2003.

Irene Andersson's publication *Tidevarvet- plattform för ett vapenlöst uppror*⁴¹ has the economy of the Tidevarvet in focus.

Ragna Källgren's work *Kvinnor i politiken: artiklar ur den politiska, radikala veckotidningen tidevarvet (1923–1936)*⁴² consists of articles from Tidevarvet, where she studied and analysed its contents.

Gunilla Domellöf, has produced *Tidevarvsidéer i Elin Wägners roman Dialogen fortsätter*⁴³ but also *Tidevarvet. En historisk bakgrund och introduktion.*⁴⁴

Method:

In this essay I will use a qualitative content analysis. A qualitative content analysis is used to categorize texts in order to answer research questions. By systematically looking for patterns and relations in the text, the researcher tries to find themes that are central to the work. As the essay studies Tidevarvet in two different time periods, a qualitative content analysis can be used too see what the opinions of women's issue and peace was in Tidevarvet, while it can also study whether this differs between the papers first and last issues.⁴⁵

I have chosen to use an inductive perspective while reading the newspaper. This means that I read the newspaper and let it "speak freely", and then afterwards create categories and themes that are linked to women's issues and peace.⁴⁶

This is used to more easily sort the articles in the newspaper and to create a so-called *coding frame*. A coding frame is the tool that is used to see what is relevant to include as material in the analysis. This tool can be based on specific things in the text that you look for. In my case, I look for articles that in some way touches upon women's issues and the question about peace. Since this is a qualitative study, the framework doesn't have to consist of specific words. It can instead be my research questions for the essay. In the content analysis, the material is systematically reviewed several times in order to be able to describe the content of the qualitative data. This is to be able to see what kind of materials that is relevant

⁴¹ Andersson, 1991.

⁴² Källgren, 1971.

⁴³ Domellöf, 1999.

⁴⁴ Domellöf, 2008.

⁴⁵ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 52 & 55.

⁴⁶ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 50.

or the research. When the framework is done, one can discern the *recording units*, i.e. the materials that is significant to use in the work.⁴⁷

In this kind of method, it's important to be consistent when it comes to reading the text. All material is to be treated in the same way, to make sure that the works is as objective as possible. To make this work, you read the materials and the analysis on different occasion to make sure that the material and the results haven't been affected unknowingly.⁴⁸

its also important to have in mind that the material relate to people in different way. The text is not an objective thing, as it was written in a special context that reflects both conscious and unconscious conceptions. In my case, the articles from Tidevarvet are created in their historical context and should be interpreted based on this.⁴⁹

The material:

In the first year of Tidevarvet, 1923, there were only six issues published due to the newspaper being founded late in the year. Therefore, the research starts with the very first numbers of Tidevarvet from the first year, and is then supplemented with issues from 1924, making it fifteen in total. Fifteen issues from the last year, 1936, has also been studied. There, however, is the newspapers last fifteen issues studied. This is to get a broader scope of what was written in the newspaper. By studying several issues of Tidevarvet, I've been able to form an idea of what the newspaper contains and which articles that are relevant to my research. It was also a way to see ow the paper is drafted and formulated, on other to find the material that is relevant to y research in an easy way. It also made it clearer for me too see if the same coding frames and record units was relevant in the analysis of Tidevarvets first issues of the newspaper and the last issues, or if this was something that needed to be changed in some way.

When it came to answer the question about how Tidevarvet looked at women's issues, I initially chose to have feminism as my coding frame, which I quickly realized needed to be changed. Most of the articles in Tidevarvet is characterized in some way by feminism, which made the material too broad to do in this kind of

⁴⁷ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 58-59.

⁴⁸ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 61.

⁴⁹ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 20.

research. Instead, my coding frame was centred around articles about women's right and responsibilities in different context. This made it easier for me to find more recording units that still brought up the question about women's issues.

To look at what Tidevarvet wrote about peace, it was easier to find a suitable coding frame and recording units. The articles were more straight forward, and for my coding frame I chose articles that in some way wrote about peace or war. This made the recording units to be centralized around articles about the League of Nations, peace meetings, war criticism and disarmament. The research is also separated into four main blocks that make it easier to read. As the study refer to different years, they are separated by year. However, the articles from the different years do not necessarily come in the order in which they were published. Instead a sorting is done by subject, to get a clearer picture of what they wrote about in the articles. The second separation is done by topic, women's issue and peace.

Criticism of the method:

A criticism that is often directed at content analysis is that the material is too subjective. As you just use parts of a work, in my case a newspaper, it's easy to miss the overall picture and other messages within the paper.⁵⁰

In this essay, however, the aim is not to study the whole Tidevarvet as such, but only the articles dealing with women's issues and peace. This means that I have actively chosen to only allow certain parts of the newspaper to speak, while I have left other parts silent. Therefore, articles that addresses other issues in the newspaper such as book reviews are not addressed unless they contain anything about women's issues or the peace. Since previous research has looked at other issues, such as the economics of Tidevarvet or how they wrote about farming, this essay can instead be seen as a compliment to previous research.

Research:

First, a disclaimer. Due to the newspaper being written in Swedish, all the articles have been subjects to translation from the author of this work. Some of the words in the articles might also be offending.

⁵⁰ Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 80.

1923-1924:

Women's issues:

Women's responsibility in politics is an issue that is written about a lot in the first years of Tidevarvet.

