

HOW THE STEELWORKERS UNION GAVE AWAY THE  
RIGHT TO STRIKE,

or

**Where's**

**I. W.**

**Abel?**

Additional copies of this pamphlet  
can be obtained for 10 cents apiece  
by writing: Workers For Democracy,  
5305 Hohman Avenue, Room 505, Ham-  
mond, Indiana 46320 (tel 937 1800)

## INTRODUCTION

by R. E. (Gene) Moser, Local 6787, USWA (Bethlehem Steel) and Treasurer, Workers For Democracy

My local is fighting I. W. Abel's no-strike plan. On April 4, 1973 we passed the following resolution:

"Now therefore be it resolved that Local 6787 hereby goes on record:

1. That members of Local 6787 protest the sell-out agreement between I. W. Abel and the steel companies.
2. We demand that the International Executive Board repudiate this agreement..
3. That any future agreement be first submitted to a referendum vote by rank and file members.
4. And be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to all locals of the USWA and to the press."

In proposing the resolution, I made a number of points.

Mr. Abel is letting us the rank and file believe that this agreement was approved by 600 local presidents when the actual count was only 325 present, 25 of whom voted No.

I. W. Abel has stated many times he would submit a no-strike clause to a vote by rank and file members. Now he says it will not be submitted to the membership. It is fair to say Mr. Abel is a liar.

What did we the rank and file get? A guaranteed wage increase of 3 per cent and a one-shot bonus of \$150. And to get that bonus workers are required to agree "not to engage in strikes, work stoppages or concerted refusals to work in support of bargaining demands." This comes to 96 cents per week.

I would like to tell the membership what the big money company executive has to say about this agreement. James Bird, steel specialist with W. E. Hutten & Co., called the \$150 bonus "beautiful -- a fantastic way to buy off a strike." This quote appeared in the Wall Street Journal, March 29, 1973.

Now what are we going to do?

Ever since workers have organized unions the right to strike has been their most efficient weapon. This deal cooked up by Abel and the steel companies will turn back the clock. This is the logical extension of the productivity clause and the bullshit movie "Where's Joe?"

This agreement is a sell-out. These are the acts of desperate men who know that they can't win with the rank and file and therefore are acting as lame-duck slave catchers for the steel companies.

It just doesn't make sense that employed workers are forced to work overtime while thousands of other workers are out of jobs. I say to hell with productivity. Workers don't need more hours, workers need more money.

I say bring the union back to the shop! Defend workers' rights, not management prerogatives!

We need to bring rank and file power back to the union! Restore our right to strike to settle grievances!

This pamphlet tells the history of the no-strike plan. It will give you facts, figures, and quotations to help you fight the no-strike plan in your local.

## HOW THE STEELWORKERS UNION GAVE AWAY THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

President I. W. Abel, the International Executive Board, and a majority of local union presidents in basic steel, have approved a no-strike plan for the 1974 contract negotiations.

What the plan says is: 1. There will be a guaranteed wage increase of 3 per cent plus cost-of-living. 2. All other negotiable issues will be submitted to arbitration if not resolved by April 15, 1974. 3. Local unions may strike if Abel approves but there will be no national strike. 4. Every employee in the basic steel industry will receive a bonus of \$150 "in exchange for the no-strike clause" (Wall Street Journal, March 29, 1973).

### The Three-Year Contract

The reason given for the plan is that it will prevent the boom-and-bust pattern of stockpiling before a contract expires, followed by layoffs afterwards.

Stockpiling happens because of the three-year contract. The first contracts with the steel companies were for only one year. A one-year contract does not give the companies time to stockpile.

Under its first president, Philip Murray, the union agreed to lengthen the duration of the basic steel contract from one to three years. National steel strikes took place every three years when the contract expired, in 1946, 1949, 1952, 1955, and 1959. Recognizing this pattern steel companies began to stockpile in the months before the expiration of the contract.

Stockpiling could be avoided if the length of the contract was reduced from three years to one year, or if the union did not tell the companies when it was going to strike. The solution to stockpiling proposed by the companies and I. W. Abel is to abolish the right to strike.

## Mutual Trusteeship

When David McDonald became president of the union after Murray's death, he pushed the idea that management and labor have common interests. McDonald called this idea "mutual trusteeship."

