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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney)

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Guess they didn't  
walk out.

5615/75

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1976

MR. PRESIDENT:

Re: W. J. Usery Memo on  
International Labor Organization

On June 3, W.J. Usery prepared the attached memorandum concerning the International Labor Organization Annual Conference. Staff of this memo resulted in the following recommendations and comments:

- Brent Scowcroft -- That you not make a statement -  
See detailed comments at Tab A
- Phil Buchen -- No objections
- Jim Cannon -- O.K., concur with Usery
- Max Friedersdorf -- Defer to Scowcroft & Usery
- Bob Hartmann -- The delegation walk-out is a petulant Soviet invention and unworthy of a mature world power. The President should not get involved or commend it. If the PLO is excluded without a walkout, the second statement is unobjectionable.
- Alan Greenspan -- No comments and concur
- Jack Marsh -- concur with Scowcroft
- Bill Seidman -- concur with Scowcroft

Jim Connor

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

JUN 3 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: International Labor Organization

- The ILO Annual Conference is considering whether to admit the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as observer to the ILO World Employment Conference (WEC) which starts tomorrow.
- If the Annual Conference does admit the PLO, the U. S. worker, employer, and government delegates have agreed to temporarily walk out of the Annual Conference. In that event, I recommend that you make a public statement supporting their response and expressing your pleasure at the unity of the U. S. delegation. Current plans are for the entire U. S. delegation to walk out of the WEC whenever the PLO has the floor.
- If the Annual Conference does not admit the PLO, the issue will be raised again at the WEC itself, perhaps tomorrow. If the WEC admits the PLO, again I think a public statement would be appropriate.
- If neither the Annual Conference nor the WEC admits the PLO, a statement from you is less desirable, but might still be considered. You should be aware that denial of admittance could trigger severe protests by the Arab countries and sympathizers.

Attached are examples of the statement you might make and a background paper on our problems with the ILO.

  
W. J. Usery, Jr.

Attachments

## Possible Presidential Statements

### 1. If the PLO is given observer status at the WEC:

"In November 1975 the United States notified the International Labor Organization of its intention to withdraw from the Organization in two years if the ILO did not resume its basic mission: improving the welfare of workers. In that notification, the United States cited increasing politicization of the ILO as one of the chief concerns of the U. S.

"I regret that the ILO Conference [or the WEC] now in session in Geneva has admitted the Palestine Liberation Organization to observer status in the World Employment Conference, a technical conference concerned with employment creation. This action was taken in violation of ILO established procedures, is in contradiction to recent rulings of the ILO's Governing Body, and is yet another demonstration of the increasing politicization of the ILO. I support the entire U. S. delegation -- government, worker, and employer -- in their emphatic response to this unfortunate decision. Such concerted action demonstrates the basic unity within the United States in our approach to the ILO. We are not, however, walking out of the ILO. We are staying on -- for the duration of the two-year period -- in the hope that we can yet restore the ILO to its fundamental work."

### 2. If the PLO is not given observer status:

"Recently, successive attempts to have the Palestine Liberation Organization admitted to the World Employment Conference as an observer were rejected in the Governing Body of the ILO, its Annual Conference, and its World Employment Conference. I welcome this decision, which had the unanimous support of the U. S. worker, employer, and government delegates, as evidence that the ILO is reversing some of the unfortunate trends we pointed out in our letter of intent to withdraw sent to the ILO last November. I am especially pleased at the unity of the U. S. delegation and their effectiveness in working together on this issue."

## BACKGROUND

### Up-date on the International Labor Organization

Last November the United States filed notice with the ILO of our intent to withdraw from the Organization. We stated in that letter that we did not desire to leave the ILO and would use the two-year period prior to our notice taking effect to try to remedy those trends which were destroying the effectiveness of the ILO. We cited four key problems:

- (1) Increasing efforts to limit the ability of independent employer and worker groups in the ILO to represent their own interests;
- (2) The failure of the ILO to insist on universal application of standards and the failure to condemn certain countries (e.g. USSR) for violations of those standards;
- (3) The increasing use of resolutions to condemn individual countries, such as Israel, without giving those countries benefit of due process under the ILO's existing investigative procedures; and
- (4) The increasing preoccupation of ILO conferences with political issues more properly handled in the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council.