In the first issue Elisabeth Tamm writes about women's responsibility in politics. In the article "Our Political Path - Responsibility" she writes about how women were not given the right to vote to reinforce the issues that already exist, but that both men and women's uniqueness must assert themselves in the creation of society and its standards. She writes "*Such as the humans are, society becomes, but the living conditions of the population, its working and social conditions, makes the individual people.*"⁵¹

In the article "Our closest task", the author claims that the 1924 election is a big election for women. Not only because it is the second time the women are allowed to vote, but also because the parties will fight for the women's votes. Women can now control what political issues they find important in the election. The author also believes that one of the most important issues that should be achieved is to get more women into the parliament.⁵²

The same topic is also mentioned in the article "Election year 1924", where the author writes that this election year is of utmost importance to women, since they all have a female trait that is of the greatest importance, namely diversity. The author also writes how women in during the election years have greater opportunities to get their wishes in the politics met.⁵³

In the article by Elin Wägner "Life or death" about demolishing the combat readiness, Wägner comments that the women were not asked about the war in 1914, but that they now have more opportunity to influence the peace issue with their voting rights.⁵⁴

⁵¹ "Vår politiska väg. Ansvaret." Tidevarvet number 1, 1923.

⁵² "Vår närmaste uppgift." Tidevarvet number 3, 1923.

⁵³ "Valåret 1924." Tidevarvet number 6, 1923.

⁵⁴ "Liv eller död." Tidevarvet number 2, 1923.

Kerstin Hesselgren writes in “Our position” about how three years have passed since Sweden's women got their right to vote. Here she writes about how this democratic responsibility has begun to expand more and more, and how democracy demands more from its people than before. She also believes that it is important not to remain indifferent. The old society has, through the events that has happened in recent years, received its verdict. Everywhere in the world democracy is fighting for which foundations the new society should be built upon, and it’s important that the women say their part. She speaks of a belief “*in a society that is designed create justice to the many individual people, and which is based on the individual people's sense of responsibility*”. The women are younger in the political field, but they are also less tired and more hopeful. The women have a special duty to fulfil, as both war, peace and the world situation in whole have shown the unjustness in the social order. She concludes with the words “Political tasks are not to increase the struggle for power, but to increase the power for the struggle.”⁵⁵

In Elin Wägnes article “A negro state within the state” she compares the liberation from slavery with women’s access to full citizenships and voting rights. She argues that both the liberation from slavery and the women’s right to vote is due to pressure from society in large, but that the power that is given is more about power in theory than in practice. It is gratifying to her that it has become possible for women and blacks to educate themselves, but she also believes that the big reform that would have been has failed.

*They blew the horn for the first female doctor, the first female lawyer and the first female journalist, but the trumpet might have been less lively, if one could foresee that their successors would be referred to practice only in their own secluded world.*⁵⁶

Prostitution is also a subject that the articles addresses. In the article “A poorly paid *profession*” by the writer Vagabonde has the author received a letter from one

⁵⁵ “Vår ställning.” Tidevarvet number 5, 1924.

⁵⁶ “En negerstat i staten.” Tidevarvet number 3, 1923.

of the readers. The letter tells about a girl who had been arrested by the police on the Queen Street in Stockholm for prostitution. The writer of the letter claimed that the police acted illegally and that this would never happen in another civilized country, something that the author of the article does not take a stand on, but says the following:

Either way, the whole handling, buying and selling is risky and disruptive. If so, then both parties are equally guilty and everything has to be illegal. Or if it's necessary, then there is no reason to neglect those who exert it, to treat them as unclean and push them out in the night and. If these poor women are needed by our fathers, men, brothers and male colleagues, let us be honest for once. Let them live as other people and treat them as useful and necessary citizens. And give them a decent retirement when they grow old. If you do one thing, gentlemen, your business partners are no worse than you. But to say that these poor women are necessary and then to persecute them as dogs is illogical.⁵⁷

In Frida Stéenhoff's article "a conversation with a mayor about prostitution" she writes about how prostitution and capitalism is connected. The history of prostitution is the history of women, and it is written by men. Stéenhoff argues that nature's life is distorted, and that the respect between the sexes has disappeared because of capitalism. She believes that before men started to buy women, there was less misogyny, but that misogyny is now so ingrained in the culture that women hardly see it themselves.⁵⁸

Gunnhild Bergh has looked at the anti-feminist Gina Lombroso in her article "An Italian Anti Feminism". Lombroso states that the post-war changes for women brought more harm than good. Lombroso wants to return to the ways before the war. She also says that the woman's place is in the home, and that the

⁵⁷ "Ett illa lönat "yrke"." Tidevarvet number 4, 1923.

⁵⁸ "Samtal med en borgmästare om prostitution." Tidevarvet number 8, 1924.

relationship between man and woman is for society and not just for the spouses in marriage. Bergh criticizes this view, saying that Lombroso only looked at one type of woman, the housekeeping woman, in her analysis. She argues that this causes a confusion in Lombroso's theory, as Lombroso generalizes about women too much.⁵⁹

Criticism is also directed to the newspaper *Idun*, another women's magazine. In the article "Swedish women" the author writes about how the male editor had handed over a letter of gratitude to the new crown princess, which the author thought was a strange move by the women's magazine. This especially in regards to the new crown princess being from England, where eight women were chosen into the parliament. The author writes:

When the Swedish women, after many struggles, received citizenship and were thus declared worthy to hold municipal and political assignments it seemed, to say the least, peculiar that in the case of something as simple as the handing over a letter of gratitude, they must give the assignment to a male editor for a so-called women's newspaper to interpret their feelings. ⁶⁰

The election in England is also touched upon in the fourth issue of the newspaper. In a notice the newspaper writes about how the women of England were responsible for the outcome of the election, and that many issues that affected women, such as unemployment and taxes, became important issues in the election.⁶¹

They also address how the women are faring in the Swedish parliament. In issue number four 1924 they write about how Kerstin Hesselgren and Elisabeth Tamm brought a motion to the parliament about the forced labour camp in Landskrona. They want to employ a woman who will assist those who leave the institution with issues like work and living space. Even if some things have been done in the past to try to get those who left the facility to a more comfortable life, it has not worked properly. They mean that something needs to be done, especially for those who are younger and first-time convicted. They mean that many of those who want to start

⁵⁹ "En italiensk antifeminist." Tidevarvet number 4, 1923.

