

Students for a Democratic Society!

SDS is a movement of young people who study and participate in daily struggles for social change. Committed to change in many spheres of society, SDS members, in chapters, projects, and as individuals:

Organize the dispossessed in community movements for economic gains. During the summer of 1964, one hundred and fifty students provided the full-time staffs for 10 community projects in the urban North—40 of them continuing full-time in the fall. Movements of welfare mothers, the unemployed, tenants, and others have been organized around their particular grievances.

Participate in activity for peace through protest, research, education, and community organization. SDS organized protests and proposed peaceful solutions during the Cuba and Vietnam crises; sponsors peace research among students; and is undertaking pilot efforts to organize defense workers for economic conversion.

Work for civil rights through direct action, publication, and support of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SDS projects in Chester, Pa., and Newark, N.J., serve as models for Negro movements in the North due to their mass support.

Inject controversy into a stagnant educational system. SDS participated in the mass demonstrations and organized national support for free speech at Berkeley; pioneered in the introduction of peace courses into college curricula; and initiated the union organization of student employees at the U. of Michigan.

Support political insurgents, such as Noel Day in Boston, in the fight for a government that would promote social justice. SDS produces studies of the political and electoral situation.

Won't you join?

OUR CRISIS ECONOMY

by Ray Brown

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confirmed this.) The question then is, when do we see the effect? It seems likely that the next business downturn will be the time. Reduced orders, lower profits, a rationale for the move both in terms of its employees and the public will all be present. The work force may be sharply reduced and on the next upturn the firm will find what the new labor requirements are. In terms of our economy, this means that over the last three and a half years of recovery, a great many workers may have been rendered redundant but not laid off. The effect of almost four years of automation may not really emerge until our next cyclical swing.

Ray Brown is a professor of economics at Sarah Lawrence College. He originally wrote this paper for SDS in the spring of 1963. The postscript was added in the fall of 1964.

Thirty years ago many economists and other social scientists had all but abandoned our economic and social system. Some were fearful of what might lie ahead; others were eager to seize the opportunity to reshape the nation's institutions. With the coming of World War II and the unprecedented prosperity of the post-war period such thoughts were set aside. Today with very few exceptions the beneficence and permanence of a capitalist or free market economy is unquestioned. Temporary difficulties are acknowledged but all these, it is believed, can be solved within our present framework. The remarks that follow take sharp exception to the prevailing optimism. The major conclusions are:

- 1) The prosperity of the past 20 years was based on a very special set of circumstances and cannot be viewed as the "normal" condition of our economy.
- 2) Some of these circumstances may be changing in ways which will seriously undermine the economy's strength.
- 3) Despite the obvious affluence in Post War America, large numbers of people remained impoverished throughout these years.
- 4) Scientific and technological development closely associated with World War II have led to cumulative change in our methods of production (automation): These developments, while potentially a source of great progress, are in part creating a most serious challenge to the existing institutional framework.

The optimists usually employ one of three arguments: (a) Automation creates more jobs in the process of making and servicing the new equipment; (b) Automation creates new sectors of the economy—sales, clerical, and service—The sectors of the economy thus expanding employment; and (c) products and markets absorb all the new and displaced workers just as manu-fac-turing absorbed displaced farm workers after the turn of the century. Unfortunately, none of these approaches is convinc-ing. First, automation would not take place if it involved more labor to make and service the new machines. This argument would hold if our world were populated by entre-preneurs whose goal was higher costs and not higher profits. The second goal was higher costs and not higher profits. The optimists often involve new products as well as labor saving.

For example, a computer that displays a number of clerical variations often involves new products as well as labor saving. Workers may also employ a programmer to do jobs the company could not have done before. Here both developments occur simultaneously. What is important is that there is no saving may take place without any new products, new markets and new employment. The evidence that the labor saving influence is of increasing importance is impressive. First, as our catalog of material products larger (increased af-fluence) the potential and the desire for new material products may decline. What is even more significant is that as our technology advances, it becomes increasingly unlikely that may decline.

While new products will employ labor intensive techniques, one cannot completely reject the new product argument. New employees are strong reasons to suspect that relatively few here are already moving into these areas. As to the expansion of service and clerical industries, it should be noted that automation is already moving into these areas. A recent survey conducted by the Wall Street Journal showed that many insurance companies, banks, and other financial institutions were in a position, as a result of recent automation, to absorb up to 30 per cent more work without expand-ing their workforce.

