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LETTER FROM DEVEREUX -- March 18, 1959

Re: The December Congress of the ICFIU and the
Recent meeting of the ICFIU Sub-Committee
in Geneva.

1. The recent meeting of the ICFIU Sub-Committee in Geneva (14-15 March 1959) was characterized by the following somewhat dramatic developments.
 - a) Sir Vincent Pascho arrived by plane and looked as if he were dying. Within a matter of hours he was found to have acute appendicitis, left Geneva, and returned to London very sick and is now in a hospital recovering from an operation;
 - b) Last Thursday or Friday the two cronies of the office, Oldenbrook and Fred Strauss, had a violent quarrel over financial problems of the ICFIU. The upshot was that Strauss refused to go to Geneva and Gottfurcht, who had been told he could not go, was ultimately invited by Oldenbrook in order to cover the absence of Strauss;
 - c) Charlie Millard launched a horrible attack on the USA and the AFL-CIO, he was engaged bitterly by James Carey, and the upshot was that Carey lashed Millard and Millard announced to those present (Schnitzler, Oldenbrook, etc.) that he was finished and would resign effective the July meeting of the ICFIU Executive Board. On return to Brussels on Tuesday, Millard collapsed in his office, was incoherent, and was taken home by his lady secretary and the driver of the ICFIU.
 - d) With Millard out of the office in doctor's care for the nonce, Jay Kraus has returned from Geneva ahead of schedule and seems to be thoroughly frightened because of the gossip in the office (which has been going on for over a year) that he has been deliberately sending Charlie on long airplane trips in an effort to kill Millard off and be done with the problem.
 2. Finally, when in Geneva during the past few days, I have conferred with certain ITB officials, and the new Secretary of the ITB Conference (Mr. Zorka Zorka, an old and intimate friend from my early days in Brussels). It can be confirmed that the ITB have completed the break with the ICFIU and the leadership of Oldenbrook, that the ITB can independently finance their own office and organization (under Zorka in Geneva) and that they are anxious to work with the AFL-CIO in launching what can be called independent activities throughout the economically underdeveloped areas of the world.
- In this connection, when Bill Schnitzler was at a luncheon this past Sunday with Oldenbrook and Company, Oldenbrook has agreed (he said he always did) that if any ITB affiliate or any national centre sends a request to the AFL-CIO for the aid, the AFL-CIO will nominate a man from the trade for the former, a general aide in the latter -- and the man in the former will go to the country as an ITB delegate at the expense of the AFL-CIO and, in the latter case, he will go as a representative of the ICFIU, working under ICFIU policy but paid by the AFL-CIO. The only provision is that the ICFIU is to be informed of the fact and the name, and if Oldenbrook objects he will give his reasons to the AFL-CIO in writing. As we were talking with Bill Schnitzler on Sunday, the last of the premises Oldenbrook will be found in the immediate neighborhood of several West European countries.

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A prominent I.T. friend in Geneva told me that Oldenbroek had made the concession to the AFL-CIO in order to try and find a suitable man to substitute for his job this coming December. If I know Oldenbroek, this probably not very wide of the mark.

3. The following are some of the facts regarding the general statements made in the first two paragraphs:

- (a) The departure of Sir Vincent Tewson cast a dagger over the board meeting and has resulted in the postponement of many pressing problems (such as Africa) to the July Executive Board session in Brussels, even the ICFTU-AFL-CIO agreement with Oldenbroek of this past Sunday as I understand, subject to the agreement of Sir Vincent Tewson.
- (b) The bitter quarrel between Strauss and Oldenbroek is, I believe over the financial solvency of the ICFTU. Strauss has been increasingly critical of the waste of funds by the ICFTU not only through the Solidarity Fund but in other directions. He has taken the position (as he has told me privately) that if Kraus and Millard continue to take money out of the window at the current rate, the ICFTU reserve funds will be gone within a year and the ICFTU faces bankruptcy. Strauss is further of the mind that a wage increase is needed in order to retain the better elements of the staff; because I am heading the wage increase drive, Oldenbroek is bitterly opposed to any wage increase unless I agree to discharge several employees. The fight between Strauss and Oldenbroek is particularly significant as Strauss would never dare challenge Oldenbroek unless he had powerful support, i.e., Sir Vincent Tewson and the British T.U.C.
- (c) The Millard attack on the AFL-CIO and the USA came, I understand from Bill, at the end of the Sunday luncheon when Charlie declared that the U.S. Government had awarded 10 travel grants to Canadian Labor leaders for study in the U.S.A. Millard declared this to be going over the head of the ICFTU and launched a bitter attack on the AFL-CIO for not having intervened to quash the U.S. Government and its travel grants. Jim Carey (replied I understand that Schnitzler said little if anything) and really put Millard in his place. Millard was completely off-base and was told by Carey. The upshot of the fight which I understand was quite bitter, was Charlie's promise that he would resign on or before the Executive Board this coming July. If Charlie really resigns (Bill took notes and the resignation is on the record), that means his special assistant Miller goes and, more drastically, it opens the door for Jay Kraus to try and take over as Director of Organization.

After Charlie left Geneva and returned to Brussels in a very sick state, he phoned Jay Kraus in Geneva (Tuesday noon, I understand) and had a chat with Kraus informing him that he was very sick and could not make the long trip to Africa which Charlie had planned for Millard. Kraus agreed to return to Brussels early but, I was told, didn't even have his luggage to tell Charlie he hoped he would soon be well. The reason for the trip to Africa existing.

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Secretary was so sick that the ICFTU driver had to pilot Charlie and his car back to his home.

- (d) Both Oldenbroek and Krane are frightened by the very real revolt of the ITB and their determination not only to run their own show but to work with the AFL-CIO and PGB in expanding independent operations. They key man in all of this is my old friend and confidante, Borek Zofka, who has left the ICFTU payroll and is now the independent secretary of the ITB organization in Geneva. As Peacock of Food and Drink said Sunday night at a dinner party tendered by Schnitzler, the ITB setting up of its organization in Geneva and the expansion of independent activities means, in fact that the dying ICFTU is already being succeeded by a "new international trade union organization." This is to me the most significant thing I learned in Geneva during the past few days.