McDonald explained mutual trusteeship this way to the 1954 Steelworkers convention:

"We are engaged in the operation of an economy that is based on mutual trusteeship. U. S. Steel has almost as many stockholders as employees. These stockholders through a voting system employ a group of managers. The managers are simply employees of the corporation. There is another group of employees known as the working force. Together, these two groups have a mutual trusteeship to operate the steel company."

As if to make sure that every one understood what these words meant, McDonald toured U. S. Steel mills with the corporation president Benjamin Fairless. At each mill the tour was followed by a banquet at which union and management leaders paid each other compliments and talked about how they would cooperate.

Rank and file steelworkers took a dim view of the tours. McDonald himself says in his autobiography Union Guy:

"We made some early mistakes. One was using chauffeur-driven limousines. Vin Sweeney, our publicity director, told me that this was leaving a bad impression among the workers, and he was right. So we made all our group excursions after that in a bus."

Using a bus instead of a limousine didn't change the way steelworkers felt about McDonald's tours. They accused McDonald of "tuxedo leadership."

In fairness to McDonald, it should be recalled that he led the 1959 steel strike. This was the last national steel strike and the longest in the history of the Steelworkers union.

## The 1959 Strike

The main issue in the 1959 strike was the companies' desire for a freer hand in changing local working conditions. Section 2B of the basic steel contract limits the ability of the company to change local agreements and past practices about such things as crew sizes. This was what management wanted to undermine in 1959.

In making its case to the public during the four-month strike, the steel industry used the same arguments it uses today.

According to the company the union was strike happy. Management also argued that the union's wage demands were the cause of inflation, and that the American steel industry needed to lower its costs to meet foreign competition.

The Steelworkers leadership answered these arguments. In a joint letter "To The Members and Families of the United Steelworkers of America," dated June 20, 1959, McDonald, Howard Hague, and I. W. Abel (president, vice president, and secretary treasurer of the international union) denounced "the 'inflation' monster and the 'foreign competition' hoax." The three top officers of the union stated: "While your attention and the eyes of the public have been fixed on the alleged affect of 'inflation' and 'foreign competition' the steel corporations mapped their plan to atomize and completely undermine your job rights."

The union argued that the American steel industry was vulnerable to foreign competition because of its high rate of profit. While Japanese steel companies operated at a 2-3 per cent rate of profit and invested any additional earnings in new technology, American steel companies paid high dividends and fell behind Japan in BOFs, ore-handling facilities, and so on. McDonald wrote to James P. Mitchell, United States Secretary of Labor, on August 3, 1959, that the rate of profit in the American steel industry had been about 5 per cent in 1939 but was about 10 per cent in 1959.

The 1959 strike ended inconclusively because the federal government stepped in and forced a settlement. Industry did not get a change in Section 2B. It did get a so-called Human Relations Committee made up of top union and management personnel, which industry hoped would bring about the desired liberalization of work rules over a period of years.

### I. W. Abel, Phase I

The Human Relations Committee produced bad contracts and was one of the major reasons Abel beat McDonald in 1965.

The tendency developed to use the Human Relations Committee as a substitute for the union's regular procedures. Lacking the right to ratify, the membership was even further removed from decision-making because the Wage Policy Committee which was supposed to represent them was only called in after a deal was made in secret Human Relations Committee sessions.

The 1962 contract was made up of a package of fringe benefits worth about 2.5 per cent of the industry's employment costs. It contained no wage increase. The cost-of-living clause was dropped from the basic steel contract.

At a meeting of top union officers in October 1964 McDonald announced that he was not going to reopen the basic steel contract -- that is, he did not intend even to threaten a strike -- before the 1965 contract expiration date. Opposition erupted. Abel, Burke, and Molony met that evening and decided to run.

In their campaign against McDonald, the Abel-Burke-Molony slate attacked the idea of mutual trusteeship and the Human Relations Committee. A basic leaflet entitled "Where They Stand" asserted:

"The Abel-Burke-Molony team stands for 'Union trusteeship' -- not, 'Mutual trusteeship'! The Union can't serve two masters -- the companies can well take care of themselves -- the Union's leadership must look after the interest of the membership!"

This rhetoric lasted only as long as the election campaign. Assuming office early in 1965, Abel turned at once to negotiating a new three-year contract. The resulting contract included an agreement to hold informal discussions on issues not resolved at the time, such as apprenticeship, testing, training, and job classifications.

