Review and outlook: 1981-82

Hard times—the Midwest in trauma

In early 1982, the nation remained in the grip of a painful business recession that began in the spring or summer of 1981. The Midwest, with its heavy concentration of durable goods manufacturing, was the region of the country most severely affected. Declines in production were reported for most types of manufacturing, agriculture, trade, transportation, and even government. Coming on the heels of the downturn that ended in the second quarter of 1980, the 1981 recession was an unprecedented second recession in two years. Moreover, in contrast with most downturns of the past, the 1981 recession began at a time when the economy had significant margins of unused capacity, both material and human.

In the first quarter of 1982, reports on output, orders, and employment suggested that the rate of decline had slowed. Price discounting and cuts in production were reducing excessive inventories of finished goods. There were hopes for an early end to the downturn and for a gradual improvement in activity later in the year, aided by slower inflation, lower interest rates, and the July 1 reduction in personal income taxes. Nevertheless, pessimism about the long-term course of the economy was more profound than at any time since the 1930s. Widespread financial distress, high prices, high interest rates, intense competition (both domestic and foreign), and a lack of job opportunities combined to depress public morale.

A disappointing year

In early 1981, the typical professional forecast called for little or no growth in real activity in the first half of the year, followed by at least a modest improvement in the second half. Instead, the first quarter proved to be surprisingly (and deceptively) robust, possibly aided by a mild winter. Total economic activity was about unchanged, on balance, in the second and third quarters. However, a sharp downturn occurred in the fourth quarter when constant dollar gross national product (real GNP) declined at an annual rate of almost 5 percent. The Federal Reserve’s Industrial Production Index, measuring physical activity in manufacturing, mining, and electric and gas utilities, hit a peak in July and then declined at an accelerating pace through year-end. Wage and salary employment peaked at 92 million in September and then

Economic activity declined while inflation slowed in late 1981 and early 1982

percent change

![GNP deflator chart]

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
dropped to an average of 91 million in the first quarter of 1982. Unemployment rose to 9 percent nationally, and to substantially higher levels in the Midwest.

**National growth slows**

The sluggishness of the economy since 1979 ended three decades of vigorous growth and remarkable resiliency. From 1947 through 1973, real GNP grew at an average annual rate of over 3.8 percent despite recessions in 1954, 1958, and 1970. After each downturn the economy not only regained its previous high within a year or so, but also reasserted a strong long-term rate of growth.

The 1973-75 recession, associated with the Arab oil embargo, was the longest (five quarters) and the deepest (a 5 percent reduction in real GNP) since the 1930s. Nevertheless, after some far-reaching and painful adjustments, the national economy struggled back to a level of reasonably full prosperity in 1978 and 1979. However, economic growth slowed in 1979 and has been weak ever since. Real GNP declined 0.2 percent in 1980 and rose only 2 percent in 1981. The standard forecast for 1982 calls for a slight decline or, at best, no significant growth. (Despite inaccurate predictions of the quarterly pattern for 1981, the typical forecast for the year-to-year change was substantially correct.) Assuming that real GNP this year equals the 1981 level, it will be 15 percent below the 3.8 percent growth path of 1947-73, extrapolated through 1982. The shortfall in production would cumulate in future years if slow growth continues. Such a prospect has sobering implications for the national standard of living.

**Inflation moderates**

World War II was followed by a surge of inflation after price controls were removed. Another surge occurred during the Korean War. In 1953, the GNP deflator, a measure of the general price level, was 90 percent above the level of 1941. From 1953 through 1965 the deflator rose at an average rate of only 2 per-
Over the past decade, total output dropped below its long-term trend; inflation accelerated.

Despite reduced job opportunities and rising unemployment. On average, compensation in the nonfarm business sector rose 10 percent in 1981, the same as in 1980, which is the record high for this series starting in 1948. Some large unions in construction, mining, and manufacturing won substantially larger first-year gains.

Rising labor compensation need not push up unit labor costs if productivity—output per worker hour—rises at a similar pace. If productivity improvement in the entire economy matches growth in compensation, the supply of goods and services can keep up with rising labor income. Labor costs per unit of output, and prices of this output, can remain relatively stable. Unfortunately, in recent years labor cost per unit of output has fully reflected increases in compensation because productivity, breaking the long-term trend, has been declining or, at best, showing sporadic gains.

From 1947 through 1977, hourly compensation in the nonfarm private economy rose at an average annual rate of 5.8 percent. Output per hour rose 2.4 percent annually, offsetting part of the rise in compensation. Unit labor costs and prices both rose at an annual rate of about 3.4 percent over this 30-year period, closely approximating the excess of the increase in compensation over the rise in productivity.

From 1977 through 1981, compensation increased at a rate of 9.6 percent, while productivity declined slightly. Unit labor costs, therefore, rose slightly faster than compensation. Prices rose at an annual rate of about 9 percent. For three consecutive years, 1978-80, productivity declined slightly. Last year it rose, but by only about 1 percent.

The reasons for the recent poor record on productivity are many and varied. Shifts in production methods due to increased fuel prices, irregular production schedules, low operating rates relative to capacity, and restrictive work rules each played a role. In periods of precipitous decline, like the fourth quarter of 1981, measured productivity drops abruptly because workers are not released as
Slumping productivity and rapid wage and benefit gains boosted unit labor costs

percent change from year earlier

output per hour worked by all persons

wages and benefits per hour

percent change from year earlier

labor cost per unit of output
deflator

quickly as production schedules are cut back. Productivity usually rises rapidly in the early stages of a business expansion because few bottlenecks impede rising production, and because experienced workers and the most efficient facilities are put back to work.

The analysis above implies that the rise in compensation must slow, or productivity must rise, preferably both, if inflation is to moderate. This must be accomplished in an environment of monetary and fiscal restraint. This is the aim of the negotiations between management and labor unions in recent months to reopen existing agreements in such sectors as motor vehicles, meat packing, and trucking. Managements wish to reduce compensation, or at least slow its rate of increase and to alter work rules that impede efficient use of men and facilities. Writing a new chapter in U.S. labor relations, unions have shown some willingness to consider such concessions. In return, they are asking for greater job security and a larger voice in future decision making.

The recession in the Midwest

The region of the Seventh Federal Reserve District, encompassing much of what is frequently referred to as the Midwest, includes both the nation's industrial heartland and its most productive agricultural area. With 15 percent of the country's population, the five District states produce almost a fourth of its manufactured durable goods and much larger shares of its motor vehicles, farm and construction equipment, industrial machinery, and steel. These states also produce half of the nation's corn, soybeans, and pork and a fourth of its milk.

Growth of population and employment in the Midwest has lagged the performance of the South and West since 1950, and especially since 1970. As in earlier decades when growth in the Midwest equaled or exceeded that of the nation, its durable goods industries have been vulnerable to cyclical fluctuations. Until the last three years, however, autos, steel, farm equipment, and the other volatile industries always rode through periods of adjustment and snapped back unimpaired to new highs. The region remained basically healthy and vigorous.

In early 1982, wage and salary employment in the Midwest was 6 percent below the prosperous level of early 1979. Nationally, total employment declined in the fourth quarter of 1981 and in early 1982, but was still 3 percent above the level of early 1979. Output of durable goods nationally was 10 percent below the rate of the recent peak in July, and 13 percent below that of March 1979, which still marks the record high. Nondurable goods output was down 7 percent from the all-time peak reached last August.

Fuel prices hit hard

Many of the present problems of the Midwest are attributable to the rapid escalation of world oil prices. Following the imposition of the oil embargo in 1973, the benchmark price for Saudi Arabian light crude oil rose from $3.00 per barrel in October 1973 to
Output has fallen sharply in important Seventh District industries

index, 1967 = 100

$11 in 1974, and to $13 in 1977. The price was boosted further by the cutoff of oil from Iran in 1979, and it reached $34 in 1981.

With decontrol in 1981 domestic oil prices approached this level. The effects were far reaching. High fuel prices had an especially severe impact on the motor vehicle industries of the Midwest, whose sales were further depressed in 1980 and 1981. The number of autos produced domestically declined 2 percent in 1981 from the depressed level of 1980, and was 32 percent below 1978. Truck output was up 2 percent last year, but 55 percent below the 1978 level. Imported cars, mainly small economical models from Japan, increased their share of the market from 18 percent in 1978 to 27 percent in 1981. For trucks the import share was 26 percent last year, up from 7 percent in 1978.

Also in 1979, tightening credit started a precipitous nationwide decline in residential construction which hit the Midwest very hard. Nationally, housing starts in 1981 were 50 percent below the peak of the early 1970s. In the Midwest, starts were 60 to 80 percent below the peak. Slower residential construction activity reduced demand for construction equipment.

Aside from reducing sales of goods manufactured in the Midwest, the energy crisis had other serious effects on the region. Primarily because of its colder winters and aging buildings and equipment, the Midwest consumes a disproportionate share of the nation's oil, natural gas, and low-sulfur coal (mandated by anti-pollution regulations). It produces only a very small share of its needs. Consequently, the Midwest is an energy "importer" both from abroad and from other states. High fuel prices, which increase production and living costs, partly reflect severance taxes imposed by the producing states. Increasingly, Midwest companies have chosen to move at least a portion of their operations to the Sunbelt where costs of fuel, labor, and government are lower.