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1. Possibly the most interesting feature of the Millard explosion is that Jay Krane not only returned to Brussels post haste (arriving last night) but he called a meeting of his staff, including the stenographers who are friendly with me, to explain that Charlie had "gone mad" in Geneva and provoked the fight with the AFL-CIO.

I had dinner with the girls last night.

If I know Oldenbroek and Jay Krane, they charged Charlie up with the dope on Ghana and egged him into what he thought was an honest issue. When Millard tangled with the AFL-CIO in a fight which he could not possibly win, however, Oldenbroek and Krane miscalculated for it was not Schnitzler who led the attack but Jim Carey -- and a man regarded as friendly to the Administration of the ICFTU. Jim was honestly incensed by the sheer stupidity of the Millard attack and he did a straightforward trade union job (from what I have heard of it). This has rattled Krane for it is not the so-called "Meany faction" causing the trouble but the so-called "Reuther-Carey" faction.

From what the girls have told me, Krane was very indefinite about who attacked Millard just as he has made no reference to the fact that Millard has resigned.

Krane and Oldenbroek have desired the resignation of Charlie Millard since he arrived in August 1956 -- but to have that resignation forced by Jim Carey is almost too much for the connivers here.

2. The impending resignation of Charlie Millard and his departure from Brussels scene by July 1959 completely alters the power situation within the ICFTU Secretariat. If Pres. George Meany of the AFL-CIO takes a positive position and advances Irving Brown or Joe Kaenin to succeed Charles Millard, the installation of a strong, dynamic, aggressive positive man as Director of Organization will not only lead Oldenbroek to retire at the 1959 Congress (now a real possibility if the AFL-CIO takes vigorous action -- but will mean that Jay Krane will be reduced to sise and the positively rotten and poisonous influence of this professional blackmailer and corruption artist will see its end.

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I am convinced that the basic problem is not merely Oldenbroek but Jay Krane. Remove Krane or reduce him to sine and the problem of Oldenbroek will be solved either by resignation in December 1959 or early retirement six months later. Oldenbroek wants to retire. So does his wife.

3. In my memorandum of 12 January 1959 outlining the possible strategy and tactics that could be used to completely changing the content and direction of the ICFTU, I saw the chances for action at the Sub-Committee Meeting of March 1959, the ILO Session this June and the Executive Council and Consultative Council to meet early in July now not in Brussels but in the city of Berlin. I also saw a center of power and a source of leverage in the ITU Conference of 12-13 February 1959.

The ITU Conference has produced a semi-independent ILO center which could be in fact the fate of a new international trade union organization; and the March meeting of the sub-Committee has seen the eventual removal of Charlie Millard from the scene and the re-opening of the question of the nomination and election of a young, powerful and dynamic Director of Organization who can take on Oldenbroek and Krane and put the ICFTU back on the original tracks laid in 1949-1950.

4. In the same memorandum of 12 January I could see the possibility of strong and vigorous independent activities through the ITU. That has now not only become a vigorous possibility but the deal Oldenbroek made last Sunday with Schnitzler and Garey puts the seal of approval on the same. All that remains is to make nominations, get the TUC to okay it -- and get cracking.

Recommendations

1. That the AFL-CIO at once consider nominating and vigorously backing the man to replace Charlie Millard. This is absolutely essential and crucial.
2. The story of Millard's resignation should be gotten about just to make sure that he really does resign by June or July. Now that the Oldenbroek-Krane plot backfired with the Garey attack, they might try to get Charlie to stay on for another several months purely to block the election of a truly vigorous and intelligent Director of Organization. Do not under-estimate the political cunning of Oldenbroek.
3. With Irving travelling as much as he does, I am quite confident that by the time of the ILO session in Geneva, this June, that a rival candidate (or victim) can be found to at least stand against Oldenbroek. If he is non-European and non-white, he will win hands down. Of that I am sure.
4. In preparation for all this, I propose to go down to Geneva during the early part of April to confer with Zofka and our friendly ILO friends about who can be dug up to run against Oldenbroek and what can be done to exploit the opening created by the departure of Charlie Millard. This is to be the major break-through which I am sure would come this year. It has come.

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As to myself, Schmitzler agreed to my coming back during mid-April for consultation and a chance to sell my house and settle my mother (now 75) in a home or a good Catholic boarding institution in Brooklyn. I would like to spend much time in Washington being re-oriented and exchanging information, and also to have many hours with Rudy Fauci who can be extremely useful in June in terms of ILO contacts which Irving and myself can exploit in terms of what can be done at the July meeting of the ILO Executive Board.

2. If all this and more is done, I am now more confident that the ILO can be saved and the tenth Congress will not be the burial we thought it would be a few months ago but the revitalization of what can and must become a dynamic and vigorous international free trade union organization.

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~~SECRET~~LETTERS FROM GENEVA

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**DISPUTE WITH THE ICFTU LEADERSHIP
AND THE RECENT SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING
IN Geneva**

March 20, 1959

I can now confirm that the quarrel between Finance Officer Strauss and General Secretary Oldenbrook is very real and very serious. Strauss is of the opinion that the leaders of the ICFTU are virtually tossing money out of the windows and that within a year the ICFTU shall be bankrupt. Strauss bitterly opposed the holding of the Sub-Committee meeting in Geneva. The ICFTU staff which went (many of whom did nothing) cost U.S. \$3,000. With Belgian wage and price levels what they are, that is roughly US \$10,000. Strauss said that it was a complete waste of precious funds.

2. Meanwhile last week Oldenbrook and Gottfurcht had a bitter quarrel. Oldenbrook accused Gottfurcht of helping Deverall to draft the Staff Committee Wage Demand Document. Oldenbrook thought he detected the hand of Gottfurcht in the two page demand which I drew up with the Staff -- and after a fight Oldenbrook finally conceded that Gottfurcht had nothing to do with inspiring Deverall.

To me such petty quarrels are sure signs of persons being rattled and very worried about the future of the ICFTU and the fate of the General Secretary at the Tenth Congress.