⁶⁰ "Svenska kvinnor." Tidevarvet number 5, 1923.

⁶¹ "Englands kvinnor avgjorde valet." Tidevarvet number 4, 1923.

over, do not have the energy nor the opportunity to fight the struggles that awaits them when they are released. By hiring a woman to help these vulnerable people, the relapse would decrease.⁶²

Ester Ekegren writes an article on women's right to the priesthood. She writes about Professors Em. Linderholm and G. Wetter's travels and investigation of the woman's right to the priesthood. Ekgren argues that bishops and chapters doesn't want to realize the deep meaning of the question and dismisses the question with a tone of masculine arrogance. Professor Em. Linderholm is quoted saying that "*they would have preferred to silence the matter, as is always the case with uncomfortable matters in the church*". He also implies that the Church doesn't understand the evolution of time. Ekegren writes that the church needs the service of women more than ever, for example in purely practical care duties, but also because there is need for a testimony from both christian men and women. Lydia Wahström is mentioned as one of the women who has been fighting for this issue the longest. She has been writing and talking about this issue in countless writings and speeches about the illogical in not having female priests. There is a clergy shortage in Sweden that could be solved with female priests. Wahlström argues that the resistance has its foundation in the teachings of the catholic church, but that our state church is and remains a Lutheran church. Esther Laurell, a candidate in theology, talks about the dual morality of the call to priesthood. When a man gets his call and becomes a priest, it is met with gratitude and joy, but if the same feeling exists in a woman, it is frowned upon. Ekegren goes on to talk about the long-lived prejudices that exist about the value of women. As long as the prejudice remains, she writes, the woman cannot be seen to have the same religious value as the man.⁶³

In number nine 1924, there's a poem by Upton Sinclair, called "Double standards":

There was once a man who took a woman to be his wife. Time passed and one day the man said:

- I love all women and I want to own their love.

And the woman answered:

⁶² "En kvinna till hjälp åt de hjälplösaste." Tidevarvet number 4, 1924.

⁶³ "Kvinnans rätt till prästämbetet." Tidevarvet number 8, 1924.

- I love all men and I also want to own their love.

Then the man said:

- If you make such a speech, I'll throw my club against your head.

The woman replied:

- Forgive me, sir.

Ten thousand years persecuted and again the man said:

- I love all women and I want to own their love.

And the woman answered:

- I love all men and I also want to own their love.

The man said:

- If you dare to say that, I will divorce you, and then how will you earn your living?

The woman replied:

- You're a lousy man.

Again, a hundred years passed and again the man said:

- I love all women and I want to own their love.

And the woman answered:

- I love all men and I also want to own their love. And as you well know, I am now in a position to earn my own living.

Then the man said:

In that case, I am forced to learn self-control.

And the woman answered:

*- Finally.*⁶⁴

The peace:

In the article "From Washington to Geneva" Kerstin Hesselgren talks about the work that is going on in Geneva to make resolutions for the members of the League of Nations. She also talks about the International Labour Protection

⁶⁴ "Dubbelmoralen." Tidevarvet number 9, 1924.

Agency formed in 1919, which would make government representatives, workers and employer rise to the same level. She writes:

It was also felt, when we gathered in Washington in the fall of 1919, that this was a new conference of its kind. Everything was possible, everyone was gripped with eagerness to get something real, to get a turnover and to express all the promises and hopes for a better order of things. This was forced by the enormous pressure of the war, and above all, it was believed that the war was now over and that the era of peace had come when the new world was to be built, of which one had dreamed about during the horrors of war. It was believed that international law was the path to the peace. There were struggles and compromises here too, as there must be, when 39 nations with different customs, languages, and cultures must agree on something. But it was also by a sense of the goodwill of the people that lifted one over the difficulties and did the work with joy.

Although the article then states that this work did not go as expected, the article nevertheless emphasizes the joint work that is highlighted. Hesselgren acknowledges the difficulties that the nations face, but nevertheless presses on cross-border cooperation as the way to peace.⁶⁵

Elin Wägner is also talking about cross-border cooperation in her article “Handshake between Germany and France” In this article Wägner talks about the youths in Germany and France who, despite the unstable history between their nations, works for a reconciliation between the two countries. She writes about meetings between the young people from Germany and France, and how they are working on a newspaper with French, German and Belgian editors that will report on the reconciliation work.⁶⁶

There is also an exhortation from the Swedish section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, to financially support a Swedish participation in the peace congress that is to be held in Washington. This is the

⁶⁵ “Från Washington till Genève.” Tidevarvet number 3, 1923.

⁶⁶ ” Handslag mellan Tyskland och Frankrike.” Tidevarvet number 4, 1923.

first post-war peace congress, and they write that the American women who is calling for the European women, and that it is Sweden's duty to obey this call.⁶⁷

In “change for the better” the article states that with Ramsay McDonald as the new prime minister in the United Kingdom, people have become more hopeful for an untied Europe, as the forces that works for peace has a better foundation to stand on.⁶⁸

However, it’s not just articles about how nations should unite to reach a more lasting peace. There is also a lot of criticism about how Europe handled the peace after the world war. In a letter to the editor from Julia Ellsworth Ford, she argues that each country's minister of war must be replaced by a minister of peace. In the following quote, she explains why:

The talk of no more wars is weakened as long as each country still has its minister of war. It implies that war, or at least the idea of war, as something that is allowed. If war is not to be allowed in the future then the mind for war must be changed into the mind for peace. As long as mankind considers wars fair, legalize it and figure out new and even more effective ways to wage it successfully, the longer the old order will continue. 69

Elin Wägner also writes in her article "Life or death" about how Europe should demolish the combat readiness. She writes that the current peace that exists in Europe is not sustainable, as it is built on fear. If a new war were to come, this would probably bring a more stable peace in its aftermath, but she also asks if Europe can even survive that long, with the politics that are now in order in the different nations in Europe. She writes: *“If Europe wants to commit suicide, there is now a quite extraordinary opportunity for it. If Europe does want to live on, it needs to find new ways of interacting between the states.”*⁷⁰

The abolition of all armed forces is touched upon in an article in the first issue of the newspaper 1924. The article describes how this would be done through an organized police system established by all the united democracies of the world and

⁶⁷ Tidevarvet number 8, 1924.