One final observation on technical progress. Some have expressed surprise that employment has held up so well over the past few years given the fact that a good deal of new

layoffs may not take place. (The Wall Street journal Survey good profit and a desire for a good public image, automation requires more than what is new labor set up. The firm also does not know what is new may elapse before all the bugs are worked out of the new when business is good and orders must be filled. Some time required on both the old and new systems—especially true employees new technology, more rather than less employment produces new reasons to expect that as a firm or industry intro-duces new labor technology has been installed. One cannot be certain, but there is good reason for surprise. There are good reasons to expect that as a firm or industry intro-

duces new labor technology has been installed. One cannot suppose fully labor technology has been installed. One cannot be certain, but there is good reason for surprise. There are good reasons to expect that as a firm or industry intro-duces new labor technology, more rather than less employment produces new reasons to expect that as a firm or industry intro-

economy. Before turning to post-war development of our economy. Thus in 1945 the stage was set for a vast expansion of our

goods to rebuild the world. The American economy was intact completely destroyed. The war left vast areas during the condition of the world. Another factor was the condition of the world which to fill these needs. They also had vast savings from the income produced needs. In 1945, consumers had 15 years of unfulfilled

period and the depression was in consumption. Few new houses, or refighters were produced during the war. The factors and equipment to make these items were also not produced. The peace time needs of the country were not satisfied.

The working population, working more than full time, saved almost 25 per cent of their earnings in three years. The working population, working more than full steady profits. War material and had a long period of high steady profits. Corporations worked for many who had not worked in 10 years. Corporations worked for some remained the same. War brought full change but some remained the same. In the above conditions changed but some remained the same. In the period 1940 to 1945, some of the above conditions

and businesses. In a tremendous backlog of needed goods by both consumers and businesses.

These conditions prevailed for more than 10 years, resulting for new factories, office buildings, sales and profits were low; thus, there was little spending by corporations was little or no market for most goods, sales and profits durable goods were beyond the reach of most. Since there homes, spending for household items was low and new positions was below the level known. In 1939, Americans income brief review of past developments. Our starting point is the 1930 to 1945 period. The unemployment and general poverty of the 30's are well known. In 1939, Americans income

To appreciate the present position of our economy requires a brief review of past developments. Our starting point is the 1930 to 1945 period. The unemployment and general poverty of the 30's are well known. In 1939, Americans income was below the level known. In 1939, Americans income

7) The situation can be characterized as one of crisis. There is no certainty as to the outcome—the opportunity for far reaching progressive social change exists but much creative planning and hard work will be required if this potential is to be realized.

6) Thus far there has been little awareness of the problem and the current responses are therefore totally inadequate. The defense economic problem.

5) Other factors such as population trends and the defense economy will increasingly intensify rather than moderate the economic problem.

RECENT ECONOMIC HISTORY

of their disposable income to repay debt and economists have long since forgotten the magic 10 per cent formula. Just as consumers expectations are important in determining the course of the economy, business expectations must also be evaluated. How do businessmen see their markets? Will they expand their plant capacity? Even if their market is not expanding, have the techniques of production in their industry changed so as to make it highly profitable for them to invest in new plant and equipment?

If the questions posed above could be answered with some degree of certainty, we would be much closer to being able to state the limits of our present prosperity. In projecting labor force and employment trends as was done in the economy paper, a narrow time context was not intended nor were any percentages endowed with magical qualities. The argument was simply that the trends discussed were at work and in the absence of intelligent well-planned intervention, economic chaos would ensue at some point in the not too distant future. In 1965? in 1967? in 1970? —no one can tell.

B) If the timing problem is uncertain, so also is the question of necessity. Must the crisis occur? If a tax cut and poverty program are possible, why can't government intervene with more effective long run programs?

Answers are again vague and less than satisfying. Clearly a collapse is not an absolute necessity. Economists as technicians can develop programs to solve the economic problem. The real question, however, concerns power and politics. If, as this author believes, substantial change in our economic, political, and social institutions is required, will these changes be ushered in by the existing power structure when to do so will undoubtedly compromise and greatly diminish its power? Can pressure, outside or in selected areas in the power structure develop (in the absence of economic collapse) to a sufficient degree to impose the needed changes (the role of SDS?)? If collapse does come, what will emerge in the way of a new social order? (a frightening question given recent political developments)

Another question is whether gradual deterioration rather than collapse is not possible. Can we have a society where some can live in increasing affluence while a larger and larger human slag heap develops? A measure of such economic polarization is obviously possible (it appears to have begun already). However, given an economy which is so dependent on mass consumption, the limits of polarization may be quite narrow.