3. The clipping on the first page, while slanderous in that it associates Mike Fittas, Archbishop Makarios and Vincente Lombardo Toledano -- while slanderous it does play up the fact that for once the British colonialists took a good share of the criticism at Geneva.

4. The next Executive Board will be held during 29 June-4 July 1959 in the City of Berlin.

5. The Sub-Committee took an excellent position on the Algerian situation and came out flatly for self-government and self-determination.

6. To me the most significant items to come from Geneva was the marching of Charlie Millard to the precipice (or the brink) -- and the growing feud between Oldenbrook and his Finance Officer. I cannot conceive that Fred Strauss is taking on Oldenbrook and Ernne without the backing of Sir Vincent Tresson.

7. I am taking Strauss out to dinner the night of 26 March to pursue the financial problem further.

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31 March 1970.

Mr. George Kray, Secretary
 AFSCM
 815 - 16th Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C.
 20006

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 815 - 16th Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C.
 20006

Dear Bill and President Kray:-

1. The 2nd Executive Board meeting of the ICPFI will be staged in the City of Berlin during 24 June through 26 July 1970. Proposals, protocols and so forth, if they are to be on the agenda, must be submitted to the General Secretariat no later than 15 May 1970.
2. The Tenth Anniversary Congress of the ICPFI will be staged in the City of Brasilia during 8 - 12 October of this year. Proposals and protocols, including any candidates for the General Secretariatship, will have to be in by 1 September 1970.
3. With regard to the January meeting of the Executive Board in Berlin, I would like one crucial item will be the resignation(?) of Charles Willard as the election by the Executive Board of Willard's successor. The Secretary-General will be unwilling unless that Willard not resign at this time probably because of the fear that the AFSCM may play an active part in nominating a younger and dynamic successor for Willard. I personally feel that the issue of Willard's resignation and successor should be resolved in order to permit a most thoughtful and election of a successor who can breath life into the ICPFI. Given an acceptance of the fact of Willard's resignation problem. The problem is that Willard is clearly not capable of understanding the way he has been manipulated over so all the understand that there was no the option for him to do so.

~~SECRET~~ Confidential Report to Secretary Henry and Mr. Burns M.S., continued. page 2.

Willard must be forced to go and in order that he can also know the politics and the gotten structure of the Guerrillas continue in and help the long-range planning operation. Thus we will try to make so soon as the Government to come out openly to no realize the political implications of the situation. A very foul shot was taken by the recently Sprawled Party and even the beginning of a war day & night and the political side have been taken into account.

I therefore suggest that Willard ~~not~~ consider attending the Geneva Conference, but only because of the historic importance of Berlin and the role played by Paul, Koenig at 1953 at the time of the Berlin Uprising, but also because only the overwhelming weight of Prime Minister Kennedy and other UN forces & Soviet Union and aftermath the USSR energy about the UN which would not think about the UN's own position and the UN's role in the UN.

4. The present situation is very serious. After becoming a high school boy wrote after me that he was in a position in which there was nothing really very important. But still he is much more interested in right questions than in the wrong social issues -- ~~and~~ I think that he personally is intelligent. I think that where the resistance has to date is the suggestion that the Soviets dominate over the beginning a part of the struggle against colonialism -- Our cause, the Imperial and the Soviet, will probably refer to colonialism in Africa, the rest of the UN and other colonial areas of Mexico, and so forth etc. etc.

Enough must also be given to the resistance in the creation of an identity.

May we not do this at Paris in socialist unity & will not end

itself as the creation of an APR-UN entity until the UN does the same

and if it fails to do so then the UN is to be divided into

two parts, one for the UN and the other for the APR-UN.

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The other crucial problem before the ICPW Congress will be the nomination and election of the General Secretary. I think as usual but less formally candidates will be nominated and will be called for a debate. Leon Blum's 10 is sending his intention to resign several months later in order to accommodate with the job the Compt. Finances AS. Bruno Tassan-Gottron, is known as an intelligent man. Perhaps would be a candidate for the ICPW.

There is no real probability that a 53-year old ICP President will accept the nomination for Compt. Fin. It is assumed that he will be supported by the UCP and the AFL-CIO. If such support is forthcoming, and if the man does stand for re-election - it is most likely that U.S. Steel will not accept but will nominate the Compt. Fin. The former General Secretary Louis Fréchette has been mentioned as supporting his office at this time in a more significant role than the one he had during his election.

I am going to discuss this matter to have direct with the one man who could possibly stand (and will most probably be the favorite). With I know of his intentions comes from Ireland we have seen him around the past few weeks. His purpose now is to find out as accurately as possible whether or not he would stand for the General Secretariatsip - and, if he will, his conditions.

The elimination of sulfur at the July Executive Board meeting could constitute a breakthrough. The retirement of Vizcarrondo in December should mark the end of a polemics over who could meet a true revitalization of the ICPW and its struggle against colonialism and capitalism, the last two trade unions all over the world.

On the other hand, if we do specifically agree, for the January Executive Board meeting to be the occasion of holding concrete talks with the ICPW in this as the action of the ICPW within the ICPW. I am seeing Vizcarrondo within the next six days, so that there is no longer concrete meeting that can be directly representative of ICPW within the ICPW - and there is no need to wait for Jan.

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Dec 1968

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in Geneva

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 - a) Sir Vincent Tewson arrived by plane and looked as if he were dying. Within a matter of hours he was found to have acute appendicitis, left Geneva, and returned to London very sick and is now in a hospital recovering from an operation.
 - b) Last Thursday or Friday the two cronies of the office, Oldenbrook and Fred Strauss, had a violent quarrel over financial problems of the ICFIU. The upshot was that Strauss refused to go to Geneva and Gottfurcht, who had been told he could not go, was ultimately invited by Oldenbrook in order to cover the absence of Strauss.
 - c) Charlie Millard launched a horrible attack on the USA and the AFL-CIO, he was engaged bitterly by James Carey, and the upshot was that Carey lashed Millard and Millard announced to those present (Schnitzler, Oldenbrook, etc.) that he was finished and would resign effective the July meeting of the ICFIU Executive Board. On return to Brussels on Tuesday, Millard collapsed in his office, was incoherent, and was taken home by his lady secretary and the driver of the ICFIU.
 - d) With Millard out of the office in doctor's care for the nonce, Jay Kranz has returned from Geneva ahead of schedule and seems to be thoroughly frightened because of the gossip in the office (which has been going on for over a year) that he has been deliberately sending Charlie on long airplane trips in an effort to kill Millard off and be done with the problem.
2. Finally, when in Geneva during the past few days, I have conferred with certain IIS officials, and the new Secretary of the IIS Conference (Mr. Borek Zorka, an old and intimate friend from my early days in Brussels). It can be confirmed that the IIS have completed the break with the ICFIU and the leadership of Oldenbrook, that the IIS can independently finance their own office and organization (under Zorka in Geneva) and that they are anxious to work with the AFL-CIO in launching what can be called independent activities throughout the economically underdeveloped areas of the world.