Since filing this letter, we have been vigorously seeking ways to bring the ILO back to its fundamental principles. At your request we established a Cabinet-level committee which has developed a unified plan of action. Both the AFL-CIO and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States are actively participating in and supporting these efforts. Recently, we arranged for Ambassador Laurence Silberman, serving as a Presidential Envoy, to visit key government officials in industrialized countries in Europe and Asia. His efforts were designed to explain our positions and seek their support. On balance, we feel this effort was successful.

Our current concern is to counter efforts to grant the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) observer status at the ILO World Employment Conference (WEC). The ILO is holding two conferences this month: the regular Annual Conference plus the WEC on employment creation and economic development. While the PLO was granted observer status, over our opposition, during the Annual Conference, we have successfully resisted efforts to date to grant it observer status during the WEC.

On May 29, this issue came to a vote in the ILO's Governing Body, which establishes the rules and procedures for the WEC. This effort was defeated

by only one vote in a secret ballot. While the ILO's Director-General has advised that both the Annual Conference and the WEC lack authority to override the decision made by the Governing Body, the supporters of the PLO are ignoring this advice and seeking to seat the PLO anyway.

Several Arab states yesterday made a high-level approach to the President of the Annual Conference (Labor Minister Michael O'Leary of Ireland), demanding that he allow the Annual Conference to consider a motion to seat the PLO in the employment conference. Minister O'Leary agreed to consider their request and make a decision today (June 3). We have previously had assurances from Minister O'Leary that he would stand firm, but the pressures being brought to bear on him are tremendous.

If the PLO is granted observer status at the WEC by the Annual Conference, the U.S. Government, worker, and employer delegates will walk out of that sitting of the conference as a sign of protest and a demonstration of the unity of the U.S. delegation. The U.S. delegation will continue to participate in other sittings of the Annual Conference, and in the WEC, but will absent itself from both conferences whenever the PLO has the floor.

Should Minister O'Leary reject the motion to seat the PLO, the Arab states will make a similar attempt to get the President of the WEC to allow such a motion. Mohamed Ennaceur, Minister of Social Affairs of Tunisia, is President of the WEC, and while he has assured us of his desire to maintain order in the WEC and adhere to the rules, we are not able to predict how he will rule. If the PLO is granted observer status by the WEC itself, the U.S. delegation plans to follow the same instructions as are outlined above for the Annual Conference--to withdraw from the sitting in which the decision is made, and any other time when the PLO is given the floor.

Efforts to seat the PLO in the WEC may, however, be successfully blocked in both the Annual Conference and the WEC. This would constitute a major victory for the U.S. position. It may also trigger a noisy and angry protest by the Arab states, supported by the Communist Bloc and other sympathetic developing countries, which could disrupt both the Annual Conference and the WEC.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON3240

June 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CONNOR

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: W. J. Usery's Letter of June 4, 1976,  
re the International Labor Organization

I have reviewed Secretary Usery's recommendation that the President issue a statement on the question of PLO admission to the World Employment Conference of the ILO. I recommend that the President not make any statement on this issue. The question of PLO membership status arises repeatedly in a score of international organizations. It would be inadvisable for the President to set a precedent of commenting on this issue since it would be extremely difficult to resist pressures on him to comment each time it comes up, something we do not wish to do.

I understand that the State Department and our delegation to the ILO are prepared to comment publicly on the results of the ILO/WEC action on the PLO. Ron Nessen will be provided with guidance so that he can associate the White House with their remarks, guidance which will include an expression of pleasure at the concerted unified action of our delegation. I understand that this is the main point which Secretary Usery wishes to have made publicly.

June 4, 1976

US POSITION ON THE PLO ISSUE AT THE ILO

Q: What do you think about the decision to accord the PLO observer status at the World Employment Conference?

A: We regret this action as another indication of the trend toward increasing politicization and disruption of the ILO by introducing issues which are properly handled in other places (specifically the General Assembly and the Security Council). We are pleased at the unified action of our delegation in its emphatic response to the unfortunate decision.

Q: Is the United States walking out of the ILO?

