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Book Review. Blueprint of Deception: Character and Record of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers by V. Kabes and A. Sergot

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make it simple and easily understood."\(^2\) We can forgive him, however, and at the same time feel flattered with the thought that he is addressing a select audience.

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**Blueprint of Deception: Character and Record of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.** By Vladimir Kabes and Alfons Sergot.\(^1\) The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957. Pp. 365. $4.74. Late in 1955 the Notre Dame Law School received an "Invitation to the Sixth Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers" to be held the following May in Brussels. Previously, I had never heard of the Association. Although the invitation and the accompanying circular shed some light on the purpose of the organization, my confidence was not inspired. The fifteen officers of the organization included six jurists from Soviet Russia and other communist-dominated countries. The circular suggested a plan whereby there would be a full-scale cooperation between lawyers from the West and those lawyers working under systems not only in which the government is always right, but in which political considerations rather than legal reasoning are decisive in the disposal of litigation. The word "Democratic" in the name of the Association tended further to increase my suspicions. Undoubtedly, no other word in the history of mankind has been so misused and abused. In recent years, "Democracy" has become a favorite term of the Russian and Western communists who, under its appealing cover, are trying to sell the world a dictatorship of small cliques, violations of human rights, extermination of dissenters, and hatred towards all Western culture and Christian heritage.

I put the invitation into one of my desk drawers and forgot it was there. Recently, the Association was brought to my mind by the publication of *Blueprint of Deception: Character and Record of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers*. As the reader may have only a limited knowledge of the IADL and, therefore, may not realize the hidden aims of this organization or what strong forces stand behind it, I deem it appropriate to deviate from the orthodox approach in writing a book review to offer those who are unable to read this book an opportunity to learn some basic facts about the Association. Therefore, in addition to commenting on the work of the authors, a few highlights in the history of the IADL will be specifically pointed out.

After the second world war, and particularly after the Nuremberg Trial, the exchange of ideas between East and West was more lively than ever since the October revolution in Russia. Many idealists of the Western World dreamed of the possibility of establishing a permanent

\(^2\) Text, p. 179.

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\(^1\) Vladimir M. Kabes is presently employed as legal consultant and researcher, and is working toward a degree in comparative law. Alfons P. Sergot is engaged as a legal analyst and researcher.
and sincere cooperation between the communist and democratic countries. The prestige of the Soviet Union was at its peak, and any get-together suggested by the East found immediate approval from the West. The West believed the time was opportune to establish international organizations invoking universal ideals of democracy, liberty, and fraternity which could be directed from the rear by fellow-travelers and good-faith naive believers in the friendly smiles of the “Sun” of Moscow. A method of fostering Russian “Democracy” was to wrest control of existing pre-war associations by supporting for board membership candidates who, although they were not necessarily communists, could be easy prey in Red hands. The attack was carried on a broad front. Soon after the end of the war, the international labor movement came under the control of the communists and the fate of the international students' union was similar.

Of course, in the attack, the lawyers were not forgotten. The organization which could become a “Trojan horse” in the ranks of faithful supporters of international friendship and human rights was the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. As a forerunner of this Association, the authors point to the communist lawyers' front organization, MOPR (International Organization for Support of the Fighters of the Revolution, or International Red Aid), founded in Moscow in 1927.\(^2\) Some militant members of MOPR became co-founders of the IADL.

The First Congress of the IADL convened in Paris in 1946. The host was the Mouvement National Judiciaire, a French lawyers' association with a marked leftist flavor. In addition to avowed communist party members and sympathizers plus delegates from the Soviet Union and Poland, many “progressives” and quite a few democratic-minded lawyers attended. The American delegation was composed exclusively of members of the National Lawyers Guild whose executive secretary, Martin Popper, was instrumental in establishing the IADL as a permanent organization, and who became one of the organization's two General Secretaries, the other being Joseph Nordmann of the Mouvement National Judiciaire.\(^3\)

The activity of the organs of the IADL was directed to the course taken previously by different communist associations and governments of the Iron Curtain countries. Thus, the resolutions of the Second Congress of Brussels, 1947, included “On The Dangers From Remnants Of Nazism And Fascism,” another “On War Propaganda,” a third “On An International Commission Of Fourteen Members To Investigate The Actual Situation In Spain,” and another “On An International Commission Of Four Members To Investigate The Alleged Suspension Of Democratic Liberties In Greece.”\(^4\) Of course, the Congress was not concerned about the terror and persecutions behind the Iron Curtain!