Some other problems

While the Midwest leads the nation in output of business equipment, it produces a relatively small portion of the equipment used to develop, exploit, and refine resources of oil and natural gas. Oil and gas operations

Housing slump has been especially severe in Seventh District states

percent change

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
have attracted a large share of the nation's investment dollars. Not only have the energy companies enjoyed a heavy cash flow, but they are able to pay interest rates that keep other sectors from raising all of the outside funds that they desire.

Another growing sector is defense procurement. Here, too, the Midwest produces a relatively small share of the high-technology items demanded. Defense production is concentrated on the West Coast and in several states in the Southwest and Northeast.

Among the more serious side effects of the agricultural depression of 1980-81 were a reduction in sales of farm equipment and sharp slowdowns in the economies of smaller cities serving the farm community. In contrast with earlier periods of industrial recession when agriculture had often remained prosperous, declines in farm income have accompanied and reinforced the recent decline in industry.

Similarly, state and local governments experienced shortfalls of revenues and cuts in federal grants, forcing them to curtail programs and employment. In previous recessions, state and local outlays had continued to grow, thereby helping to offset declines in private sector activity.

Most Midwest producers of materials and finished goods have faced increasing foreign competition in recent years. Imports of foreign goods—produced, in many cases, in modern plants with lower labor costs—have made inroads in many lines, but especially in motor vehicles, electronics, and steel. Exports of most Midwest products, meanwhile, have declined or grown more slowly. Imported components also have become common in products assembled here. In 1981, the high value of the dollar provided an important additional advantage to foreign competitors.

Lagging sales reduced cash flow, eroded business confidence, and created excess capacity. These factors, coupled with record high interest rates, caused a sharp drop in demand for equipment produced in the Midwest, which accelerated in the final months of 1981 and in early 1982.

**Some sectors prosper**

Not all important lines of business in the Midwest have suffered reverses in the recent troubled years. Some have continued to expand at a vigorous pace. In manufacturing, these include pharmaceuticals, medical diagnostic and treatment apparatus, and advanced business communications systems. Among the service industries, law, accounting, financial and managerial consulting, and futures trading have required additional personnel and larger facilities. This development is particularly noteworthy in Chicago where a boom in office buildings has countered sluggishness in most other types of construction.

**The outlook remains somber**

For three decades the U.S. economy has enjoyed unprecedented prosperity in an exhilarating atmosphere generated by inflationary expectations. But, in the words of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker: "Sustainable growth cannot be built on inflationary policies." Domestic raw materials have proved to be inadequate to accommodate peak level demand and the nation has become heavily dependent upon imported supplies of oil, natural gas, metallic ores, and steel. Rising prices have encouraged a flood of imports over a broad spectrum. Low, or negative, real interest rates have resulted in a transfer of wealth from savers to borrowers, an untenable process which came to an abrupt end in the 1980s.

The nation's current problems developed over a period of three decades and cannot be corrected in a year or two. For many workers and businesses, especially those located in the Midwest, the transition to stable and sustainable growth will be painful and arduous.

Despite the prevailing gloom in early 1982, there are hopes for a reversal of the downturn in the second quarter. Personal income remains at a high level and will be augmented by a tax cut in mid-1982. A clear trend towards a reduced rate of domestic inflation in late 1981 and early 1982 raises real
incomes and tends to improve the competitive position of U.S. producers in world markets. Inventories of most materials and components are lean, partly because of heavy financing costs, and production cuts are reducing excessive stocks of finished goods. Any improvement in final sales will quickly bring a rise in factory orders. As confidence is restored and excess capacity is reduced, investment incentives provided by the Tax Act of 1981 are expected to encourage capital spending.

Prolonged slump for agriculture

The financial problems that struck agriculture in 1980 became more acute last year. Analysts had expected significant improvement in farm earnings in 1981. Aggressive bidding by foreign buyers and the shrinkage in U.S. supplies due to the drought-reduced harvest of 1980 were expected to keep crop prices high. Livestock prices were expected to rise as farmers cut production in response to their prolonged financial squeeze. Early 1981 projections also envisioned substantial upward pressures on food prices and a marked recovery in farm capital expenditures.

Actual 1981 developments deviated sharply from these expectations. Grain prices declined because of a softening in world demand for U.S. grains and oilseeds, and record harvests worldwide. New peaks in livestock production combined with sluggish demand to hold the line on livestock prices. Because of these developments, most measures of farm earnings declined again in 1981, culminating a steep two-year slide. Inflation outstripped the rise in farm asset values, lowering the real equity in the farm sector for the second consecutive year. Agribusiness firms suffered another year of depressed sales. But upward pressures on food prices moderated appreciably. Last year was the sixth out of the past seven that the average rise in retail food prices has been less than the rise in all consumer prices.

Farm prices declined all year

The composite measure of farm commodity prices averaged 3 percent higher in 1981 than in 1980, but trended lower throughout the year. By year-end, the measure was 12 percent lower than the year before and 2 percent lower than two years earlier. The slide intensified financial losses of many District farmers, particularly livestock producers and crop farmers who were hit hard by the 1980 drought.

Prices of corn and soybeans, which account for 40 percent of the roughly $32 billion in annual sales of farm commodities from District states, were a fourth lower at year-end than the year before and well below the cost of production. Cattle and hog farmers, who also account for nearly 40 percent of farm commodity sales in this region, experienced operating losses during most of last year, continuing a trend that has prevailed since mid-1979. Dairy farmers, whose receipts account for 15 percent of farm commodity sales in District states, fared relatively well again in 1981. Sustained by the federal support program, milk prices averaged higher in 1981 than the year before, despite excess production. Because of its high cost, the dairy support program was significantly modified in 1981 farm legislation.

Bumper harvest, weaker exports

Supply factors probably accounted for most of the decline in farm prices last year. But weakening demand factors also played a significant role.

Grain and oilseed prices surged to high levels in the latter part of 1980. But prices began to weaken in early 1981 when it became
apparent that world supplies of grains and oilseeds would be bolstered by a large spring harvest in the Southern Hemisphere. Simultaneously, domestic utilization of grains for livestock feed was declining and soybean exports were lagging. The downward pressures on grain and oilseed prices intensified by late spring as the weakness in exports spread to corn. Reflecting this, combined U.S. export shipments of corn and soybeans in the third quarter were a fourth lower than the year before. For the year, corn exports were down a tenth. A fourth-quarter surge, however, held soybean exports close to the 1980 level.

The downturn in world demand was in sharp contrast to the 1970s when U.S. export shipments of grains and oilseeds rose at a compound annual rate of 10 percent. The downturn reflected, in addition to the large supplies in other exporting countries, the higher value of the U.S. dollar, high interest rates, and slow economic growth in almost every major industrialized country of the world. These factors encouraged hand-to-mouth buying patterns in major importing countries.

Grain and oilseed prices fell sharply during the second half of last year. Despite the third consecutive year of poor crops in the Soviet Union, it became increasingly clear that the Northern Hemisphere harvest would be very large, particularly in North America. According to final 1981 estimates for the United States, the index of all crop production rose to 117 (1977=100), up 17 percent from the year before and up 4 percent from the previous high two years earlier. The 1981 corn harvest, at 8.2 billion bushels, was 23 percent larger than the year before and 3 percent above the previous record of 1979. Wheat production, at 2.8 billion bushels, exceeded the 1980 record by 18 percent and was up 31 percent from two years earlier. Soybean production, at just over 2.0 billion bushels, was up 13 percent from the year before, but 10 percent below the 1979 record. District states contributed heavily to the bountiful harvest, accounting for 55 percent of the corn production and 43 percent of the soybean crop. The combined corn and soybean harvests hit new highs in all District states except Indiana, where production was held down by a wet planting season.

**Losses mounted for livestock producers**

Most livestock producers suffered operating losses through most of 1981, continuing a trend that began in 1979. Cattle and hog prices were held below breakeven levels by record meat production and a softening in demand. A decline of 4 percent in pork production last year was offset by gains of 3 percent for beef and 6 percent for poultry.

Determining the reasons for the downturn in domestic demand for livestock products is difficult. Most analysts trace it to the effect of high interest rates on inventory stocking practices of processors and to shifts in consumer preferences. Changing consumer preferences may reflect secular trends associated with the maturing population (fewer big meat eaters) and the growing dietary issues linked to red meats. Recently, the depressing effects of these trends on meat purchases were reinforced by slow growth in real earnings and rising unemployment.

Livestock prices fluctuated widely again in 1981. Monthly hog prices ranged from $39.50 per hundredweight in March to $51 in August. For the year, hog prices averaged $44.50, a tenth higher than the year before, but unchanged from the 1975-79 average. Monthly choice steer prices ranged from $59.25 in December to $68.25 in June. For the year, steer prices averaged $64 per hundredweight, down 5 percent from 1980 and the lowest since 1978.