In this connection, when Bill Schnitzler was at a luncheon this past Sunday with Oldenbrook and Company, Oldenbrook has agreed (he said he always did) that if any IIS affiliate or any national centre sends a request to the AFL-CIO for the aid, the AFL-CIO will nominate a man from the trade for the former, a general aide in the latter -- and the man in the former will go to the country as an IIS delegate at the expense of the AFL-CIO and, in the latter case, he will go as a representative of the ICFIU, working under ICFIU policy but paid by the AFL-CIO. The only provision is that the ICFIU is to be informed of the fact and the name, and if Oldenbrook objects he will give his reasons to the AFL-CIO in writing. As we were talking with Bill Schnitzler on Sunday, the test of the promises Oldenbrook made will be found in the immediate nomination of several naps in order to test Brussels.

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A prominent I.T.E friend in Geneva said that Oldenbroek has made the concession to the AFL-CIO in order to ~~try off~~ any possible rival candidate for his job this coming December. If I know Oldenbroek, this probably not very wide of the mark.

3. The following are some of the facts regarding the general statements made in the first paragraphs:

- (a) The departure of Sir Vincent Tewson cast a damper over the board meeting and has resulted in the postponement of many pressing problems (such as Africa) to the July Executive Board session in Brussels. even the ICFTU-AFL-CIO agreement with Oldenbroek of this past Sunday as I understand, subject to the agreement of Sir Vincent Tewson.
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as Strauss would never dare challenge Oldenbroek unless he had powerful support, i.e. Sir Vincent Tewson and the British T.U.C.
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Comments:

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2. The impending resignation of Charlie Millard and his departure from Brussels seems by July 1959 completely alters the power situation within the ICFTU Secretariat. If Pres. George Meany of the AFL-CIO takes a positive position and advances Irving Brown or Joe Keenan to succeed Charles Millard, the installation of a strong, dynamic, aggressive positive man as Director of Organization will not only lead Oldenbrook to retire at the 10th Congress (now a real possibility if the AFL-CIO takes vigorous action -- but will mean that Jay Krane will be reduced to size and the positively rotten and poisonous influence of this professional blackmailer and corruption artist will see its end).

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3. In my memorandum of 12 January 1959 outlining the possible strategy and tactics that could be used to completely changing the content and direction of the IFTU, I saw the chances for action at the Sub-Committee meeting of March 1959, the ILO Session this June and the Executive Council and Consultative Council to meet early in July now not in Brussels but in the city of Berlin. I also saw a center of power and a source of leverage in the ITB Conference of 12-13 February 1959.

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Recommendations

1. That the AFL-CIO at once consider nominating and vigorously backing the man to replace Charlie Millard. This is absolutely essential and crucial.
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3. With Irving travelling as much as he does, I am quite confident that by the time of the ILO session in Geneva, this June, that a rival candidate (or victim) can be found to at least stand against Oldenbroek. If he is non-European and non-white, he will win hands down. Of that I am sure.
4. In preparation for all this, I propose to go down to Geneva during the early part of April to confer with Zofka and our friendly ITB friends about who can be dug up to run against Oldenbroek and what can be done to exploit the opening created by the departure of Charlie Millard. This is to me the major break-through which I was sure would come this year. It has come.

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IN Geneva

March 20, 1959

I can now confirm that the quarrel between Finance Officer Strauss and General Secretary Oldenbroek is very real and very serious. Strauss is of the opinion that the leaders of the ICFTU are virtually tossing money out of the window and that within a year the ICFTU shall be bankrupt. Strauss bitterly opposed the holding of the Sub-Committee meeting in Geneva. The ICFTU staff which went (many of whom did nothing) cost U.S. \$3,000. With Belgian wage and price levels what they are, that is roughly US \$10,000. Strauss said that it was a complete waste of precious funds.

2. Meanwhile last week Oldenbroek and Gottfurcht had a bitter quarrel. Oldenbroek accused Gottfurcht of helping Deverall to draft the Staff Committee Wage Demand Document. Oldenbroek though he detected the hand of Gottfurcht in the two page demand which I drew up with the Staff -- and after a fight Oldenbroek finally conceded that Gottfurcht had nothing to do with inspiring Deverall.

To me such petty quarrels are sure signs of persons being rattled and very worried about the future of the ICFTU and the fate of the General Secretary at the Tenth Congress.

3. The clipping on the first page, while slanderous in that it associates Mike Pinhas, Archbishop Makarios and Vincente Lombardo Toledano -- while slanderous it does play up the fact that for once the British colonialists took a good share of the criticism at Geneva.

4. The next Executive Board will be held during 29 June-1 July 1959 in the City of Berlin.

5. The Sub-Committee took an excellent position on the Algerian situation and came out flatly for self-government and self-determination.

6. To me the most significant items to come from Geneva was the marching of Charlie Millard to the precipice (or the brink) -- and the growing feud between Oldenbroek and his Finance Officer. I cannot conceive that Fred Strauss is taking on Oldenbroek and Kraus without the backing of Sir Vincent Tewson.

7. I am taking Strauss out to dinner the night of 26 March to worsen the financial problem further.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

31 March 1969.

Mr. George Meany, President,
 AFL-CIO,
 815 - 16th Street, N.W.,
 Washington, D.C.,
 State Suite

Re: 26th Executive Board of ICFTU
In July and the Tenth Congress
In December 1969.