The IADL registered some successes after its Second Congress, e.g., it was accepted as a consultative agency of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. At that point, the red element in the IADL began to suppress non-conformist ideas.

\(^2\) Text, p. 11.

\(^3\) Text, pp. 23-4.

\(^4\) Text, pp. 38-9.
The site of the next Congress was set at Prague, Czechoslovakia, where a recent coup d'état assured power to the communists. However, this event did much to contribute to a smaller representation than was present at the Second Congress. At the Congress, the Soviet delegates stated "their intention to read papers on all questions on the agenda of the Congress," and this proposal, according to the Russian delegate, Professor Trainin, "met with general support." All resolutions of the Third Congress indicated, as a Soviet source stated, "deep solidarity with the unchanging and determined policy pursued by the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and democracy."

The first resolution of the Third Congress singled out "Greece, Spain, Egypt and the USA as countries where civil liberties are either completely submerged or gravely menaced." Again, note the Congress was not concerned about the complete discarding of the very idea of civil liberties in communist countries! The political tendencies of the Congress were further illustrated by attacks on the United States which centered around the "alleged warmongering spearheaded by the monopolistic American press," and the "alleged support of neo-Nazi elements by US occupational authorities." Mr. Martin Popper, the most outstanding American delegate, stated, according to a Polish source, "that the liquidation of civil and political rights is proceeding (in the USA) on a planned basis . . . . He (Mr. Popper) emphasized that the trial of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA is meant to become the climax purporting to illegalize any expression of political activity by democratic elements." The second resolution of the Congress denounced some "propaganda activities" carried out "in the USA, Turkey, Greece, Spain, trying to incite aggression against democratic states and peace-loving nations." Another expressed concern of the Congress "about the persecutions directed against the leaders of the American Communist Party by the Government of the USA." The Council of IADL, elected at the Congress, indicated Red predominance. Western countries were represented mostly by avowed communists and the remaining seats went to delegates from behind the Iron Curtain.

Following the Congress, non-communist adherents of the IADL began to resign. Its President, René Cassin, the French Professor and Vice-President of the Conseil d'Etat, resigned in 1949 after the Bureau of the IADL voted to join the communist sponsored Peace Congress, and others followed his lead. Soon after, the first issue of the IADL's periodical, Law in the Service of Peace, appeared. In lieu of an editorial, the issue featured the Manifesto of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, and in the leading articles NATO was denounced as violating "saint provisions of

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5 Jurists from eighteen countries participated as against twenty-seven countries in Brussels. See text, pp. 46 & 48.
6 Text, p. 48.
7 Text, p. 49.
8 Text, p. 53.
9 Text, p. 54.
10 Text, p. 55.
11 Text, p. 59.
12 Text, p. 61.
the Charter" of the United Nations, while the United States was condemned for "sabotaging of the understanding in the question of control of atomic energy . . . [and] the engineering of various aggressive blocks . . . which foresee the enlargement of new constructions of strategic bases for the purpose of an aggression against the USSR and the People's Democracies . . . ." Furthermore, a purportedly official campaign in the United States "directed to convince the public opinion that communists are criminals and that their responsibility is not dependent on the commission of an act or even of its attempt" was deplored.

At the Fourth Congress of the IADL, held in 1949, much time was devoted to the discussion of the situation in Yugoslavia, which recently severed its ties with Moscow. The Yugoslav delegation was expelled from the organization on the grounds that it refused to disassociate itself from the policies of the government of its country, and because it also violated the by-laws of the association "through condoning internal fascist terror" and the UN Charter "by a foreign policy jeopardizing peace." Speeches delivered at the Congress followed the usual pattern, criticism of the policies of the United States and Great Britain. The newly elected President was Dennis N. Pritt, "a radical Socialist with a long record of faithful fellow-traveling." Under his leadership, the IADL headed towards full integration with other Red front organizations.