Dairy farmers enjoyed another relatively prosperous year in 1981. Their receipts were bolstered by a 6 percent increase in average milk prices and a 3 percent increase in milk production. Higher prices, in the face of record production and lackluster consumer demand, were made possible by the dairy support program.

During periods of surplus production,
the federal government maintains the support price of milk by purchasing manufactured dairy products and removing them from commercial market channels. Such purchases have been very costly the past couple of years. In fiscal 1981, the government’s net purchases of dairy products were equivalent to a tenth of all milk produced by farmers and cost more than $2 billion. The cost would have been even greater except for special legislation that overrode a scheduled April 1 increase in the support price of milk. Costs may be even higher this year, but will likely decline over the next few years as a result of the comprehensive farm bill enacted in December that lowers the relative support level for milk.

Financial strains evident

With commodity prices trending lower throughout the year and higher interest expenses pacing the rise in production costs, farm earnings were depressed for the second consecutive year. Net cash income in the farm sector, which had declined 12 percent in 1980, is estimated to have fallen an additional 6 to 10 percent last year. Excluding changes in inventory values, net farm income fell 20 percent in 1980 and another 13 to 18 percent in 1981. After falling nearly 40 percent in 1980, net income after inventory adjustment rose last year, largely reflecting the swelling in inventories following the record 1981 crop harvest.

On a per farm basis, the purchasing power of farm sector earnings the past two years was 40 percent lower than the average for the 1970s and the lowest for any two consecutive years since 1959-60. That striking comparison is illustrative of the very low returns to labor, management, land, and other farm assets owned or provided by farm operator families. However, the comparison somewhat exaggerates the financial difficulties facing many farm families. Over the years, farm families have increasingly supplemented farm earnings with income from nonfarm sources. In fact, off-farm earnings of farm operator families have consistently exceeded farm earnings for several years. When the earnings of farm families from both farm and nonfarm sources are added together, their purchasing power, on a per farm basis, was no lower in the past two years than the levels that prevailed until the early 1970s.

The financial pressures created for most farmers by the severely depressed earnings the past two years are also cushioned by the large gains in farm asset values (mostly land) in the 1970s. The gains provided many farmers with substantial equity. Equity in farm sector assets now approximates $400,000 per farm, almost four times the level of a decade ago. Although inflation has outstripped the rise in farm asset values the past two years, the real purchasing power of the equity in farm sector assets—on a per farm basis—is 75 percent higher than a decade ago.

Operating farm families own approximately 50 to 60 percent of the equity in assets of the agricultural sector. The equity, however, is not evenly distributed among all farmers. In general, young farmers, tenant farmers, and highly leveraged farmers have less equity than others. But most farmers do have substantial equity in their assets. During periods of depressed earnings, they can use

Real per farm earnings of farm operator families declined in 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Income</th>
<th>Income from Nonfarm Sources</th>
<th>Net Farm Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'66</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'68</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'72</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'74</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'76</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'78</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'81</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Continuity of series interrupted by change in definition of a farm.
**Preliminary.
that equity—either by borrowing against it or by liquidating assets—to generate the cash needed to meet family living expenses and/or debt service requirements.

**Capital markets weaken**

Depressed earnings and record high interest rates led to further weakness in farmers' capital expenditures and in land values in 1981. Gross capital expenditures in the farm sector fell 7 percent in 1980. Further declines occurred last year, extending a slide that is unparalleled in recent decades. Much of the decline was concentrated in farm equipment. The Farm and Industrial Equipment Institute reported that unit retail sales of farm tractors with 40 or more horsepower were down 13 percent in 1981 from the year before, and down 25 percent from the strong performance in 1979. Combine sales, though up slightly in 1981, remained 17 percent below their level two years earlier.

Over the past two years, farmland values in the Midwest have exhibited wide fluctuations. Quarterly surveys conducted by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago showed an unusual 4 percent decline in land values during the first half of 1980. But the downtrend reversed sharply in the second half of that year as commodity prices surged with the spreading impact of the drought. The uptrend continued through the summer of 1981, but at progressively smaller rates of gain. A sharp decline in the fourth quarter left District land values at year-end only nominally higher than the year before and up only 6 percent from two years earlier.

Farmland values have held up better in other parts of the United States than in the Midwest the past two years. Nevertheless, the increases have not kept pace with inflation and have fallen far short of the average annual gains of 14 percent recorded in the 1970s.

**Debt growth slows**

With high interest rates and low earnings discouraging capital expenditures and encouraging greater reliance on equity financing, last year's rise in farm debt again was modest. During the latter half of the 1970s farm debt rose at an average annual rate of 14 percent. The increase slowed to 10.5 percent in 1980 and edged up to only 11.5 percent last year.

Federal land banks (FLBs) have dominated farm mortgage lending for years. (FLBs are borrower-owned cooperatives that lend almost exclusively to farmers). Over the past decade, their share of all farm mortgages held by reporting institutional lenders has risen from 39 percent to 59 percent. In 1981, the rise in farm mortgages held by FLBs exceeded 20 percent for the third consecutive year. In comparison, farm mortgages held by life insurance companies rose only 1 percent last year, while farm mortgages held by banks declined 3 percent.

In nonreal estate farm lending, activity at banks picked up slightly from the very sluggish pace of the year before. Nevertheless, farm loans held by banks rose only 4 percent last year, faster than the 2 percent rise the year before but well below normal. Outstandings
Growth in farm debt slowed the past two years

Banks’ share of farm debt has declined since mid-1970s, while that of government agencies has soared

held by government agencies continues a marked trend that has been evident since the mid 1970s. Government agencies now hold 31 percent of all nonreal estate farm debt held by reporting lenders, up from 14 percent a decade ago. The most rapid growth has occurred in the economic emergency and disaster loan programs sponsored by the FmHA and the SBA.

Pessimism prevails for 1982

Most analysts believe that farm commodity prices hit bottom in late 1981. But only modest increases are expected in the months ahead, particularly for crops. Consequently, despite an expected slowing of the persistent rise in production expenses, many analysts believe farm sector earnings will decline again this year. These prospects point to further moderation in the rise in retail food prices, but may compound the financial problems facing farmers.

For livestock producers, the year ahead promises some easing of the prolonged financial squeeze that has existed since mid-1979. Further declines in pork production portend a slight decline in per capita supplies of all meats in 1982. All livestock producers will benefit from sharply lower feed costs which, in turn, will tend to lower total costs of production. Although hog prices are expected to average considerably higher in 1982, continued sluggishness in consumer demand is likely to prevent any substantial rise in cattle prices. Despite the cutback in the dairy support program, the decline in earnings of dairy farmers will be cushioned by the drop in feed costs.

Much of the burden of the depressed farm earnings will be borne by crop farmers in 1982. Last year’s record harvest and soft demand, especially from abroad, will lead to a huge increase in carryover stocks, particularly for corn and soybeans. Crop prices, though trending higher from the very depressed levels of late 1981, will probably remain well below cost of production for the next several months. Prospects for a slight upturn in crop
prices depend largely on government programs. Large amounts of corn under CCC loan and in the grain reserve could lead to tight “free-market” supplies unless prices rise to levels that encourage or permit farmers to repay the loans and market their grain. Moreover, a voluntary acreage reduction program will likely result in smaller crop plantings in 1982. Such a reduction in plantings would improve the prospects that this year’s harvest will be less burdensome than that of 1981.

Vagaries of weather and the narrow margin between surplus and deficit production could quickly alter the outlook for agriculture. But all indications now point to continued problems for the next several months. Any recovery in farm earnings in 1982 will be modest at best and a further decline seems more probable. The possibility of three consecutive years of depressed earnings indicates that more farmers will have to liquidate assets to meet debt service and/or family living expenses. Their ability to do so will depend on how well the value of land, which accounts for the bulk of farm sector assets, holds up in the face of the prolonged slide in farm income.

World economy is slow to improve

“Stagflation” again cast its pall over the world economy in 1981. For the second consecutive year, the economies of virtually all industrial countries experienced little or no economic growth, high and rising unemployment, and generally high rates of inflation. Because of the growing interdependence of all nations, the adverse economic conditions in the major industrial countries were gradually transmitted to the developing countries: sluggish demand in the industrial world curtailed exports of raw materials by the developing nations and depressed their prices. At the same time, inflation in the industrial world and higher prices of oil pushed up the cost of goods these nations import. Together, these forces produced a sharp worsening in the combined balance-of-payments deficit of the developing countries, increasing their dependence on external financing. Their international debt rose, while their capacity to service it diminished.

The problems encountered by the world economy in 1981 were further compounded by an outbreak of protectionist sentiment in a growing number of countries as they sought to protect their domestic economies from foreign competition. The sum total of these trends was the gloomiest outlook for the world economy that has been seen in many years.