A: No. The US gave notice in November 1975 to the ILO of its intention to withdraw from the organization in two years if the ILO did not resume its basic mission to improve the welfare of workers rather than waste its energies on disruptive political issues. We will stay on for the duration of the two-year period in the hope that the ILO can be restored to its fundamental work. The actions taken by our delegation are meant to emphasize the importance we attach to this objective.

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: June 4, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

Phil Buchen

Alan Greenspan

Jim Cannon

Jack Marsh

Max Friedersdorf

Brent Scowcroft

Bob Hartmann

Bill Seidman

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date:

QUICK TURNAROUND PLS.

Time:

SUBJECT:

W. J. Usery, Jr's letter of June 3, 1976

re: International Labor Organization

ACTION REQUESTED:

\_\_\_ For Necessary Action

X For Your Recommendations

\_\_\_ Prepare Agenda and Brief

\_\_\_ Draft Reply

X For Your Comments

\_\_\_ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

Since the ILO World Employment Conference begins today - your comments are request immediately.

*DISAPPROVE OF PRES. ISSUING STATEMENT*

*JWS  
Called in June 5, 1976  
RBP*

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Jim Connor  
For the President

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

Bill Yeerly told  
me a memo on possibility  
of U.S. delegation walk out  
at 240 meeting.

Delegation did not  
but still might.

Let me see memo just  
in case.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Sara -

You will note that they defer on

this one -- I called Roger Porter and  
they have problems with it and also  
Scowcroft ----

Mentioned to Jim and he said if it  
comes in tomorrow -- be guided by  
what NSC says and package it up and  
send up. You will note that Mr. Marsh  
concurred -- I think he was misled by  
Scowcroft -- perhaps you should recheck  
him after you hear from NSC.

*Jim agrees*

Trudy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1976

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3240

June 4, 1976

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FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

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ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: June 4, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

- ✓ Phil Buchen
- ✓ Jim Cannon
- ✓ Max Friedersdorf
- ✓ Bob Hartmann

cc (for information):

- ✓ Alan Greenspan
- ✓ Jack Marsh
- Brent Scowcroft
- Bill Seidman

*✓ Jim Lynn*

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: QUICK TURNAROUND PLS. Time:

SUBJECT:

W. J. Usery, Jr's letter of June 3, 1976  
re: International Labor Organization

ACTION REQUESTED:

- For Necessary Action
- For Your Recommendations
- Prepare Agenda and Brief
- Draft Reply
- For Your Comments
- Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

*Friedersdorf - defers to Scowcroft*

Since the ILO World Employment Conference begins today - your comments are request immediately.

*Hartmann - see comments*  
*Buchen (Schmull) see comments, changed*  
*Marsh - concur*  
*Lynn - concur (Ogelvie)*  
*Cannon - concur with Usery*  
*Greenspan - no comment - concur -*

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Jim Connor  
For the President

June 4, 1976

US POSITION ON THE PLO ISSUE AT THE ILO

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*original changed 6/4/76*

*Label refers to "ILO" in 1<sup>st</sup> line of AZ of Board  
President's statement to "ILO"? -  
OK - no objections*

*W. Schmidt 6/4/76*

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For the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

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*OK  
Concern with USERY*  
*6/9*  
*Discuss with Usery*  
*[Signature]*

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

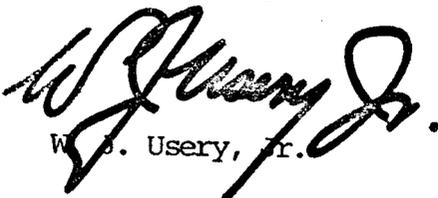
JUN 3 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

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- (3) The increasing use of resolutions to condemn individual countries, such as Israel, without giving those countries benefit of due process under the ILO's existing investigative procedures; and
- (4) The increasing preoccupation of ILO conferences with political issues more properly handled in the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council.

Since filing this letter, we have been vigorously seeking ways to bring the ILO back to its fundamental principles. At your request we established a Cabinet-level committee which has developed a unified plan of action. Both the AFL-CIO and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States are actively participating in and supporting these efforts. Recently, we arranged for Ambassador Laurence Silberman, serving as a Presidential Envoy, to visit key government officials in industrialized countries in Europe and Asia. His efforts were designed to explain our positions and seek their support. On balance, we feel this effort was successful.