At the Council of the IADL meeting in 1950, political refugees from communist countries and displaced persons were branded as "fascist collaborators avoiding justice," and concern was expressed about the Western "democratic activists," i.e., individuals of communist affiliation who violated the laws of their respective countries. Upon the eruption of the Korean hostilities, the IADL immediately adopted the Soviet line of "unprovoked American intervention in domestic Korean affairs," and branded indignantly the United Nations' decision to oppose the advance of communist troops. At the same time, the IADL demanded that the representation of China in the World Organization be transferred to Red China.

The stand taken by the IADL on the Korean problem cost it its status as a consultative body of the UN. It was withdrawn on July 20, 1950, and never reinstated in spite of continuous efforts of the Association. At the same time, a heavy blow was administered to the Association by the French Government which banned the Secretariat General from the organization's present headquarters in Paris and prohibited further activity of the Association's executive offices on French soil.

The second issue of the IADL's periodical featured two Russian contributions on themes utterly alien to Soviet practice, "The Principle of National Sovereignty—The Most Important Principle of International

13 Text, p. 74.
14 Text, pp. 74-5.
15 Text, p. 76.
16 Text, p. 80.
17 Text, p. 86.
18 Text, p. 95.
Law,” and “The Offensive of the Reaction Against the Rights of Collective Bargaining and of Strike.” In other contributions, the purported oppression of the communists in India was deplored as well as that of “peace fighters” in Greece and Turkey. Titles of some other articles speak for themselves: “The International Court of Justice in the Service of the Anglo-American Imperialism,” and the “Aggression Against Korea in the Light of International Law.”

At the Fifth Congress of the Association in 1951, much attention was devoted to the alleged “war crimes committed by the imperialist intervention forces in Korea,” and the suggestion to elect a commission to investigate these crimes was adopted. The next topic for consideration was the cause of the American Negroes—a pet subject of speakers and writers all over the world who fight against the United States. Unfortunately, the situation in the south offers them an abundant source of ammunition for use in their fight. In the United States, it is clear that the shameful discrimination against the colored, say, in Georgia, should not be identified with the situation in other states or with the official policy of the United States Government. But in the broad circles of the world’s public opinion, the intricacies of the federal-state relations in this country are little known, and events occurring in some states of the Union which the federal government is unable to restrain result in a wave of indignation all over the world against the United States. The Negro problem in the south is one of the main factors which arrest the development of friendly feelings toward the United States in many countries, particularly in Asia and Africa. Some true facts, standing alone, are sufficient to raise strong disapproval, but the enemies of the United States jump at them, exaggerate them, comment on them, and have in them a most successful tool in their anti-American propaganda. For example, at the Fifth Congress of the IADL it was claimed that in 1948 alone, 530 Negroes were lynched in the United States.

The year 1951 was also significant for the IADL because of the decision of the National Lawyers Guild to withdraw from the Association. This decision was prompted partly by the disagreement of the Guild with the expulsion of the Yugoslav lawyers from the Association, and partly by the difficulties the Guild experienced in the House Committee on Un-American Activities by virtue of its membership in the IADL. However, friendly relations between the Guild and the IADL were maintained.

The next action of the IADL was the sending of a commission to Korea to investigate the alleged illegal conduct of warfare by United States troops. The most remarkable finding of the commission was that the Americans led a bacteriological warfare. Other findings included the use of chemical weapons, air raids on civilian population, massacres and other cruelties. Based on these statements, an energetic anti-American campaign followed. The close cooperation between the IADL and the North Korean and Chinese Reds in the Korean conflict was one of the most important reasons for the British Labour Party deciding to make the Association members ineligible for Labour Party membership.

In 1953, the IADL engaged in a vigorous campaign of protests against

20 Text, pp. 101-2.
21 Text, p. 117.
the execution of the convicted spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. A great effort was expended for the preparation of an International Conference of Lawyers for the Defense of Democratic Liberties. The Conference met in January of 1954 in the Soviet zone of Vienna. The speeches delivered at the Conference repeated the central theme of the meeting, namely, the juxtaposition of fascism in capitalist countries and of the blessings of genuine democracy in the Soviet orbit. At the same time, the third issue of the IADL's periodical, *Law in the Service of Peace*, appeared. This time, to make the magazine appealable to the Western reader, the issue did not contain any contributions by a Soviet author.