Dear Sir and President Meany:-

1. The 26th Executive Board meeting of the ICFTU will be staged in the City of Berlin during 29 June through to 4 July 1969. Resolutions, proposals and so forth, if they are to be on the agenda, must be submitted to the General Secretary not before the 22 May 1969.
2. The Tenth Anniversary Congress of the ICFTU will be staged in the City of Brussels during 8 - 18 December of this year. Resolutions and proposals, including any nominations for the General Secretarship, will have to be in by 1 September 1969.
3. With regard to the June/July Meeting of the Executive Board in Berlin, I submit that one crucial issue will be the resignation(?) of Charles Hillard and the election by the Executive Board of Hillard's successor. The Secretary-Generalship is seemingly anxious that Hillard not resign at this time probably because of the fear that the AFL-CIO may play an active part in anointing a younger and dynamic successor for Hillard. I personally feel that the issue of Hillard's resignation and retirement should be pressed in order to permit a break-through and the election of a successor who can breathe life into the ICFTU. There is no question of the age of Hillard - it is no problem. The problem is that Hillard is simply not capable of understanding the way he has been manipulated nor can he understand that those who serve him despise him utterly.

~~ORPHET~~

~~Confidential~~SECRET
Approved for Release: 2017/06/26 C06419394
CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION --controlled - Page 10

Hillard must be favored to get out in order that a man who knows the politics and the rotten atmosphere of the International can come in and begin the long-overdue clean-up operation. Please urge Mr. Hillard to resign and for Oldenkrook to ~~now~~ but simply do not replace the political implications of Oldenkrook. I really feel that any break-through at the June-July Executive Board meeting can mean the beginning of a new era in the ICFTU and the International free trade union movement.

I therefore respectfully urge that President HEARY consider attending the

~~June-July Executive Board meeting~~ but only because of the historic impor-

tance of Berlin and the role played by Pres. Heary in 1953 at the time of the Berlin Uprising, but also because only the overwhelming weight of

Pres. Heary's personality and dignity can bring about a basic change and effectuate the type of change within the ICFTU which would cut the Gordian knot of Jay Kimm and inject new life and new blood into the ICFTU.

4. The preparation for the tenth Congress needs like scratching a high school boy wrote after wondering how he could make up an agenda on which there was nothing really very important. The ICFTU on 26 March asked all affiliates to submit comments on its DRAFT AGENDA for the Tenth World Congress — and submit them to Brussels by 15 May 1962. I think that among the comments that could be made is the suggestion that the Agenda include near the beginning a report on the struggle against colonialism — Communist, old European, and so forth, with specific reference to colonialism in Africa, the work of the FFTU and other colonial arms of Moscow, and so forth and so on.

There must also be given to the nomination for the position of an Auditor.

Why we did not do this at Tunis is something which I still cannot understand as the election of an AFL-CIO auditor would cost the AFL-CIO absolutely nothing and would open the door to the AFL-CIO to understand base and for all tremendous waste of funds taking place in Brussels from month to month.

SECRET
SICOM

~~Confidential Report~~JULY 1969
1969, BOSTON AND W. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Page 10

The other crucial problem facing the British Congress will be the nomination and election of the General Secretary. I have no doubt but that Brother Oldenbrook will be nominated and will be delighted to be re-elected, even though it is awaiting his induction to resign several months later in order to maneuver into the job his Compt. Friend, Mr. Herman Patent. Oldenbrook, at least, for an intelligent man, Patent would be a disaster for the ICPFU.

There is now the possibility that a 58-year old ITS President will accept the nomination in October if it is guaranteed that he will be supported by the DGB and the AFL-CIO. If such support is forthcoming, and if the man does stand for nomination -- I am then certain that Oldenbrook will not contest but will retire at the Party Congress. The present General Secretary is no fool; and the nervous atmosphere surrounding his office at this time is a sure sign that the one taking his drums is opposition.

I am going to Geneva this weekend to have dinner with the one man who could possibly stand (and could surely win) if he has the support. And I know of his intentions comes from friends who have seen him within the past few weeks. My purpose here is to find out as completely as possible whether or not he would stand for the General Secretariat -- and, if he will, his conditions.

The elimination of Gillard at the July 11th Executive Board meeting would constitute a breakthrough. The replacement of Oldenbrook in December would mark the end of a poisonous era and could mean a true revitalization of the ICPFU and its struggle against colonialism and capitalism, and for free trade unionism all over the world.

3. The one agenda item that I would specifically suggest for the July 11th Executive Board meeting will be the question of holding concrete talks with the ICPFU leaders to the union of the IFGEU within the ICPFU. I am strong against Oldenbrook within the union and shall report, but there is already concrete evidence that the man is sincere for unification of ICPFU within the IFGEU -- and there is no sense in not trying to bring the two together.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

17 April 1959.

Dear Mike:

(c/c to Jay in NY):

There has been considerable excitement here due to the receipt of word from the Minor's ITS that the caretaker of the CTC, David Salvador, has sent out invitations to all ITS to send word to their affiliates that observer and/or fraternal deleg toes are welcome at the election of new officials for the Cuban labour movement.

The telegram is so worded that the affiliates of the ICFTU are quite clearly invited but the ICFTU is not invited.

I am going over to Dusseldorf tonight to meet Berek Zofka and some of the officials of the White Collar and Clerical International which is in Convention there until next Tuesday. Berek telephoned me today (after an urgent express airmail). He is, as you know, the new Secretary of the independent and autonomous ITS centre in Geneva and one of our best friends in this part of the world.

More anon.