The fight against inflation continues

Inflationary pressures have been intensifying throughout most of the industrial world for a number of years. Several factors contributed to this trend. The more than ten-fold increase in the price of oil and the “permissive” economic policies pursued by many countries head the list. But other factors also exerted their influence. In many cases, wages are now indexed to price increases, usually with a lag, thus assuring that labor costs will continue to rise even after prices have begun to slow. This increases the short-term costs in employment and output of any effort to slow inflation. Labor productivity has been reduced by the expansion of the proportion of employment in the comparatively low productivity service industries, by the increased participation in the labor force of inexperienced workers, and by the shift from energy intensive production to more labor intensive methods.

In 1981, governments in many countries began to come to grips with the inflationary problems. The restrictive monetary and fiscal policies adopted by many governments played an important role in moderating the rate of price advance during the year. A substantial weakening in commodity prices throughout the year presaged and contributed to the
Consumer prices decelerated in major industrial countries
percent change (monthly)

These trends are expected to continue in 1982, pushing the total number of unemployed in the OECD countries from 25 million in 1981 to over 28 million.

Balance-of-payments disequilibria ease

Depressed economic activity and intensified conservation efforts reduced the demand for oil in 1981, exerting strong downward pressure on oil prices. The resulting declines in prices and levels of consumption sharply reduced the earnings of the OPEC countries and cut their aggregate surplus on current account from $110 billion in 1980 to about $60 billion in 1981.

The beneficiaries of the reduced OPEC surplus have been the industrial countries. Their aggregate current account deficit fell from $73 billion in 1980 to $35 billion in 1981. In contrast, the non-oil developing countries were hit hard by external economic developments during the year. Not only did the sluggish economic activity in the industrial world depress the prices of their primary commodity exports, but rising import prices taxed their ability to pay for essential imports. As a consequence, their aggregate current account deficit increased from $60 billion in 1980 to $68 billion in 1981.

Banks in the industrial countries continue to finance a substantial share of these mounting deficits. By mid-1981, banks' claims on the non-oil developing countries totaled more than $200 billion, up from $193 billion at the end of 1980. Concern has arisen recently over the ability of banks to continue to finance these deficits and, especially with the current high level of interest rates, the ability of the developing countries to service a rising level of debt. The potential seriousness of these problems has prompted the IMF and the World Bank to enlarge their lending facilities so that, if necessary, they can take a more active role in financing the non-oil developing countries' increasingly oppressive debt burden.
Pressures for trade restrictions intensify

The depressed economic conditions here and abroad contributed importantly to an ominous development during the year—mounting sentiment worldwide for protection from foreign competition. Concrete actions growing out of this sentiment included: the antidumping duties imposed by Japan on U.S. aluminum allegedly dumped in the Japanese market; the “voluntary” export limits imposed by the Japanese government on auto exports to the United States, Canada, and the European Economic Community in response to threats of more severe formal import restrictions on autos by the governments of these countries; the antidumping and countervailing duty investigations by the U.S. government and American steel firms of alleged dumping and export subsidies in connection with steel exports from Europe, South Africa, and Brazil; the threatened imposition of duties by Western European countries on U.S. vegetable oils; and the restrictions placed on steel imports by the European Common Market.

The trade policy picture was not entirely negative, however. During the year certain trade restrictions were relaxed and the gradual implementation of the trade-promoting provisions of the 1979 Multilateral Trade Agreement proceeded on schedule. Nonetheless, the atmosphere of protectionism pervaded legislative deliberations throughout the world as corporations faced substantial losses, workers became unemployed or increasingly fearful of losing their jobs, and governments faced mounting social unrest and political pressures to “do something about imports.”

U.S. balance of payments improves

Divergent trends were evident in U.S. international trade during 1981. Reflecting sluggishness in economic activity worldwide, the growth in the value of U.S. merchandise trade slowed dramatically. Exports increased less than 6 percent compared with more than 20 percent in 1980. Imports increased about 6 percent compared with about 18 percent in 1980. The trade deficit, which had declined for two consecutive years to $25.3 billion in 1980, increased to $27.8 billion in 1981.

What strength there was in U.S. exports came primarily from the increased value of machinery shipments and, to a lesser degree, agricultural shipments. Nonetheless, both sagged late in the year as the volume of shipments declined and prices weakened. Much of the deceleration in the growth of imports in 1981 was concentrated in petroleum imports, the value of which declined about 2 percent to $77 billion (the volume of imports declined about 13 percent). Non-oil imports increased 9 percent from the 1980 level, compared with a 13 percent increase in 1980.

U.S. trade was also influenced by a sharp appreciation of the dollar relative to other major currencies during the first eight months of the year. The appreciation made foreign goods cheaper in terms of the dollar and U.S. goods more expensive in terms of foreign currencies, thereby tending to boost imports and reduce exports. The result was a rise in the U.S. trade deficit.

Despite the increased merchandise trade deficit in 1981, the U.S. current account balance—which in 1980 had recorded its first surplus since 1976—continued to improve. It registered a surplus of $6.6 billion in 1981, up sharply from the $3.7 billion surplus in 1980. An improvement in the balance in the services account in recent years has more than offset the merchandise deficit. The services surplus exceeded $41 billion in 1981, well above the services surplus of about $25 billion in 1978 when the deficits on merchandise trade ($33.8 billion) and current account ($14.1 billion) were at record levels.

The strength in the services account has been derived primarily from the receipts of income on U.S. assets abroad, which have greatly exceeded income payments to foreigners on their assets in the United States. Net income from direct investment typically has been a major contributor to the services
surplus. While income from direct investment abroad continued to be an important component of the services surplus in 1981, much of the improvement in the services account for the year came from an increase in net receipts to U.S. firms and individuals derived from investments in foreign financial instruments. Much of the increased investment was reflected in the substantial increase in claims on foreigners reported by U.S. banks during the year.

**The dollar was strong**

Movements in exchange rates are normally associated with changes in one or more fundamental factors such as the current account balance, relative rates of inflation between countries, relative rates of economic growth, and considerations of political stability. Changes in some of these factors apparently played a role in the movement of the dollar relative to other currencies in 1981. However, the primary cause of the extraordinary strength of the dollar during the first eight months of the year and the subsequent weakening later in the year appears to have been the movement in U.S. interest rates relative to those abroad. During 1980 the value of the dollar gyrated widely in concert with the broad fluctuations in the differential between U.S. and foreign interest rates.

The differential widened after midyear 1980 as U.S. interest rates increased and remained at a high level through midyear 1981. Reflecting this, the dollar strengthened from its low level in 1980 and by August 1981 had attained record highs against the Canadian dollar, French franc, and Italian lira, and a five-year high against the West German mark. On a trade-weighted basis (taking into account the relative importance of individual foreign currencies, based on their volume of trade with the United States) the dollar had
appreciated 20 percent from its 1980 low. Increases vis-à-vis specific currencies were: 10 percent against the Canadian dollar, 54 percent against the French franc, 59 percent against the Italian lira, 48 percent against the German mark, 19 percent against the British pound, and 38 percent against the Japanese yen.

As U.S. interest rates declined later in the year, the dollar weakened. Another factor contributing to the weakening of the dollar was the shift in sentiment regarding the outlook for the U.S. economy as economic activity declined in the fourth quarter and unemployment continued to increase. On the other hand, unsettled political conditions in Poland and the Middle East apparently served to strengthen the dollar as foreign investors sought a "safe" currency for their investments. At the end of November the trade-weighted value of the dollar had declined about 10 percent from its 1981 high but it moved upward again in December. The dollar closed the year about 8 percent below its August high and 12 percent above its 1980 low.

Fiscal policy—a new approach

The new Reagan administration moved to honor the pledges made during the election campaign concerning fiscal policy. Specifically, the administration introduced legislation designed to:

1. reduce tax rates on personal income.
2. provide accelerated depreciation allowances and other incentives for business investment.
3. slow the growth of all areas of government spending except defense.
4. gradually reduce the deficit, aiming at a balanced budget in fiscal 1984.

The key phrase in the new administration's approach to fiscal policy was "supply side" economics. A major thesis of supply side economics is that the growth of the economy has been hindered by high marginal tax rates that strongly favor consumption over investment and reduce the incentive to work. By reducing marginal tax rates and providing other investment incentives, the administration hoped to guide the economy into an extended period of strong growth. It was expected that the immediate loss in revenues resulting from the lower rates would be recovered in a few years because the total national income would be substantially larger than it would have been without these incentives for investment.

There was a second aspect to the Reagan administration's view of government spending. It believed that the federal government had assumed responsibility for many activities that are properly the function either of state and local government or of the private sector. Among the most important and controversial features of the first Reagan administration budget were its proposals that spending for these programs be reduced, transferred to the local level, or eliminated. The major budget category to be spared sharp spending cuts was national defense, an area in which the administration believes the United States has lagged dangerously behind the Soviet Union. Consequently, substantial growth in real defense expenditures was called for over the next several years.