At a meeting of the International Executive Board in December 1967 Abel floated a trial balloon: the concept of "arbitrating any issue which could not be resolved in the forthcoming negotiations." A written proposal presented by the international officers and General Counsel Bernard Kleiman promised that

"no agreement of this type could possibly be reached, under any circumstances, without prior approval from all policy-making bodies within our union, including the international Wage Policy Committee, the newly established Basic Steel Industry Conference of local unions and a poll of the membership involved." (John Herling, Right To Challenge, pages 332-333. Italics added.)

This is the pledge Abel broke when in March 1973 it was announced that the Steelworkers union would give up the right to strike in the 1974 contract negotiations.

### The Productivity Clause

I. W. Abel's first big step toward giving up the right to strike was the agreement to submit the incentive issue to arbitration in 1968. Management wins most arbitration decisions. It seems almost too much of a coincidence that this time the union won. The result made it easier for Abel and the industry to propose arbitration of other issues.

The next step was the productivity clause in the 1971 contract.

The productivity clause begins by stating the idea that management and labor have common interests, which the union had rejected in 1959 and which Abel again rejected when he ran for office in 1965.



According to the productivity clause the future of the industry "will rest heavily upon the ability of the parties to work cooperatively to achieve significantly higher productivity trends," and labor and management must join "in seeking relief from the problem of massive importation of foreign steel manufactured in low-wage countries."

The productivity clause also states that the companies and the union shall establish a joint Productivity Committee in every mill. One of the purposes of these committees, according to the clause, is "to achieve uninterrupted operations in the plants" -- in other words, to avoid strikes.

When the productivity clause was adopted some steelworkers thought that it was only words. What has the productivity clause amounted to in practice?

IT HAS MADE WORK IN STEEL MILLS MORE DANGEROUS. Contrary to a widespread impression, steelmaking has become more dangerous in recent years. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the rate of disabling injuries in steel mills increased from 4.0 per million man hours worked in 1961, to more than 7.0 per million man hours worked in 1969.

The productivity push makes things worse because it encourages crew reduction, job combination, and requiring men to do work for which they have not been trained. The American Iron and Steel Institute states that the rate of disabling injuries for the first three months of 1972 increased by 25 per cent over the rate for 1971.

IT HAS COST STEELWORKERS ABOUT 40,000 JOBS. The loss of jobs has been going on for a long time but the productivity push has stepped up the pace. In the first half of 1971 the steel industry was producing near capacity. The same is true in the first half of 1973, but in 1973 there are 40,000 less steelworkers!

These figures are from the Wall Street Journal, April 2, 1973:

Production and maintenance employees '71	530,000
Production and maintenance employees '73	490,000

## "Where's Joe?"

The most important effect of the productivity clause is psychological. It has softened up the union for surrendering the right to strike.

An industry spokesman said just that to the Wall Street Journal, July 24, 1972:

"This is a very subtle thing. It's a forum of communication we've never had before. If union members through these committees learn to appreciate some of our problems so that we may be able to end our crisis bargaining every three years, it would mean a hell of a lot more to us than a couple of extra percentage points in productivity."

In 1973 I. W. Abel decided he was strong enough to make the move he had backed away from before the 1968 and 1971 contracts. There was no advance warning, no discussion in the locals, no chance for the rank and file to make its feelings known. The only hint of what was coming was the movie "Where's Joe?"

"Where's Joe?" was produced and paid for by the national union-management Productivity Committee which oversees the work of the local productivity committee in each mill. The movie was first shown at a special conference of the Steelworkers union held in Washington DC in mid-December 1972 and devoted to the productivity drive.

As every one who has seen the movie knows, the message of "Where's Joe?" is that the average American steelworker is likely to lose his job to a steelworker in Germany or Japan. He can prevent this, according to the movie, if he can find a way to prevent the hedge-buying or stockpiling which precedes the expiration of the basic steel contract every three years. For the movie says that the slump in steel production which always follows stockpiling is the time when domestic buyers place orders with foreign steel companies.

This movie is being shown in mills during work hours and on educational TV. In addition, union

leaders and steel company management are planning to carry the movie's message "into Steelworkers' homes by way of comic books, a comic strip, and possibly even a game, tentatively called 'Hedge'" (Wall Street Journal, February 16, 1973).