Most fraternally,

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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LEITCH PAPER INTERVIEW -- March 18, 1959

Re: 1st December Conference of the ICFIU and the
Recent meeting of the ICFIU Sub-Committee
in Geneva

1. The recent meeting of the ICFIU Sub-Committee in Geneva (14-15 March 1959) was characterized by the following somewhat dramatic developments.
- a) Sir Victor Lewis arrived by plane and looked as if he were dying. Within a matter of hours he was found to have acute appendicitis, lost 8 lbs., and returned to London very sick and is now in a hospital recovering from an operation. b6 per FBI b7C
 - b) Last Thursday or Friday the two cronies of the office, Oldenbrook and ~~Max~~ Strauss, had a violent quarrel over financial problems at the ITU. The upshot was that Strauss refused to go to Geneva and Gottschall, who had been told he could not go, was ultimately invited by Oldenbrook in order to cover the absence of Strauss. Germany AFRICA Switzerland
 - c) ~~Switz.~~ Belgium Charles Millard ~~Switz.~~ Germany Jim Carey ~~Switz.~~ Belgium Charlie Millard launched a horrible attack on the USA and the AFL-CIO. He was engaged bitterly by James Carey, and the upshot was that Carey lashed Millard and Millard announced to those present (Schnittler, Oldenbrook, etc.) that he was finished and would resign effective the July meeting of the ICFIU Executive Board. On return to Brussels on Tuesday, Millard collapsed in his office, was unconscious, and was taken home by his lady secretary and the driver of the ICFIU. Germany Jim Carey Switzerland
 - d) With Millard out of the office in doctor's care for the house, James Carey has returned from Geneva ahead of schedule and seems to be thoroughly frightened because of the gossip in the office (which has been going on for over a year) that he has been deliberately sending Charlie on long airplane trips in an effort to kill Millard off and be done with the problem. Belgium
- ~~Belgium~~ Switzerland
2. Finally, when in Geneva during the past few days, I have conferred with certain ITU officials, and the new Secretary of the ITU Conference (Mr. Borot Zofka, an old and intimate friend from my early days in Brussels). It can be confirmed that the ITU have compelled the break with the ICFIU and the leadership of Oldenbrook, that the ITU can independently finance their own office and organization (under Zofka in Geneva) and that they are anxious to work with the AFL-CIO in launching what can be called independent activities throughout the economically underdeveloped areas of the world.

In this connection, when Bill Schnittler was at a luncheon this past Sunday with Oldenbrook and Company, Oldenbrook has agreed (he said he always did) that if any ITU affiliate or any national centre sends a request to the AFL-CIO for aid, the AFL-CIO will nominate a man from the trade for the former, a general aide in the latter -- and the man in the former will go to the country as an ITU delegate at the expense of the AFL-CIO and, in the latter case, he will go as a representative of the ICFIU working under ICFIU policy but paid by the AFL-CIO. The only provision is that the ICFIU is to be informed of the fact and the name, and if Oldenbrook objects he will give his reasons to the AFL-CIO in writing. As we were talking with Bill Schnittler on Sunday, the text of the proposed agreement made will be found in the immediate reorganization of several nations in order to meet demands.

OLIVER

-2-

A prominent IIE friend in Geneva said that Oldenbrook has made the concession to the AFL-CIO in order to buy off any possible rival candidate for his job this coming December. If I know Oldenbrook, this probably not very wide of the mark.

3. The following are some of the facts regarding the general statements made in the first paragraph:

- (a) The departure of Sir Vincent Tewson cast a dagger over the board meeting and has resulted in the postponement of many pressing problems (such as Africa) to the July Executive Board session in Brussels. even the ILO-AFL-CIO agreement with Oldenbrook of this past Sunday as I understand, subject to the agreement of Sir Vincent Tewson.
- (b) The bitter quarrel between Strauss and Oldenbrook is, I believe over the financial solvency of the ILO. Strauss has been increasingly critical of the waste of funds by the ILO not only through the Solidarity Fund but in other directions. He has taken the position (as he has told me privately) that if Kraus and Millard continue to take money out of the window at the current rate, the ILO's reserve funds will be gone within a year and the ILO faces bankruptcy. Strauss is further of the mind that a wage increase is needed in order to retain the better elements of the staff; because I am heading the wage increase drive, Oldenbrook is bitterly opposed to any wage increase unless I agree to discharge several employees. The fight between Strauss and Oldenbrook is particularly significant as Strauss would never dare challenge Oldenbrook unless he had powerful support, i.e. Sir Vincent Tewson and the British T.U.C.
- (c) The Millard attack on the AFL-CIO and the USA case, I understand from Bill, at the end of the Friday luncheon when Charlie declared that the U.S. Government had awarded 10 travel grants to Canadian labor leaders for study in the U.S.A. Millard declared this to be going over the head of the ILO and launched a bitter attack on the AFL-CIO for not having intervened to quash the U.S. Government and its travel grants. Jim Carey (replied I understand that Schnitzler said little if anything) then really put Millard in his place. Millard was completely off-base and was told by Carey. The upshot of the fight which I understand was quite bitter, was Charlie's promise that he would resign no later than the Executive Board this coming July. If Charlie really resigns (Bill took notes and the resignation is on the record), that means his special assistant Miller goes and, more domestically, it opens the door for Jay Kraus to try and take over as Director of Organization.

After Charlie left Geneva and returned to Brussels in a very sick state, he phoned Jay Kraus in Geneva (Tuesday noon, I understand) and had a chat with Kraus informing him that he was very sick and could not make the long trip to Africa which Kraus had planned for Millard. Kraus agreed to return to Brussels early but, I am told, didn't even have the courage to tell Charlie he hoped he would soon be well. Charlie soon left the office without the assistance of any typist. (2)

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Secretary was so sick that the ILOTU driver had to pilot Charlie and his car back to his hotel.

- (d) Both Oldenbrook and Krane are frightened by the very real revolt of the IES and their determination not only to run their own show but to work with the AFL-CIO and ILO in organizing independent operations. They key man in all of this is my old friend and confidante, Korsk Zofka, who has left the ILOTU payroll and is now the independent secretary of the IES organization in Geneva. As Poulson of Food and Drink said Sunday night at a dinner party tendered by Schnitzler, the IES setting up of its organization in Geneva and the expansion of independent activities means, in fact that the dying ILOTU is already being succeeded by a "new international trade union organization." This is to me the most significant thing I learned in Geneva during the past few days.

Answers:

1. Possibly the most interesting feature of the Millard explosion is that Jay Krane not only returned to Brussels post haste (arriving last night) nor he called a meeting of his staff, including the stenographers who are friendly with us, to explain that Charlie had "gone mad" in Geneva and provoked the fight with the AFL-CIO.