The next preoccupation of the IADL was McCarthyism. One of the topics on the agenda of the Association's Council meeting in 1954 was "McCarthyism as a Technique Serving to Destroy the Juridical Protection of the Individual." At the same time, the association condemned the American H-bomb tests and the resulting fall-out which injured some Japanese fishermen. It then established a commission to investigate the sentencing of three West German citizens for anti-constitutional activities. The Association uttered protests against the outlawing of the Communist Party in the United States by a congressional act of August 24, 1954, and the proceedings begun before the Constitutional Court of Western Germany aimed at the banning of the Communist Party in that country.

The year 1955 witnessed efforts on the part of the IADL to gain a strong foothold in Asia. Starting in April 1955 the Association re-aligned its policies to the new Soviet policy of promoting the idea of co-existence. Some contributions to the new issue of *Law in the Service of Peace* were written reflecting this spirit. Again, following the improvement in the relations between Tito and the new Soviet boss, Khrushchev, the IADL decided to re-admit the Yugoslav section to the Association. One of the most deceptive actions ever undertaken by the IADL was the setting up of a group of fellow-traveler lawyers under the name of the International Commission of Jurists. The purpose was to confuse this group with the famous International Commission of Jurists at The Hague which, in its "Justice Enslaved" and other well documented publications, collected materials showing shameless misadministration of justice behind the Iron Curtain for political ends. One of the first steps of the new commission was to condemn the Adenauer regime for its fight with communism.

The Sixth Congress of the IADL took place in May 1956 in Brussels. Non-communist participants in this affair were scarce—a sharp contrast to the previous Brussels Congress of 1947. The Vice-President of the IADL, the French jurist, Leon-Caen, sent a letter to President Pritt warning the Association against "excessive tendencies toward preoccupation with questions of fundamentally political rather than juridical nature" and deploring "an evident absence of critical spirit toward Socialist countries." Actually, for the first time in the history of the AIDL, voices criticizing the administration of justice in the Iron Curtain countries during the past years were heard; however, this was due not

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22 Text, p. 203.
23 Text, p. 280.
to the exhortations of the French jurist, but to the new approach officially taken in the Soviet Union toward the terror and abuses of the Stalin era. Again, for the first time, some delegates admitted the failure of the Association in their respective countries and as a whole. The most meaningful admission identifying the IADL with communism was expressed by the British. "Our work has been greatly hampered by the atmosphere of the cold war. The legal profession in our country is overwhelmingly anti-communist and disapproves of our connection with the IADL."²⁴

For the first time no resolutions were passed by the Congress. An amendment in the by-laws of the IADL provided that a Congress should meet "at least once in three years" instead of every year as provided previously²⁵

The abundant materials concerning the IADL, gathered by the authors, stop at the Sixth Congress of the Association. On the cover of the book, it is stated that the IADL as well as other communist front organizations suffered a heavy setback through the brutal Soviet intervention in Hungary. However, there may be no doubt that the IADL will continue its activities, protests, campaigns of libels and slanders, congresses praising the communist "democracies," attacks on the West, and efforts to attract genuine democratic lawyers to its ranks. Therefore, the authors rendered a particularly important service to the lawyers of the free world in painstakingly collecting evidence on the IADL. By reading the book, the lawyers will be warned against deception and under-cover-work; they will familiarize themselves with the names of fellow-travelers among the jurists of all nations; they will get acquainted with some American lawyers spreading hatred abroad toward their motherland; and they will learn about the perversion of using the high ideals of law and justice to promote the cause of oppression and tyranny, and the discarding of all elementary principles of human dignity and liberty in order to achieve the final goal of the Kremlin's dictatorship over the universe.

W. J. Wagner*

²⁴ The quotation is taken from the report of the Haldane Society, the British member society of the IADL. Text, p. 299.
²⁵ Text, p. 300.
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