Little impact in fiscal 1981

The new administration had virtually no impact on fiscal 1981, which had begun in October 1980. The focus has been primarily on fiscal 1982 and beyond. Although the administration revealed its plans in a series of messages during March and April of 1981, the
Estimated and actual budget figures for fiscal year 1981
(billions of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carter estimate</th>
<th>Reagan estimates</th>
<th>Actual September 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>607.5</td>
<td>600.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlays</td>
<td>662.7</td>
<td>655.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficit</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-budget</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total deficit</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The length of the congressional budget process made it impossible to alter the 1981 program. In its January budget message, the Carter administration had forecast receipts of $607.5 billion and outlays of $662.7 billion for fiscal 1981, giving a deficit of $55.2 billion. The reestimates by the Reagan administration in March and July were very similar. The actual outcome showed receipts of $602.6 billion and outlays of $660.5 billion. The resulting deficit of $57.9 billion was slightly below the $59.6 billion deficit incurred in fiscal 1980. However, if the $21 billion of off-budget borrowing in fiscal 1981 is included, the total deficit was $78.9 billion, an all-time record.

Virtually all off-budget outlays consist of loans made by government departments and agencies under a wide variety of programs. These loans are sold to the Federal Financing Bank, so that, within the budget, the outlays are offset by the proceeds. The Federal Financing Bank, in turn, borrows the money from the Treasury, but these borrowings have not been included in the Unified Budget. They are, however, part of the total the Treasury must raise each year to meet the cost of government.

Implementing the Reagan program

The new administration had remarkable success in getting the tax portion of its program approved by the Congress. The Economic Recovery Tax Act became law on August 13. In the legislative process the new tax law underwent a number of changes in detail regarding the timing and the exact shape and magnitude of its major provisions, and the final version contained several additions that the President had wished to defer for later consideration. But the basic objective of a general tax reduction designed to favor saving and investment was achieved, and marginal personal income tax rates above the 50 percent bracket were cut sharply. Business taxes were reduced primarily by providing more rapid amortization of investment and by making the investment tax credit transferable by lease arrangements. The most recent administration estimates are that these changes reduced receipts by $38.3 billion in 1982, $91.6 billion in 1983, $139.0 billion in 1984, and $176.7 billion in 1985.

Getting the Congress to act on the spending cuts proved to be more difficult than getting the tax revisions passed. When the fiscal year ended on September 30, very little had been completed in passing the necessary authorization and appropriation bills. Although both houses passed the first budget resolution—which adopted in principle all that the administration had asked for—that resolution has no legal status as far as actual spending is concerned. During early October, most of the government was functioning under a continuing resolution which permitted continued spending at the fiscal 1981 rate. This was extended to year-end, but even then much work was undone. Just before the Christmas recess, a third continuing resolution was passed running to September 30, 1982. The Congress still had to complete appropriations action and pass a second budget resolution to complete action for this fiscal year.

Reworking the Reagan program

No revised estimates for fiscal 1982 were published by the administration prior to re-

Personal income tax provisions

1. Across-the-board reductions in personal income tax rates from 1980 rates:
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>11¼ percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>19 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984 and after</td>
<td>23 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Reduction of maximum rate to 50 percent.

3. Indexation by the Consumer Price Index of bracket ranges, the zero bracket amount, and the personal exemption beginning in 1985.

4. Introduction of “Marriage Tax” deduction for two-earner families up to a maximum of $1,500 in 1982 and $3,000 in subsequent years.

5. Authorization of IRA accounts for all workers, permitting tax-free saving of up to $2,000 per year ($2,250 with non-working spouse). Raising of Keogh plan maximum to $15,000.

6. Authorization of All Savers Certificates, providing tax-exempt interest at 70 percent of Treasury bill rate up to $1,000 per individual or $2,000 per couple. (Expires December 31, 1982.)

Estate and gift taxes

1. Elimination of taxes on inheritance (or gift) to spouse in any amount.

2. Gradual increase in the tax credit on estates from the $47,000 of current law to $192,800 in 1987. (This means that estates up to $600,000 will become tax-exempt by 1987.)

3. Reduction of maximum estate tax rate from 70 percent to 50 percent in steps of 5 percent a year.

4. Raising of gift tax exclusion from $3,000 to $10,000 effective January 1, 1982.

Business tax provisions

1. Classification of all personal property into four classes which may be written off over 3, 5, 10, or 15 years, respectively. (Except for public utility equipment, virtually all business equipment is in either the 3- or 5-year class).

2. Authorization to write off real property in 15 years using 175 percent declining balance.

3. Liberalization of leasing provisions to permit transfer of unused investment tax credits and depreciation between firms.
The changing face of federal spending plans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>January '81</td>
<td>March '81</td>
<td>January '82</td>
<td>January '82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(billion dollars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>599.3</td>
<td>711.8</td>
<td>650.3</td>
<td>626.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlays</td>
<td>657.2</td>
<td>739.3</td>
<td>695.3</td>
<td>725.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total deficit, including off-budget</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>118.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Outlays by function

- National defense: 159.8, 184.4, 188.8, 187.5, 221.1
- International affairs: 11.1, 12.2, 11.2, 11.1, 12.0
- General science, space, technology: 6.4, 7.6, 6.9, 6.9, 7.6
- Energy: 10.3, 12.0, 8.7, 6.4, 4.2
- Natural resources, environment: 13.5, 14.0, 11.9, 12.6, 9.9
- Agriculture: 5.6, 4.8, 4.4, 8.6, 4.5
- Commerce and housing credit: 3.9, 8.1, 3.1, 3.3, 1.6
- Transportation: 23.4, 21.6, 19.9, 21.2, 19.6
- Community, regional development: 9.4, 9.1, 8.1, 8.4, 7.3
- Education, training, social services: 31.4, 34.5, 25.8, 27.8, 21.6
- Health: 66.0, 74.6, 73.4, 73.4, 78.1
- Income security: 225.1, 255.0, 241.4, 250.9, 261.7
- Social Security: 138.0, 159.6, 154.8, 154.6, 173.5
- Other: 87.1, 95.4, 86.6, 96.2, 88.2
- Veterans benefits: 23.0, 24.5, 23.6, 24.2, 24.4
- Administration of justice: 4.7, 4.9, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6
- General government: 4.6, 5.2, 5.0, 5.1, 5.0
- Fiscal assistance (S&Ls): 6.9, 6.9, 6.4, 6.4, 6.7
- Interest: 82.5, 89.9, 82.5, 99.1, 112.5

lease of the 1983 budget. However, estimates by non-government economists projected much higher deficits for both 1982 and 1983 than the last official forecasts, released in July, had indicated. The President’s budget message on February 8, 1982 confirmed these private estimates. The administration’s estimate of the total deficit for 1982, including off-budget borrowing of $19.8 billion, almost doubled from $61.7 billion to $118.3 billion. This massive revision had three major sources, all related to the poor performance of the economy relative to the assumptions underlying both the March and July estimates. On the revenue side the major factor was a lowering of the estimated receipts from the corporate income tax by about $20 billion. On the outlays side there were two major increases. Interest cost estimates were raised by over $16 billion, and income security programs, primarily unemployment insurance payments, were raised about $10 billion from the earlier estimates.

The hope of producing a balanced budget during the present administration’s current term in office has evaporated. The deficit for fiscal 1983 is projected at $91.5 billion. Longer range forecasts show continuing deficits, though progressively smaller ones, through at least 1987.

The budget outlook

Virtually every member of the Congress who has spoken out publicly on the budget message has been insistent that the deficits must be reduced. However, except for minor alterations, it does not appear possible to do very much about fiscal 1982. Furthermore, a detailed examination of both the 1982 and
1983 budgets makes clear that there are few available categories in which changes can be made that are large enough to have any measurable impact. Taxes could be raised and defense spending, income security programs, and, perhaps, veterans benefits could be reduced. No other categories are large enough in total that even drastic cutting, say as much as 20 percent, would have a significant impact on the deficit.

Of the three large outlay categories, only defense is at all likely to be reduced by more than a token amount in an election year. Nor does it seem likely that any major tax increase is going to be passed so soon after the tax reduction bill was enacted.

Of the various means available for increasing revenues, the most likely to be adopted are the introduction of some new user fees, the tightening of leasing rules just relaxed by the 1981 tax changes, and the revision of several minor provisions of the tax laws. The combined effect of these changes would be to raise revenues by about 5 percent.

With military spending already under attack, the projected 18 percent increase for 1983 may be spread into future years. However, a final deficit total for fiscal 1982 which is as much as $10 billion below the present forecast of $98.6 billion is not likely to be achieved, and, in fact, an even higher figure is not an unlikely outcome.

**Financial markets and monetary policy**

Conditions in financial markets during 1981 reflected not only current economic conditions but also uncertainties about future trends in light of the fundamental shift in the strategy of economic policy. The new focus on long-run reforms in public policy to stimulate investment, increase productivity, and promote economic growth—combined with continued monetary restraint to reduce inflation—made transitional problems inevitable. Inflation expectations built up over almost two decades cannot be erased quickly. Yet a change in those expectations is a necessary condition to the success of a program that depends heavily on increased private saving to finance expanding investment expenditures.

In 1981, the Federal Reserve continued to pursue monetary objectives consistent with lowering the rate of inflation. For the year as a whole, growth in the narrow concepts of money was well below that for 1980 and somewhat less than intended, while the broader measures grew a bit faster than the targeted pace. These divergences, as well as the uneven pattern of growth within the year, largely reflect shifts by consumers to new financial instruments and changing cash management practices in an environment of high and volatile interest rates.