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On May 29, this issue came to a vote in the ILO's Governing Body, which establishes the rules and procedures for the WEC. This effort was defeated

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: June 4, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

Phil Buchen  
Jim Cannon  
Max Friedersdorf  
Bob Hartmann

cc (for information):

Alan Greenspan  
Jack Marsh  
Brent Scowcroft  
Bill Seidman

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date:

QUICK TURNAROUND PLS.

Time:

SUBJECT:

W. J. Usery, Jr's letter of June 3, 1976  
re: International Labor Organization

ACTION REQUESTED:

For Necessary Action

For Your Recommendations

Prepare Agenda and Brief

Draft Reply

For Your Comments

Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

Since the ILO World Employment Conference begins today - your comments are request immediately.

Max:

Please advise.

*defer to Scowcroft + Usery*

TTED.

Jim Connor  
For the President

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6/3/76

TO: JIM CONNOR

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*RLC*  
Robert D. Linder

6/4 - 9:45 am

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: June 4, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

Phil Buonen

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Jack Marsh

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Brent Scowcroft

Bob Hartmann

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FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: QUICK TURNAROUND PLS.

Time:

SUBJECT:

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re: International Labor Organization

ACTION REQUESTED:

\_\_\_ For Necessary Action

X For Your Recommendations

\_\_\_ Prepare Agenda and Brief

\_\_\_ Draft Reply

X For Your Comments

\_\_\_ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

Since the ILO World Employment Conference begins today - your comments are request immediately.

The delegation walk-out is a petulant Soviet invention and unworthy of a mature world power. The President should not get involved or comment it. If the PLO is excluded without a walkout, the second statement is un-objectionable.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.  
If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary irmediately.

Jim Connor  
For the President

**MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL**

TO: \_\_\_\_\_

YOU WERE CALLED BY—  YOU WERE VISITED BY—

*McAvey*  
OF (Organization) "LDO"

PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
CODE/EXT. \_\_\_\_\_  
 WILL CALL AGAIN  IS WAITING TO SEE YOU  
 RETURNED YOUR CALL  WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

*Greenspan*  
*no comments +*  
*concur*

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME
<i>T</i>	<i>6/4</i>	<i>3:05</i>

STANDARD FORM 63  
REVISED AUGUST 1967  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

GPO : 1969-O-48-16-80341-1 522-889

63-108

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

June 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: W.J. Usery memo to the President  
Regarding the International Labor  
Organization

Attached is a memorandum to the President from Secretary of Labor Usery recommending a Presidential statement if the ILO World Employment Conference give the PLO observer status.

Secretary Usery also proposes a Presidential statement in the event the PLO is not given observer status.

Since the Conference begins today we would appreciate receiving the Department's comments on Secretary Usery's recommendation by 3:00 p. m. today.

  
Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary  
*JW*

Attachment

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

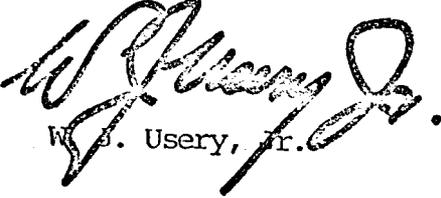
JUN 3 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: International Labor Organization

- The ILO Annual Conference is considering whether to admit the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as observer to the ILO World Employment Conference (WEC) which starts tomorrow.
- If the Annual Conference does admit the PLO, the U. S. worker, employer, and government delegates have agreed to temporarily walk out of the Annual Conference. In that event, I recommend that you make a public statement supporting their response and expressing your pleasure at the unity of the U. S. delegation. Current plans are for the entire U. S. delegation to walk out of the WEC whenever the PLO has the floor.
- If the Annual Conference does not admit the PLO, the issue will be raised again at the WEC itself, perhaps tomorrow. If the WEC admits the PLO, again I think a public statement would be appropriate.
- If neither the Annual Conference nor the WEC admits the PLO, a statement from you is less desirable, but might still be considered. You should be aware that denial of admittance could trigger severe protests by the Arab countries and sympathizers.