The logic of "Where's Joe?" is not exactly overwhelming. The companies claim to be concerned about imported steel, yet themselves import both raw materials for steelmaking and machinery. A letter from James Robinson in the No. 4 BOF at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, written to the Voice Of The Rank And File, March 1973, made this comment:

"I just thought you would be interested to hear that with all the talk about imported steel, that new multi-million dollar slab caster was all imported from Germany. And you'd better believe that caster cost more than all the Volkswagens in the Inland Steel parking lots."

Clearly the real purpose of the companies in making such a big point about stockpiling is to prevent strikes. If they can take the right to strike away from the steelworkers, management realizes, they won't have to worry about foreign imports because they can force American workers to make more steel for less money.

During the twenty years from McDonald's accession to power in the Steelworkers union until the present (1953-1973), the union's leadership has more and more strongly pushed the idea of labor-management cooperation. Whether it was called "human relations," "mutual trusteeship" or "productivity" the idea was the same. And the consequence of this idea has been that steelworkers' wages have slipped behind the wages of workers in other industries. Ed Sadlowski said during his campaign for district director of District 31 that steelworkers' wages were first in the country in the 1950s and 14th in the country now.

Rank and file steelworkers know these things. I. W. Abel knows that they know, and that comic books and propaganda movies will not change their minds.

That's why, despite all the fuss and feathers about productivity and "Where's Joe?", I. W. Abel put over his no-strike plan WITHOUT GIVING THE RANK AND FILE A CHANCE TO VOTE ON IT.

He broke his pledged word (see above page 7) because he was afraid he would lose in a referendum vote.

You hear jokes these days about how many union leaders are hardly different from industry executives. Nowhere is it more obvious than in the Steelworkers union. When it comes down to the issues which affect steelworkers the most it's hard to find any difference between USWA President I. W. Abel and R. Heath Larry, the chief negotiator for the steel industry. (According to the Wall Street Journal the two men have been meeting for five years on the no-strike plan.) Not only have steelworkers' wages and benefits fallen far behind other industries but now our president has taken the steel company line by trying to sell us a permanent no-strike clause in the next contract.

It is hard to believe that this once progressive union actually cooperated in making the film "Where's Joe?", which uses dangerous and misleading arguments to make the rank and file take the responsibility for the mess that the steel industry has gotten itself into.

The rest of American labor and industry will be standing by to see if steel management can take the right to strike away from steelworkers for \$150 a head.





## BURKE PREDICTS BLACK VICTORY

**BLACK LEADER RUFUS BURK, A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF LOCAL 1299 HAS PREDICTED A TOTAL VICTORY FOR THE BLACKS. WHEN ASKED HOW THIS COULD BE DONE, He Answered — — —**

The White's on Chambers and Co. slate tried to make a deal with Reiman and get him out of the race so whites would keep control, but Reimann would not accept this. He is running for President and take votes from Chambers. About 1/3 of the plant is black and will vote Black. The Chicano will plunker vote like they always do and thats that. If you seen our line-up we have fooled both Slates, Unity and Democratic, there is no Black man opposing another Black, even on "TOM" Jemison job who is a White Nigger. We spared him cause he knows from where he came.

**Question — Why do you want to beat this Chambers slate so bad?**

**Burke —** So Blacks can have what is theirs. We deserve control of this union, because we are black and the time is now.

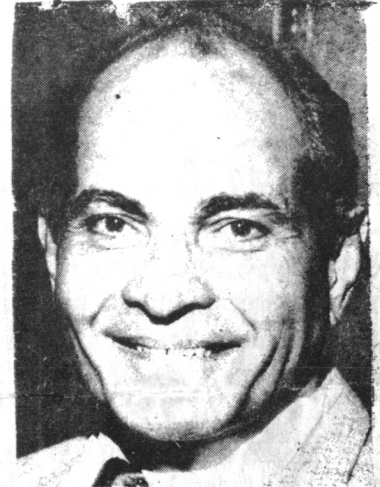
Continued on Page 2

## By and For GLS Workers

Vol. 1

Issue 9

### UNITY — LEADERSHIP



Jim Reiman

For once Reiman and the Unity Slate has done the right thing. We thought these people would back out when Burk in front of 1000 Blacks announced he would oppose the Democratic Slate. Reiman proved worthy of some appointed jobs after we win cause like a true Black follower he stuck it out.