C) A considerable number of questions have developed around the problem of automation. Why does this analysis see it as such a threat while most economists view it largely as an unmixed blessing.

be stressed that the situation in 1945 was very unusual. A crippling 10 year depression and five years of world war are hardly conditions to be classified as "normal." Failure to recognize these special circumstances led many to expect a return to depression after the war (this included many top economists). It is ironic that in 1945 failure to understand these unique factors led to fear when there was no cause; while today, failure to recognize these same factors permits optimism when there are real grounds for fear.

THE POST WAR ERA

Since 1945, except for an occasional slowdown, spending for homes, cars and other durables by consumers and outlays by corporations for new plants and equipment, have been very high. Over a million new houses a year, tens of millions of cars and other durable goods have been produced and purchased. Thousands of new plants and many billions of dollars worth of equipment have been purchased by corporations. The question is whether these two important foundations of the post war boom are weakening. During the 1958 recession there was a momentary awareness that the housing boom might be slowing down. A prolonged break in the market did not materialize and fears quickly faded. At the same time there was some concern over the problem of over capacity in many industries which might lead to a slowing down of business investment. Again the concern was momentary but the potential problems continue to exist. Another area which may soon slow down is the consumption of consumer durables (washers, autos, TVs, etc...). Many of these products were developed in the years immediately following the war: they may soon have run their course. If the markets for these products on which our mass production industries depend so heavily stop expanding and become simply replacement markets, the economy will be in serious trouble.

Finally, the last special condition of 1945—the needs of a war-torn world. For years, American exports of goods ran well ahead of imports, reflecting the great needs for our goods in foreign markets. Today, Europe and Japan, etc., are rebuilt and no longer require many of our goods and services. In fact, their factories are sharply competing with our own. The recent concern over trade policy, the cry to hold the line on wages, seem clear indicators of a change in the situation.

Summarizing the situation in 1963, we find that so far as the peacetime sector of our economy is concerned (this sector, despite great defense expenditures, is the mainstay of our prosperity), the great consumer, corporation and world markets of 1945 have undergone substantial change. Many of the vital needs of 1945 have been met and unless new areas of expansion are developed, we may soon be in

Not too many years ago, many economists felt that consumers would not increase their indebtedness beyond the point where 10 per cent of their disposable income was being used to repay this debt. In 1964, consumers were paying 14 per cent

or \$5000 more accurate? What about the auto workers balance this year? 4 year seniority men, or workers with seven years' seniority and the burden of debt held by auto workers reach a point where large numbers of auto workers decide to reduce their debt and curtail their spending. Will this happen when layoffs reach the stage of affecting three year seniority men? How will the auto seniority men, or workers with seven years' seniority and the burden of debt held by auto workers reach a point where large numbers of auto workers decide to reduce their debt and curtail their spending. Will this happen in the economy, for example, when automation layoffs in the auto industry determine to disperse. Exactly when this will lead the economy to disaster. The trend discussed in the economy paper are real and if they continue unchecked, will live in an indentured world. This is not to say that we certain degree of manipulation) is quite large and capable of a weakneses and limitation) is introduced when one recognizes that the public sector of the economy (whatever its impossibile. An additional complication is introduced if not about when particular events will happen is hazardously mechanica function of economic indses, making judgments importance, and where these expectations are not simply sumers, and businesses' expectations are of considerable in an economy as large and complex as ours, where con-

sumers have been asked about timing.

A) A number of questions have been asked about timing.

What follows is an effort to respond to certain basic questions that have been asked about the dire prediction why has prosperity continued, despite the dire prediction of the analysis? How long can prosperity last? Can new stopgap measures be introduced to stay the hand of the execuioner?

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ECONOMY

In two or three years, postwar babies will have reached the age where family formation usually takes place. As these families are formed, the need for houses will increase and construction will be off and running again. Note that a critical but unstable assumption in this rosy forecast is that the young people who are expected to form families will find employment and earn income sufficient to make them effective consumers of housing.

To note that having adjusted themselves to this development, housing experts now speak in gloomy terms about the future.

The young people who are expected to form families will find employment and earn income sufficient to make them effective consumers of housing.