⁶⁸ “Ljusning.” Tidevarvet number 7, 1924.

⁶⁹ “En värld utan krig.” Tidevarvet number 1, 1923.

⁷⁰ ” Liv eller död.” Tidevarvet number 2, 1923.

how the police force is given power to stop any activity that involves creating a military or military equipment, whether it be for defence or oppression. The article goes on to say that in each country an anti-war ban must be established, which will work to stop all production of military equipment.⁷¹

Criticism is also addressed to Sweden's prime minister in the article "The situation and our conscience". In this article it's written how the prime minister of Sweden in his protocols means that Sweden's risks to be involved in war has increased since they joined the League of Nations. This is because the League of Nations did not meet the expectation that existed from the beginning. Because of this, the combat readiness has continued to rise in the European countries in the same way they did before the war. In the article the author writes that all the countries in Europe is doing this out of fear, and that Sweden should be the first brave nation and work as a role model for the abolition of all armed forces.⁷²

The article "The shouting voices" in number 9, 1924 is about the active peace work. It also raises the subjects that the people in the elections are given the opportunity to show their thoughts in the question about Sweden's defences. The article writes about how the pacifist movement has beginning to come to life, and how the defence issue should be decided with the help of the people. It is hoped that the pacifist movements will gain a greater impact in the political parties. The question of Sweden's defences is important, but the author also writes about how little work has been done to spread information in Sweden about the work the League of Nations is doing, compared to other countries.⁷³

On the 3rd of February 1924 the founder of the League of Nations, Woodrow Wilson, dies. This is something that is mentioned in issue number 6, 1924, where Elin Wägner writes about the tragedy in that now when the founder is dead, the United Nations is beginning to approach the League of Nations. She believes that Wilson's initial thought with the union was met with a setback due to Europe's complex diplomacy, and to save the union Wilson had to give too many promises. If America had agreed to join the League of Nations from the beginning, peace could have served as the beginning of a new era. With the failure of the United States not joining, the League of Nations did not become the power the world had

⁷¹ "En frälsningshär mot kriget." Tidevarvet number 1, 1924.

⁷² "Situationen och vårt samvete." Tidevarvet number 6, 1924.

⁷³ "Ropande röster." Tidevarvet number 9, 1924.

hoped. However, Wagner writes, the time will come “when mankind will readily acknowledge Wilson as one of the great world pioneers in the work he has done.”⁷⁴

The criticism of France and their actions towards Germany after the war is given considerable space in Tidevarvet. In the letter to the editor “the true face of France”. France is criticised by Mia Leche. She argues that the politics that is being pursued in France is not the true face of France. All the political and diplomatic games that are conducted are filled with falsehood. Those who can restore the true face of France is the ones in France that is fighting for peace.⁷⁵

The same kind of statements can be found in the article “Pacifist dreams”. In the article France is criticized for conducting a hard policy against Germany, and that Europe is locked in a status quo, which can only be broken by pacifism. The pacifism would bring in a whole new perspective and break the old idea of war.⁷⁶

Jenny Richter Velandar criticizes both Germany and France in her article “The politics nemesis, Divina”. Here she writes that Germany's crime in the war was not that they started it, nor its inhumane warfare, but rather that the martial law that is to blame. This martial law, argues Richter Velandar, *“is a mockery measure of what ethics and especially all evangelical ethics are called”*. Despite France's sympathies and being seen as some kind of angel of justice, the country becomes blind to the crimes it actually commits to justice. *“Its politics are defended in brilliant speeches, but no rhetoric in the world can hide its lack of higher views, good manners and intelligent methods”*, Richter Velandar continues. She believes that the way France treats Germany exposes Europe to continued distress, leading to a longer time before it can establish a complete peace.⁷⁷

In a press excerpt from the French section of women’s international league for peace and freedom, they write how they never could see the ceasefire during the war as a sign of victory, just as an ending to the bloodshed. They regret that nothing has been done to lead the way to a new era of peace.⁷⁸

Elin Wagner also criticizes France's and their propaganda in her article “Victim of propaganda?”. In this article she writes about how it has now been a year since

⁷⁴ “Woodrow Wilson.” Tidevarvet number 6, 1924.

⁷⁵ “Frankrikes ratta ansikte.” Tidevarvet number 3, 1923.

⁷⁶ “Pacifistiska drommor.” Tidevarvet number 4, 1923.

⁷⁷ “Politikens Nemesis Divina.” Tidevarvet number 6, 1923.