I had dinner with the girls last night.

If I knew Oldenbrook and Jay Krane, they charged Charlie up with the dope on Ghans and egged him into what he thought was an honest issue. When Millard tangled with the AFL-CIO in a fight which he could not possibly win, however, Oldenbrook and Krane miscalculated for it was not Schnitzler who led the attack but Jim Carey -- and a man regarded as friendly to the Administration of the ILOTU. Jim was honestly incensed by the sheer stupidity of the Millard attack and he did a straightforward trade union job (from what I have heard of it). This has rattled Krane for it is not the so-called "Meany faction" causing the trouble but the so-called "Reuther-Carey" faction.

From what the girls have told me, Krane was very indefinite about who attacked Millard just as he has made no reference to the fact that Millard has resigned.

Krane and Oldenbrook have desired the resignation of Charlie Millard since he arrived in August 1956 -- but to have that resignation forced by Jim Carey is almost too much for the connivers here.

2. The impending resignation of Charlie Millard and his departure from Brussels soon by July 1959 completely alters the power situation within the ILOTU Secretariat. If Pres. George Meany of the AFL-CIO takes a positive position and advances Irving Brown or Joe Lisanen to succeed Charles Millard, the installation of a strong, dynamic, aggressive positive man as Director of Organization will not only lead Oldenbrook to retire at the 10th Congress (now a real possibility if the AFL-CIO takes vigorous action -- but will mean that Jay Krane will be reduced to zips and the positively rotten and poisonous influence of this professional blackmailer and corruption artist will see its end.

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I am convinced that the basic problem is not merely Oldenbroek but Jay Krane. Remove Krane or reduce him to size and the problem of Oldenbroek will be solved either by resignation in December 1959 or early retirement six months later. Oldenbroek wants to retire. So does his wife.

3. In my memorandum of 12 January 1959 outlining the possible strategy and tactics that could be used to completely changing the content and direction of the ILOITU, I saw the chances for action at the Sub-Committee Meeting of March 1959, the ILO Session this June and the Executive Council and Consultative Council to meet early in July now not in Brussels but in the city of Berlin. I also saw a center of power and a source of leverage in the ITB Conference of 12-13 February 1959.

The ITB Conference has produced a semi-independent ITB center which could be in fact the face of a new international trade union organization; and the March meeting of the sub-Committee has seen the eventual removal of Charlie Millard from the scene and the re-opening of the question of the nomination and election of a young, powerful and dynamic Director of Organisation who can take on Oldenbroek and Krane and put the ILOITU back on the original tracks laid in 1949-1950.

4. In the same memorandum of 12 January I could see the possibility of strong and vigorous independent activities through the ITB. That has now not only become a vigorous possibility but the deal Oldenbroek made last Sunday with Schnitzler and Garey puts the seal of approval on the same. All that remains is to make nominations, get the TUC to catch it -- and get cracking.

Recommendations

1. That the AFL-CIO at once consider nominating and vigorously backing the man to replace Charlie Millard. This is absolutely essential and crucial.
2. The story of Millard's resignation should be gotten about just to make sure that he really does resign by June or July. Now that the Oldenbroek-Krane plot backfired with the Garey attack, they might try to get Charlie to stay on for another several months purely to block the election of a truly vigorous and intelligent Director of Organisation. Do not under-estimate the political cunning of Oldenbroek.
3. With Irving travelling as much as he does, I am quite confident that by the time of the ILO session in Geneva, this June, that a rival candidate (or victim) can be found to at least stand against Oldenbroek. If he is non-European and non-white, he will win hands down. Of that I am sure.
4. In preparation for all this, I propose to go down to Geneva during the early part of April to confer with Zofka and our friendly ITB friends about who can be dug up to run against Oldenbroek and what can be done to exploit the opening created by the departure of Charlie Millard. This is to me the major break-through which I was sure would come this year. It has come.

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As to myself, Schnitzler agreed to my coming back during mid-April for consultation and a chance to sell my house and settle my mother (now 75) in a home or a good Catholic boarding institution in Brooklyn. I would like to spend much time in Washington being re-oriented and exchanging information, and also to have many hours with Kady Faugl who can be extremely useful in June in terms of ILO contacts which Irving and myself can exploit in terms of what can be done at the July meeting of the ILO Executive Board.

5. If all this and more is done, I am now more confident that the ILO can be saved and the Tenth Congress will not be the burial we thought it would be a few months ago but the revitalization of what can and must become a dynamic and vigorous international free trade union organization.

~~SECRET~~

(5)

~~SECRET~~LETTER FROM DEVERALL

DISCUSSION WITH THE ILOFTU LEADERSHIP
AND THE EXCERET SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING
IN Geneva

March 20, 1959

I can now confirm that the quarrel between Finance Officer Strauss and General Secretary Oldenbrook is very real and very serious. Strauss is of the opinion that the leaders of the ILOFTU are virtually tossing many out of the windows and that within a year the ILOFTU shall be bankrupt. Strauss bitterly opposed the holding of the Sub-Committee meeting in Geneva. The ILOFTU staff which went (many of whom did nothing) cost U.S. \$3,000. With Belgian wage and price levels what they are, that is roughly US \$10,000. Strauss said that it was a complete waste of precious funds.

2. Meanwhile last week Oldenbrook and Gottfurcht had a bitter quarrel. Oldenbrook accused Gottfurcht of helping Deverall to draft the Staff Committee Wage Demand Document. Oldenbrook thought he detected the hand of Gottfurcht in the two page demand which I drew up with the Staff -- and after a fight Oldenbrook finally conceded that Gottfurcht had nothing to do with inspiring Deverall.

To me such petty quarrels are sure signs of persons being rattled and very worried about the future of the ILOFTU and the fate of the General Secretary at the Tenth Congress.

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while slanderous it does play up the fact that for once the British colonialists took a good share of the criticism at Geneva.

4. The next Executive Board will be held during 29 June-4 July 1959 in the City of Berlin.

5. The Sub-Committee took an excellent position on the Algerian situation and came out flatly for self-government and self-determination.