During the 1950's we're largely born in the 1930's when the final factor which tended to blur the impact of automation was the population pattern. The additions to the labor force during the 1950's were largely born in the 1930's when the

employment created by automation was growing rapidly the second factor relates to the discussion of the post war up-surge. So long as the economy was growing rapidly the first factor has its impact to the contrary. Only in recent years has it spread slowly from the second world spending for science and technology during the post war period is arising—affiliates, a new and most serious problem is arising—automation. Little attention was paid to post-war markets and continuous poverty of those who did not participate in the affluent situation in the strong addition to the problem of possible stagnation in the strong

50 per cent.

The most marked victim of economic stagnation are the Negro family income today—as it was in 1945. A small minority of the non-white population has moved into the middle class, but the vast majority has lost ground, and are relatively poor today. Since 1960, 100,000 jobs for Negroes have been lost from the private sector. In the period 1956 to 1962 there has been virtually no expansion of Negro employment in private industry no employment of Negro employees have been shown unemployed among young Negro high school graduates in some Northren cities running as high as 50 per cent.

The meaning is clear: the black worker is hit first when the economy slows down. Recently, reports have shown unemployment among Negroes running as high as 50 per cent.

Kolko, and Keyserling all document these grim facts.

The most marked victim of economic stagnation are the Negroes. Negro family income is about half of the white family income today—as it was in 1945. A small minority of the non-white population has moved into the middle class, but the vast majority has lost ground, and are relatively poor today. Since 1960, 100,000 jobs for Negroes have been lost from the private sector. In the period 1956 to 1962 there has been virtually no expansion of Negro employment in private industry no employment of Negro employees have been shown unemployed among young Negro high school graduates in some Northren cities running as high as 50 per cent.

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Postponed by the very unusual conditions that existed after the very near future. These things may happen in foreign markets will be lost. These things may happen in capacity will cut their spending; and that many important corporations will slow down; that corporations with excess into homes, will slow down; the various items that go into construction, and the production of the various items that go into homes, will slow down; that corporations with excess

spending by those receiving the tax cut raises employment enough to provide additional jobs for the poor. The aspect of the tax cut which appears to have been quite successful concerns investment by business. Thus far, plan and equipment spending in 1964 has shown a substantial increase over the high levels of 1963. Summarizing the short term impact of the cut, it appears that the employment picture has been somewhat improved by the increased consumption and investment. It has also undoubtedly helped to extend current business expansion. Before looking at the possible long term effects of the tax change, a word on the poverty war.

Assuming the legislation is passed and implemented, about a billion dollars will be spent. These funds will largely be spent to (a) provide part-time employment for students permitting them to complete their education (b) set up combination training and CCC type operations and (c) to help communities that develop anti-poverty programs. Except for a small amount of permanent employment, the major effect of these programs will be to hold down the number of young people entering the labor market for a period of a year or two. In the short run, just as in the case of the tax cut, the effect will be to moderate the critical employment trends outlined in the crisis economy paper. Turning to the long run, the poverty program will have little beneficial effect unless one assumes that jobs automatically appear when young workers gain a bit more education. Proof of such a connection is lacking. In the case of the tax cut, the long run effects of stimulating investment (largely in automated equipment) may be detrimental unless plans are made to employ or provide income for those affected by the further introduction of labor saving technology. In the absence of such planning, there is little reason to expect that the long run trends discussed in the paper have been affected. Labor force growth continues, despite the fact that entrance into the labor market for some young workers will be set back a year or two. The job erosion effect of automation also continues and may, in fact, be accelerated by the recent tax changes. Thus it appears that the original conclusions regarding awareness and action require little or no modification. Actions have been taken, but their effect at best will only be to delay the forces propelling the economy toward crisis.

Before leaving current happenings, a short comment on a recent development in the construction field seems in order. In the original paper, it was noted that in the recessions of 1958 and 1960, economists expressed fear that the rising trend of construction activity might come to an end. As a result of building too many high income apartment houses in recent years, experts now expect that the upward movement is over for at least a few years.

The multiple impact of the slowdown in the construction sector of the economy will unfold in coming months. It is interesting

birth rate was exceptionally low. Thus the need to create new jobs was at a minimum during that decade.

Yet despite these factors which tended to moderate its effects, the impact of automation as an infant in the 50's was not insignificant. Manufacturing industries increased their output of goods over 60 per cent between 1950 and 1960, according to the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production. In these same 10 years the number of production workers in manufacturing has remained almost unchanged. This is truly a remarkable event and one with serious economic consequences.