⁷⁸ Tidevarvet number 1, 1924.

the French and Belgians marched into Ruhr to recover Germany's debts after the war. She writes about how the Swedish public has taken Germany's party against France on this issue. This means that Sweden is not seen as neutral on the issue by France. A French professor Erik Staaff states that the reason to Sweden taking the side of Germany, is all because of German propaganda. However, Elin Wägner believes that Erik Staaff is a victim of the French propaganda. She believes that it is clear in how the rhetoric is conducted, that France is portrayed by Erik Staaff in a better light than Germany.⁷⁹

“Reaction instead of democracy” (No Eight Year 2) addresses the hope that the war victory would lead to a victory for democracy, especially in Germany. However, this has proved more difficult than expected, and the risk is that the promising democratic breakthroughs are going to fall before it has been able to stabilize. The blame is heavily placed on the politics of France, which did not allow the German democracy to flourish. Instead, it’s the far right and the communists that are gaining ground in Germany. The author writes: *“In the context of all that has occurred, the ruthless selfishness and the brutal indifference, the turnaround among German voters seems almost like the gloomy introduction to a new tragedy.”*⁸⁰

Conclusions of the first year:

In it the first year we can clearly see the coding frame of *women’s responsibility* and *women’s rights*. Many of the articles focus on women’s right and responsibilities, both directly in articles such as “our political path – Responsibility” and “Election year 1924”, but also indirectly in some of the articles. Issues about antifeminism, prostitution and the right to priesthood is in many ways linked to women’s rights. They also talk about women's peculiarities. Early feminism is in many ways contradictory when it comes to women. They both talk about one concept of equality but also a concept of peculiarity. They mean that men and women are equal, but also talks about women's peculiarities to develop special rights for women. It was not uncommon for this kind of arguments

⁷⁹ “Propagandaoffer?” Tidevarvet number 3, 1924.

⁸⁰ “Reaktion istället för demokrati.” Tidevarvet number 8, 1924.

during this time, and quite common to change between two the two different views depending on the discussion, which is also visible in Tidevarvet.⁸¹

When it comes to the peace issue and the coding frame, the articles are more direct. Here lies much of the focus on peace work and criticism of major powers, especially France. Much of the peace focus is also aimed at the individual, which is very interesting. As I mentioned before, it was first in the United Nations they began to talk about the rights of the individual, and when Tidevarvet is raising this subject, they are before their own time in many ways.

In the first year, articles about peace and articles about women's rights receive approximately the same amount of space, and there is a lot of focus on female responsibility. Elin Wägner gives a strong expression of the more radical pacifist attitude, and there are many articles about that every country has a moral obligation to disarm.

1936:

Women's issues:

The civil war in Spain is given a lot of focus during the newspapers last year. It is also clear that the women's issues have become more international. The question about women and military service is referred to in several articles in 1936.

In issue number 31 the readers can read about how women in the Spanish civil war participate to a large extent as active soldiers.⁸² This raises the question if this revolution in Spain will lead to mandatory military service also for the women.

This is also mentioned in a speech by dr. Ada Nilsson during the national meeting for Swedish women's left federation. Nilsson pointed out, that maybe this is the time in history, where women not idly watch from the sides during the wars, but also participate in the frontlines.⁸³

In issue number 37, this is re-addressed under the heading "is this inevitable?" Under pictures of women dressed for battle, the writer says that if no abolition of

⁸¹ Levin, 2003, p. 208.

⁸² Tidevarvet number 31, 1936.

⁸³ "Vår största möjlighet till fred. Svenska kvinnors vänsterförbunds Landsmöte." Tidevarvet number 32, 1936.

armed forces is done, then it is inevitable for women to also be drawn into the frontlines of war.⁸⁴

The same is mentioned in issue 39, where the article “the woman as a soldier” writes how the women in Germany are prepared to participate in wars through various education programs, and how they are trained as substitutes in ammunition factories and other technical tasks. A German woman says: *“It’s in the woman’s essence to want to protect and preserve, and within the air force, our participation will be required precisely in those areas. But despite all the bravery and willingness we cannot do much unless we get a thorough education”*⁸⁵

In the article “The women front for international legal orders” the author writes how the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom has held their Nordic meeting. Mrs. Signe Höjer spoke in her welcome speech about how the atmosphere of war and brutality brought women together. All the speakers at the gathering strongly argued that cooperation is the only way to save the world from a new war, but that a mentality of trust is required, rather than a mentality of mistrust and violence.⁸⁶

On a national level the readers could read about how Kerstin Hesselgren is running for election to the Swedish parliament. She says: *“I am extremely interested in the range of social political and women’s issues, which are now on the agenda, and I would be happy to complete the work I have been doing for thirteen years.”*⁸⁷

In “Loitering laws as it’s finest” the author writes about the big flaws with the loitering laws, and how this should be replaced by a new law. There have been repeated attempts to draft a new law, but the author means that these attempts have been based on unsustainable foundations, namely the gender inequality. Instead, the new law must be built on the shared responsibility that is shared by both men and women.⁸⁸

In the last issue of the magazine, Elin Wägner addresses a request to the women. She is convinced in her article “Peace muster” that history is now in the hands of the women. She urges the women to resist the signals of nationalist politics, and

⁸⁴ “Är detta ofrånkomligt?” Tidevarvet number 37, 1936.

⁸⁵ “Kvinnan som soldat.” Tidevarvet number 39, 1936.

⁸⁶ “Kvinnofront för internationell rättsordning.” Tidevarvet number 36, 1936.

⁸⁷ “Kerstin Hesselgren ställer upp sig till Andra-kammarvalet.” Tidevarvet number 31, 1936.

⁸⁸ “Lösdrivarlagen i sin prydno.” Tidevarvet number 39, 1936.

says that women will not have mens protection if they passively stand and watch from the side. She also believes that if women do not use their power they now have, it is a power without cause. Women must instead use their power to make the war impossible.⁸⁹

The peace:

The newspaper has expanded its perspective to focusing more on Europe. A recurring column in the newspaper is "What happened?" who, with brief notes, tells about what has happened both in Sweden and abroad, but with a lot of focus on foreign affairs. The Spanish Civil War takes up a great deal of space in the newspaper, and more is said about Europe's role in a possible war.