6. To me the most significant items to come from Geneva was the marching of Charlie Millard to the precipice (or the brink) -- and the growing feud between Oldenbrook and his Finance Officer. I cannot conceive that Fred Strauss is taking on Oldenbrook and Evans without the backing of Sir Vincent ~~Xavier~~ ^{Switz.} England Belgium

7. I am taking Strauss out to dinner the night of 26 March to discuss the financial problem further.

~~SECRET~~
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62-99724-41
ENCLOSURE

(6)

~~SECRET~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

31 March 1969.

Mr. George Meany, President,
 AFL-CIO,
 825 - 16th Street, N.W.,
 Washington, D.C., U.S.A.,
 State United

Mr. George Meany, President of ILOPTU
1st July and the tenth Congress
in December 1969.

Dear Sir and President Meany:-

1. The 24th Executive Board meeting of the ILOPTU will be staged in the City of Berlin during 20 June through to 4 July 1969. Resolutions, proposals and so forth, if they are to be on the agenda, must be submitted to the General Secretary not before the 10 May 1969.
 2. The Tenth Anniversary Congress of the IOPYS will be staged in the City of Brussels during 9 - 13 December of this year. Resolutions and proposals, including any nominations for the General Secretariats, will have to be in by 1 September 1969.
 3. With regard to the January Meeting of the Executive Board in Berlin, I estimate that one crucial issue will be the resignation(?) of Charles Willard and the election by the Executive Board of Willard's successor. The Secretariat is seemingly anxious that Willard not resign at this time probably because of the fear that the AFL-CIO may play an active part in nominating a younger and dynamic successor for Willard. I personally feel that the issue of Willard's resignation and retirement should be pressed in order to permit a breakthrough in the election of a successor who can breathe life into the ILOPTU. There is no question of the age of Willard - it is no problem. The problem is that Willard is really not capable of working and the way he has been manipulated
- 62-99724-42
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

~~Confidential Report to Director, Army R&D Bureau, concerning . Page 2.~~

Billard must be forced to get out so others that can now know the politics and the written messages of the Communists you were in and begin the long-overdue clean-up operation. There is no role for Billard to resign and for Vandenbrouck to give up simply to not realize the political implications of Chigatia. I really feel that any involvement of the "newly" selected Board members can mean the beginning of a new era for the ICFTU and the international free trade union movement.

3. Therefore I would like to have you consider the following:
 a) The present situation is not only a matter of the massive influence of Billard and the right wing by Mr. Kostyuk to take up the line of the Stalin supporters, but also because they are considering nothing of
 Pepe. Pepe's personality and ideology are taking about a basic change and
 overcome the type of struggle within the ICFTU which would not therefore
 end up any future and fruitful new life and new blood into the ICFTU.

b) The present situation must change starts like something a high school boy wrote after understanding how he could make up an excuse on which there was nothing really very bad about it. You ICFTU to be strict and to apply strict to make
 comments in this point position for the Comité central meetings and you will then be
 removed by all your ICFTU. I believe they want this because their goals is to end so
 the suggestion of the Comité Central that making a report on the struggle
 against racism in particular the Negroes and the rights, when specific re-
 gardless to exist racism in Africa, the work of the ICFTU and other national arms of
 freedom, and so forth and so on.

Therefore what I am to you is to you evaluation in my opinion of an auditor
 may be able to do this as much as possible with I still stand com-
 stant to you as often as an ICFTU auditor will find the ICFTU other
 problems, and what I mean here is to say to the Comité Central an unbalanced case
 and so on. This would bring a new life to the ICFTU if it is unbalanced from

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~~SECRET~~

The other crucial problem facing the Central Committee will be the nomination and election of the General Secretary. I have no doubt that Trotter himself will be nominated and will be diligent to be elected, even though he is exceedingly his intention to resign several months later to return to incorporate into the job his Grove Printed Co. Xanthus Patent. Considering, however, an intelligent man Trotter could be a disaster for the ICPUS.

There is now the possibility that a copy of old CPB procedures will accept the resignation in December if it is understood that he will be supported by the PCC and the APLOCO. A full report of the situation, and if the procedure stand for resolution -- is set forth below so that Trotter will not consider but will reflect at the Party Congress. The present Central Secretary is no fool; and his reasons adequately explaining his refusal at this time is a sure sign that he is willing to attend the convention.

I am grateful to you for this comment on Trotter with the additional point, added (and could easily do) if he has ten setbacks. Now I know of his intentions since from friends who have been instrumental the past few years. My purpose now is to find out as accurately as possible whether or not he would stand for the General Secretariship -- and, if he will, his conditions.

The elimination of Miller at the January Executive Board meeting would constitute a tragic mistake. The replacement of Oldenbeck in October would mark the end of a disastrous era and could mean a true revitalization of the ICPUS and its struggle against colonialism and expansionism, and for free trade unionism all over the world.

So The one again feels that I would appreciate your suggestion that the January Executive Board meeting not let the question of Miller's general talks with the ICPUS to hang on the terms of the ICPUS within the ICPUS. I am working feverishly within the new and shall report. Yet Sherry is already causing concern that the man is obviously the representative of CPUSA within the ICPUS -- and there is no sense in not trying to bring him to reason. In Tokyo.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

17 April 1959.

Dear Mike:

(c/c to Jay in NY):

There has been considerable excitement here due to the receipt of word from the Miner's ITS that the caretaker of the CTC, David Salvador, has sent out invitations to all ITS to send word to their affiliates that observer and/or fraternal delegations are welcome at the election of new officials for the Cuban labour movement.

The telegram is so worded that the affiliates of the ICFTU are quite clearly invited but the ICFTU is not invited.

I am going over to Dusseldorf tonight to meet Berek Zofka and some of the officials of the White Collar and Clerical International which is in Convention there until next Tuesday. Berek telephoned me today (after an urgent express airmail). He is, as you know, the new Secretary of the independent and autonomous ITS centre in Geneva and one of our best friends in this part of the world.

Moro ancon.

Most fraternally,

Dick

~~SECRET~~62-99724-42 00
ENCLOSURE