It is not unusual to hear of a new dramatic automated device but there is a tendency to think of these things as exceptional events. Few appreciate the wide impact of the new production techniques. An industry such as apparel is thought to be unaffected by automation, yet, when the figures are examined, one finds production up over 60 per cent in the 1950's, with no additional workers. Here it has not been the introduction of a giant new machine but a series of small changes in plant layout and equipment. The same story is true in industry—food, clothing, furniture, etc.,—the list is endless. Only a handful of industries have shown employment gains: largely the defense groups, aircraft and missiles, shipbuilding, and electronics where huge sums of defense money has been spent. These industries, however, provide only a small fraction of total employment and cannot offset the loss on peacetime employment.

During the decade of the fifties with no gain in manufacturing the population grew by 30 million and the labor force by approximately 7 million. Where did these new workers go? First, only 6 million jobs were created, so that one million did not find work. This is reflected in the gradual increase in unemployment that took place during the past 10 years. The six million who found jobs did so in the service industries (2 million), retail trades (1 million), and government (2-1/2 million). Due to the tremendous change in technology the employment picture has been sharply altered. Not enough jobs were supplied and the jobs that did develop were not in manufacturing but were all in non-manufacturing. This last point is extremely important since wage levels in these two branches of industry are quite different. Weekly earnings in manufacturing run close to a hundred dollars while in many service and retail occupations earnings are often only half this amount.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

A substantial weakening of the strong post-war markets is a real possibility. One factor not mentioned which has a direct bearing on the strength of consumer markets is availability of funds. We noted earlier that in 1945 consumers had over 100 billion dollars of spending power. Also they were largely

More than a year has passed since this paper on the state of our national economy was prepared. During this period, a number of events have taken place that require attention. This postscript will attempt to integrate these developments into the original analysis. It also provides an opportunity to make some general observations on the original paper and to touch on a few questions concerning its content.

Re-reading the original statement I believe that, although it has many rough edges and clearly lacks certain sophistication and detail, the major conclusions are correct. Postwar prosperity continued for an additional year but it continues to be a product of rather unique forces. Furthermore the proposals of the major economists are correct. Postwar prosperity resulted from a relatively short term effect should be examined. In the economy. To date, it is not possible to fully evaluate the effects of the tax cut. However, some evidence is to its worth noting that since families with incomes under 3 or 4 sumers whose need to spend may be less than urgent. It is of the cut went to the middle and upper middle bulk impact is available. Consumption has not been stimulated as much as expected. An important factor may be that the bulk of the effects of the tax cut are not yet evaluated growth in the economy. To date, it is not possible to fully evaluate the second round of higher income and further growth in the economy. Leaving to a second round have a desirable effect on employment.

The happy combination of greater consumption and increased investment would have a desirable effect on employment.

This brings us to the events of the past year, a major tax cut and a modest war on poverty. In the case of both these measures, long and short term effects should be examined. In a relatively short time period, the tax cut by increasing disposable income, was expected to increase consumption. Given stronger demand plus the tax funds returned to business, the investment sector of the economy could also expect more business, the investment sector of the economy could also expect stimulation.

Assuming that one-million jobs are created in the last 5 years, there will be 76 million employees (an optimistic forecast in light of our earlier analysis). The service sector of the economy will be unable to absorb all the new workers of the sixties. Automation is rapidly moving into this sector, already weakening its job-generating potential.

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In the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate. Within the areas of automation—labor force growth—the defense economy—the earlier comments also appear accurate.

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GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

To insure that markets remain strong and the debt does not become unbearable, full employment is an absolute necessity. This is not our present condition and future prospects are grim. In the 1960's the babies born in the forties enter the labor force. The birth rate of the forties was much higher than that of the thirties. The labor force will expand by a million and a half each year in the coming decade. Add to this dependent workers will retire earlier and older workers will stay in school longer and that sumption that this is a need for over 2 million new jobs a year, and that this is a consequence of the aging of the population. The net result is a quarter million jobs are eliminated. The net result is a quarter million jobs are added each year, one and a half million workers are added each year, one and a quarter million jobs are with each passing year. The need for new jobs may not be absorbed all the new workers of the sixties. The service sector of the economy will be unable to absorb all the new workers of the sixties.

POSTSCRIPT

The rate of automation does not stay steady, but increases with each passing year. The need for new jobs may not be absorbed all the new workers of the sixties. The service sector of the economy will be unable to absorb all the new workers of the sixties.

With each passing year, the service sector of the economy may not be able to absorb all the new workers of the sixties.

The result is 11 million unemployed. This does not take into account involuntary part-time employment or disguised unemployment. Departmental estimates a work force of 87 million for 1970. Misistic forecast in light of our earlier analysis).

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