An Introduction to

Economics

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In writing An Introduction to Economics the author has had in mind the students in his classes in the School of Accounts and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. Some of these students have had no work in general economics; most of them will take at most only this introductory course followed by a course in problems. They expect to encounter economic phenomena by way of concrete situations and they are interested primarily in a better understanding of the economic forces and circumstances with which they have already had some contact and which they will meet with increasing frequency in the course of their employment.

For such students neither the traditional presentation of economic principles nor the customary presentation of institutional economics has been found satisfactory. The former relies heavily on abstract reasoning, on logical unity within a certain framework of assumptions, and places an unrealistic emphasis on the automatic establishment of economic balances. The latter, on the other hand, tends to place so much emphasis on the dynamic aspects of economic life as to create the impression that there are no broad generalizations which are helpful in explaining and understanding the operation of the economic system. The Introduction to Economics employs both approaches, not in an effort to contribute original explanations nor to develop logical unity for the presentation as a whole, but to help students to comprehend more fully the economic system as they may encounter it in daily life. The book attempts also to stimulate a critical attitude on the part of the students toward the operation of that system. The inevitability of change is stressed as is the necessity for meeting new conditions in new ways which are likely to place increasing emphasis on social as

against individual interests and on human as against property interests.

In this introduction to economics the presentation is simplified; abstract concepts and reasoning are avoided wherever possible; concrete illustrations have been used extensively, the existence of defects and maladjustments in the prevailing economic system are noted from time to time, and probable lines of development are indicated in some instances; and occasionally historical perspective is furnished as a means to fuller appreciation of the reasons for existing conditions. While there will be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of omitting some topics and including others, of treating certain subjects in one connection rather than in another, of extensive emphasis on some and meager stress on other points, the selection and organization of material reflects diverse considerations some of which are more or less peculiar to the group of students for which the text has been prepared. Frequent references to points made in preceding chapters are intended partly to impress the student with the interrelation of economic phenomena and partly to provide a basis for incidental review of preceding assignments. Individual chapters are so organized that students can readily prepare brief outlines which, by showing the internal coordination of the chapter, will both indicate the unity of the chapter and serve for quick review prior to class sessions or examinations.

Whatever merit the text may possess reflects the influence of stimulating discussions with various groups, including evening and graduate classes, business executives, labor leaders, and members of the Wharton School faculty, especially those in the Economics Department. I am deeply indebted to my colleague Professor William N. Loucks who gave liberally of his time in reading the entire manuscript and in making many helpful suggestions. Other colleagues to whom my appreciation is specifically extended for criticisms of particular chapters are

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Organization and Purpose of Business

CHAPTER I

PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENTAL ENTERPRISES

According to Biblical lore man has had to obtain his bread by the sweat of his brow since he was driven from the Garden of Eden. However literally one accepts this version of man's start on his journey of toil, it is obviously true that in most countries man has for centuries had to work to obtain his living. His activities have been many and varied as he struggled with nature for even the basic necessities of life. He has been both a beast of burden and the monarch of great political and industrial empires, and in the course of time there has developed through his activities a complex assortment of business enterprises.

These business activities by which man makes his living may be directed in either of two major ways. Individuals may direct their own activity as they see fit, or their activities may be subject to the direction of a central authority. This central authority may be chosen by the people, or it may be forced upon them. It may be a single individual, such as an absolute monarch or dictator, or it may be a group of individuals which forms a governing council. The purpose of the control may be to benefit the people as a whole, or merely to exploit the masses for the benefit of the ruling group. In any event, the central authority, usually the government, decides how business activities shall be conducted.

This central authority may adopt any of several policies with respect to business activity. Individuals may be given virtually free rein in organizing and directing their own activities and those of the persons voluntarily associated with them. This is generally known as private enterprise. Or the government itself may engage in conducting business activities in so far as it sees fit. In this case there is governmental enter-

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prise either in general or in particular kinds of business. Or the governmental policy toward business may be that of making rules from time to time as conditions require and allowing individuals economic freedom within the limits set by the rules. Such a policy is known as private enterprise with government regulation; it will be considered in a later chapter.

I. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

A. LAISSEZ FAIRE AS A GOVERNMENTAL POLICY

In this country the traditional policy of the government has been to rely upon the initiative of individuals to carry on productive activity. This policy has been known as laissez faire or "let alone." Under it the government itself refrained from engaging in business and did not attempt either to determine or furnish what the population needed or wanted. Individuals were free to decide, as consumers, what they wanted and, as producers, what was to be furnished and how. Trade was carried on between individuals on the basis of voluntary contracts. Such a policy of economic freedom stimulated "rugged individualism."

While the original adoption of the *laissez-faire* policy was encouraged by the unfavorable reaction to British interference with Colonial trade, the policy itself rested on certain definite assumptions as to the interests of individuals and of society as a whole. On the basis of these assumptions the policy was expected to weave the self-interest of individuals into a fabric of mutual benefit.

Knowledge of Self-Interest. The first assumption was that each mature person knew his own needs, desires, abilities, and interests better than anyone else. Therefore he, as producer or as consumer, was best able to decide what would be most advantageous to him. It was recognized that as consumers most individuals want more than their incomes will buy. Since all their wants cannot be satisfied, there must be a choice, and it was thought that each individual could decide for himself how his income should be spent to his own greatest advan-

tage. It was felt, moreover, that individuals, as producers, knew their own abilities better than anyone else and could best decide the kind of work for which they were best qualified and in which they would be most successful.

Attainment of Self-Interest. Not only was it assumed that individuals knew their own interests best, but also that they knew how to attain them. If an individual decided he wanted a pair of shoes, he was supposed to know whether it would be more advantageous to make them himself or to buy them. If he wanted to buy them, then he could decide better than anyone else the kind and quality which suited his purpose and also the reasonableness of the price. Thus, as a consumer, he knew how to get the most for his money. As a producer, he knew best how to conduct his own affairs. He knew how much capital to use and how much labor to employ; whether it would be advantageous for him to pay high or low wages and to work his employees long or short hours; whether he would gain more by selling on credit or only for cash; whether he would acquire more by charging high or low prices.

Harmony of Interests. Finally, according to the laissez-faire policy, it was assumed that individuals would be compelled, through their own self-interest, to do the things which best served society. Those who served best were expected to profit most. Producers could not compel consumers to buy from them. Consumers must be won by being furnished the things they wanted at prices that would attract them. Only by such service to the public could producers hope to derive profits and benefit from their activity. As they improved their service, their business would increase and their profits would grow. Thus service and profits were presumably tied together. Consumers, in seeking the most for their money, not only served themselves but society likewise, for by insisting upon high quality and low prices they directed business away from high cost and inefficient producers to low cost and efficient ones.

In short, under a policy of laissez faire, it was expected that the self-interest of producers and consumers would automatically guide business activity into both profitable and