In "You, gentlemen of the world, stop the bloodbath!" Irene Harand questions the brutality of the Spanish Civil War, and why no one is doing anything. She questions the solidarity and humanity. She continues: "*War is barbaric, war is a phenomenon that does not have the slightest trace of connection with civilization and culture. The slaughtering of people is an expression of a bestiality, which we must be ashamed of.*" She also believes that it should be possible for League of Nations to intervene in the civil war, and that if League of Nations came up with a peaceful solution, this would increase the leagues reputation. She also believes that the warring parties could be reconciled if the politicians put as much energy into the reconciliation work as they now put into war.⁹⁰

In the article "Is there no neutrality?" they write about the thoughts of the author Waldo Frank. Frank claims that France stayed neutral in the Spanish civil war to prevent the conflict to escalate into a world war, but believes that if this continues it could lead to a repression of the humanitarian forces in the world. He asks whether democracy should not take the risk of taking a stand in the conflict, if this gives a chance for Hitler and Mussolini to pull away. He means that although the left is superior to the fascists when it comes to human values, we must become their equals when it comes to determination and courage. If this is not done, the passivity will play right into the hands of the fascist. Waldo argues that there is no

⁸⁹ "Fredsmönstring." Tidevarvet number 45/46, 1936.

⁹⁰ "Ni, världens herrar, sluta blodbadet!" Tidevarvet number 33, 1936.

neutrality, only two paths to take: to move forward toward humanity and peace, or back to the slavery that is war.⁹¹

In "The distress and rearmament" the author writes about Silent Sunday on November 11, and how the author thought it went by without even being noticed. In London, however, there was a huge demonstration, a so-called hunger march. They objected to *"official humbugs who, through factual illusions, lead us to war, as they did to our comrades 1914-1918"*.⁹²

Under the heading "War of the warlike nation", Willy Kleen is quoted: *"The next war will become not only the war of the armed forces, but the war of the warlike nation, the totalitarian war."* He believes that the people are involved in the war in a completely different way than before.⁹³

In the last issue of the magazine, Ellen Hörup writes about "gangster peace". *"One mighty country robs a weaker country by allowing armed forces to assault the defenceless and unprepared population with tanks, exterminate it with bullets and choke it with poison gas, and then allow the robber to return home with its profit"*. She also argues that the League of Nations violated its main principles in its passive stance on the revolution in Spain. She then continues with strong criticism of capitalism, whether it is a democratic state or a fascist state: *"They have all trampled on the people and civilizations of entire continents under their imperialistic boots. They have kicked away all such things as human rights and human dignity."*⁹⁴

Signe Höjer writes in her article "the people of peace must be organized. - but without sacrifice it cannot happen" about the great world congress for peace in Brussels. The goal of this gathering was to bring together all organizations that work in different ways for peace. There were four points in the collection program:

1. Holding of given lectures;
2. Disarmament through mutual agreements; suppression of the profits of the private war industry;
3. Strengthening the League of Nations for the Prevention of War through Collective Security and Mutual Assistance;

⁹¹ "Finnes ingen neutralitet?" Tidevarvet number 40, 1936.

⁹² "Nöden och rustningarna." Tidevarvet number 43, 1936.

⁹³ "Den krigiska nationens krig." Tidevarvet number 44, 1936.

⁹⁴ "Stormakternas rövarfred." Tidevarvet number 45/46, 1936.

4. Through the League of Nations, build an effective tool for removing the causes of war.

Around 1500 participants was anticipated, but the participants came up to an astonishing number of 4000 delegates from all around the world, as well as 2000 observers. A total of 35 countries were represented and 750 national organizations and 40 international organizations had sent delegates. What Höjer thinks is the most important thing with this meeting is not the number of people that came, but rather that they all wanted to work for the sake of peace. People from all different political, religious and social classes was united in the idea that the League of Nations is the safest way to peace.⁹⁵

Swedish women's left associations held a national meeting in Stockholm, where one of the most important issues were the future political task of the League of Nations. At the meeting, Kerstin Hesselgren talked about how the people of Geneva seemed almost paralysed in the question about the impending war. This fear also halts the work of League of Nations. She also talked about how the Nordic countries are fine example of how old abrasions and contradictions can be overcome.⁹⁶

In an article in issue 33 the readers can read about how the three foreign ministers of the Nordic countries presented a reform proposal to the League of nations. It is seen as a serious weakness that the League of Nations no longer is universal. By encouraging countries that have left the League of Nations and even those who have not yet joined to join or re-join the League, it would strengthen it's power. The possibilities for a global disarmament should be tested by the League of Nations. International agreements should be negotiated regarding the control of the weapons industry and arms trade. Sweden strongly emphasized that disarmament is a necessity in order to move towards peace rather than war.⁹⁷

In number 37, there's an article written about the speech that Marshal Voroshiv held in Kiev after a large field maneuverer in Ukraine. He emphasized that the Russian people and their leaders holds the peace first and foremost. Voroshiv says in his speech:

⁹⁵ "Folkens fredsvilja måste organiseras." Tidevarvet number 35, 1936.

⁹⁶ "Vår största möjlighet till fred. Svenska kvinnors vänsterförbunds Landsmöte." Tidevarvet number 32, 1936.

⁹⁷ "Nordens syn på en folkförbundsreform". Tidevarvet number 33, 1936.

The Soviet Republic is positive in the question about disarmament, if its idea were accepted by the other capitalist states. But it never does, and if anyone attacks us, we must not be prepared to defend ourselves. The last war was terrible, and a new one would be even more devastating. If it is brought to our country, it will destroy all our material and spiritual work. This must never happen.