Hail Jim Reiman cause he knows, by himself he can't beat Chambers and Co. — He needs us.

Continued on Page 2

To the Editor, Great Lakes Steal:

I've seen advertisements by the Steel Workers Communications Committee for new members, and I notice they had a general membership meeting recently.

Please tell me what this group is all about and why they're coming to life again. I thought they were defunct.

A brother in Gen. Labor

Dear Brother

The S.W.C.C. is active, but not under the dictatorship of Al Jemison. We true blacks are calling it as it is. The old guard tried to revve it in 1970 and have blacks against the blacks. We thru them niggers out (Dig) out. Brother Rufus Burk, a blacks black is running for President against pig Chambers and Co., and will win if the Unity Slate can draw its usual 900 votes dig. The blacks will win, win, win. Then we control all Whites who come begging for jobs like us Blacks do. Let the S.O.S. and Ku Klux Klan say Yassuh, Yassuh for a change. Dare to fight. Dare to win, come with us, spread the word that we are back to stay "dig" smile

Our goal is to control the Union and through other means get Blacks in Labor Relations and other Key spots then we can smile down on them.

---

**DARE TO  
FIGHT**

---

## BURK PREDICTS —

(Continued from Page 1)

In 3 years Floyd Chambers ain't left me pass one single motion to help the suppressed Blacks not one. He calls his S.O.S. whites through Earl Stamper "another hillbillie" so they vote it down. The Whites won't vote us on June 27, cause thats when the fat cats go home dig. We tried a Black for International Vice-President Sam Stokes and that racist I.W. Able disqualified him cause he was sick. We asked Chambers & Co. at the Executive Board meetings to donate to our Black College like other unions does. You know what, not once did he do it.

Blacks will vote and Burk and his people will win "dig".

---

## UNITY — LEADERSHIP

(Continued from Page 1)

Cause of this he is a man Blacks can respect. Hail Jim Reiman. Reiman told this writer that Chambers has been sending racist Riley "George Wallace" Hinson to negotiate him out of the Presidents race. Hail Reiman, he didn't go for the big ripoff by the "hillbillies". Chambers & Co. offered to give Reiman several appointments if he would withdraw therefore allowing the Executive Board to remain lily white. Reiman stood his ground.

---

**DARE TO  
WIN**

---

# OUR GOALS

OUR GOALS ARE MANY IF YOU DID READ OUR PAST EDITION.

1. We want Blacks at the Union Hall from Top to Bottom.
2. We want Counselors in Labor Relations.
3. We want a Dr. in 1st Aid just like the Mixicans have one of theirs.
4. We want our Black dues dollar spent for a Black cause, not just to get one of Billy Clay's drunks back to work.
5. We want Clinics set up to get our Brothers off dope. This should be done with the Whites dues. Its the Whites who got us hooked, let them get us off.
6. We want the money from the Credit Union deposited in our Black Bank in Detroit where we know it is safe.
7. We want Whites who agree to help, cause we will win.
8. We want Black Foremens in the craft areas.
9. We want our Brothers to retire after 25 years seniority with Full Benefits.
10. We want an end to imperialism racism and pure white domination.
11. We want to beat the white racist Chambers at his own game.

## The Daily WORLD

ONLY DAILY MARXIST NEWSPAPER IN THE U.S.A.

1 Year \$15

6 Mo. \$8

Week-end issue only \$5

Student & G.I.'s special 1 Year \$5

INTRODUCTORY OFFER — 3 MOS. (weekend ed.) \$1

Annual Microfilm Subscription — \$315.00

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make check or money order payable to The Daily World or to Long View Publishing Co., Inc. Mail to P.O.Box 544, Old Chelsea Sta., NYC 10011 or 205 W. 19th St., NYC 10011. Foreign, add \$18.60 for postage.

# HAIL



**Hayward Brown**  
A Black Patriot

Black patriot Hayward Brown was not afraid. He was charged with taking a life and stood prepared to give his to prove he was innocent. Unlike Mark Bethune who the hillbillies gunned down he lived to tell his story and through Judge Crockett's court was acquitted. We need more people on the bench like Crockett and Del Rio.

## PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

**NEWEST REPRINTS** from the **SOVIET PRESS** include "Current Theoretical Problems of the World Revolutionary Process" by Boris Ponomarev, Secy. Central Comm. CPSU. Also, "Report on Fulfillment of First Year Targets of Ninth Five Year Plan." Single copies \$1. yearly subscription \$25. At your local bookshop or write **COMPASS PUBLICATIONS**, Box 568, Peter Stuvvesant Station, N.Y.C. 10009

**ART STATIONERY CO.**  
All office & art supplies plus printing. Delivery. 137 W. 23rd St., NYC. OR 5-9165.

**WATCHES, JEWELRY**, bought sold & repaired in a comradely atmosphere. **SHERRY WATCH CO.**, 82 Bowery, N.Y.C. Canal 6-2198.

**LIBRARIAN** with minimum qualifications to help get our library in order. This volunteer effort would be a great contribution to editors and readers alike Call Daily World. 924-2523.

**IF YOU WANT TO RECEIVE THE GREAT LAKES STEAL WHILE YOU'RE ON STRIKE OR LAID OFF, PLEASE SEND YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS TO**

**THE GREAT LAKES STEAL  
BOX 14073  
JEFFERSON STATION  
DETROIT 48214**

Please include \$1 donation to cover mailing costs. Any additional donations of time, money or assistance in distribution will be greatly appreciated.

## Who We Are

THIS PAPER IS PUBLISHED BY AND FOR GREAT LAKES WORKERS. IT IS THE FIRST STEP IN ORGANIZING THE DEFENSE OF WORKERS' RIGHTS AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE COMPANIES, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE UNION.

# Support and Win With The **TRUE UNITY!**

**PRESIDENT**

**RUFUS BURK**

**VICE-PRESIDENT**

**S. O. S. & S. O. S**

**RECORDING SECRETARY**

**JEFF GOODMAN**

**FINANCIAL SECRETARY**

**RICK PEREZ**

**TREASURER**

**GEORGE FRAZIER**

**INSIDE GUARD**

**HARRY LEE**

**OUTSIDE GUARD**

**JESSE HUBBARD**

**TRUSTEES**

**BUD MOWER**

**CLAUDE SHIPLEY**

**GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE**

**BOOKER T. MOON**

**AL JEMISON**

---

## LET THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE BE HEARD

---



The Great Lakes Organizing Committee -- only people working at GLS -- originally 10 members -- no one openly working at GLS for any national "party" (RU, NCLC, IS, CP, CL, SWP, SLP, YAWF, PL, ES, QP, USWA, etc) -- recognize necessity for organizational autonomy, that GLS is always first consideration and all other political questions must be seen in light of effect there

GOAL: to build the political understanding, unity & strength of GLS workers, towards the end of control by them over their working conditions & union and ultimately control by all working people over wealth of the nation -- through education, organizing and action and by uniting with other revolutionary or progressive forces at GLS & elsewhere

Organizing Committee (OC) meets once every three weeks--quorum of 6, not more than 3 of whom on Executive Committee (EC)--if no quorum, EC to call another meeting as soon as possible--special OC meetings can be called by 3 members of OC or by ~~the~~ EC *what is E.C. function.*

New members in OC: must adhere to goals--must be known by at least 2 OC members for at least 6 months, or 3 OC for 4 months--to be scrutinized regarding security by EC or a subcommittee of EC containing not more than 1 recommender -- vote on admission by OC after discussion at OC meetg with candidate present -- should be capable of leadership, organizing, and organizational discipline -- expulsion by ~~the~~ 2/3 vote of ~~the~~ OC; vote can be called for by any 2 OC members

change in bylaws requires 2/3 of OC

OC to elect a 5-member EC (top 5 vote-getters) for 6month term--EC meets every 3 weeks during week before OC meeting--quorum on EC of 3, ties broken by polling all EC members--vacancies on EC filled by new vote in OC--responsible for liaison with other groups, coordination of projects (project committees report to EC), advising, guiding, leadership on political and strategy directions, though any major actions or policy must be approved by OC--EC actions to be reviewed in OC meeting if requested by 3 OC members, ~~since~~ EC can be overruled by 2/3 of OC (7 at start)--EC appoints rotating chairman of OC meetings from whole OC membership--appoint rotating secretary for all minutes of OC & EC meetings --supervise standing committees

Standing committees: 1) Educationals (to start as soon as possible, alone or with Rand & File); 2) Publications; 3) Legal defense & offense