

Zeitschrift: The Swiss observer : the journal of the Federation of Swiss Societies in the UK

Herausgeber: Federation of Swiss Societies in the United Kingdom

Band: - (1955)

Heft: 1245

Artikel: The Quest for Peace yesterday and today [Continuation]

Autor: Rappard, William E.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-689170>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. [Siehe Rechtliche Hinweise.](#)

Conditions d'utilisation

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. [Voir Informations légales.](#)

Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. [See Legal notice.](#)

Download PDF: 01.04.2025

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>

THE QUEST FOR PEACE YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

Memorial Lecture given by Professor William E. Rappard, of the University of Geneva, Director, Graduate Institute of International Studies, at the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, April, 1954.

(Continuation)

Why not?

The United Nations, as the League of Nations, was essentially conceived as an international organization of mutual guarantee. It was to protect its members against aggression by linking them together by the bonds of collective security.

This purpose could be achieved only if at least three principal conditions came to be realized. It was necessary, first, that all, or in any case a great majority, of its most powerful members were sincerely peace-loving, that is that they believed in the possibility and supreme desirability of avoiding war; secondly, that they were prepared to grant the grand alliance for peace which they sought to establish enough authority over their own national policies to enable it effectively to exercise its pacific functions; and, thirdly, that they should consider the peace terms resulting from the war as worth preserving, even at the cost of some national sacrifice.

Now, one cannot but recognize that none of these conditions obtain today. At least one of the principal members of the United Nations holds to the doctrine that war is inevitable. Quite consistently, therefore, that state has ever been adamant in its insistence that the grand alliance be constitutionally deprived of all authority to impose its will on any of its principal members. In this demand it was all the more successful as it enjoyed the active support of other great Powers, similarly insistent. Finally, in so far as the peace terms can today, nearly ten years after the end of the hostilities, be defined, they are far from being such as to command the loyalty of the vast majority of the nations united to defend them.

CITY SWISS CLUB

A SOIRÉE FAMILIALE

at which Ladies are heartily welcome, has been arranged for **Tuesday, 22nd March, 1955,**
at the

DORCHESTER HOTEL, Park Lane, W.1.
(6.30 p.m. for 7 p.m.)

After Dinner, the famed guide and explorer **Monsieur RAYMOND LAMBERT**, who has but recently returned from the Himalayas, will give us a talk — illustrated by lantern slides and film — on his experiences amongst the giant peaks of this unique mountain-range.

THE COMMITTEE.

Can any of these statements be seriously challenged?

The inevitability of war is a notion which permeates communist ideology in the first half of the twentieth century as thoroughly as the inevitability of a world revolution permeated that the leading communists of the second half of the nineteenth. In the final paragraph of the communist manifesto of 1848, Marx and Engels had proclaimed that their international party "openly declares that its plans can only be carried out by the violent subversion of the whole traditional social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a communist revolution".

When the first World War broke out in 1914, Lenin immediately interpreted it as the natural outcome of imperialist capitalism. Denouncing the national belligerency of the socialists of the day, he laid down the true line of conduct of all revolutionary proletarians as tending "to transform the present imperialist war into a general civil war". From then on, first in Switzerland where he had sought refuge and then in his native Russia, to which the German general staff had, for reasons of its own, allowed him to return in 1917, Lenin devoted all his efforts to win over to his views the Russian proletariat and the communist parties everywhere.

Lenin's success was complete, not only in the sphere of political action but also in that of revolutionary theory. Bukharin first, after him all the



**SAVE
WITH ASPIC!**

Quick, simple,
economical 'extras' with
MAGGI Aspic Jelly

All sorts of left-overs — fish, meat,
vegetables — make attractive
savories with *Maggi* Aspic Jelly. *Maggi*
Aspic Jelly is also a necessity
for making economical brawns, galantine
and pies for cold serving.

2 oz. tin 2/-

THE NESTLÉ CO. LTD., HAYES, MIDDLESEX

leading bolshevist intellectuals, Trotsky and Stalin in particular, much as they might differ on questions of tactics, all agreed on the political strategy of the Soviet state. Stalin, while never averse to launching peace movements or to proclaiming the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and communist states when he deemed it opportune and conducive to the diplomatic interests of the latter, remained absolutely faithful to his conviction of the inevitability of war. He reverted to the topic in his last important essay, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.", published in September 1952. In the sixth chapter, entitled "The Question of the Inevitability of Wars Among Capitalist Countries", he writes as follows:

"Some comrades affirm that, in consequence of the development of international conditions after the second World War, wars among capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the contradictions between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism are greater than the contradictions among the capitalist countries, that the U.S.A. has made other capitalist countries sufficiently subservient to itself to prevent them from going to war with one another and weakening one another, that forward-looking people of capitalism have learned enough from two world wars which inflicted serious damage on the whole capitalist world not to permit themselves again to draw the capitalist countries into war among themselves, that in view of all this, wars among capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable.

These comrades are mistaken. They see the external appearances which glitter on the surface but they fail to see those profound forces which, though

at present operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of events.

Outwardly everything appears to be 'all right'; The U.S.A. has placed Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on a dole; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan, having fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A., are obediently carrying out the U.S. commands. But it would be wrong to think that this well-being can remain for ever and ever, that these countries will tolerate without end the domination and oppression of the U.S.A., that they will not seek to free themselves from American bondage and set out on a course of independent development.

When Hitler Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, the Anglo-French-American bloc not only failed to join with Hitler Germany, but, on the contrary, was obliged to enter into a coalition with the U.S.S.R. against Hitler Germany.

Consequently, the capitalist countries' struggle for markets and the desire to drown their competitors turned out in actuality to be stronger than the contradictions between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

The question is, what guarantee is there that Germany and Japan will not again rise to their feet, that they will not try to wrest themselves from American bondage and to live their own independent lives? I think there are no such guarantees.

But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars among the capitalist countries remains.

(to be continued)

WHITE LODGE HOTEL

BLINDLEY HEATH • LINGFIELD • SURREY

(London to Eastbourne Road).

Telephone : Lingfield 172.

Déjà bien connu pour sa Cuisine Continentale et ses vins selectionés. Vous annonce ses specialités du Dimanche :-

Poule au Pot Henri IV • Sauté de Boeuf Bourguignone
 Carré d'Agneau Boulangère • Escalope de Veau Vaudoise
 Tripe à la Mode de Caën

Tous les jours excepté le Samedi :-

La Fondue Vaudoise avec un grand choix de Vins Suisse

Restaurant disponible pour parti privé

Chambres avec Eau Ch. et salle de Bain privée

Prop.: Mr. et Mme. Henri Bally. (Suisse).