Attached are examples of the statement you might make and a background paper on our problems with the ILO.

  
W. J. Usery, Jr.

Attachments

## Possible Presidential Statements

### 1. If the PLO is given observer status at the WEC:

"In November 1975 the United States notified the International Labor Organization of its intention to withdraw from the Organization in two years if the ILO did not resume its basic mission: improving the welfare of workers. In that notification, the United States cited increasing politicization of the ILO as one of the chief concerns of the U. S.

"I regret that the ILO Conference [or the WEC] now in session in Geneva has admitted the Palestine Liberation Organization to observer status in the World Employment Conference, a technical conference concerned with employment creation. This action was taken in violation of ILO established procedures, is in contradiction to recent rulings of the ILO's Governing Body, and is yet another demonstration of the increasing politicization of the ILO. I support the entire U. S. delegation -- government, worker, and employer -- in their emphatic response to this unfortunate decision. Such concerted action demonstrates the basic unity within the United States in our approach to the ILO. We are not, however, walking out of the ILO. We are staying on -- for the duration of the two-year period -- in the hope that we can yet restore the ILO to its fundamental work."

### 2. If the PLO is not given observer status:

"Recently, successive attempts to have the Palestine Liberation Organization admitted to the World Employment Conference as an observer were rejected in the Governing Body of the ILO, its Annual Conference, and its World Employment Conference. I welcome this decision, which had the unanimous support of the U. S. worker, employer, and government delegates, as evidence that the PLO is reversing some of the unfortunate trends we pointed out in our letter of intent to withdraw sent to the ILO last November. I am especially pleased at the unity of the U. S. delegation and their effectiveness in working together on this issue."

## BACKGROUND

### Up-date on the International Labor Organization

Last November the United States filed notice with the ILO of our intent to withdraw from the Organization. We stated in that letter that we did not desire to leave the ILO and would use the two-year period prior to our notice taking effect to try to remedy those trends which were destroying the effectiveness of the ILO. We cited four key problems:

- (1) Increasing efforts to limit the ability of independent employer and worker groups in the ILO to represent their own interests;
- (2) The failure of the ILO to insist on universal application of standards and the failure to condemn certain countries (e.g. USSR) for violations of those standards;
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On May 29, this issue came to a vote in the ILO's Governing Body, which establishes the rules and procedures for the WEC. This effort was defeated

by only one vote in a secret ballot. While the ILO's Director-General has advised that both the Annual Conference and the WEC lack authority to override the decision made by the Governing Body, the supporters of the PLO are ignoring this advice and seeking to seat the PLO anyway.

Several Arab states yesterday made a high-level approach to the President of the Annual Conference (Labor Minister Michael O'Leary of Ireland), demanding that he allow the Annual Conference to consider a motion to seat the PLO in the employment conference. Minister O'Leary agreed to consider their request and make a decision today (June 3). We have previously had assurances from Minister O'Leary that he would stand firm, but the pressures being brought to bear on him are tremendous.

If the PLO is granted observer status at the WEC by the Annual Conference, the U.S. Government, worker, and employer delegates will walk out of that sitting of the conference as a sign of protest and a demonstration of the unity of the U.S. delegation. The U.S. delegation will continue to participate in other sittings of the Annual Conference, and in the WEC, but will absent itself from both conferences whenever the PLO has the floor.

Should Minister O'Leary reject the motion to seat the PLO, the Arab states will make a similar attempt to get the President of the WEC to allow such a motion. Mohamed Ennaceur, Minister of Social Affairs of Tunisia, is President of the WEC, and while he has assured us of his desire to maintain order in the WEC and adhere to the rules, we are not able to predict how he will rule. If the PLO is granted observer status by the WEC itself, the U.S. delegation plans to follow the same instructions as are outlined above for the Annual Conference--to withdraw from the sitting in which the decision is made, and any other time when the PLO is given the floor.

Efforts to seat the PLO in the WEC may, however, be successfully blocked in both the Annual Conference and the WEC. This would constitute a major victory for the U.S. position. It may also trigger a noisy and angry protest by the Arab states, supported by the Communist Bloc and other sympathetic developing countries, which could disrupt both the Annual Conference and the WEC.