Given the Fed’s policy of supplying non-borrowed reserves at a rate believed consistent with the desired rate of money growth, the fluctuations in the level and pattern of interest rates were largely determined by variations in private credit demand. Unexpectedly strong economic activity early in the year led to relatively heavy borrowing and kept short-term interest rates high. The reluctance of investors to commit funds for long periods at fixed rates resulted in record yields in the bond markets, discouraging businesses from funding short-term debt. High market rates also accelerated the flow of funds out of instruments still subject to interest rate ceilings. For example, shares in money market mutual funds rose by more than $100 billion during the year, part of which flowed back into large bank CDs.

Thrift institutions and smaller banks experienced very little growth, but their average cost of funds rose sharply as they were forced to rely on time certificates of deposit and the new interest-bearing NOW accounts in place of traditional funding through demand and savings accounts. Because these
Institutions hold a large proportion of their assets in the form of mortgages and other fixed-rate assets; they experienced severe pressure on earnings. A number of them failed, and an even greater number—including some of the largest thrift institutions in the country—were kept operating only through merger into other institutions.

To ease this problem, the Federal Reserve arranged to provide extended credit to thrift institutions and banks experiencing sustained liquidity pressures at a rate varying with the duration of borrowing. As much as $450 million of credit was outstanding under this provision at one time last year. In these circumstances, the Depository Institutions Deregulation Committee proceeded slowly in carrying out the deregulation of interest rates mandated by the Monetary Control Act of 1980. Meanwhile, nonbank financial institutions continued to expand their role in providing financial services. The innovations introduced by these institutions, together with shifts of both savings and transaction balances, increased the problems of interpreting and controlling the monetary aggregates.

**Monetary aggregates and monetary policy actions**

At its February meeting, the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) agreed that the achievement of its objectives would be furthered by somewhat slower monetary and credit growth than had been experienced in 1980. Specifically, the FOMC adopted the following ranges of growth for the monetary and credit aggregates from fourth quarter 1980 to fourth quarter 1981: 3½ to 6 percent for M-1B, 6 to 9 percent for M-2, 6½ to 9½ percent for M-3, and 6 to 9 percent for total bank credit. It was recognized that some of the observed growth in M-1B during 1981 would result from shifts of funds from savings deposits into NOW accounts following the nationwide introduction of such accounts on December 31, 1980. Because it was believed that some of these funds are held as investments, rather than as transactions balances, the actual M-1B figures were adjusted downward to take these shifts into account.

For the year, shift-adjusted M-1B grew 2.3 percent, well below its 1981 range. (Unadjusted M-1B also grew slower than expected.) The slowdown in M-1B growth in 1981 continued the deceleration of monetary growth that began in 1979. After peaking at 8.3 percent in 1978, M-1B growth slowed to 7.5 percent in 1979 and 6.6 percent in 1980 (adjusted for shifts to NOW accounts). Growth rates of the broader monetary aggregates, however, not only exceeded their 1981 ranges but were higher than in the preceding year: M-2 grew 9.5 percent in 1981 compared with 9.1 percent in 1980, while M-3 expanded 11.4 percent in 1981 compared with 9.9 percent in 1980. Bank credit grew at a rate of 8.8 percent in 1981, within its range but somewhat faster than its 8 percent rate of growth in 1980 when the credit restraint program was in place.

Short-run monetary policy actions during the year were designed to keep monetary growth in line with the established ranges for 1981. Since October, 1979, the Fed has used a reserves targeting approach in seeking to achieve desired monetary growth. Although, under the current lagged reserve accounting system, the Fed cannot control total reserves directly, it can affect the proportion of total

---

1 A 3 to 5½ percent range, adjusted for shifts to NOW accounts, was also established for M-1A, which was defined to include currency held by the public, demand deposits at commercial banks other than those due to domestic banks, the U.S. government, and foreign banks and official institutions, and travelers checks of nonbank issuers. The M-1A measure, however, did not play an important policy role during 1981, and was dropped beginning in 1982. M-1B, which in 1982 is designated as M-1, includes M-1A plus other checkable deposits consisting of negotiable order of withdrawal (NOW) and automatic transfer service (ATS) accounts at banks and thrift institutions, share drafts at credit unions, and demand deposits at mutual savings banks. In 1981, M-2 was defined to include M-1B plus overnight repurchase agreements (RPs) and Eurodollars, money market mutual fund (MMMF) shares, and savings and small time deposits at banks and thrift institutions; in early 1982, retail RPs were included and institution-only MMMF shares were excluded from M-2. M-3 includes M-2 plus large time deposits at banks and thrift institutions, and term RPs. Growth rates given in the text are based on the early 1982 revisions and redefinitions of monetary aggregate data.
Reserve mix responded to deviations from monetary growth targets

---

Reserves supplied as nonborrowed reserves. Under this approach, when monetary growth falls below (above) its desired path, a greater (lesser) proportion of the total reserves needed to support targeted monetary growth is provided as nonborrowed reserves. Increasing the proportion of reserves supplied as nonborrowed reserves reduces the need for banks to borrow at the discount window and, thus, lowers the effective cost of borrowing. This occurs because a major component of the cost of borrowing—the nonpecuniary cost associated with the surveillance exercised by Fed discount officers—varies directly with the amount and duration of borrowing. As a consequence, so does the total effective cost of borrowing—i.e., the nominal discount rate plus the nonpecuniary cost of borrowing. Thus, the higher the level of nonborrowed reserves—and therefore the lower the level of borrowing—the lower is the effective cost of funds to banks and the more attractive it is for them to purchase additional earning assets, expanding the money supply. Changes in the effective cost of borrowing are immediately transmitted to banks that do not borrow at the discount window via changes in the federal funds rate.

Through the first quarter of 1981, growth in shift-adjusted M-1B was below its annual range while growth in M-2 was within its range. To encourage more rapid monetary expansion, the Fed increased the proportion of total reserves supplied as nonborrowed reserves. These short-run policy actions contributed to the decline in short-term interest rates during the first quarter.

Monetary growth accelerated sharply in April, with shift-adjusted M-1B moving into its annual range and M-2 moving above its range. In response, the Fed became less accommodative in supplying nonborrowed reserves, and the proportion of total reserves provided as nonborrowed reserves declined through May. In addition, the Fed raised the discount rate from 13 percent to 14 percent and increased the surcharge imposed on large, frequent borrowers from 3 percent to 4 percent in early May.

In reconfirming its 1981 monetary and credit aggregate growth ranges in July, the FOMC noted that the shortfall in M-1B growth reflected a shift in the public's holdings of liquid assets in response to rising yields on instruments not subject to interest rate ceilings. For example, shares of money market...
Mutual funds increased almost $50 billion dollars from December 1980 to June 1981. Because of these strong flows into components of the broader aggregates, and the likelihood that such aggregates would be in the upper parts of their ranges, the FOMC expressed a willingness to accept growth in shift-adjusted M-1B toward the lower end of its 1981 range.

For the remainder of the year, shift-adjusted M-1B remained below its 1981 range while M-2 fluctuated around the upper limit of its range. Policy actions were generally aimed at encouraging somewhat more rapid growth in M-1B while keeping M-2 close to or within its 1981 range. From June through November, the Fed increased the proportion of total reserves supplied as nonborrowed reserves. In addition, in a series of steps beginning in September, it lowered the basic discount rate to 12 percent and eliminated the surcharge. In belated response to these policy actions, monetary growth accelerated in November and December.

The growth of M-2 relative to M-1B was also affected by a number of developments that enhanced the ability of depository institutions to compete for small time deposits. Effective August 1, the Deregulation Committee removed the cap on rates payable by depository institutions on 21/2-year Small Savers Certificates. Beginning October 1, depository institutions were allowed to offer All Savers Certificates paying interest at a rate related in a specified way to the one-year Treasury bill. Interest on these certificates is tax-exempt up to $1,000 for individuals and up to $2,000 on a joint return. Beginning November 1, the maximum rate payable on six-month Money Market Certificates was tied to the higher of the average discount rate on six-month Treasury bills established by the latest auction or the average of the four most recent auctions. Also, beginning December 1, depository institutions could offer Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) and Keogh plans having maturities of 18 months or more completely free of interest rate ceilings. Such IRA accounts would be available in 1982 to all employed individuals.

**Interest rates high and volatile**

On average, interest rates were higher in 1981 than in 1980. Although fluctuations within the year were again wide, they were less extreme than the swings associated with the imposition and subsequent removal of the 1980 credit restraint programs. While the high levels of rates generally—and long-term rates in particular—reflected expectations of a continued high rate of inflation, they may also have been affected by investors’ efforts to compensate for the uncertainty associated with the rate volatility of the past two years. Short-term rates undoubtedly reflected, in addition, the Fed’s persistence in pursuing its goal of a gradual deceleration in monetary growth.