The Russian delegate Litvinov has held a speech in Geneva, where he talks about that covenants between the various states is the best means of securing the peace. Litvinov believes that the Soviet state is still of the opinion that complete disarmament is the best peace guarantee, and that this is something that should be carried out in a universal stage. The Soviet Union also wants all countries to join the League of Nation.⁹⁸

In “Europe must stop their apprehensive wavering. An American advice to the Democratic Countries” the subject is about the points made by the American newspaper *The New Republic* on what can be done in Europe. The New Republic is of the opinion that all non-fascist states must take a stand in the question: Should one continue to fight the fascist states or equating them? Which of these two paths is most likely to preserve peace? A decision on either of these two paths must be made, otherwise the war is not far away. The non-fascist states have not taken a common stand against the fascist politics. No action was taken when Germany left the League of Nations, built up its army and entered the Rhineland. Europe must stop wavering and take a stand. There are two ways to go. One is to assume that Hitler and Mussolini are serious about war. In this case, it is important to stop them immediately through a joint, and if needed militant, action. The second way is that of negotiation, whereby with the help of concessions it might be possible to meet the wishes and demands of Hitler and Mussolini. Neither the Italian people nor the German people want war, and their leaders certainly understand this. But the people can change their mind in the question about war, if they consider themselves unfairly treated or have reason to fear external attacks. By swinging

⁹⁸ “Fredspolitik och upprustning.” Tidevarvet number 37, 1936.

back and forth, it gives the fascist states the feeling of being able to trample on the non-fascistic countries' will of peace.⁹⁹

In Geneva, the mood has changed. The article "A pessimistic world parliament" talks about the heavy mood in Geneva, and how the parliament seemed to try to avoid issues that had to do with the political situation in Europe. Instead, issues such as the national economy were raised for three whole days. There were shared opinions about how the League of Nations work would proceed, and whether to cooperate with the nations who were in the union or not. There were also several arguments that the pact should be released from the Versailles peace. It was also a definite feeling that the League of Nation felt that they could not intervene in the Spanish civil war.¹⁰⁰

In the article "Chaos" Anna Pzl Hedén writes that despite conflict, League of Nation is still viewed as to becoming the world's conscience. The first political action that should be proclaimed, according to Hedén, is peace. The war should be ridiculed as "*the greatest stupidity a human brain ever constructed.*"¹⁰¹

Dr. Christian J Lange's lecture in Oslo is included an article called "Europe's basic misfortune". In Lang's speech, he talked about the foreign policy situation, and how the post-war has crated politics such as Marxism and Fascism. The result of this has become a fanatical nationalism, where nations are isolating themselves economically, as well as an added military armament. He stressed in his speech that the main danger for Europe's peace lies in fascism and the glorification of violence by Marxism.¹⁰²

Elin Wägner writes about the Spanish Civil war in the article "While Madrid is bombarded". She believes that Franco's bombing of Madrid will mark a new era: "*If it means the beginning of a new war or a turning point for peace, we don't know. But our entire fate is contained.*"¹⁰³

Conclusion on the last year:

The research shows a clear change in Tidevarvets articles. In the last issues of

⁹⁹ "Europa måste bort från sin ängsliga vacklan. Amerikanskt råd till de demokratiska länderna." Tidevarvet number 38, 1936.

¹⁰⁰ "Ett pessimistiskt världsparlament." Tidevarvet number 40, 1936.

¹⁰¹ "Kaos." Tidevarvet number 40, 1936.

¹⁰² "Europas grundolycka." Tidevarvet number 42, 1936.

¹⁰³ "Medan Madrid bombarderas." Tidevarvet number 43, 1936.

the newspaper, the tone has changed. The women's issues have given way for the situation in Europe, and is more intertwined with the issues about peace. A lot of focus is given to foreign policy, and articles on women's rights are give significantly less space. When it comes to women's responsibilities, the coding frame remains, but the recording units and its' content has changed. In the first year of the newspaper, the main focus in women's responsibilities were to use their newly acquired right to vote. Now the responsibility is to try to stop the war, which you can see in articles such as "Peace muster" and "the people of peace must be organized. - but without sacrifice it cannot happen". In 1936 some of the articles talks about women in the front lines. This is a big step from 1923, as it means that women now are seen as more equal to the men in terms of power and responsibilities.

More articles are also dealing with the subject of war, due to the progress of fascism in Europe and the Spanish civil war. More articles are dealing with war that in the articles from the first issues. It's still relevant to talk about the importance of the individual in politics, but the perspective is broadened. They still dealt with the foundation and preservation of democracy in a threatening time, but in a more international way than before. League of Nations is also mentioned significantly more often in the articles from 1936. This may have to do with the fact that in 1936, the League of Nation has been in existence for sixteen years by now, and have secured its place in Europe as a leading actor. Although the tone has in many ways become more serious in Tidevarvet, many articles still hopes for a peaceful solution to the conflicts in Europe.

Discussion:

In this essay, I have Tidevarvets first fifteen issues and Tidevarvets last fifteen issues with a qualitative content analysis to answer the following questions:

- What was Tidevarvets opinions on the topics of peace and the women's issue?
- Did these opinions change from the newspapers start in 1923 to it's final year in 1936?

- Can their opinions be reflected in the modern convention about human rights?

I have read articles about peace and women's issue with a frame code and recording units which included words such as women's right, women's responsibility, war and peace. Although the content of the articles varied between the years, the analysis showed that the coding frames and the recording units I selected were still relevant for both the first year of the newspaper and the last. Words such as responsibility and women's right remained, but the content changed, while words linked to peace, war and League of Nations have been given different amount of space during the years.

