

# SELECTED REFERENCES

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

NO. 94\*

JULY, 1960

## LABOR AND BUSINESS IN POLITICS\*\*

### I. Labor and Politics

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Committee on Political Education. *How to win, a handbook for political action*. Washington 6 (815 - 16th St., N.W.). [1956?] 254 pp. \$3.00.

Written for local political education chairmen, this manual is well-organized, clearly written, and comprehensive.

Calkins, Fay. *The CIO and the Democratic Party*. Chicago 37. University of Chicago Press (5750 Ellis Ave.). 1952. 162 pp. \$4.00.

Examines the relationship between the Political Action Committee and the Democratic Party in five city, state, and Congressional elections in 1950. Various techniques such as supplementing a campaign, entering into a direct primary challenge, and partisan participation are analyzed.

Bruner, Dick. "Labor should get out of politics." *Harper's Magazine* (49 E. 33rd St., New York 16), August, 1958. pp. 21-27. 60 cents.

The author of this article, a former union staff man, explains why he thinks that the political power and prestige of unions are declining. His recommendations for reawakening the interest of union members in political action include a temporary halt to organizing drives, withdrawal of unions from partisan politics and concentration upon pressure group action, and full and free discussion of policies among the rank-and-file before their adoption at union conventions.

Edelman, Murray. "New Deal sensitivity to labor interests." *Labor and the New Deal*. Edited by Milton Derber and Edwin Young. Madison 6. University of Wisconsin Press (430 Sterling Court). 1957. pp. 159-191. \$6.00.

A study of executive and Congressional reaction to labor influence. Points out that since this period workers have become "a more powerful political force," but the same thing cannot be said of American

\* Compiled by Hazel C. Benjamin, Librarian.

\*\* Items from this list should be ordered directly from the publisher. Addresses are given in connection with each reference.

unions. The overriding influence is "political disaffection." "Workers have votes whether they are organized or not."

Kornhauser, Arthur, Harold L. Sheppard, and Albert J. Mayer. *When labor votes*; a study of auto workers. New York 16. University Books, Inc. (404 Fourth Ave.). 1956. 352 pp. \$5.00.

An analysis of the voting behavior and political attitudes of Detroit auto workers in 1952 based on interviews with several hundred UAW members. A majority of those interviewed approved labor's political program, but only a moderate degree of personal involvement was evident. In a concluding chapter the author discusses the implications of his findings for the future of union political action.

Leiserson, Avery. "Organized labor as a pressure group." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (3937 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 4), March, 1951. pp. 108-117. \$1.00, members; \$2.00, non-members.

A discussion of "the impact of changing conditions upon American labor's pressure-group strategy" and of the relative effectiveness of union, class, or party political activity.

Rosen, Hjalmar and R. A. Hudson Rosen. *The union member speaks*. New York. Prentice-Hall, Inc. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.). 1955. 247 pp. \$4.95. See especially pp. 36-42 and 85-87.

A study of the attitudes of the members of District 9, International Association of Machinists in five major areas of unionism, including political action. Nearly one-half of the members tended not to agree with union policy in this area. The majority thought it appropriate to discuss political candidates and issues at union meetings at least part of the time, but they wanted to "make up their own minds whom to vote for and whether they want to make political contributions through the union."

Seidman, Joel and others. *The worker views his union*. Chicago 37. The University of Chicago Press (5750 Ellis Ave.). 1958. 300 pp. \$5.75. See especially pp. 227-240 and 262-264.

From their study of the attitudes of union members in six midwestern locals, the authors conclude that workers support political activity when they "see a meaningful connection between the union and a particular objective. . . . On the whole, however, they tend to oppose political activity as beyond the proper scope of the union's functions."

Witte, Edwin E. "The new federation and political action." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* (N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca), April, 1956. pp. 406-418. \$1.50.

The objective of "stimulating interest in public affairs and politics" is clearly stated in the AFL-CIO constitution. The author shows how this emphasis upon political action has developed as a response to the broadening goals of the labor movement and states his reasons why he does not believe that increased activity will lead to domination of politics by labor.

## 2. Business and Politics<sup>1</sup>

Baumer, William H. and Donald G. Herzberg. *Politics is your business.* New York 16. Dial Press (461 Fourth Ave.). 1960. 187 pp. \$3.50.