In October, long-term yields reached new record highs and money-market yields reached levels very close to the record highs set in 1980. Monthly average bond equivalent yields on three-month Treasury bills reached a May high of 17.23 percent and finished the year at 11.35 percent, about 5 percentage points below their level at year-end 1980. At the other end of the maturity spectrum, monthly average yields on 30-year Treasury securities ranged from a low of 12.14 percent in January to a high of 14.68 percent in October and ended 1981 at 13.45 percent—about 1 percentage point above the December 1980 level.

The swings in interest rates in 1981 were roughly coincident with efforts to return money growth to the desired path following large and prolonged deviations above or below the targeted ranges. Early in the year, money-market interest rates were pushed downward as the Fed increased the rate at which it supplied nonborrowed reserves in response to weak growth in the narrowly defined shift-adjusted monetary aggregates. This downward trend in short-term interest rates was sharply reversed in April when M-1B growth rapidly accelerated and the Fed again slowed the growth of nonborrowed reserves. The ebullience of the economy in the first quarter of 1981 heightened investor...
concern about inflation and put upward pressure on interest rates. After peaking in May and June, most short-term rates trended lower over the remainder of 1981 as a slowdown in economic activity again led to sluggish growth in narrowly defined money.

The behavior of longer-term yields followed a somewhat different pattern. Interest rates on bonds trended irregularly upward, with 30-year Treasury securities reaching a weekly average record high of about 15 percent in early October. Following the October peak, long-term interest rates declined sharply in the face of mounting evidence of a significant slowdown in economic activity, a substantial decline in the rate of inflation, and the

Long-term interest rates declined from recent highs . . .

... with short-term rates following a similar but more pronounced pattern

*Last day of the month.
**Bond equivalent yields.
increasing momentum of the fall in short-term rates.

By mid-October short-term rates had declined enough to restore a positive yield spread between 30-year and three-month maturities of Treasury securities for the first time since September 1980. In the past, a widening in the positive spread between long- and short-term interest rates has often been associated with declining long-term rates.

In the tax-exempt sector, yields on state and local securities not only hit record highs, but rose relative to yields on comparable taxable securities. Among the factors combining to produce this relative increase in yields on municipal securities were: (1) weak demand for these issues by their major traditional buyers—commercial banks and casualty insurance companies; (2) increased competition from alternative tax-exempt investments such as the All Savers Certificate introduced in October; and (3) higher borrowing resulting from anticipated cutbacks in federal funding of state and local governmental services and increased efforts to take advantage of the tax-exempt status of industrial revenue bonds and mortgage bonds.

The record high yields in the fixed-income markets occurred in an environment of relatively weak real economic growth, moderating inflation, and declining private sector credit demands relative to nominal GNP—ordinarily an environment conducive to declining interest rates. The net amount of funds raised in the credit markets by businesses and households declined in the second half of the year and the amount of Treasury financing was actually less than a year earlier. However, skepticism that federal expenditure would be reduced enough to offset the effects of the scheduled tax cuts was a major element depressing the bond markets throughout the year. Investors' fears intensified at year-end as the recession dashed all hopes of reducing the federal deficit according to plan. The perception that new pressures on financial markets would develop as large deficits combined with an expected resurgence of private credit demands was strengthened by the release of revised projections of the deficit for fiscal 1982. Most of these projections centered around $100 billion, with relatively modest reductions expected in succeeding years. The widespread concern over these figures was reflected in the rebound in interest rates that began in December.

**Shifts in credit structure**

The total amount of funds raised in the credit markets was a little greater in 1981 than in 1980, but fell short of the record 1979 financing volume. Given the significantly higher price level, the real volume of funds raised was sharply lower than in 1980. Most of the shifts in the composition of credit and in the market shares of different types of institutions that had characterized 1980 continued in 1981. Savings continued to flow into instruments paying market-determined rates. As the year progressed, individuals reduced their purchases of consumer durables and houses in response to high financing costs and concern over the economic outlook. Net extensions of consumer credit, though up sharply from their low levels under the credit restraint programs in 1980, slowed after the first quarter, while the savings rate rose. Mortgage lending, which was well below the depressed

---

**Commercial paper's share of business credit was up sharply**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>billion dollars</th>
<th>net short and intermediate term business credit advanced via:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Finance companies
- Commercial paper
- Small banks
- Foreign related institutions
- Large banks*

* Banks with domestic assets of $750 million dollars or more at the end of 1977. Includes loans to U.S. residents booked at foreign branches of U.S. banks. Banking data for the end of 1981 have been adjusted to eliminate the shifting of assets from domestic banking offices to International Banking Facilities.
1980 pace in the first half, declined further in the second half.

Although businesses raised somewhat more funds, net, in the credit markets than in 1980, they concentrated their borrowing in short-term debt instruments, given the high rates and unreceptive conditions in the securities markets. Short- and intermediate-term business debt rose an estimated $80 billion, about 70 percent more than in 1980.

Bank loans to business borrowers by domestic offices of both U.S. and foreign banks rose more than 13 percent in 1981, compared with 12 percent in 1980. Business loans expanded more rapidly at small and medium-sized banks than at large money center banks or U.S. branches and agencies of foreign banks. To a considerable extent this was attributable to the greater access of large firms to the commercial market paper; outstanding commercial paper of nonfinancial issuers rose 45 percent last year. Business loans extended to U.S. corporations by foreign branches of large U.S. banks were also up sharply, largely because the cost of funds from these sources was generally less than that of bank loans based on the bank prime rate. To meet competition from foreign banking institutions and the commercial paper market, many large domestic banks made credit available to large national market customers with options for alternative pricing based on market rates or on the cost of funds.

With liabilities shorter and rates more volatile, financial institutions were under growing pressure to keep assets returns in line with the cost of funds. Most business loans were written with floating rates, and few mortgage lenders were willing to put more fixed-rate loans on their books. At the same time, the high yields available on short-term obligations and continued concerns about inflation discouraged investors from making long-term commitments. All of these factors contributed to heavier reliance on short-term debt. Borrowers must now face the problems of rolling it over in the future or refinancing in long-term markets when conditions permit.

Prelude to recovery

In the summer of 1982 the American economy remained in the grip of a stubborn recession. However, the rate of decline appeared to have slowed and most observers believed that an upturn was at hand. The decline in total activity that began in mid-1981 was not nearly as steep as in various past cycles, notably in late 1974 and early 1975. Nevertheless, morale was at a lower ebb than at any time since the 1930s. Several unusual characteristics of the 1981-82 recession help to account for this extreme pessimism:

- The recession followed closely on the heels of the recovery from the 1980 decline.
- The unemployment rate, which was relatively high at the onset of the recession, later increased to a postwar record high.
- The downturn affected all sectors of the economy—agriculture, manufacturing, mining, construction, transportation, public utilities, trade, finance, and government.
- Real interest rates (nominal interest rates less the rate of inflation) rose to unprecedented heights, placing a heavy burden on borrowers.
- Despite efforts to cut spending, the federal deficit was expected to remain in the $100 billion range for years to come.
- Forced closings, liquidations, and bankruptcies soared to the highest levels since the 1930s.
- Intense foreign competition, aided by the high value of the dollar, stimulated imports and discouraged exports.

Signs of revival

Despite the unrelieved gloom in some sectors in early 1982, there were encouraging
signs that the worst was over. A paramount objective of economic policy was being achieved. Price inflation had been dampened to a greater degree than the most optimistic forecasts had envisaged. In early spring both the consumer and producer prices indexes declined, reversing an uptrend that had been virtually uninterrupted since the early 1960s. Doubtless price inflation will revive once recovery begins, but the specter of double-digit inflation has receded.

Price competition is present to a degree unknown in recent decades. Deregulation of the transportation industries has been a major factor in bringing this about and has resulted in substantial savings to customers. Similar trends are underway in the public utility and financial services sectors.

Another promising sign was the increased willingness of labor organizations to help restore financial health to distressed industries by renegotiating the terms of existing contracts. In some cases, unions agreed to modify restrictive work rules that hamper productivity and increase production costs.

Inventory liquidation, at a $40 billion annual rate in the first quarter, reduced excess stocks and set the stage for higher production to keep supplies in line with current demand. Ample supplies of all types of goods and services, including energy, provided assurance that bottlenecks would not impede the expected rise in activity.

Consumer spending remained depressed in the spring relative to after-tax income, and consumers remained cautious in using installment credit lines. But backlogs of demand for vehicles, housing, appliances, and home furnishings were building up. As in past recessions, a restoration of confidence could be expected to lead to an uptrend in consumer purchases, especially durables.

Business capital spending weakened further as cash available from operations was curtailed and margins of surplus capacity increased. Many projects were postponed, awaiting an improved outlook. The powerful investment incentives provided in the 1981 tax law, especially rapid depreciation and expanded tax credits, will encourage decisions to reactivate these projects. But any major revival of capital spending must await a further decline in real interest rates.