Tidevarvet were a product of its time, where the topics of the time dominated the discussion. The suffragette movement was a big subject in the newspapers first years, when the women just two years before had been given the right to vote. But when the war was approaching in the newspapers later years, the issues of peace became more dominant. The articles portray Tidevarvet as a newspaper who fought for peace in Europe. The women's responsibility is a subject that is touched upon in both the first issues of Tidevarvet and the last, but it differs in what kind of responsibility they mean. In the earlier numbers, much of the responsibility is concentrated around women's responsibility to make their voices heard within politics and the importance of voting. In the latter numbers, the responsibility is now greater, and not just about the importance of voting, but to use their political voice to try to stop the war. In this way, the issue of responsibility has become centralized than before. The focus has also been shifted in the later issue of Tidevarvet, and the perspective have become more international than before. Despite the more international view and the fact that the articles about women's issues have given way to more articles about peace, some of the questions from the earlier years are still current. Prostitution and loitering are a subject touched upon both in the earlier numbers and the later.

In the earlier number there were also several articles about women and their right to work. This perspective has in the later numbers been shifted to instead deal with whether women has to fight in the front lines in the event of a possible war. This is

a big step from before, where women just won their right to vote, to be treated in the same category as men when it comes to war.

The articles about peace is also changed during the period. In the early years, the great war and the peace treaty of Versailles is still a relevant topic in the articles. A lot of criticism is directed to France and their treatment of Germany. It's easy to see that Tidevarvet is more friendly to German than to France in 1923 and 1924. In 1936 however, this perspective has changed. Fascism has made it's way into European politics, and Germany is no longer a country that needs to be protected from France. The fascism politics is viewed as something that needs to be stopped, and many articles raises the question of how this should be done from different perspectives.

Another interesting observation is to see how the League of Nations is mentioned in just a couple of articles during the first numbers, to become an important part of the European politics in the later numbers. More articles are now treating the League of Nations as the peace maker of Europe, and mentions the role it has to play in preventing the war. With the Spanish civil war, the issues from 1936 has a lot more articles about war and peace than the fist issues. The articles in the first years talk about how to stabilizing the peace, whereas the issues from 1936 talk about if it's even possible to keep the peace at all.

Previous research has studied Tidevarvet from different perspective, such as the newspapers political ideologies and the women behind it, but none of the research have raised the question about human rights. However, in some of the previous research you can see a tendency towards to what we call human rights.

In "I kvinnor mot krig", the author writes about a political action called "kvinnornas vapenlösa uppror mot kriget" and other actions that took place between 1914 and 1940. "Kvinnornas vapenlösa uppror mot krig" took place in 1935 and was a protest against the war and the outrage that the civilian population would be involved in the war. The women behind Tidevarvet was in many ways involved with this.¹⁰⁴ This clarifies and addresses Tidevarvets stance against the war, which can also be seen in this essay. But the thing that also characterized Tidevarvet was the realization that peace work is not just about refusal and

¹⁰⁴ Anderson, 1999, p.303.

rebellion, but also a greater understanding between different people and nations.¹⁰⁵ Both in the articles from the first year of the magazine as well as the articles from the last year of Tidevarvet gives a picture of the war as something that could be stopped if the nations of Europe cooperated.

The women's issues are also of interest in previous research. In Lepännens work, she writes how Tidevarvet made the work of the women visible, which led to an overhaul when it came to the differences in how society divided men and women.¹⁰⁶ Levin also addresses the matter about sexual politics and social issues that was relevant for Tidevarvet after the great war.¹⁰⁷

The reason why I chose to address these particular works is that they, like this essay, also reflect some of today's convention on human rights. Although these works do not in themselves address the UN's conventions, their previous research can underline the conventions that can be linked to this essay.

Both this essay the previous research talks about the importance of Tidevarvets struggle for women's issues and rights. This leads to article number one in the United Nations declaration of human rights. In the first article, it is said that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.¹⁰⁸ This becomes particularly clear in Leppänen's work, where she writes about how the visibility of the women's work made the power positions between men and women changed. This is also something that is written in this essay, as it is one of the main issues for Tidevarvet. The women's suffragette that you can see in the newspaper, is always fighting for the right of the women. Although this has been given a more international view in 1936, the foundation is still that all people have the same values and rights. Article number 21 is also important in this case, as it addresses how everyone has the right to partake in the government of the country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.¹⁰⁹ This is something that is mentioned in the articles in this essay as well, as they talk about both the election in Sweden in 1924, but also the election in England.

¹⁰⁵ Eskilsson, 1991, p. 90 & 112.

¹⁰⁶ Leppänen, 2005, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ Levin, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸ <https://fn.se/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/eng.pdf>

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Article number three is about how everyone has the right to a life of freedom and personal security.¹¹⁰ In some of the articles in the essay, there are cases where prostitutes are imprisoned and treated differently. There's also the subject about loitering and its law, which is criticized by articles in Tidevarvet, something that is also mentioned in Levin's work on social issues and sexual politics. This can also be linked to article number seven in the convention, where it is said that all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.¹¹¹ Article number three can also be linked to the issue about peace. In *Drömmen om kamratsamhället*, Eskilsson writes that the issue of peace was the last great battle of Tidevarvet.¹¹² This is something that is clearly visible in the articles from the last year. Most of the articles criticize fascism and war, and even the articles that deal with women's rights is also dealing with the peace.

The question about Article number 19 brings up the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and even if Tidevarvet has a political standpoint, they sometimes let other standpoints make their voices heard, as in the case of the anti-feminist Gina Lombroso.¹¹³

In this work you can see that a connection can be made between Tidevarvet and the issues about human rights we have today. However, not all conventions can be linked to the newspaper. Even though Tidevarvet in many ways was ahead of its time, it was also a production of its time. Today, no one would draw the parallel with women's right to the matter of the slavery in the same way that Elin Wägner did in Tidevarvet. League of Nations is no more, instead we have the United Nations, and if it ever came to the question of war in Europe, the war would look different than it did back in the era of Tidevarvet. But despite the fact that the convention of human rights wouldn't become a foundation for democratic countries until after the second world war, you can still see tendencies and similarities in Tidevarvet.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Eskilsson, 1991, p. 105-106.

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