Discusses the problems presented to businessmen by participation in political activities and the methods which can be used to promote such participation by employees at all levels. The authors stress the importance of maintaining a strictly bipartisan approach to political activity. The book includes sources of information in this field.

Fenn, Dan H., Jr. "Problems in review: business and politics." *Harvard Business Review* (Soldiers Field, Boston 63), May-June, 1959. pp. 6-8, 10, 12, 14, 134, 136-138, and 140-142. \$2.00.

Report on a survey of 2700 subscribers to the *Harvard Business Review*. Analysis of the replies shows, among other things, a high degree of agreement that business should be more active in politics, but a fairly low degree of participation, both as individuals and through the firms represented. In spite of this lack of active participation, the majority felt that the political influence of their own companies has held even or improved, while over half thought that business influence on public affairs in general has increased since 1950.

Hacker, Andrew. *Politics and the corporation.* New York 17. The Fund for the Republic (60 E. 42nd St.). 1958. 13 pp. On request.

Concerned with the way in which the status of the middle class "in the corporate hierarchy" has affected their role in politics. The author argues that the substitution of corporate citizenship for political participation by this group is weakening "the foundations of democratic politics."

Lenhart, Robert F. and Karl Schriftgiesser. "Management in politics." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (3937 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 4), September, 1958. pp. 32-40. \$1.50, members; \$2.00, non-members.

Stresses the importance of direct participation by businessmen in all levels of government, as well as through trade associations. Party organizations and government should have management people in their ranks at all times for balance and for their contribution to policy making. Suggests that the level of political representation which business receives through its own organizations might be improved by adopting the technique of policy making which has been used by the Committee for Economic Development.

Reagan, Michael D. "The seven fallacies of business in politics." *Harvard Business Review* (Soldiers Field, Boston 63), March-April, 1960. pp. 60-68. \$2.00.

Criticizes "the assumptions underlying the business-in-politics movement." The author holds that "it is fine for a corporation to engage in restricted electoral activity of an impartial nature. But when the cor-

<sup>1</sup> An annotated list of 212 items on this subject is available for \$1.00 from the Employers Labor Relations Information Committee, Inc., 33 E. 48th St., New York 17, N.Y.

poration seeks direct presentation of its views on public policies, it should rely on the traditional techniques of interest groups. . . ."

Sheldon, Horace E. "Businessmen must get into politics." *Harvard Business Review* (Soldiers Field, Boston 63), March-April, 1959. pp. 37-47. \$2.00.

The thesis of this article is that ". . . if business is to improve its effectiveness in the *legislative* process . . . it must become more active and effective in the *political* process." The author describes briefly some of the typical company programs for encouraging political participation and answers objections to such programs. His advocacy of company political education programs includes discussion of the pitfalls to be avoided.

Taft, Charles P. "Business in politics?" *National Civic Review* (47 E. 68th St., New York 21), November, 1959. pp. 517-521. \$5.00 yearly.

The author's objections to the current drive to get business into politics are that it may create public suspicion of motives, that it is aimed against labor, that it "looks, and sometimes acts, as if it were against all progress," and that it generally neglects local government. He suggests that businessmen in politics ought to back master plans for local areas, take adult courses in economics, write their own speeches, and fight against the party organization to get good candidates nominated and elected.

Worthy, James C. *Big business and free men*. New York 16. Harper & Brothers (49 E. 33rd St.). 1959. Chapter 11, "The businessman and government," pp. 162-179; Chapter 12, "A philosophy for business," pp. 180-195. \$4.00.

The first of these two chapters covers the reasons why businessmen have been reluctant to become involved in politics, how they can engage in partisan political activity without arousing public distrust, and the advantages of supporting a non-ideological two-party system of political organization. In the second, the author argues that the philosophy of liberalism is better fitted to the businessman's role than that of conservatism because "it fits the businessman's innovating role and emphasizes, as conservatism does not, the need for promoting social policies that will preserve and strengthen that role."

Wuerthner, J. J., Jr. *The businessman's guide to practical politics*. Chicago 4. Henry Regnery Company (64 E. Jackson Blvd.) 1959. 236 pp. \$3.75.

After reviewing the challenge presented to business by the current political situation, the author discusses legal do's and don'ts, business communications in politics, campaigning, corporate and other types of programs, including the Syracuse Seminars on Practical Politics, of which he was Chairman. Advocates giving responsibility for political activity in the business firm to a top-level staff officer.