A hard road ahead

The monetary and fiscal authorities are charged with the responsibility for providing an environment conducive to stable growth and reasonably stable prices. Judged by these two criteria, the record of the past two decades has not been favorable. Recessions have been countered by excessively stimulatory monetary policy actions, leading to unsustainable booms followed by new recessions and successively higher levels of unemployment. Meanwhile, government programs to assist individuals and industries have created a vast array of “entitlements” which provide income or special benefits without a commensurate rise in output. Most of these programs are being reevaluated and modified.

Resisting pressures for a “quick fix,” the Federal Reserve System has committed itself to a policy of restrained growth in money and credit aggregates. These aggregates have continued to grow, but not at rates that would lead to a revival of inflationary excesses. Such a policy should eventually result in reduced inflation expectations and a gradual decline in interest rates, assuming that some progress is made toward matching government revenues and expenditures. Given a resumption of growth in money turnover, or “velocity,” the Federal Reserve’s current growth targets should provide adequate funds for gradual economic recovery.
**Economic events in 1981—
a chronology**

Jan 1  Minimum wage rises from $3.10 to $3.35. (It remains unchanged on January 1, 1982.)
Jan 1  Social Security wage base rises from $25,900 to $29,700, and tax rate rises from 6.13 percent to 6.65 percent. (On January 1, 1982, base rises to $32,400 and tax rate rises to 6.7 percent.)
Jan 1  Chicago area public transport fares rise by one-third. (Further sharp increases occur in July.)
Jan 9  Bank prime lending rate reduced from 20.5 to 20 percent.
Jan 20 President Reagan inaugurated. He freezes federal hiring.
Jan 20  Iran releases 52 U.S. hostages held 444 days.
Jan 27  Remaining price controls on domestic crude oil and allocation regulations on gasoline lifted.
Jan 29  President Reagan announces 60-day freeze on new regulations.
Jan 29  Federal Reserve begins charging for wire transfers. Fees for other services are phased in over subsequent months.
Feb 2  Chrysler workers agree to forego increases in compensation.
Feb 10  Western coal miners accept 37 percent raise over three years.
Feb 18  Auto makers broaden customer rebates.
Feb 27  Federal loan guarantee for Chrysler raised to $1.2 billion.
Mar 2  Poland orders meat rationing, first time since 1960.
Mar 14  Ford's steel workers agree to cut incentive pay to prevent plant closing.
Mar 15  Two Chicago-area banks closed by examiners.
Mar 22  First class mail goes from 15 to 18 cents. (Rate goes to 20 cents on November 11.)
Mar 26  Treasury Secretary Regan elected chairman of Depository Institutions Deregulation Committee (DIDC). (Volcker elected vice chairman June 25.)
Mar 30  President Reagan and three others wounded in assassination attempt.
Apr 1  Semiannual adjustment in support price of milk is rescinded.
Apr 9  Some exporters reduce posted prices for crude oil.
Apr 10  Ford rejects merger offer from Chrysler.
Apr 14  Space shuttle lands after three-day orbit.
Apr 23  Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) gives federal S&Ls broad discretion on variable rate mortgages (VRMs).
Apr 24  Embargo on grain shipments to Russia ended after 16 months.
Apr 24  Prime rate rises from 17 to 17.5 percent.
Apr 27  Dow Jones industrial average closes at 1024, high for the year. (See Sep 25.)
May 1  Japan agrees to limit car exports to the United States during the period April 1981 to March 1983.
May 1  Rate on EE bonds rises from 8 to 9 percent.
May 5  Federal Reserve raises discount rate from 13 to 14 percent, and surcharge on frequent, large borrowers from 3 to 4 percent.
May 7  Treasury 30-year bonds yield a record 14 percent.
May 10  Socialist Mitterrand elected French president. (See Jun 21.)
May 13  Pope John Paul II is wounded in assassination attempt.
May 19  FSLIC finances merger of troubled Chicago S&L.
May 22  Prime rate rises to 20.5 percent. Investment rate at three-month Treasury bill auction rises to record 17.7 percent.
May 26  OPEC extends price freeze. (See Oct 29.)
Jun 3  Prime rate reduced from 20.5 to 20 percent.
Jun 6  Coal miners ratify 40-month contract raising compensation 38 percent, ending 72-day strike.
Jun 8  Israeli jets bomb nuclear reactors in Iraq.
Jun 8  Supreme Court rules women can sue for equal pay on "comparable" jobs.
Jun 11  Farm and construction equipment manufacturers announce extended vacation layoffs.
Jun 21  French Socialists win a solid majority in assembly for five years. (See May 10.)
Jun 30  Plan to trade bank CD futures approved by Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC).
Jun 30  Import restrictions on shoes from Taiwan and South Korea allowed to expire.
Jul 1  Social security checks increase by 11.2 percent.
Jul 1  Commonwealth Edison is granted 14.5 percent rate hike.
Jul 2  Supreme Court upholds Montana's severance taxes on coal.
Jul 6  DuPont offers to purchase Conoco, biggest merger ever.
Jul 6  U.S. dollar hits new highs against European currencies.
Jul 7  Sandra O'Connor is first woman named to Supreme Court.
Jul 8  Prime rate rises from 20 to 20.5 percent.
Jul 8  DIDC adopts schedule for elimination of interest rate ceilings. (See Jul 31.)
Jul 9  California debates spraying for Med Fly.
Jul 14  FHLBB allows federal S&Ls to issue graduated payment adjustable mortgage loans.
Jul 15  Midyear budget review projects deficits of $56 billion for fiscal 1981 and $43 billion for fiscal 1982. (See Oct 28.)
Jul 17  Volcker expresses concern over surge in bank loans to finance mergers.
Jul 23  Chairman Pratt of FHLBB says S&L losses are at record pace.
Jul 23  Washington Star announces it will cease publication.
Jul 24  Some Detroit city unions agree to wage freeze.
Jul 31  Schlitz announces permanent closing of its original Milwaukee brewery.
Jul 31  Judge blocks DIDC's plan to lift ceiling on CDs with maturities of four years or more.
Jul 31  Canadian dollar closes at 80.9 U.S. cents, lowest since 1931.
Aug 1  Below-market cap on 2½-year Small Savers Certificates removed.
Aug 3  Phibro Corp. to acquire Salomon Brothers.
Aug 3  Air controllers (PATCO) begin strike. (They are terminated August 5.)
Aug 4  Warsaw populace protests food shortages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug 5</td>
<td>Ten-year Treasury notes yield a record 15 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 5</td>
<td>U.S. /USSR grain agreement extended one year beyond original expiration date of September 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 20</td>
<td>Federal Reserve makes discount window available to thrifts and all banks with severe liquidity problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 24</td>
<td>Six-month Treasury bills auctioned at a record 17.5 percent investment yield.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 25</td>
<td>Postal workers ratify three-year pact raising wages about 11 percent in first year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1</td>
<td>Indiana Bell's AAA debentures yield record 17.1 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1</td>
<td>FNMA conventional commitment yields jump to record 18.7 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 8</td>
<td>FHLLB approves merger of two failing S&amp;Ls in the East with a California S&amp;L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 15</td>
<td>Prime rate declines from 20.5 to 20 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 16</td>
<td>Federal Reserve reports that industrial production declined in August, start of an extended downturn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 17</td>
<td>Teamsters Union agrees to reopen Master Freight Agreement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 21</td>
<td>Chicago-area construction equipment operators end two-month strike, winning 14 percent first year wage boost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 22</td>
<td>Federal Reserve discount rate surcharge reduced from 4 to 3 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 24</td>
<td>Ceiling rate on Federal credit union deposits rises to 12 percent effective October 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 25</td>
<td>Illinois law removes usury ceilings on all loans to consumers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 25</td>
<td>Dow Jones index closes at 824, low for the year. (See Apr 27.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 30</td>
<td>FHLLB permits S&amp;Ls to amortize losses on sales of mortgages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1</td>
<td>All Savers Certificates, with tax-exempt yields tied to market rates, become available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1</td>
<td>Federal employees receive 4.8 percent general pay boost, in addition to annual step increases. Military pay rises 14.3 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 5</td>
<td>Sears Roebuck announces agreement to buy Coldwell Banker. (Sears announces plan to buy Dean Witter Reynolds on October 8.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 6</td>
<td>Egyptian President Sadat assassinated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 8</td>
<td>Two Chicago-area S&amp;Ls merged by FSLIC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 12</td>
<td>Federal Reserve discount rate surcharge lowered from 3 to 2 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 14</td>
<td>James Tobin wins Nobel Prize in economics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 16</td>
<td>President Reagan says a “light” recession is underway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 19</td>
<td>DIDC postpones one-half percentage point increase in passbook savings ceiling previously scheduled for November 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 27</td>
<td>Senate approves AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 28</td>
<td>Treasury announces fiscal 1981 budget deficit was $57.9 billion. (See Jul 15.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 29</td>
<td>OPEC agrees on unified oil base price of $34 per barrel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1</td>
<td>Ceiling on six-month money market certificates tied to higher of most recent bill auction or four-week average.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2</td>
<td>Federal Reserve discount rate reduced to 13 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 5</td>
<td>Mergers of two large New York mutual savings banks arranged by FDIC.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>